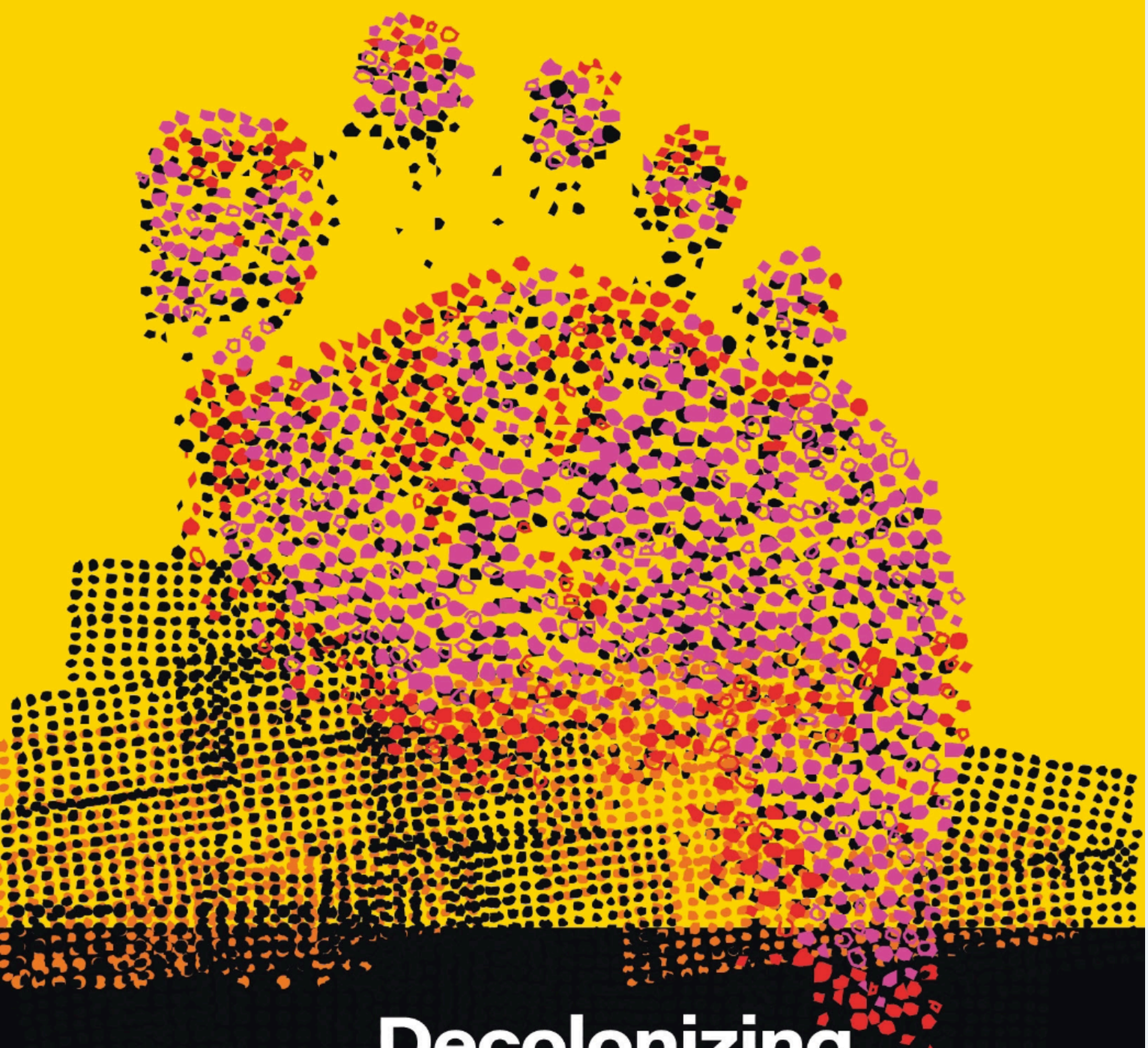
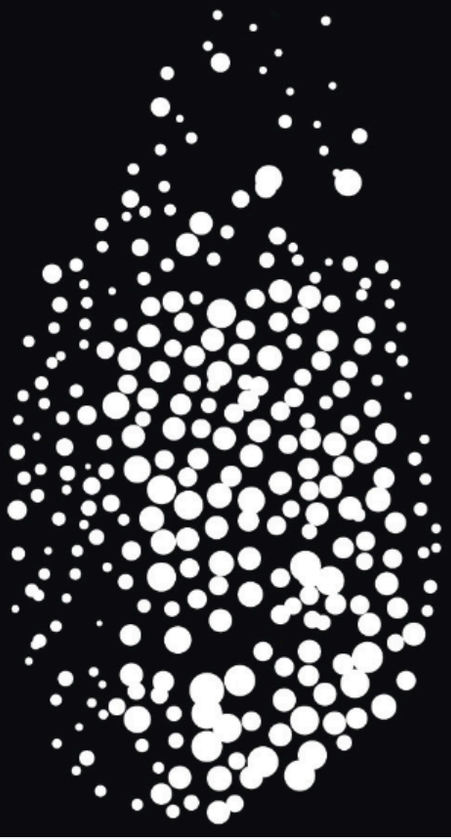


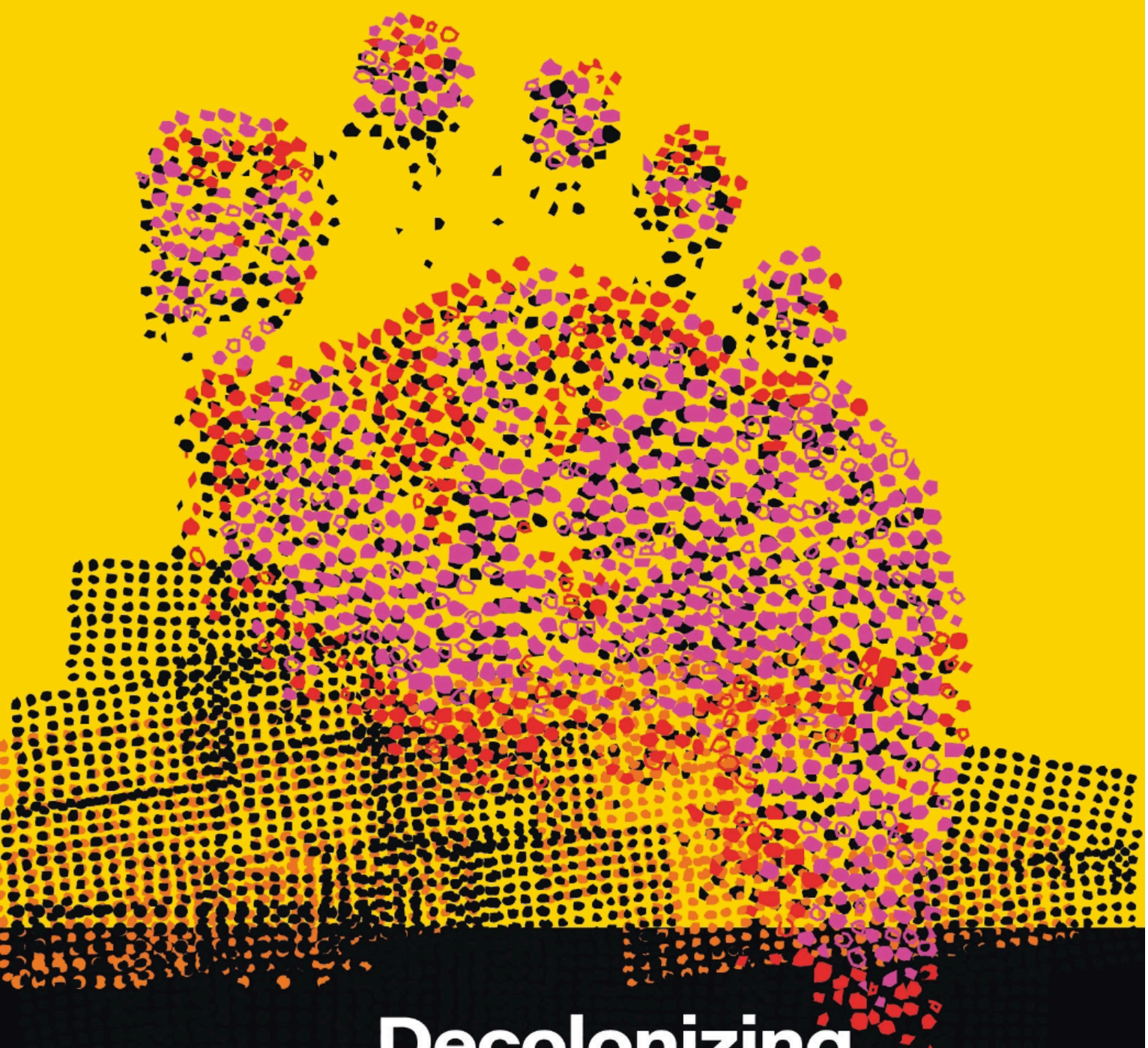
Decolonizing Methodologies

RESEARCH AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

THIRD EDITION

Linda Tuhiwai Smith





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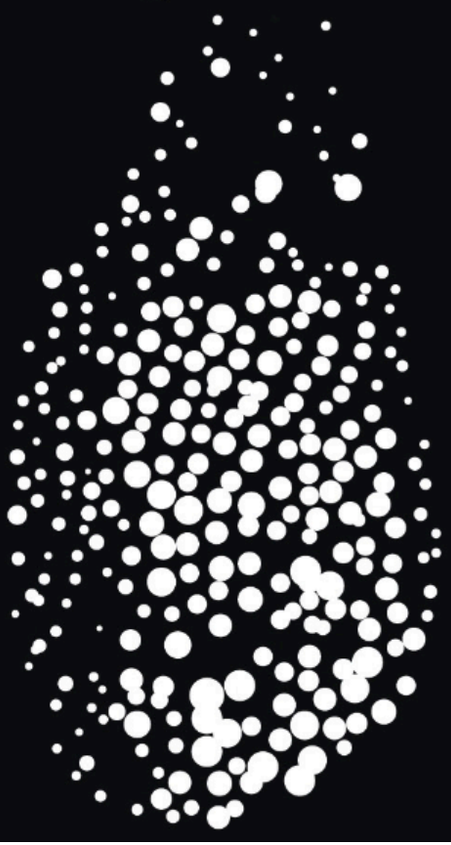

About the Author

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou, Tūhourangi) is Professor of Māori and Indigenous Studies at University of Waikato New Zealand.

關於作者

琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯（Linda Tuhiwai Smith，Ngāti Awa，Ngāti Porou，Tūhourangi）是新西蘭懷卡托大學毛利人和原住民研究教授。

PRAISE FOR THE FIRST EDITION

'This book is a counter-story to Western ideas about the benefits of the pursuit of knowledge. Looking through the eyes of the colonized, cautionary tales are told from an indigenous perspective, tales designed not just to voice the voiceless but to prevent the dying – of people, of culture, of ecosystems. The book is particularly strong in situating the development of counter-practices of research within both Western critiques of Western knowledge and global indigenous movements. Informed by critical and feminist evaluations of positivism, Tuhiwai Smith urges researching back and disrupting the rules of the research game toward practices that are more respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful vs racist practices and attitudes, ethnocentric assumptions and exploitative research. Using Kaupapa Māori, a fledgling approach toward culturally appropriate research protocols and methodologies, the book is designed primarily to develop indigenous peoples as researchers. In short, Tuhiwai Smith begins to articulate research practices that arise out of the specificities of epistemology and methodology rooted in survival struggles, a kind of research that is something other than a dirty word to those on the suffering side of history.'

Patti Lather, Professor of Educational Policy and Leadership, Ohio State University, and author of *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy with/in the Postmodern* and *Troubling the Angels: Women Living with HIV/AIDS*

'Finally, a book for researchers working in indigenous contexts. Finally, a book especially for indigenous researchers. Linda Smith goes far beyond decolonizing research methodology. Our contextual histories, politics, and cultural considerations are respectfully interwoven together. Our distinctiveness remains distinct, but there are important places where our issues and methodologies intersect.

Stories of research experiences, examples of projects, critical examination, and mindful reflection are woven together to make meaningful and practical designs related to indigenous issues and research.'

Jo-Ann Archibald, Sto:lo Nation and Director of the First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia

'A book like this is long overdue. It will be most useful for both indigenous and non-indigenous researchers in educational and non-educational institutions. It will empower indigenous students to undertake research which uses methods that are culturally sensitive and appropriate instead of those which they have learned about in Research Methods courses in universities which assume that research and research methods are culture-free and that researchers occupy

對第一版的讚揚

「這本書是對西方關於追求知識的好處的觀念的反駁故事。透過被殖民者的眼睛，警示故事是從原住民的角度講述的，這些故事不僅旨在為無聲者發聲，而且旨在防止人類、文化和生態系統的死亡。這本書在將研究的反實踐的發展置於西方對西方知識的批判和全球土著運動中方面特別有說服力。圖希瓦伊·史密斯（Tuhiwai Smith） 受到對實證主義的批判和女權主義評估的啟發，敦促研究並打破研究遊戲規則，轉向更尊重、道德、同情和有用的實踐，而不是種族主義實踐和態度、種族中心主義假設和剝削性研究。這本書使用考帕帕毛利語（一種新興的文化適合研究方案和方法的方法），主要旨在培養土著人民成為研究人員。簡而言之，圖希瓦伊·史密斯開始闡明源於植根於生存鬥爭的認識論和方法論的特殊性而產生的研究實踐，這種研究對那些處於歷史受苦一方的人來說不僅僅是一個骯髒的詞。

Patti Lather，俄亥俄州教育政策與領導力教授
州立大學，也是《變得聰明：後現代的女權主義研究和教育學》和《困擾天使：感染愛滋病毒/愛滋病的女性》一書的作者

「最後，這是一本為在原住民環境中工作的研究人員準備的書。最後，這是一本專門為原住民研究人員準備的書。琳達·史密斯遠遠超出了研究方法的去殖民化。我們的背景歷史、政治和文化考慮被尊重地交織在一起。我們的獨特性仍然獨特，但我們的問題和方法在重要的地方交叉。
研究經驗的故事、項目示例、批判性檢查和正念反思交織在一起，做出與原住民問題和研究相關的有意義和實用的設計。

Jo-Ann Archibald，Sto：lo Nation 和不列顛哥倫比亞大學原住民學習之家主任

“像這樣的書早就應該出版了。它對教育和非教育機構的土著和非土著研究人員來說都是最有用的。它將使土著學生能夠使用具有文化敏感性和適當的方法進行研究，而不是他們在大學的研究方法課程中學到的方法，這些課程假設研究和研究方法是無文化的，並且研究人員佔據了

some kind of moral high ground from which they can observe their subjects and make judgements about them.'
Konai Thaman, Professor of Pacific Education and Culture, and UNESCO Chair of Education, University of the South Pacific

'Linda Tuhiwai Smith is the leading theorist on decolonization of Māori in New Zealand. This book opts for a dynamic interpretation of power relations of domination, struggle and emancipation. She uses a dual framework – the *whakapapa* of Māori knowledge and European epistemology – to interpret and capture the world of reality for a moment in time. Thus the search for truth in complex human relations is a never-ending quest.'
Ranginui Walker, formerly Professor of Māori Studies Department and Provice Chancellor, University of Auckland

'We have needed this book. Academic research facilitates diverse forms of economic and cultural imperialism by shaping and legitimating policies which entrench existing unjust power relations. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's powerful critique of dominant research methodologies is eloquent, informed and timely. Her distinctive proposals for an indigenous research agenda are especially valuable. Decolonization, she reminds us, cannot be limited to deconstructing the dominant story and revealing underlying texts, for none of that helps people improve their current conditions or prevents them from dying. This careful articulation of a range of research methodologies is vital, welcome and full of promise.'
Laurie Anne Whitt, Professor of Philosophy, Michigan Technological University

'A brilliant, evocative and timely book about an issue that serves to both define and create indigenous realities. In recent years, indigenous people, often led by the emerging culturally affirmed and positioned indigenous scholars, have intensified the struggle to break free from the chains of colonialism and its oppressive legacy. In writing this book, Linda Tuhiwai Smith makes a powerful and impassioned contribution to this struggle. No budding researcher should be allowed to leave the academy without reading this book and no teacher should teach without it at their side.'
Bob Morgan, Director, Jumbunna Caiser, Centre for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, University of Technology, Sydney

某種道德制高點，他們可以從中觀察他們的臣民並對他們做出判斷。

南太平洋大學太平洋教育與文化教授兼聯合國教科文組織教育教席科奈．塔曼

「琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯 （Linda Tuhiwai Smith） 是紐西蘭毛利人非殖民化的主要理論家。本書選擇對統治、鬥爭和解放的權力關係進行動態解釋。她使用雙重框架——毛利知識的 whakapapa 和歐洲認識論——來解釋和捕捉現實世界的片刻。因此，在複雜的人際關係中尋找真理是一個永無止境的追求。

Ranginui Walker，奧克蘭大學毛利研究系前教授兼副校長

「我們需要這本書。學術研究透過塑造和合法化鞏固現有不公正權力關係的政策，促進了各種形式的經濟和文化帝國主義。琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯 （Linda Tuhiwai Smith） 對主導研究方法的有力批評雄辯、見多識廣且及時。她對原住民研究議程的獨特建議尤其有價值。她提醒我們，去殖民化不能僅限於解構主導故事和揭示潛在文本，因為這些都無助於改善人們的現狀或防止他們死亡。這種對一系列研究方法的仔細闡述至關重要、受歡迎且充滿希望。

Laurie Anne Whitt，哲學教授， 密歇根理工大學

「這是一本精彩、令人回味且及時的書，講述了一個既有助於定義又創造土著現實的問題。近年來，原住民在新興的文化肯定和定位原住民學者的領導下，加緊了擺脫殖民主義及其壓迫遺產的枷鎖的鬥爭。在撰寫這本書時，琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯 （Linda Tuhiwai Smith） 為這場鬥爭做出了強大而熱情的貢獻。任何嶄露頭角的研究人員都不應在沒有閱讀這本書的情況下離開學院，任何教師都不應在沒有這本書的情況下進行教學。

Bob Morgan，悉尼科技大學原住民和托雷斯海峽島民中心 Jumbunna Caiser 主任

四

DECOLONIZING METHODOLOGIES

Research and Indigenous Peoples

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

ZED

去殖民化方法

研究與原住民

琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯

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Ahakoa he iti, he iti pounamu.
Although small, it is precious.

I would like to remember and honour my mother June Erica Te Rina Mead, who died in March 2019, my mother-in-law Paea Smith, who died in 2014, and my father-in-law Hingangaroa Smith, who died in 2016. My mother was an exceptional Ngāti Porou woman, a wife, mother and grandmother, who ensured my sisters and I remained firmly connected to Ngāti Porou. She was fierce and fashionable at the same time. My mother-in-law was a small dynamo, a businesswoman by necessity, a protestor and caregiver of her children and the whole community. My father-in-law was a returned serviceman of the Māori Battalion whose powerful memories of his service in Italy during the Second World War haunted him and then later in life helped to tell the story of our veterans.

I am always thankful to my father Distinguished Professor Hirini Moko Mead and my husband Distinguished Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith. My father, at 93 years, continues to work as a leading Māori Studies scholar and is a hugely productive writer. Graham persists in trying to support academic institutions to transform themselves into entities that can genuinely engage with, include and deserve to educate Māori and First Nations Peoples in Canada.

Since the first edition, there are many others to acknowledge and thank: students who have found the work important enough to email me their thanks; colleagues who use the work and have advanced its original ideas to develop their own ideas about research and scholarship; activists and community people who have found the book helpful.

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Ahakoa he iti， he iti pounamu。雖然很小，但很珍貴。

我想紀念並紀念我的母親 June Erica Te Rina Mead，她於 2019 年 3 月去世，我的岳母 Paea Smith 於 2014 年去世，我的岳父 Hingangaroa Smith 於 2016 年去世。我的母親是一位傑出的 Ngāti Porou 女性，一位妻子、母親和祖母，確保我和我的姐妹們與 Ngāti Porou 保持牢固的聯繫。她既兇猛又時尚。我的岳母是一個小發電機，必然是一名女商人，是她孩子和整個社區的抗議者和照顧者。我的岳父是毛利營的一名歸國軍人，他對第二次世界大戰期間在意大利服役的強烈記憶一直困擾著他，並在後來的生活中幫助講述了我們退伍軍人的故事。

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自第一版以來，還有許多其他人需要承認和感謝：發現這項工作足夠重要並通過電子郵件向我發送感謝的學生;使用該作品並推進其原創想法以發展自己關於研究和學術的想法的同事;發現這本書有幫助的活動家和社區人士。

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I have not had research and study leave since about 1998 but have been privileged since 2012 to have had opportunities as a short-term scholar-in-residence at Arizona State University hosted by Professor Bryan Brayboy, Honorary Visiting Professor at the University of Melbourne hosted by Professor Elizabeth McKinley, and the Knapp Visiting Chair at the University of San Diego hosted by Dr Josen Diaz.

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In the last few years, I have worked in the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies and Te Kotahi Research Institute at the University of Waikato. I thank all my colleagues and administrators for their support. I also acknowledge Te Aomarama Anderson for providing technical support for this third edition.

Finally, I thank Zed Books, and the people who represent Zed Books who decided to publish the first edition of *Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples*. I look forward to a new relationship with Bloomsbury.

以下同事在支持我出版第一版這本書方面發揮了重要作用：Graham Hingangaroa Smith 教授、Kuni Jenkins 教授、Margie Kahukura Hohepa 教授、Patricia Maringi Johnston 教授、Leonie Pihama 教授、Cherryl Waerea-I-te-rangi Smith 博士、Roger Dale 教授、Alison Jones 教授、Stuart McNaughton 教授、Judith Simon 博士、James Marshall 教授、Betsan Martin 博士、Kay Morris-Matthews 教授和 Michael Peters 教授。我要特別感謝 Brenda Liddiard Laurent、Eleanor Tedford 和 Tommy Perana 以及 Jenny McKnight 的技術支持。

自 1998 年左右以來，我沒有休過研究和學習假，但自 2012 年以來，我有幸有機會在亞利桑那州立大學擔任短期駐校學者，由 Bryan Brayboy 教授主持，墨爾本大學名譽客座教授由 Elizabeth McKinley 教授主持，以及由 Josen Diaz 博士主持的聖地亞哥大學納普客座主席。

我感謝新西蘭卓越研究中心 Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga 的同事們，他們堅持了很久以前就開始的願景，並成為由 Graham Smith 領導的提案，Michael Walker 教授和我自己是第一批聯合主任。

在過去的幾年裡，我曾在懷卡托大學毛利和原住民研究學院以及 Te Kotahi 研究所工作。我感謝所有同事和管理人員的支持。我還感謝 Te Aomarama Anderson 為第三版提供技術支持。

最後，我感謝 Zed Books 以及代表 Zed Books 的人們，他們決定出版第一版《去殖民化方法論研究》和《原住民》。我期待與布魯姆斯伯里建立新的關係。

INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD EDITION

It has been more than twenty years since *Decolonizing Methodologies* was first published and eight years since the second edition. One of the most quoted terms from that first edition was that research was one of the 'dirtiest words' in the vocabulary of Indigenous peoples. In the time since the first edition there have been significant changes for the agenda of Indigenous peoples. The Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2007, the culmination of the movement of Indigenous peoples across the globe and recognition by the states and governments of the United Nations. The largest international association of Indigenous scholars was formed in 2015, known as NAISA, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, alongside the emergence of new international networks such as the Indigenous Data Sovereignty network. Decolonizing and decolonial work alongside Indigenous scholarship has accelerated in terms of the breadth of intellectual work being undertaken across the globe. There is a growing interest in the contribution of Indigenous knowledge to science and efforts in some jurisdictions to include Indigenous knowledge in official policies. The capacity of Indigenous researchers has improved with higher education courses offered by many institutions to prepare people to work with and for Indigenous communities using Indigenous methodologies and working with Indigenous knowledge. Some disciplines and institutions have also confronted the need to decolonize their scholarship and work hard to recognize diversity of knowledge and of researchers as a community. Activist campaigns, such as #Idlenomore, The Idle No More Campaign, #NoDAPL The Dakota Access Pipeline Protest at Standing Rock, #Rhodes Must Fall, #Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women MMIW, the Mauna Kea and TMT Protest, have all called attention to the failure of states and governments, societies and institutions to address the deep injustices that stem from the legacy of colonialism. The use of the hashtag # has also changed the way ideas and movements are propelled into public consciousness.

Make no mistake, however, that despite some indications of positive change, it is still dangerous in the twenty-first-century to be an Indigenous person and 'research' remains a dirty word for many of the

第三版簡介

自《去殖民化方法論》首次出版以來已經過去了二十多年，距離第二版已經過去了八年。第一版中被引用最多的術語之一是，研究是原住民詞彙中“最骯髒的詞”之一。自第一版以來，原住民的議程發生了重大變化。《原住民權利宣言》於 2007 年由聯合國大會通過，是全球原住民運動的高潮，並得到了聯合國各州和政府的承認。最大的國際原住民學者協會成立於 2015 年，稱為 NAISA，即美洲原住民和原住民研究協會，同時出現了原住民數據主權網絡等新的國際網絡。就全球智力工作的廣度而言，非殖民化和非殖民化工作與原住民學術研究一起加速了。人們對原住民知識對科學的貢獻越來越感興趣，並且一些司法管轄區努力將原住民知識納入官方政策。許多機構提供的高等教育課程提高了原住民研究人員的能力，這些課程使人們能夠使用原住民方法和利用原住民知識與原住民社區合作並為原住民社區工作做好準備。一些學科和機構也面臨著將其學術非殖民化的需要，並努力承認知識和研究人員作為一個社區的多樣性。 激進運動，如 #Idlenomore、The Idle No More 運動 #NoDAPL Standing Rock 的 Dakota Access Pipeline 抗議活動、#Rhodes Must Fall、#Black Lives Matter、#MeToo、失蹤和謀殺的原住民婦女 MMIW、莫納克亞山和 TMT 抗議活動，都呼籲人們關注國家和政府、社會和機構未能解決源自殖民主義遺產的深刻不公正問題。#標籤的使用也改變了思想和運動進入公眾意識的方式。

然而，請不要誤會，儘管有一些積極變化的跡象，但在二十一世紀，作為原住民仍然是危險的，“研究”對許多人來說仍然是一個骯髒的詞。

world's Indigenous peoples and communities. The continued resistance of Indigenous peoples is seen by many powerful elites as a barrier to development, a drag on the economy and an affront to the nation state. No real progress has been made to decolonize the major knowledge and political institutions of academia, although discourse may have shifted to words such as reconciliation, inclusion and diversity. Indigenous activists in Central and South America have been assassinated or have disappeared in suspicious circumstances, with their homelands and their food sources and forests set on fire. Highly respected Indigenous leaders have been rebranded by their own governments as terrorists. More Indigenous languages have become extinct as our language communities are left to die. The effects of a changing climate, a warming ocean and a polluted environment are threatening the very existence of Indigenous communities across the Pacific. Yes, it is still dangerous to identify as an Indigenous person, and in every settler society where Indigenous peoples are officially recognized and identified in official statistics, major systemic social inequities and injustices abound. The language, discourse and framing of responses to Indigenous rights continue to be fraught with colonizer/settler anxieties and privilege dominating what it means to implement agenda for indigenization or decolonization, reconciliation or recognition. These potentially radical gestures of recognition when implemented can end up as mealy mouthed, watered-down liberal devices that end up reinforcing the status quo. The purpose of decolonizing methodologies research and Indigenous peoples remains urgent and necessary.

Knowledge and the power to define what counts as real knowledge lie at the epistemic core of colonialism. The challenge for researchers of decolonizing methodologies as a set of knowledge-related critical practices is to simultaneously work with colonial and Indigenous concepts of knowledge, decentring one while centring the other. While this sounds straightforward, it is not. This third edition of *Decolonizing Methodologies* continues to conceptualize the challenges for engaging in both decolonizing practices while reimagining and bringing forward Indigenous epistemic approaches, philosophies and methodologies. These challenges are not simply about Western academic concepts of disciplinary-based ideas of social science or humanities research. Decolonizing methodologies are about forcing us to confront the Western academic canon in its entirety, in its philosophy, pedagogy, ethics, organizational practices, paradigms, methodologies and discourses and, importantly, its self-generating arrogance, its origin mythologies and the stories that it tells to reinforce its hegemony.

在二十一世紀，作為原住民仍然是危險的，對世界上許多原住民和社區來說，「研究」仍然是一個骯髒的詞。原住民的持續抵抗被許多強大的精英視為發展的障礙、經濟的拖累和對民族國家的侮辱。在學術界的主要知識和政治機構去殖民化方面沒有取得真正的進展，儘管話語可能已經轉向和解、包容和多樣性等詞語。中美洲和南美洲的原住民活動家在可疑的情況下被暗殺或失蹤，他們的家園、食物來源和森林被點燃。備受尊敬的原住民領導人已被本國政府重新命名為恐怖分子。隨著我們的語言社區被遺棄，更多的原住民語言已經滅絕。氣候變遷、海洋變暖和環境污染的影響正在威脅太平洋各地原住民社區的生存。是的，認同原住民仍然是危險的，在每個原住民在官方統計數據中得到官方承認和識別的定居者社會中，重大的系統性社會不平等和不公正現象比比皆是。對原住民權利的回應的語言、話語和框架仍然充滿殖民者/定居者的焦慮和特權，這些焦慮和特權主導了實施原住民化或非殖民化、和解或承認議程的意義。這些潛在的激進認可姿態在實施後最終可能會變成嘴巴粗獷、淡化的自由主義手段，最終強化現狀。 方法論、研究和原住民去殖民化的目的仍然緊迫且必要。

知識和定義什麼是真正知識的力量是殖民主義的認識核心。將非殖民化方法論作為一套與知識相關的批判實踐的研究人員面臨的挑戰是同時使用殖民和土著知識概念，使一個集中，同時以另一個為中心。雖然這聽起來很簡單，但事實並非如此。第三版《去殖民化方法論》繼續概念化參與非殖民化實踐的挑戰，同時重新構想和提出原住民認識論方法、哲學和方法論。這些挑戰不僅僅是關於基於學科的社會科學或人文研究思想的西方學術概念。去殖民化方法論是迫使我們面對西方學術經典的全部內容，包括它的哲學、教學法、倫理學、組織實踐、範式、方法論和話語，更重要的是，它自我產生的傲慢、它的起源神話和它講述的故事，以加強其霸權。

I have grounded my understandings of decolonizing methodologies, and of colonialism and Indigenous methodologies, in my own context of Aotearoa New Zealand. I view that positioning as an ethical responsibility, an Indigenous method of intellectual engagement that is inextricably connected to land, place, stories, context rather than claiming a universal authority over experiences and people who can speak for themselves. In this sense, *Decolonizing Methodologies* is an invitation to stimulate the work that is possible for research when we as researchers decolonize our minds, our discourses, our understandings, our practices and our institutions. The core of the book remains true to the first edition, including the original Introduction, but there are some changes with this new Introduction, a new chapter laying out an additional twenty Indigenous Projects. Throughout the book, I have included some creative words that I have written and performed in some of my talks and the words of others.

This Introduction to the Third Edition is a co-introduction written by a group of early career scholars who were immersed in decolonizing and Indigenous research as students and who now teach methodologies to a next generation. Their introductions say much more than I can say about the diversity and nuances of Indigenous contexts, higher education experiences, challenges and directions of their own work. Each of their pieces highlights the ways in which decolonizing approaches open up different possibilities for research. The exercise of decolonizing methodologies has to do more than critique colonialism. It has to open up possibilities for understanding and knowing the world differently and offering different solutions to problems caused by colonialism and the failure of power structures to address these historic conditions.

In preparing for this edition, I have also invited participants at conferences to identify some new Indigenous projects that will expand the twenty-five projects of the first edition. I have received written notes, emails and text messages with priorities and concerns currently faced by Indigenous communities. I have also been involved with colleagues in wide-ranging research projects, from documenting Māori approaches to healing from intergenerational trauma, to addressing homelessness through cultural support systems and Māori knowledge approaches, to artificial intelligence and to climate change, to name but a few. These projects have all used decolonizing and Kaupapa Māori research methodologies and methods. They all rest upon the principles of relationships, connections, reciprocity and accountability that are embedded in Indigenous understandings of ethics and knowledge and, in my view, are foundational to decolonizing theory and praxis.

我對非殖民化方法論、殖民主義和原住民方法論的理解建立在我自己在紐西蘭的背景下。我認為這種定位是一種道德責任，一種與土地、地點、故事、背景有著千絲萬縷聯繫的原住民智力參與方法，而不是聲稱對經驗和能夠為自己說話的人擁有普遍的權威。從這個意義上說，《去殖民化方法論》邀請我們作為研究人員對我們的思想、話語、理解、實踐和制度進行非殖民化時，激發研究工作的可能性。本書的核心仍然忠於第一版，包括最初的引言，但這個新的引言有一些變化，新章節列出了另外二十個原住民項目。在整本書中，我收錄了一些我在一些演講和其他演講中寫和表演的創造性文字。

第三版的導言是由一群早期職業學者共同撰寫的導言，他們在學生時期就沉浸在非殖民化和原住民研究中，現在向下一代教授方法論。他們的介紹比我所能說的關於原住民背景、高等教育經歷、挑戰和他們自己工作方向的多樣性和細微差別要多得多。他們的每篇文章都強調了非殖民化方法為研究開闢不同可能性的方式。非殖民化方法論的實踐不僅要批評殖民主義。它必須開闢以不同方式理解和認識世界的可能性，並為殖民主義和權力結構未能解決這些歷史條件造成的問題提供不同的解決方案。

在準備本版時，我還邀請了會議參與者確定一些新的原住民項目，這些項目將擴大第一版的 25 個項目。我收到了書面便條、電子郵件和短信，其中包含原住民社區目前面臨的優先事項和擔憂。我還與同事一起參與了廣泛的研究項目，從記錄毛利人治愈代際創傷的方法，到通過文化支持系統和毛利知識方法解決無家可歸問題，到人工智能和氣候變化，僅舉幾例。這些項目都使用了去殖民化和考帕帕毛利人研究方法和方法。它們都建立在關係、聯繫、互惠和問責制的原則之上，這些原則根植於原住民對倫理和知識的理解中，在我看來，這些原則是非殖民化理論和實踐的基礎。

Meaningful decolonizing practices are not all about theory or all about action but they are all about praxis and the reflexivity that is necessary for the integrity of research and of the researcher themselves.

I

Our tensions and challenges with decolonial practices

By Jessica Martínez-Cruz and Goya Wilson Vásquez, Nicaragua, Peru, the United Kingdom

Tell the teacher that I'm no longer looking for how to do something subversive, I just did it. (Sociology student in Nicaragua, November 2018)

In February 2018 we held an encounter between activists doing radical research in Central America and the Caribbean with three women who had inspired us, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Aura Cumes and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui. The encounter took place at Universidad Centroamericana in Managua, Nicaragua. Seven weeks later, in April 2018, that same place bore witness to a youth revolt that met with one of the most repressive responses known to date from the Nicaraguan state and its paramilitary forces. The protest against authoritarian decisions quickly morphed into a myriad of ways to challenge state power, including to reclaim university autonomy, long violated by the state. And here we are, living a second revolution in less than forty years.

The encounter was a space where we students, activists and practitioners gathered to share and reflect on our attempts to subvert hegemonic ways of doing research in practice. A recurring question we posed to Linda was how we could do research in our context, a regional backdrop of violence, increased repression and militarization. Linda replied: 'you are already doing it.' Her answer stunned us, as did her book when we read it a few years ago.

Her book taught us the importance of locating ourselves and highlighting that place from where we are writing. We are living and producing (even this text) in the midst of violence. Linda urges us to recognize the knowledges produced from this place, by communities under threat by repressive regimes, and communities upon which knowledge is imposed, denied or stolen but who are never recognized as producers of knowledges, not even when they are subverting power and risking their lives. Opening up spaces for other possible knowledges in

有意義的去殖民化實踐並不全是關於理論或行動，而是關於實踐和反思性，這是研究和研究人員本身的完整性所必需的。

I

我們與非殖民化實踐的緊張關係和挑戰

傑西卡·馬丁內斯-克魯茲和戈雅·威爾遜·巴斯克斯，尼加拉瓜，秘魯，英國

告訴老師，我不再在尋找如何做一些顛覆性的事情，我只是做到了。（尼加拉瓜社會學學生，11 月 2018)

2018 年 2 月，我們在中美洲和加勒比地區進行激進研究的活動家與三位激勵我們的女性 Linda Tuhiwai Smith、Aura Cumes 和 Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui 舉行了一次會面。這次會面發生在尼加拉瓜馬那瓜的中美洲大學。七週後，即 2018 年 4 月，同一個地方見證了一場青年起義，這場起義遭到了尼加拉瓜政府及其準軍事部隊迄今為止已知的最鎮壓性的反應之一。對威權決定的抗議很快演變成挑戰國家權力的無數方式，包括奪回長期被國家侵犯的大學自治權。而我們在這裡，在不到四十年的時間裡經歷了第二次革命。

這次相遇是我們學生、活動家和從業者聚集在一起的空間，分享和反思我們在實踐中顛覆霸權研究方式的嘗試。我們向琳達提出的一個反覆出現的問題是，我們如何在我們的背景下進行研究，在暴力、鎮壓加劇和軍事化加劇的區域背景下進行研究。琳達回答說：“你已經在這樣做了。”她的回答讓我們震驚了，幾年前我們讀她的書時也是如此。

她的書教會了我們定位自己並突出我們寫作的地方的重要性。我們在暴力中生活和生產（甚至是這段文字）。琳達敦促我們認識到從這個地方產生的知識，這些知識是由受到專制政權威脅的社區，以及知識被強加、否認或竊取但從未被承認為知識生產者的社區，即使他們顛覆權力並冒著生命危險。為其他可能的知識開闢空間

repressive contexts demands such a methodological stance, to explore other ways 'for knowing and understanding' different than what academia produces.

From where we write, it is hard and sometimes impossible to account for *saberes* and knowledges that are produced from our experience. We lived it every time we denounced the violence we are living in Central America, particularly to the academic community gathered in hegemonic spaces such as research councils and conferences in the north and south. At the same time, hegemonic narratives have silenced *campesino* and Indigenous experiences of state violence. Such experiences live in people's collective memory and oral history, but are not regarded as knowledge.

Our first readings of Linda's book were filled with a mix of rage and hope. We felt her writings were giving shape to our rage. A rage that had brewed inside us for years of studying/working inside and outside academia from Nicaragua to northern universities (e.g. the United Kingdom and the Netherlands). At the same time, this book opened the possibility of not doing away with or rejecting research completely as part of our *quehacer*. It pushed us instead to imagine other possibilities of, for, and with research from a critical stand and a watchful eye on ourselves and our practice. It gave us clarity and awareness of the limits of research when it is thought from and with the people that will be affected by such research.

We have used this book to criticize institutional power, to reframe the 'social problem' and to reflect on our practice, addressing historical issues and collective memory as part of the invitations we took from Linda's writing: to problematize our ways of seeing, feeling, thinking and writing. From our experiences, decolonization as a process places us within a multi-layered social dermis where imperial and colonial powers have impregnated politics and cultures. For instance, in Nicaragua, the left and the right, academia and intellectuals, civil society organizations and political parties, everyone with power to speak and be heard in the public sphere, portrayed the insurgents without thought and without history, reducing them to simple boxes such as 'proletariat', 'popular classes', 'Indigenous communities', '*campesino*', 'youth' and 'women'. Those with the power to classify applied old categories without questioning their own assumptions, histories, motivations and values that charge such ways of producing the social.

We deployed the book for our practices and reflections with others, and it has taken us into another landscape, a movement that ended up producing new problems and tensions: How to avoid being

在壓抑的背景下為其他可能的知識開闢空間需要這種方法論立場，探索與學術界不同的其他「認識和理解」方式。

從我們寫作的地方，很難甚至有時不可能解釋從我們的經驗中產生的軍刀和知識。每次我們譴責我們生活在中美洲的暴力行為時，我們都經歷了這種生活，特別是對聚集在南北研究委員會和會議等霸權空間的學術界。與此同時，霸權主義敍事壓制了坎佩西諾和原住民對國家暴力的經歷。這些經歷存在於人們的集體記憶和口述歷史中，但不被視為知識。

我們第一次讀琳達的書時，充滿了憤怒和希望。我們覺得她的作品正在塑造我們的憤怒。這種憤怒在我們內心醞釀的憤怒，是多年來在學術界內外學習/工作的，從尼加拉瓜到北部大學（例如英國和荷蘭）。同時，這本書開啟了不完全廢除或拒絕研究作為我們 quehacer 的一部分的可能性。相反，它促使我們從批判性的立場和對自己和我們的實踐的觀察來想像研究、研究和研究的其他可能性。它讓我們清楚地意識到，當研究來自將受到此類研究影響的人並與之一起思考時，研究的局限性。

我們用這本書來批評制度權力，重新建構「社會問題」並反思我們的實踐，解決歷史問題和集體記憶，作為我們從琳達寫作中得到的邀請的一部分：對我們的觀看、感受、思考和寫作方式提出問題。根據我們的經驗，去殖民化作為一個過程將我們置於一個多層次的社會真皮中，帝國和殖民勢力已經浸透了政治和文化。例如，在尼加拉瓜，左翼和右翼、學術界和知識分子、公民社會組織和政黨，每個人都有權在公共領域發言和被傾聽，他們毫無思想和歷史地描繪了叛亂分子，將他們簡化為簡單的盒子，例如“無產階級”、“大眾階級”、“土著社區”、“坎佩西諾”、“青年”和“婦女”。那些有權對舊類別進行分類的人，而不質疑他們自己的假設、歷史、動機和價值觀，這些假設、歷史、動機和價值觀賦予了這種社會生產方式。

我們運用這本書來進行實踐和與他人的反思，它把我們帶入了另一個世界，一場最終產生新問題和緊張關係的運動：如何避免成為

complicit with colonization and colonizers? How to break away from categories that slice and box up complex realities while at the same time we do not end up 'blunting the edge of the only knife we have' to communicate our experiences of violence? And how to build alliances at national and international levels without being sucked into the same old categories?

A lot has been said about the richness of this book's case studies and the concrete experiences of what is possible and what has lived from long ago in Indigenous communities. Beyond, the book critically reminds us to remain concerned with how 'decolonizing' does not become a new blueprint.

For us practitioners facing the challenges of Central America and the Caribbean, this book reiterates Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's[1] calls to question our internal colonialism, and Aura Cumes' invitation to check our privileges as researchers.'[2] Linda inspired us to forge ways of thinking, feeling and writing not only against but with others. Her writing makes us aware that challenging our own views and practices on a daily basis by looking at what our doings are creating in the present has to be a critical task and a mobilizing force.

II

Four Indigenous projects

Lianne Marie Leda Charlie, Tagé Cho Hudän, Yukon, Canada

November 9, 2019

Dear Professor Smith,

My name is Lianne Marie Leda Charlie. I am Wolf Clan of the Tagé Cho Hudän. We are Northern Tutchone speaking people of the Yukon in Northern Canada.

I realized recently that your work has been present on my academic journey for the last 15 years. I have two copies of *Decolonizing Methodologies* – the 1999 and 2012 edition. Both travelled with me to Hawai`i in 2013, when I started a PhD. and both travelled home with me to my ancestral homelands in 2016 after being away for 30 years.

I'm going to story your book's presence in my life. It's a small gesture, but my hope is to show you what happens when your words on the page come alive.

一場最終產生新問題和緊張局勢的運動：如何避免成為殖民和殖民者的同謀？如何擺脫那些將複雜現實切片和框起來的類別，同時我們最終不會「鈍化我們唯一擁有的刀刃」來傳達我們的暴力經歷？以及如何在國家和國際層面建立聯盟，而不被捲入相同的舊類別？

關於本書案例研究的豐富性以及原住民社區中可能發生的事情和很久以前生活的具體經驗，已經說了很多。除此之外，這本書批判性地提醒我們要繼續關注「去殖民化」如何不會成為新的藍圖。

對於我們這些面臨中美洲和加勒比地區挑戰的從業者來說，這本書重申了西爾維婭·里維拉·庫西坎基 （Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui） 質疑我們內部殖民主義的呼籲，以及奧拉·庫姆斯 （Aura Cumes） 的邀請，以檢查我們作為研究人員的特權。琳達激勵我們建立思維、感受和寫作的方式，不僅反對他人，而且與他人一起。她的寫作讓我們意識到，通過審視我們現在的所作所為來挑戰我們自己的觀點和實踐，必須是一項關鍵任務和動員力量。

貳

四個原住民項目

Lianne Marie Leda Charlie，Tagé Cho Hudän，育空地區，加拿大

十一月 9， 2019

親愛的史密斯教授，

我叫莉安·瑪麗·萊達·查理。我是 Tagé Cho Hudän 的狼族。我們是加拿大北部育空地區的北圖喬尼語族人。

我最近意識到，在過去的 15 年裡，您的工作一直出現在我的學術旅程中。我有兩本《去殖民化方法論》——1999 年版和 2012 年版。兩人都於 2013 年與我一起前往夏威夷，當時我開始攻讀博士學位，並在離開 2016 年後於 30 年與我一起回到祖國。

我將講述你的書在我生活中的存在。這是一個小舉動，但我希望向你展示當你在書頁上的話變得生動時會發生什麼。

September 19, 2005

RE: Connecting

Dear Professor Smith,

I am a few weeks into a master's program in Canadian History at the University of Victoria in British Columbia, Canada. I am the only Indigenous person in my cohort; there are no Indigenous faculty in the department.

We have been assigned your book. There are two beautiful brown women on the cover; they're not smiling. I flip through the pages. Words start jumping out at me. Imperialism. Globalization. Empire. The Other. Superiority. Although I have heard these words before, I have not experienced them ordered and bound like this.

Three weeks into this program and I feel overwhelmed. I don't belong here. There is no one else like me here. I'm not smart enough to be here. This place isn't meant for me.

I begin reading. "The problem is that constant efforts by governments, states, societies, and institutions … have … denied our claim to humanity, to having a history, and to all sense of hope …To resist is to retrench in the margins, retrieve 'what we were and remake ourselves.'" (Smith 1999, 4).

I scan ahead: Resistance. Struggle. Healing. Transformation. I stare at the cover again. I know why they're not smiling; why we're not smiling. It's not easy being here. It hasn't been easy getting here. And it's likely, the challenges will continue. But at least we have each other.

February 20, 2015

RE: Creating

Dear Professor Smith,

I was raised by my mom on unceded Lekwungen Territory in Victoria, BC. I've spent most of my life on other peoples' homelands.

I've been in a PhD program in Indigenous Politics at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa for a year now. I am struggling in my class to identify a research methodology for my PhD project. After spending a fitful weekend writing a poem about fireweed, which I hoped could serve as a metaphor for the kind of resurgent work I want to do, I submitted it to my professor for feedback. I presented my poem as a collage. "The poem is great," my professor said, "but I think the metaphor is actually collage." I ran home from class that day and started researching collage as theory.

2005 年 9 月 19 日

回覆：連接

親愛的史密斯教授，

我正在加拿大不列顛哥倫比亞省維多利亞大學攻讀加拿大歷史碩士課程幾週。我是同齡人中唯一的原住民;該系沒有原住民教師。

我們被分配了你的書。封面上有兩個美麗的棕色女人;她們沒有微笑。我翻閱書頁。文字開始向我跳出。 帝國主義。 全球化。 帝國。 另一個。 優越。 雖然我以前聽過這些話，但從來沒有經歷過它們像這樣有序和捆紮。

參加這個計劃三週後，我感到不知所措。我不屬於這裡。這裡沒有其他人像我一樣。我不夠聰明，無法來到這裡。這個地方不適合我。

我開始閱讀。「問題在於，政府、國家、社會和機構的不斷努力.....有。。。 否認了我們對人類、擁有歷史和所有希望的主張.....抵抗就是縮減在邊緣，找回『我們曾經的樣子，重塑我們自己』。」

（史密斯 1999， 4）。

我掃視前方：抵抗。 鬪。 治療。 變質。 我再次盯著封面。我知道為什麼他們不微笑;為什麼我們不微笑。來到這裡並不容易。到達這裡並不容易。而且很可能，挑戰將繼續下去。但至少我們有彼此。

二月 20， 2015

回覆：創造

親愛的史密斯教授，

我由媽媽在不列顛哥倫比亞省維多利亞市未割讓的 Lekwungen 領地長大。我一生的大部分時間都在其他人的家園度過。

我在夏威夷大學馬諾阿分校攻讀原住民政治博士課程已經一年了。我在課堂上正在努力為我的博士項目確定一種研究方法。在花了一個愉快的周末寫了一首關於雜草的詩後，我希望這首詩可以作為我想做的那種復興工作的隱喻，我把它提交給我的教授徵求反饋。我把我的詩作為拼貼畫呈現。“這首詩很棒，”我的教授說，“但我認為這個隱喻實際上是拼貼畫。那天我下課跑回家，開始研究拼貼畫作為理論。

Guess what I found? Collage has been used as a qualitative research method in visual arts, education, psychology, and behavioral science. I built upon this work and started developing an Indigenous collage theory. Collage is a metaphor for many things: building alternative governance forms, (re)claiming and (re)occupying our homelands, working with(in) the complex composition of our communities, and returning to one's homelands after growing up away. Collage is also a means to creatively extend our understanding of Indigenous contemporary politics and research methodologies.

July 22, 2017

RE: Remembering

Dear Professor Smith,

Can I share a story with you? It is a story of overcoming disconnection by remembering.

Re-membering.

Since pregnancy, I knew I wanted to do an afterbirth ceremony for my baby; I just did not know what it was going to look like. One of my cousins knows a lot about Northern Tutchone cultural practices. I asked her what she knew of our afterbirth practices. She said we would hang the placenta in a tree at the birthplace. She added that it was understood that whatever animal ate the placenta would be connected to the baby. We might never know what animal ate the placenta, but we believe that the baby would know.

The day after my son's first birthday at Little Salmon Lake, which is part of our peoples' traditional territories, we head out in a boat to find our tree. We spot it on the bank Little Salmon River. We step out of the boat. Michael, my partner, is holding our baby, Luka. I am holding the placenta. It is double-wrapped in the plastic baggies it was put in at the hospital. My mom, sisters and cousin wait in the boat.

We walk up to the little spindly spruce tree that we spotted from the river. Up close, I can see the details of the lichen collecting on its twiggy branches. I open the plastic bag and use it and my hands to drape the placenta over a branch. Now outside of the bag and on the tree, I see the umbilical cord. It brings me right back to the moment of Luka's birth. Everything wells up inside of me and I sob.

I see the clear river water in front of me and I long with my entire body that this land will be like this for Luka's life. At the same time, I fear

猜猜我發現了什麼？拼貼已被用作視覺藝術、教育、心理學和行為科學中的定性研究方法。我在這項工作的基礎上開始發展原住民拼貼理論。拼貼畫是許多事物的隱喻：建立替代治理形式、（重新）聲稱和（重新）佔領我們的家園、與我們社區的複雜組成一起工作，以及在長大後返回家園。拼貼也是創造性地擴展我們對原住民當代政治和研究方法的理解的一種手段。

七月 22， 2017

回覆：記住

親愛的史密斯教授，

我可以和你分享一個故事嗎？這是一個透過記憶克服脫節的故事。

重新會員化。

自從懷孕以來，我就知道我想為我的寶寶做一個胎衣儀式;我只是不知道它會是什麼樣子。我的一位表弟對北圖喬尼的文化習俗了解很多。我問她對我們的胎衣習俗了解多少。她說我們會把胎盤掛在出生地的樹上。她補充說，據了解，無論什麼動物吃了胎盤，都會與嬰兒有關。我們可能永遠不知道什麼動物吃了胎盤，但我們相信嬰兒會知道。

我兒子在小鮭魚湖（這是我們民族傳統領地的一部分）過完一歲生日的第二天，我們乘船出去尋找我們的樹。我們在小鮭魚河岸邊發現了它。我們走出船。我的伴侶邁克爾抱著我們的孩子盧卡。我抱著胎盤。它被雙層包裹在醫院的塑膠袋中。我的媽媽、姐妹和表弟在船上等著。

我們走到從河裡發現的那棵細長的小雲杉樹前。近距離觀察，我可以看到地衣聚集在樹枝上的細節。我打開塑膠袋，用它和我的手將胎盤覆蓋在樹枝上。現在，在袋子外面和樹上，我看到了臍帶。這讓我回到了盧卡出生的那一刻。

一切都湧上心頭，我抽泣。
我看到眼前清澈的河水，我用全身心所願，這片土地對於盧卡來說，會是這樣的。同時，我害怕

that it will not be like this for him. For years, I longed for connection to our homelands. I had written about it. I had studied it. I had been schooled in the language and theories of the importance of it. But this was the first time that I actually felt it. I lean into Michael, who wraps his free arm around me. He holds me. We hold Luka.

The land holds us.

January 25, 2019

RE: Sharing

Dear Professor Smith,

I am a teacher now too. I introduced my students in Yukon University's Indigenous Governance degree program to your book. For their final projects, they are making zines on topics related to Indigenous research. Many of them are grappling with topics related to positionality, power, knowledge production, community-centered research and settler responsibility.

Most of the students in the class are Indigenous. I feel an overwhelming sense of pride and relief knowing that these students get to start their post-secondary journey in classrooms surrounded by people like them, with an instructor like them, and reading your work.

They'll continue their journey, and perhaps your book will be with them along the way.

Sincerely and with an immense amount of gratitude,

Lianne

III

Holding water and fire for survival

Jason De Santolo, PhD (Garrwa and Barunggam), Australia

Nanama narri karja murku, greetings all. My tribal affiliations are Garrwa and Barunggam. Our homelands are in the south west gulf, Northern Territory (NT) and south east Queensland of this continent, now known as Australia. I was born on Larrakia lands in Darwin NT, and even though I have moved many times over the last few decades, I have grown very close to my Garrwa and Yanyuwa Elders and family. My research, filmmaking and activism are interwoven with our homelands movement as activated through ceremony and the taking

我擔心他不會是這樣的。多年來，我渴望與我們的祖國建立聯繫。我寫過關於它的文章。我研究過它。我接受過關於它重要性的語言和理論的教育。但這是我第一次真正感受到它。我靠在邁克爾身上，他用空著的手臂摟住我。他抱著我。我們抱著盧卡。

土地支撐著我們。

一月 25， 2019

回覆：分享

親愛的史密斯教授，

我現在也是一名老師。我向育空大學原住民治理學位課程的學生介紹了您的書。對於他們的最終項目，他們正在製作與原住民研究相關的主題的雜誌。他們中的許多人正在努力解決與地位、權力、知識生產、以社區為中心的研究和定居者責任相關的主題。

班上的大多數學生都是原住民。知道這些學生可以在教室裡開始他們的高等教育之旅，周圍都是像他們這樣的人，有像他們這樣的老師，並閱讀你的作品，我感到一種壓倒性的自豪感和寬慰感。

他們將繼續他們的旅程，也許你的書會一路陪伴他們。

真誠並懷著極大的感激之情，

莉安

三

抱水持火求生

Jason De Santolo 博士（Garrwa 和 Barunggam），澳大利亞

Nanama narri karja murku，大家好。我的部落隸屬關係是 Garrwa 和 Barunggam。我們的家園位於這片大陸的西南海灣、北領地 （NT） 和昆士蘭州東南部，現在稱為澳大利亞。我出生在北領地達爾文的拉拉基亞土地上，儘管在過去的幾十年裡我搬過很多次家，但我與我的 Garrwa 和 Yanyuwa 長老和家人變得非常親密。我的研究、電影製作和行動主義與我們的家園運動交織在一起，通過儀式和奪取來激活

up of a shared role as a protector and educator (*Warburdar Bununu Water Shield* 2019). I have been living for some time with my family on Gadigal lands in Sydney city and we are proud to be working with Elders here and back in our homelands as we all strive for Indigenous self-determination – from the city, to the bush. Through filmmaking and activism, my decolonizing research practice has traversed into design education. It is the Elders who inspired this shift as part of a visionary cultural resurgence dedicated to creatively rebuilding our homelands through story, song, painting and design activism, among other things.

Right now, this continent is experiencing the burning impact of colonization and widespread social disharmony. We have always been at the forefront of this violent state regime, a regime that effectively sanctioned 425 Indigenous deaths[3] in custody since a Royal Commission in 1991 (Deaths Inside 2019) and the torturing of our youth in detention (Royal Commission into the Protection and Detention of Children in NT 2017).[4] It is this devastating trajectory of colonization that fuels expansion of mining and fracking in NT, placing waterways and the survival of Indigenous communities under immense threat once again. Resilience is strong as the anti-fracking campaign grows, and yet fracking in NT is about to begin this coming wet season. This is the lived experience for many of us here in Australia. With that in mind I offer a short reflection on water and fire as an interwoven revitalization project that harmonizes key life sustaining elements for shared self-determining futures.

Indigenous theories of transformation have significantly guided a shift in my understanding of what it is to be a protector and research educator.[5] In particular, by activating stories we are revitalizing ancient practices of renewal through an assertive self-determination framework that sources authority and legitimacy[6] outside of the Western legal paradigm.'[7] It is government action/inaction that has impeded our ability as Indigenous custodians to protect and revitalize despite a plethora of stories, reports, protests, actions, court battles and testimonies that challenge the status quo. If there is no scope for storying our own truth, then there is little hope for reimagining Indigenous self-determination beyond racist institutional rhetoric. By activating Indigenous story in design, architecture and landscape (and other practice-based professions) through decolonizing methodologies, we challenge and spark new ideas and new modalities as a creative transformational praxis.[8] Here Indigenous storywork activates our own lores/laws and practices of the land in a way that honours ancestral connections to the living world – to cosmological wisdom, to heart, mind, body and

電影製作和行動主義與我們的家園運動交織在一起，通過儀式和承擔保護者和教育者的共同角色來激活（Warburdar Bununu Water Shield 2019）。我和家人在悉尼市的 Gadigal 土地上生活了一段時間，我們很自豪能與這裡和回到我們家鄉的長老們一起工作，因為我們都在為原住民自決而奮鬥——從城市到叢林。通過電影製作和行動主義，我的非殖民化研究實踐已經滲透到設計教育中。正是長老們激發了這一轉變，作為富有遠見的文化復興的一部分，致力於通過故事、歌曲、繪畫和設計激進主義等創造性地重建我們的家園。

目前，這片大陸正在經歷殖民化和普遍的社會不和諧的燃燒影響。我們一直處於這個暴力國家政權的最前沿，自 425 年皇家委員會以來，該政權有效地批准了 1991 名原住民在拘留期間死亡（2019 年內部死亡）和對被拘留青少年的折磨（北領地保護和拘留兒童皇家委員會 2017 年）。正是這種毀滅性的殖民軌跡推動了北領地採礦和水力壓裂的擴張，使水道和原住民社區的生存再次面臨巨大威脅。隨著反水力壓裂運動的發展，韌性很強，但北領地的水力壓裂即將在即將到來的雨季開始。這是我們澳大利亞許多人的生活經歷。考慮到這一點，我對水和火作為一個相互交織的振興項目進行了簡短的反思，它協調了關鍵的生命維持要素，以實現共同的自決未來。

原住民的轉型理論極大地引導了我對保護者和研究教育者的理解的轉變。特別是，透過激活故事，我們正在透過堅定的自決框架來振興古老的更新實踐，該框架在西方法律範式之外提供權威和合法性。儘管有大量挑戰現狀的故事、報告、抗議、行動、法庭鬥爭和證詞，但政府的作為/不作為阻礙了我們作為原住民監護人保護和振興的能力。如果沒有講述我們自己的真相的空間，那麼除了種族主義制度言論之外，重新構想原住民自決的希望就很小。通過非殖民化方法激活設計、建築和景觀（以及其他基於實踐的職業）中的原住民故事，我們挑戰並激發新想法和新模式，作為一種創造性的變革實踐。在這裡，原住民故事作品激活了我們自己的土地傳說/法律和實踐，以尊重祖先與生物世界的聯繫——與宇宙智慧、心靈、思想、身體和

spirit.[9] At this moment across the continent, fires rage uncontrollably and contaminated waters dry up or poison our communities. In these chaotic emotional times, we must hold onto the sacred interrelational dimensions of these life-sustaining elements. In maintaining water and fire practices, we are shielding peoples and homelands from the ongoing impacts of colonization: as climate crisis, as extractive industrial complex. In this way, we can move as one – peoples, animals, lands and waters together, healing through our own ways as Victor Steffensen, a leading Indigenous fire knowledge practitioner, asserts: 'Fire should act like water and trickle across the land.'[10]

Decolonizing our research methodologies also involves moving beyond deficit paradigms by seeking out new language and reimaginaries from the Indigenous sensorium. We should no longer trap ourselves by making 'submissions' to defunct inquiries, commissions and treaty-making processes that are co-opted by distractive politics. Rather, by exploring emotional resonances in our decolonizing research work, we can begin understanding shared sensory moments as part of a bigger sense-making ecology, where renewal and reorientation weave together as a storied resurgence. This is about decolonizing our sensory experiences at the everyday grassroots level. As Gadrian Hoosan states, it is the poetic vision of our ancestors that illuminates shared pathways towards manifesting healthy self-determining futures for all our relations:

Our songlines show us all the way forward, they hold the key
to protecting Country.
Culture is stronger than contamination.
Songlines before Treaty.
Trees before Treaty.
Land before Treaty.
Water Before Treaty.
Country before Treaty.[11]

IV

Protecting community-held knowledge

By Sweeney Windchief

To locate my perspective, I am a Nakoda scholar at a predominately *wašíju* (means white male in the Nakoda language) institution

身體和精神。此時此刻，整個非洲大陸的火災肆虐，受污染的水乾涸或毒害我們的社區。在這個混亂的情感時代，我們必須抓住這些維持生命的元素的神聖相互關係維度。在維持水和火實踐時，我們正在保護人民和家園免受殖民化的持續影響：氣候危機、採掘工業綜合體。通過這種方式，我們可以作為一個整體——人民、動物、土地和水域一起行動，通過我們自己的方式治愈，正如領先的原住民消防知識實踐者維克多·史蒂芬森 （Victor Steffensen） 所斷言的那樣：“火應該像水一樣，涓涓細流穿過這片土地。

我們的研究方法去殖民化還涉及通過從原住民感官中尋找新的語言和重新想像來超越赤字範式。我們不應該再通過向被分散注意力的政治所利用的已失效的調查、委員會和條約制定過程“提交”來困住自己。相反，通過在我們的去殖民化研究工作中探索情感共鳴，我們可以開始將共同的感官時刻理解為更大的意義創造生態的一部分，其中更新和重新定位交織在一起，形成傳奇的復興。這是關於在日常基層對我們的感官體驗進行非殖民化。正如加德里安·胡桑所說，正是我們祖先的詩意願景照亮了我們所有關係實現健康的自我決定未來的共同道路：

我們的歌聲向我們展示了前進的道路，它們掌握著保護國家
的關鍵。

文化比污染更強大。

條約之前的歌行。

條約之前的樹木。

條約之前的土地。

條約前的水。

條約前的國家。

四

保護社群持有的知識

作者：理髮師風長

為了找到我的觀點，我是一名納科達學者，就讀於一個以 wašíju（納科達語中意為白人男性）機構為主的機構

(PWI) currently focusing on three interlaced areas, all of which have been prompted, informed and/or framed, by Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies; Research and Indigenous Peoples.* These areas of scholarship include (1) Indigenous mentorship in graduate STEM education, (2) Indigenous methodologies in educational research, and, more recently, (3) appropriate avenues for retrieving and regenerating Indigenous knowledge. In broad terms, Indigenous mentorship is the consideration and reframing of Indigenous STEM students' graduate school experiences in ways that are grounded in their own Indigenous identities. This is intentionally done for the purpose of providing some cultural sustenance as they navigate systems that are essentially non-Indigenous. In terms of the current academic discourse related to Indigenous methodologies, my colleagues and I are working towards centring Indigenous perspectives in research while being mindful of community accountability in research. Entwining Indigenous knowledge with academic knowledge can certainly be delicate and difficult, and, as a result, we are attempting to further the dialogue on 'what is appropriate to share in an academic context, and what knowledge should only be shared through community relationship contexts and not published'. Finally, I am interested in places and spaces that can be used to recover knowledge within Indigenous community-centred systems that align with Manulani Aluli Meyer's holographic epistemologies, or, as she communicates it, native common sense.[12]

After conversing with folks who speak their traditional Indigenous languages, I am convinced that the languages people use provide them a consciousness defined by that particular language. Furthermore, there are ideas that can only be communicated in the traditional Indigenous languages, and to translate them into English changes the original meaning and problematically aligns the idea with non-Indigenous values. This seminal text, and the multiple messages in it, provides scholars a new language, and, subsequently, a consciousness that liberates us from research practices and curriculums that reflect something other than the reality of the Indigenous communities. Tuhiwai Smith's scholarship creates spaces of knowledge production (research) and dissemination (teaching) that centres Indigenous world views. Re-examining Linda's original text prompted me to reflect on being a graduate student. In reviewing notes I'd made over ten years ago, I am now inspired to think about the book's utility in my future work, as well as that of other Indigenous learners and teachers who are

我是一名納科達學者，在一家以 wašíju（納科達語中意為白人男性）機構 （PWI） 工作，目前專注於三個交錯領域，所有這些領域都是由史密斯的非殖民化方法論推動、告知和/或構建的;研究和原住民。這些學術領域包括 （1） 研究生 STEM 教育中的原住民指導，（2） 教育研究中的原住民方法，以及最近的 （3） 檢索和再生原住民知識的適當途徑。從廣義上講，原住民指導是以基於原住民身份的方式考慮和重構原住民 STEM 學生的研究生院經歷。這樣做的目的是在他們駕馭本質上是非原住民的系統時提供一些文化寄託。就當前與原住民方法論相關的學術話語而言，我和我的同事正在努力將原住民觀點集中在研究中，同時注意研究中的社區責任。將原住民知識與學術知識交織在一起肯定是微妙而困難的，因此，我們正試圖進一步就“什麼適合在學術背景下分享，哪些知識只能通過社區關係背景分享而不是發表”進行對話。最後，我對可用於在以原住民社區為中心的系統中恢復知識的場所和空間感興趣，這些地方和空間符合 Manulani Aluli Meyer 的全息認識論，或者正如她所傳達的那樣，本土常識。

在與說傳統原住民語言的人們交談後，我確信人們使用的語言為他們提供了由該特定語言定義的意識。此外，有些想法只能用傳統的原住民語言來交流，將它們翻譯成英語會改變原意，並有問題地使該想法與非原住民價值觀保持一致。這本開創性的文本以及其中的多種信息為學者們提供了一種新的語言，並隨後提供了一種意識，將我們從反映原住民社區現實以外的研究實踐和課程中解放出來。Tuhiwai Smith 的學術研究創造了以原住民世界觀為中心的知識生產（研究）和傳播（教學）空間。重新審視琳達的原文促使我反思自己是一名研究生。在回顧我十多年前所做的筆記時，我現在受到啟發，思考這本書在我未來的工作中的效用，以及其他原住民學習者和教師的效用。

interested in Indigenous and decolonizing research and Indigenous pedagogies, particularly those who are working within larger non-Indigenous systems such as PWIs.

The typical barrage of literature available with a few mouse clicks on Google Scholar may lead learners to hurrying through important scholarship, leading them to neglect important writing that connects them to meaningful scholarship for the benefit of Indigenous community. This book contains multiple messages and my recommendation in getting the most use out of it is to slow down. I suggest that learners read a section and then take time to think deeply about it and apply it to their own community and academic interests. This work is certainly worth discussing with and within community in order to think together 'how can this be applied locally?' As we move through the different chapters, I urge us all to watch the door open to meaningful, community-connected research and pedagogy. I encourage readers to review the twenty-five indigenizing projects section and localize them in their own unique community contexts. I am confident that it will provide a new way of thinking that will reveal knowledge that belongs to distinct communities. This will provide insight on how to carry, share and protect community-held knowledge. The beauty of these projects and the way they are communicated in the book lie in their applicability to multiple communities and what makes them distinct. They are presented in a way that calls for reflecting on important traditional nuances and are envisioned as contemporary action.

Finally, we cannot overlook the protective aspects offered to our communities in the pages that follow. This book is very real in locating Indigenous scholars closely to the values and priorities of the PWIs that happen to employ some of us. This is an important reality that is articulated so that Indigenous scholars avoid becoming instruments of the system, incentivized by Western institutions to 'discover' Indigenous knowledges for the benefit of the institution. To be aware of the phenomenon as articulated in this book provides important reminders, which include (1) who will benefit from our work and (2) community accountability when the academy tries to incentivize Indigenous scholars otherwise. Moreover, this book gives communities tools that help hold non-Indigenous scholars, policymakers and administrators accountable in their own work, as often they are informing or making decisions that can adversely impact our communities.

以及其他對原住民和非殖民化研究以及原住民教學法感興趣的原住民學習者和教師，特別是那些在 PWI 等更大的非原住民系統中工作的人。

在 Google Scholar 上點擊幾下鼠標即可獲得的典型文獻可能會導致學習者匆忙完成重要的學術研究，導致他們忽略了將他們與有意義的學術聯繫起來以造福原住民社區的重要寫作。這本書包含多個信息，為了充分利用它，我的建議是放慢腳步。我建議學習者閱讀一個部分，然後花時間深入思考，並將其應用到他們自己的社區和學術興趣中。這項工作當然值得與社區和社區內部討論，以便共同思考"如何在當地應用？當我們瀏覽不同的章節時，我敦促我們所有人都看到有意義的、與社區相關的研究和教學法的大門敞開。我鼓勵讀者查看 25 個本土化項目部分，並在自己獨特的社區環境中對其進行本地化。我相信它將提供一種新的思維方式，揭示屬於不同社區的知識。這將提供有關如何攜帶、共享和保護社區持有的知識的見解。這些項目的美妙之處以及它們在書中的傳達方式在於它們對多個社區的適用性以及它們的獨特之處。它們的呈現方式需要反思重要的傳統細微差別，並被設想為當代行動。

最後，我們不能忽視以下幾頁為我們的社區提供的保護方面。這本書非常真實地將原住民學者定位在恰好僱用我們中的一些人的 PWI 的價值觀和優先事項上。這是一個重要的現實，旨在闡明原住民學者避免成為該系統的工具，受到西方機構的激勵，為了機構的利益而"發現"原住民知識。了解本書中闡述的現象提供了重要的提醒，其中包括 （1） 誰將從我們的工作中受益，以及 （2） 當學院試圖以其他方式激勵原住民學者時，社區承擔責任。此外，本書為社區提供了工具，幫助非原住民學者、政策制定者和管理人員在自己的工作中承擔責任，因為他們經常為可能對我們社區產生不利影響的信息或做出決策。

V

Indigenous research as homecoming

Jose Kervin Cesar B. Calabias, Philippines

My journey as an Indigenous scholar started with my master's thesis on the Igorot Kankanaey vegetable gardeners of the Benguet province located in the mountainous region of the Cordillera Central north of the Philippines. My family's history grew from these vegetable gardens, and its tenuous livelihood cultivated the future of my father, who left the village upon graduating from university to seek greener pastures in the city. I was then born away from the *ili*, or home village, and knew little of my father's culture and tradition. This, among many reasons, shaped my research as means to discover my estranged identity, making it as much an academic endeavour as it was a personal mission. However, the insecurity of having lived outside the community weighed heavy on me in the conduct of my research, and, in many instances, I had to negotiate my position as a researcher straddling the spaces of insider and outsider while still being considered an unwelcomed guest from whichever side I came from. This is where Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book helped me understand the complexity of the insider/outsider researcher in the field. Many young Indigenous scholars like me who came late in realizing and claiming their identity due to a myriad of economic, political and even geographic limitations were left to learn of themselves from institutions of formal education. We absorbed and learned indigeneity from the safety and comfort of the academe and believed ourselves ready for fieldwork because of an assumed superiority of having a university education. This disconnection and arrogance were also reflected in the many observations done by Tuhiwai Smith on Indigenous scholars who hid behind the formalities of research protocol, professionalism and neutrality only because they were afraid to confront themselves and their own limitations. This makes research, aptly expressed by her, as a humbling experience. When I began my fieldwork, my supposed expertise meant nothing when I was confronted by questions asked by my respondents. In one of my interviews with a vegetable gardener, I asked him to enumerate Indigenous terms related to their agricultural practices while I cross-reference them against terms found in a book on western agriculture. Upon seeing me leaf through the book, he stopped his narration and asked me, 'You already have a book that knows more than me, why would you still need me?' My arrogant gesture turned me into an

V

原住民研究作為返鄉

何塞．科文．塞薩爾．卡拉比亞斯，菲律賓

我作為原住民學者的旅程始於我的碩士論文，該論文是關於位於菲律賓北部科迪勒拉山脈中部山區的本格特省的伊戈羅特坎卡奈蔬菜園丁。我家族的歷史就是從這些菜園中發展起來的，其微薄的生計孕育了我父親的未來，他大學畢業後離開了村莊，到城市尋找更綠色的牧場。然後我出生在遠離家鄉的 ili 或家鄉，對我父親的文化和傳統知之甚少。除許多原因外，這使我的研究成為發現我疏遠身份的手段，使其成為一項學術努力，同時也是一項個人使命。然而，生活在社區之外的不安全感給我進行研究帶來了沉重的負擔，在許多情況下，我不得不協商我作為一名跨越內部和外部空間的研究人員的地位，同時仍然被視為不受歡迎的客人來自哪一方。這就是琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯 （Linda Tuhiwai Smith） 的書幫助我了解該領域內部/外部研究人員的複雜性。許多像我這樣的年輕原住民學者由於無數的經濟、政治甚至地理限制而遲遲沒有意識到和宣稱自己的身份，只能從正規教育機構中學習自己。我們從學術界的安全和舒適中吸收和學習了原住民，並相信自己已經準備好進行實地考察，因為接受大學教育的假設具有優越性。 這種脫節和傲慢也反映在圖希瓦伊．史密斯對原住民學者所做的許多觀察中，他們躲在研究協議、專業精神和中立的正式後面，只是因為他們害怕面對自己和自己的局限性。這使得她恰如其分地表達的研究成為一種謙卑的經歷。當我開始實地考察時，當我面對受訪者提出的問題時，我所謂的專業知識毫無意義。在我對一位菜園主的一次採訪中，我要求他列舉與其農業實踐相關的原住民術語，同時我將它們與一本關於西方農業的書中的術語進行交叉引用。看到我翻閱這本書後，他停止了敍述，問我：“你已經有一本比我知道更多的書，你為什麼還需要我？”我傲慢的舉動把我變成了一個

instrument of retraumatizing. I became a conduit of the oppressive history of research done on Indigenous peoples where we became mere subjects from which colonizers have tested their established knowledge and, in the process, dehumanized us. This book became instrumental in apprehending my dangerous proclivities. The insider/outsider position revealed tensions that yielded complex ways of othering between and among Indigenous researchers and respondents. It was at this juncture that I decided to write this research in the style of an autoethnography where my own Indigenous, personal and academic limitations were also up for interrogation, allowing me to weave through the complexities of my relationship with elders, government officials and local vegetable gardeners. This self-reflexivity helped me build trust, have conversations and write stories rather than merely secure consent, conduct interviews, and gather data. I began my project with a personal mission that I felt valorized my intentions, but the perceived importance of any project to an Indigenous researcher should not take precedence over what the community wants and what the community knows. Research should set its limits within the boundaries of respect lest we become agents of the 'dirtiest word'.

The success of my project and its continuation into my dissertation on Igorot women in diaspora are owed largely to these reflections that Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book helped me realize. Further, this book acknowledged the historical violence of research that shaped us as Indigenous scholars and helped us navigate these hard questions: How can research be freed from the fetters of Western academe and its disciplines and other elements of power impinging on Indigenous life? To what extent can we recover a past historically erased and reconfigured by the (post)colonial experience? How can we create a research agenda that connects to the struggle for self-determination among Indigenous peoples worldwide? But for young Indigenous scholars, this book reminds us of the work ahead and the responsibility to contend with the contemporary vestiges of colonial control that birthed us and pervade our communities. To second generation Igorots who grew up in the city, research is homecoming. To 'research back' is not just our critical response to Western methods of research but it is also a way to come back to our communities. The decolonization of our methodologies necessarily involves the decolonization of ourselves. It is my hope that this book can strengthen further our Indigenous communities and create research networks among Indigenous scholars worldwide who have taken up the responsibility and challenge to genuinely come home.

你為什麼還需要我？我傲慢的姿態把我變成了重新創傷的工具。我成為對原住民進行的壓迫性研究歷史的管道，在這些歷史中，我們成為殖民者測試他們既定知識的主題，並在此過程中使我們失去人性。這本書有助於理解我的危險傾向。局內人/局外人的立場揭示了緊張關係，導致了原住民研究人員和受訪者之間以及原住民研究人員和受訪者之間存在複雜的他者化方式。正是在這個關頭，我決定以自民族誌的風格撰寫這項研究，其中我自己的原住民、個人和學術限制也受到質疑，使我能夠穿越我與長輩、政府官員和當地菜園主之間複雜關係的關係。這種自我反省幫助我建立信任、進行對話和寫故事，而不僅僅是獲得同意、進行訪談和收集數據。我以個人使命開始了我的項目，我覺得這個使命很重視我的意圖，但任何項目對原住民研究人員的重要性都不應優先於社區想要什麼和社區知道什麼。研究應該在尊重的範圍內設定限制，以免我們成為“最骯髒的詞”的代理人。

我的項目的成功及其在我關於僑民伊戈羅特婦女的論文中的延續很大程度上歸功於琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯的書幫助我意識到的這些反思。此外，這本書承認了塑造我們作為原住民學者的研究的歷史暴力，並幫助我們解決了這些棘手的問題：如何才能將研究從西方學術及其學科的束縛中解放出來，以及影響原住民生活的其他權力因素？我們可以在多大程度上恢復被（後）殖民經驗抹去和重新配置的歷史？我們如何制定一個與全世界原住民爭取自決的鬥爭相關的研究議程？但對於年輕的原住民學者來說，這本書提醒我們未來的工作以及與孕育我們並滲透到我們社區的當代殖民控制痕跡作鬥爭的責任。對於在這座城市長大的第二代伊戈羅特人來說，研究就是回家。「研究回來」不僅是我們對西方研究方法的批判性回應，也是回到我們社區的一種方式。我們方法論的去殖民化必然涉及我們自己的去殖民化。我希望這本書能夠進一步加強我們的原住民社區，並在世界各地的原住民學者中建立研究網絡，他們承擔了真正回家的責任和挑戰。

VI

Decolonizing intimacies of Aloha ʻĀina

Iokepa Casumbal-Salazal, Hawai'i

We were grad students in political science at the University of Hawai'i at Manoah (UHM) when my partner, Melisa, and I began reading Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* together. Assigned the book in Dr Noenoe Silva's seminar on Indigenous politics, I'll never forget how Smith's unapologetic and incisive critique of Western knowledge production advanced our thinking. It was a time of intellectual growth and community building through activism, but it was also a time when we were falling in love with one another.

That evening, we read the book aloud to each other: taking turns, pausing to reflect, talking and reading and talking some more. We devoured the introduction and first chapters in record time. I remember wondering if Smith was the woman in the dark sunglasses on the cover of the first edition. 'She's so cool', I thought. Melisa laughed, knowing that's not how they do things in academia. I was twenty-three and naïve, but hungry for the book's transformative ideas. Over the next decade, I returned frequently to Smith and her critical Indigenous theory on research under conditions of imperialism and colonization. In these last twenty years of reading and teaching *Decolonizing Methodologies*, the text has become an old friend – one that was present when Melisa and I discovered new intimacies and community-based decolonial thought and praxis: a decolonial love that grounds our activist, academic and familial commitments to this day.

One thing I have loved about *Decolonizing Methodologies* are the tools it provides for deconstructing Western canons of thought and what Smith describes as research through 'imperial eyes'. Imperialist research, she explains, 'describes an approach which assumes that Western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas possible to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social life and of human beings'.[13] The stakes of decolonizing knowledge for Indigenous peoples are about liberation from structures of domination. For Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Indigenous people of Hawai'i), at stake are the very terms of our being, as free and self-determining humans whose indigeneity is grounded in our ancestral places as much as our movements and migrations. Smith offers methods to expose and unsettle the hierarchizing of knowledges that contain this self-determining capacity. Her interventions reveal ways Indigenous knowledges can open space for interrogating the categories of rational

你

Aloha 'Āina 的親密關係去殖民化

夏威夷 Iokepa Casumbal-Salazal

我們還是夏威夷大學馬諾阿分校 （UHM） 政治學研究生，當時我和我的搭檔梅麗莎開始一起閱讀琳達 · 圖希瓦伊 · 史密斯 （Linda Tuhiwai Smith） 的《去殖民化方法論》。在諾諾 · 席爾瓦 （Noenoe Silva） 博士關於原住民政治的研討會上分配了這本書，我永遠不會忘記史密斯對西方知識生產的毫無歉意和精闢的批評如何推動了我們的思維。那是一個通過激進主義進行智力成長和社區建設的時代，但也是我們彼此相愛的時代。

那天晚上，我們互相大聲朗讀這本書：輪流，停下來反思，聊著，讀著，再聊一會兒。我們在創紀錄的時間內讀完了引言和第一章。我記得我想知道史密斯是否就是第一版封面上那個戴著深色墨鏡的女人。「她太酷了」，我想。梅麗莎笑了，知道他們在學術界不是這樣做的。我當時二十三歲，天真無邪，但渴望這本書的變革性想法。在接下來的十年裡，我經常回到史密斯和她關於帝國主義和殖民條件下研究的批判性原住民理論。在過去二十年的閱讀和教授《去殖民化方法論》中，文本已成為一位老朋友——當梅麗莎和我發現新的親密關係和基於社區的非殖民主義思想和實踐時，它就存在：一種非殖民主義的愛，為我們的活動家、學術和家庭承諾奠定了基礎。

我喜歡去殖民化方法論的一件事是它為解構西方思想規範以及史密斯所描述的通過“帝國之眼”進行研究提供了工具。她解釋說，帝國主義研究“描述了一種方法，即假設西方關於最基本事物的觀念是唯一可能持有的觀念，當然是唯一理性觀念，也是唯一能夠理解世界、現實、社會生活和人類的觀念”。對原住民來說，去殖民化知識的利害關係是從統治結構中解放出來。對於夏威夷原住民 Kanaka， Ōiwi（夏威夷原住民）來說，我們作為自由和自我決定的人類的存在本身受到威脅，他們的原住民身份與我們的遷徙和遷徙一樣植根於我們的祖先之地。史密斯提供了揭露和動搖包含這種自決能力的知識等級化的方法。她的干預揭示了原住民知識如何為質疑理性類別開闢空間

thought and reality that restrict our imaginations and critical activities to mere responses to colonization. Instead of re-centring the colonial imaginary, *Decolonizing Methodologies* explores how Indigenous knowledges can provide liberatory future possibilities on our own terms.

As a doctoral candidate, I researched the politics of telescopes on Mauna a Wākea. My work continues to examine the subjectivities forged and foreclosed in the collective activism to stop telescope expansion on the mountain summit that is sacred to many Kānaka ʻŌiwi. Astronomers say that their proposed Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) would offer a window to the ends of the universe and explain the origins of all human kind, to produce universal knowledge for the sake of *all humanity*. These discourses, however, reproduce a modernity and a future vision of human subjecthood from which Kanaka ʻŌiwi are expelled. Calls for a moratorium on industrial development on the storied and beloved mountain summit are dismissed as anti-science and trivialized as an irrational attachment to a romanticized and irretrievable past. As Smith argues, 'The principle of "humanity" was one way in which the implicit or hidden rules (of colonial hierarchy) could be shaped. To consider Indigenous people as not fully human, or not human at all, enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies of either extermination or domestication … The struggle to assert and claim humanity has been a consistent thread of anti-colonial discourses on colonialism and oppression.'[14] To challenge colonial hierarchies is to imagine another conception of humanity and human relationality.

Whether engaged in non-violent direct political action, ceremony or litigation with the state, kiaʻi ʻāina (land defenders) are routinely dismissed as unreasonable, disingenuous and backwards because of it. Said to be inventing cultural traditions and conjuring notions of the sacred that have no historical basis simply to win shortsighted political gains, the legitimacy of Kānaka ʻŌiwi is constantly undermined within the contemporary social order. Upon scrutiny, however, the collective disavowal of settler colonial formations and the US occupation of Hawaiʻi suggests the disqualification of Kanaka ʻŌiwi is about reproducing hierarchies of human knowledge and human being as the ideological means by which to rationalize expropriation of land and resources to maintain capitalist hegemonies. Against the distorted image of conniving, angry or militant Natives, I argue the genealogical land-based relationality articulated by Indigenous peoples on *our own terms* reveals, not a petty stubbornness or irrational opposition to 'progress,' but a deep affinity to the lands in which our ancestors' bones are buried. These connections of people to place and ancestral knowledges constitute what we call aloha ʻāina, or 'love for the land'.

她的干預揭示了原住民知識如何為質疑理性思想和現實的類別開闢空間，這些類別將我們的想像力和批判活動限制在對殖民化的反應上。《去殖民化方法論》沒有重新集中殖民想像，而是探索了原住民知識如何以我們自己的方式提供解放的未來可能性。

作為一名博士候選人，我在莫納瓦基亞研究了望遠鏡的政治。我的工作繼續審視集體行動主義中形成和取消的主體性，以阻止望遠鏡在對許多卡納卡奧伊維人來說是神聖的山頂上的擴張。天文學家表示，他們提議的三十米望遠鏡 （TMT） 將提供一扇通往宇宙盡頭的窗口，解釋全人類的起源，為全人類產生普遍知識。然而，這些話語再現了現代性和人類主體的未來願景，而卡納卡 · 奧伊維則被驅逐出這種願景。呼籲暫停在這座傳奇且深受喜愛的山頂上進行工業發展的呼聲被駁回為反科學，並被輕視為對浪漫化和無法挽回的過去的非理性依戀。正如史密斯所說，「『人性』原則是塑造（殖民等級制度）隱含或隱性規則的一種方式。將原住民視為不完全的人類，或根本不是人類，使得保持距離並證明各種滅絕或馴化政策的合理性……主張和主張人性的鬥爭一直是關於殖民主義和壓迫的反殖民論述的一貫主線。挑戰殖民等級制度就是想像另一種關於人性和人類關係的概念。

無論是參與非暴力的直接政治行動、儀式還是與國家的訴訟，kia‘i ‘āina（土地捍衛者）通常因此被斥為不合理、不誠實和落後。據說，Kānaka‘ Ōiwi 只是為了贏得短視的政治利益而發明文化傳統並創造沒有歷史基礎的神聖概念，其合法性在當代社會秩序中不斷受到破壞。然而，經過仔細審查，集體否認定居者殖民形態和美國對夏威夷的佔領表明，取消 Kanaka‘ Ōiwi 的資格是關於複製人類知識和人類的等級制度，作為合理化徵用土地和資源以維持資本主義霸權的意識形態手段。與縱容、憤怒或好戰的原住民的扭曲形象相反，我認為原住民以我們自己的方式闡明的基於土地的家譜關係揭示了，不是對「進步」的微不足道的固執或非理性的反對，而是對埋葬我們祖先骨頭的土地的深厚親和力。這些人與地方和祖先知識的聯繫構成了我們所說的 aloha‘ āina，或「對土地的熱愛」。

A foundational concept in over a century of opposition to foreign American rule, aloha ʻāina signifies an enduring attachment to place as one in which land is understood to be a relative – not a commodity or a 'resource'. Working through Smith's foundational Indigenous critical theory, I understand aloha ʻāina as a decolonizing methodology.

Smith also encouraged Indigenous researchers like myself to think critically about collaborative research and composing an analysis of our findings without fear of taking a political stance. In research, she writes, 'What is more important than what alternatives indigenous peoples offer the world is what alternatives indigenous peoples offer each other'.[15] In my original research on Mauna a Wākea, my goal was not so much to collect knowledge from the kūpuna (elders), educators, activists or cultural practitioners in order to make the university a more *inclusive* space or a better so-called 'Hawaiian place of learning'.[16] Instead, my kumu and mentors, like Smith, encouraged me to do research for our people, as a way of remembering and perpetuating Indigenous relationality to place and to each other.

Smith reminded me of the care and patience it takes to interview kūpuna, kumu, activists and veterans of the Hawaiian movement. *Decolonizing Methodologies* helped me to find the courage to know what *would* and *would not* go into my book. Some stories were not mine to tell or too precious to be recorded. Sometimes ancestral knowledge is only for us, but not to transcribe or publish. In this case, objectivity meant less to me than the care with which I would centre Kanaka voices and protect ancestral knowledge from exploitation.

Smith explains, 'Decolonization must offer a language of possibility, a way out of colonialism.'[17] Aloha ʻāina is such a decolonial possibility because it centres love, land, life and relationality. *Decolonizing Methodologies* may appear to be an unlikely character in a love story, but for Melisa and I, it continues to give life and meaning to our aloha ʻāina and bonds with other kiaʻi ʻāina, twenty years and counting.

VII

Waiapu kōkā huhua! (Waiapu River of abundant mothers)

Veronica Makere Hupane Tawhai

Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Uepohatu, Aotearoa (New Zealand)

In many ways the Indigenous academic in Aotearoa lives a privileged life. We are afforded an economic security, if not social status; many of our

作為一個多世紀以來反對外國美國統治的基本概念，aloha‘ āina 意味著對地方的持久依戀，在這種地方中，土地被理解為一種相對的，而不是一種商品或“資源”。通過史密斯的基礎原住民批判理論，我將 aloha‘ āina 理解為一種非殖民化方法論。

史密斯還鼓勵像我這樣的原住民研究人員批判性地思考合作研究並對我們的發現進行分析，而不必擔心採取政治立場。在研究中，她寫道，“比原住民為世界提供什麼選擇更重要的是原住民為彼此提供什麼選擇”。在我對 Mauna a Wākea 的最初研究中，我的目標並不是從 kūpuna（長老）、教育工作者、活動家或文化從業者那裡收集知識，以使大學成為一個更具包容性的空間或更好的所謂“夏威夷學習場所”。相反，我的 kumu 和導師，如史密斯，鼓勵我為我們的人民做研究，以此來記住和延續原住民與地方和彼此之間的關係。

史密斯提醒我採訪夏威夷運動的 kūpuna、kumu、活動家和退伍軍人需要細心和耐心。去殖民化方法論幫助我找到勇氣，知道什麼會寫進我的書，什麼不會寫進我的書裡。有些故事不是我能講的，或者太珍貴而無法記錄下來。有時祖先的知識只適合我們，而不是轉錄或出版。在這種情況下，客觀性對我來說意義不如我以卡納卡人的聲音為中心並保護祖先知識免遭剝削的謹慎。

史密斯解釋說，“去殖民化必須提供一種可能性的語言，一種擺脫殖民主義的出路。Aloha‘ āina 是一種去殖民化的可能性，因為它以愛、土地、生活和關係為中心。去殖民化方法論在愛情故事中似乎不太可能出現，但對梅麗莎和我來說，它繼續賦予我們的阿羅哈和意義，並與其他 kia‘ i‘ āina 建立聯繫，二十年來還在繼續。

七

懷阿普科卡胡華！（豐富的母親的懷阿普河）

維羅妮卡．馬凱爾．胡帕內．塔瓦伊

Ngāti Porou， Ngāti Uepohatu， Aotearoa （紐西蘭）

在許多方面，奧特亞羅瓦的原住民學者過著特權的生活。即使不是社會地位，我們也享有經濟保障;我們的許多

people do not dream as they struggle with the day-to-day violences settler colonialism has scripted for us. By way of that security we escape multiple poverties, and rather possess the means by which to access that which sustains our well-being on deeper spiritual, mental and emotional levels – that is, connection to ancestral lands, peoples, culture and community life should and when we wish. True, while not unfettered access, largely determined in many matters by our communities and elders, the luxuries of resources and time equates to an ability to participate in ways personally and socially meaningful to us including through research. Yet, in other ways we are neither privileged nor safe. As Koka Linda (1999) explains, engagement with Western-knowledge institutions sees our conditioning, alignment and, at worst, contribution, to the contours of prescribed settler colonial existence.[18] The 'politics of distraction' dominate many of our endeavours,[19] while colonial framing ensures perpetuation of cultures of silence/reflections of oppressor society in our efforts and very perceptions of what constitutes resistance.'[20] Throughout my training as a policy analyst and early work as a politics educator, my activist efforts were preoccupied with constitutional structures, government rhetoric, the shallow hypes of election cycles, comparative deficit-based analyses and what felt a necessary but reactionary critique of the who, what, why and how of Māori 'crises' created by the media coverage of the day. Entering postgraduate study, I can only imagine my research efforts would have been the same.

Decolonizing methodologies freed me from this colonial trap. As a daughter of Ngāti Porou, lands nourished by the Waiapu River, my engagement with Koka Linda's work was as much a tribal imperative as it was part of the staple training of any young Māori researcher. We have an intellectual tradition drawn from ancient ancestral teachings but also the work of our more recent and current scholars, forming for young Naati our 'intellectual inheritance' as well as certain obligations towards its perpetuation and transmission.[21] This is methodology in and of itself, and while reading Koka Linda's work was therefore a matter of due course in the life of any aspiring Naati scholar, it deeply affected my understanding, thinking and feeling across a range of areas. This was most profoundly in her reminder as to our 'different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity'.

Tupu. Wairua. Mauri.

In Te Ata Kura (our community political educators' collective) we had learnt that students being critically introduced to the vocabulary and deeper historical understandings of settler colonialism, such as

如果不是社會地位;我們的許多人沒有夢想，因為他們正在與定居者殖民主義為我們編寫的日常暴力作鬥爭。通過這種安全，我們擺脫了多重困境，而是擁有了在更深層次的精神、心理和情感層面上維持我們福祉的手段——也就是說，與祖傳土地、人民、文化和社區生活的聯繫應該以及在我們願意的時候。誠然，雖然不是不受限制的訪問，在許多事情上很大程度上由我們的社區和長輩決定，但資源和時間的奢侈等同於以對我們個人和社會有意義的方式參與的能力，包括通過研究。然而，在其他方面，我們既沒有特權，也沒有安全。正如 Koka Linda （1999） 所解釋的那樣，與西方知識機構的接觸會看到我們對規定的定居者殖民生活輪廓的制約、一致性，以及最壞的情況，做出貢獻。「分散注意力的政治」主導了我們的許多努力，而殖民框架則確保了沉默文化的延續/壓迫者社會的反思，以及對抵抗的認知。在我作為政策分析師的培訓和作為政治教育家的早期工作中，我的激進主義努力全神貫注於憲法結構、政府言論、選舉週期的膚淺炒作、基於比較赤字的分析，以及對當時媒體報導造成的毛利人「危機」的誰、什麼、為什麼和如何進行必要但反動的批評。進入研究生學習，我只能想像我的研究工作也會是一樣的。

去殖民化方法論將我從這種殖民陷阱中解放出來。作為懷阿普河滋養的土地 Ngāti Porou 的女兒，我參與 Koka Linda 的工作既是部落的必要條件，也是任何年輕毛利研究人員主要培訓的一部分。我們擁有源自古老祖先教義的知識傳統，也借鑒了我們最近和現在的學者的工作，為年輕的納蒂形成了我們的“知識遺產”，以及對其延續和傳播的某些義務。這本身就是方法論，因此，閱讀科卡琳達的作品是任何有抱負的納蒂學者生活中應有的理所當然的事情，但它深深影響了我在各個領域的理解、思考和感受。這最深刻的是她提醒我們「對時間、空間和主體性等事物的不同概念化」。

圖普。懷魯阿。毛里。

在 Te Ata Kura（我們的社區政治教育者集體）中，我們了解到，批判性地向學生介紹了定居者殖民主義的詞彙和更深入的歷史理解，例如

intergenerational trauma, heteropatriarchal and heteronormative violence, white privilege and embedded institutional racism, will often be overwhelmed with anger, hostility, pain and despair. I felt a deep angst regarding our educator responsibilities to ensure that learners' experiences transcended the traumatic to be transformative. This required a complete reassessment of my praxis, curricula and pedagogy in a field that one assumed my politics training meant I was well equipped for, but which – captured by an urgency to impart to students the knowledge blocks required for understanding power in the Pākehā/white political world – neglected the mental, emotional, spiritual qualities and dynamics unique to Indigeneity teaching and learning moments as I now understood them across time and space, as connected to our ancestors and future generations.

Tapu. Mana. Kawa.
Being reminded of our own conceptualizations meant bravery in accepting our Te Ata Kura mentors' suggestion that, rather than pester them solely for answers to my teaching and learning questions, I connect with a wider group of their Indigenous activist educator peers from home and abroad for their insights and guidance. It meant humility in my awareness as to my positionality in this task – that is, as a junior, less experienced educator from a particular Indigenous nation with my own biases attempting to engage expert Indigeneity educators who, in addition to their own prestige, themselves embody the sacred histories, struggles and aspirations of their people. It meant safety, in that I was guided to draw upon the ancestral teachings of our elders, including my father, to form the ethical guidelines for knowledge acquisition upon which such cross-generational, cross-nation, cross-cultural research might be appropriately conducted. It meant being saved (from colonial research-foci death) in that, whilst investigating what they considered the immediate 'who, what, how and why' of essential Indigeneity education, I was able to deeply honour these tohunga from a Kaupapa Māori (Indigenous, decolonizing, critical) methodologies lens – their resistance, resilience, tenacity and creativity through the turbulence of our current teaching, learning and living contexts, and ultimately their contributions to Indigenous legacies of leadership in the struggle for and upholding of our rights and freedoms. This was the longer, time-space-subjectivity vision: Why did these educators commit to such difficult work? What were their visions in terms of what could be achieved? What insights, guidance, cautions, wisdom might they wish to offer as instructions for us, the next generation of indigeneity educators, trying

例如代際創傷、異性父權制和異性戀規範暴力、白人特權和根深蒂固的制度性種族主義，往往會被憤怒、敵意、痛苦和絕望所淹沒。我對我們的教育工作者責任感到深深的焦慮，即確保學習者的經歷超越創傷而具有變革性。這需要對我的實踐、課程和教學法進行徹底的重新評估，人們認為我的政治培訓意味著我有能力勝任，但由於迫切需要向學生傳授理解 Pākehā/白人政治世界中權力所需的知識塊，而忽略了原住民教學和學習時刻特有的心理、情感、精神品質和動力，因為我現在跨越時空理解它們，與我們的祖先和子孫後代有關。

塔普。法力。卡瓦。

提醒我們自己的概念意味著勇敢地接受我們的 Te Ata Kura 導師的建議，我不會僅僅糾纏他們來回答我的教學和學習問題，而是與來自國內外的更廣泛的原住民活動家教育家同行聯繫，尋求他們的見解和指導。這意味著我對自己在這項任務中的地位保持謙遜——也就是說，作為一名來自特定原住民國家的初級、經驗不足的教育工作者，我有自己的偏見，試圖讓原住民教育專家參與進來，他們除了自己的聲望之外，他們自己還體現了他們人民的神聖歷史、鬥爭和願望。這意味著安全，因為我被引導借鑒包括我父親在內的長輩的祖先教義，形成知識獲取的道德準則，在此基礎上可以適當地進行這種跨代、跨國家、跨文化的研究。這意味著被拯救（免於殖民研究焦點的死亡），因為在調查他們認為基本原住民教育的直接“誰、什麼、如何和為什麼”的同時，我能夠從 Kaupapa Māori（原住民、非殖民化、批判性）方法論的視角深深地尊重這些 tohunga——他們在我們當前教學、學習和生活環境的動盪中表現出的抵抗力、韌性、堅韌和創造力，並最終為原住民在爭取和維護我們的權利和自由的鬥爭中領導遺產做出的貢獻。這是更長的時空主體性願景：為什麼這些教育工作者致力於如此艱鉅的工作？他們對可以實現的目標有何願景？ 他們可能希望為我們下一代原住民教育者提供哪些見解、指導、警告和智慧作為指導，嘗試

to navigate our way? Fierce hope, love, beauty and encouragement layer these findings, all which I may have missed without Koka Linda's reminder to guide me.[22]

Waiapu kōkā huhua
After two decades, Koka Linda's work continues to provide sustenance across the globe to Indigenous peoples wishing to employ research as a powerful tool for transformative praxis. She is our (research methodologies) mother, and I invite you into the abundance that is to be drawn from her work. May it nourish you in your journey, guide your thoughts, soothe your heartache and concerns, and welcome you into the worldwide community of Indigenous researchers connecting powerfully with ourselves to bring justice and healing to our ancestors, our now and our future.

Biographical notes

Jose Kervin Cesar B. Calabias earned his undergraduate and graduate degrees in language and literature at the University of the Philippines in Baguio. His research areas include Indigenous and cultural studies, specializing in the writing of (auto)ethnographies of Indigenous peoples of the Cordillera. He is an active member of the Baguio Writers Group, and his poems have been included in various publications, including the *Ani: Literary Yearbook* of the Cultural Center of the Philippines. He is currently a faculty member of the Literature Department of the De La Salle University in Manila, where he teaches literature and arts.

Iokepa Casumbal-Salazar is a Kanaka Maoli scholar of Indigenous politics, critical theory, settler colonialism, postcolonial theory, feminist theory, race, gender, culture and power. He is currently an assistant professor of Native American and Indigenous Studies in the Center for the Study of Culture, Race, and Ethnicity and the Department of Anthropology at Ithaca College, New York. His forthcoming book is entitled *First Light: Settler Colonial Science and Indigenous Resistance at Mauna a Wākea*.[23]

Lianne Marie Leda Charlie is a descendant of the Tagé Cho Hudän (Big River People), Northern Tutchone-speaking people of the Yukon in Northern Canada. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa. Her research focuses on modern treaty politics in the Yukon. Lianne is also an artist and uses arts-based pedagogical approaches to her research, teaching and community art-making. She is also mama to her little salmon boy, Luka.

試圖引導我們的道路？強烈的希望、愛、美麗和鼓勵疊加了這些發現，如果沒有科卡琳達的提醒，我可能會錯過所有這些。

二十年後，科卡琳達的工作繼續為全球希望將研究作為變革實踐的強大工具的原住民提供生計。她是我們的（研究方法）母親，我邀請您從她的工作中汲取豐富的資源。願它在你的旅程中滋養你，引導你的思想，撫平你的心痛和擔憂，並歡迎你加入全球原住民研究人員社區，與我們自己建立強大的聯繫，為我們的祖先、我們的現在和未來帶來正義和治愈。

傳記筆記

何塞．科爾文．塞薩爾．卡拉比亞斯 （Jose Kervin Cesar B. Calabias）在碧瑤的菲律賓大學獲得語言和文學學士學位和研究生學位。他的研究領域包括原住民和文化研究，專門撰寫科迪勒拉原住民的（自）民族誌。他是碧瑤作家團體的活躍成員，他的詩歌被收錄在各種出版物中，包括菲律賓文化中心的《阿尼：文學年鑑》。他目前是馬尼拉德拉薩爾大學文學系的教職員工，教授文學和藝術。

Iokepa Casumbal-Salazar 是卡納卡毛利語的學者，研究原住民政治、批判理論、定居者殖民主義、後殖民理論、女權主義理論、種族、性別、文化和權力。他目前是紐約伊薩卡學院文化、種族和民族研究中心和人類學系的美洲原住民和原住民研究助理教授。他即將出版的書名為《第一道曙光：莫納瓦基亞的定居者殖民科學和原住民抵抗》。

Lianne Marie Leda Charlie 是加拿大北部育空地區講北圖喬尼語的 Tagé Cho Hudän（大河人）的後裔。她擁有夏威夷大學馬諾阿分校的政治學博士學位。她的研究重點是育空地區的現代條約政治。Lianne 也是一位藝術家，在她的研究、教學和社區藝術創作中使用基於藝術的教學方法。她也是她的鮭魚小男孩盧卡的媽媽。

Dr Jason De Santolo (Garrwa and Barunggam) is a researcher and creative producer in the School of Design, University of Technology Sydney, Australia. He holds a law degree from University of Auckland, New Zealand, and PhD in Indigenous Studies from UTS. He has worked with his own communities as an activist and advocate using film and performance, protest and education to bring attention to injustices and design solutions using Indigenous knowledge. He is the co-editor of *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology*.[24]

Jessica Martínez-Cruz is a mestizo activist-researcher from Nicaragua. She received her BA in sociology from *Universidad Centroamericana* UCA, an MA on gender and development from the University of Sussex, and studies of sexuality in the University of Amsterdam. Currently, she is a graduate student in the Philosophy PhD program at Michigan State University. She is a member of the feminist collective *Aula Propia*. She is also adjunct professor of the Interdisciplinary Institute of Social Sciences at UCA. She co-organized the Radical Methodologies encounter on decolonizing practices in Central America and the Caribbean. She is particularly interested in the historical process of desindianization from the middle of nineteenth to the middle of twentieth centuries in Nicaragua, Indigenous philosophies, feminist epistemologies of black women and women of colour, and the politics of memory and violence.

Veronica Tawhai is a mother of three from Ngati Porou, Ngati Uepohatu, living on the lands of Rangitane in the Manawatu. She currently works as a senior lecturer in Māori policy and politics at Te Pūtahi a Toi (School of Māori Knowledges) at Massey University, as a Tiriti o Waitangi educator nationally, and as a volunteer academic mentor in her home community of Highbury. She is a founding member of Te Ata Kura (Society for Conscientisation), a life member of Te Mana Akonga (the National Māori Tertiary Students' Association) and a current member of the NZ UNDRIP Monitoring Mechanism (an independent national body to monitor the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand, administered by the Human Right Commission of New Zealand). Between 2012 and 2017, she coordinated the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi Youth for Constitutional Transformation project. She has co-edited the two texts *Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change*[25] and *Always Speaking: The Treaty of Waitangi and Public Policy*.[26] She has recently helped establish and is the inaugural director of TEIA, the Transformative Education Institute

Jason De Santolo 博士（Garrwa 和 Barunggam）是澳大利亞悉尼科技大學設計學院的研究員和創意製作人。他擁有新西蘭奧克蘭大學的法學學位和悉尼科技大學的原住民研究博士學位。他作為活動家和倡導者與自己的社區合作，利用電影和表演、抗議和教育來引起人們對不公正現象的關注，並利用原住民知識設計解決方案。他是《去殖民化研究：土著故事工作作為方法論》的聯合編輯。

傑西卡．馬丁內斯-克魯茲 （Jessica Martínez-Cruz） 是來自尼加拉瓜的混血活動家兼研究員。她在中美洲大學 UCA 獲得社會學學士學位，在薩塞克斯大學獲得性別與發展碩士學位，並在阿姆斯特丹大學獲得性研究。目前，她是密西根州立大學哲學博士課程的研究生。她是女權主義團體 Aula Propia 的成員。她也是 UCA 跨學科社會科學研究所的兼職教授。她共同組織了關於中美洲和加勒比地區非殖民化實踐的激進方法論會議。她對尼加拉瓜十九世紀中葉至二十世紀中葉去印度化的歷史過程、原住民哲學、黑人女性和有色人種女性的女權主義認識論以及記憶和暴力的政治特別感興趣。

維羅妮卡．塔瓦伊 （Veronica Tawhai） 是來自 Ngati Uepohatu 的 Ngati Porou 的三個孩子的母親，住在 Manawatu 的 Rangitane 土地上。她目前在梅西大學 Te Pūtahi a Toi（毛利知識學院）擔任毛利政策和政治高級講師，在全國範圍內擔任 Tiriti o Waitangi 教育家，並在她的家鄉海布里社區擔任志願者學術導師。她是 Te Ata Kura（良心協會）的創始成員、Te Mana Akoga（全國毛利大專學生協會）的終身會員，也是新西蘭 UNDRIP 監測機制（一個獨立的國家機構，負責監督新西蘭新西蘭原住民權利宣言的實施情況）的現任成員， 由新西蘭人權委員會管理）。2012 年至 2017 年間，她協調了 Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi 青年憲法轉型項目。她與人合編了兩本文本《哭泣的水：懷唐伊條約》和《憲法變革》和《永遠說話：懷唐伊條約和公共政策》。她最近幫助建立了變革性教育學院 TEIA，並擔任其首任主任

Aotearoa, a charitable trust that seeks to advance Kaupapa Māori (Indigenous, decolonizing, critical) citizenship education.

Goya Wilson Vasquez is an interdisciplinary activist-researcher from Nicaragua and Peru with a background in sociology, development studies and education. A research associate at the University of Bristol, she works on memory struggles and creative/radical methodologies in Latin America. Her doctoral research was a narrative inquiry that explored the politics and poetics of testimonial writing in post-war Peru with young adults, which she is transforming into a Digital Archive and Interactive Platform. She co-organized the Radical Methodologies encounter on decolonizing practices in Central America and the Caribbean, and continues to co-organize the biannual Creativity for Peace Festival: Creative Methodologies for Unearthing Hidden War Stories with Latin American activists.

Sweeney Windchief, Fort Peck Assiniboine, earned his undergraduate degree at the University of Central Oklahoma, a Masters of Art in Counsellor Education, and a Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership and Policy from the University Utah. His research areas include Indigenous intellectualism in higher education, Indigenous mentoring in the STEM fields, and the intersections of academic and indigenous knowledge. He is currently an associate professor in the Department of Education at Montana State University teaching indigenous methodologies in education, critical race theory, higher education law and policy, and institutional research. He is the author of *Applying Indigenous Research Methods: Storying with Peoples and Communities*.[27]

Notes

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Transformative Education Institute Aotearoa，一個慈善信託基金，旨在推進 Kaupapa Māori（原住民、非殖民化、批判性）公民教育。

戈雅·威爾遜·瓦斯奎茲 （Goya Wilson Vasquez） 是一位來自尼加拉瓜和秘魯的跨學科活動家兼研究員，擁有社會學、發展研究和教育背景。她是布里斯托大學的助理研究員，致力於拉丁美洲的記憶鬥爭和創造性/激進方法論。她的博士研究是一項敍事探究，探索戰後秘魯年輕人推薦寫作的政治和詩學，她正在將其轉變為數字檔案和互動平台。她共同組織了關於中美洲和加勒比地區非殖民化實踐的激進方法論會議，並繼續與拉丁美洲活動家共同組織一年兩次的和平創意節：挖掘隱藏戰爭故事的創意方法論。

斯威尼·溫德奇 （Sweeney Windchief） 來自佩克堡阿西尼博因 （Fort Peck Assiniboine），在中俄克拉荷馬大學獲得本科學位、輔導員教育文學碩士學位以及猶他大學教育領導與政策教育博士學位。他的研究領域包括高等教育中的原住民知識主義、STEM 領域的原住民指導以及學術和原住民知識的交叉點。他目前是蒙大拿州立大學教育系的副教授，教授原住民教育方法、批判性種族理論、高等教育法律和政策以及機構研究。他是《應用原住民研究方法：與人民和社區的故事》一書的作者。

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16 為了實現這一目標，夏威夷大學馬諾阿分校宣布的使命之一。

17 史密斯，《去殖民化方法論》，第 204 頁。

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三十六

INTRODUCTION

From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many Indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. It is so powerful that Indigenous people even write poetry about research. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity. Just knowing that someone measured our 'faculties' by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds and compared the amount of millet seed to the capacity for mental thought offends our sense of who and what we are.[1] It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of Indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments.

This collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about Indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized. Edward Said refers to this process as a Western discourse about the Other which is supported by 'institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles'.[2] According to Said, this process has worked partly

介绍

從被殖民者的角度來看，我寫作並選擇享有特權，「研究」一詞與歐洲帝國主義和殖民主義有著千絲萬縷的聯繫。「研究」這個詞本身可能是原住民世界詞彙中最骯髒的詞之一。當在許多原住民環境中提到時，它會激起沉默，它會喚起不好的回憶，它會讓人微笑著知道和不信任。它是如此強大，以至於原住民甚至寫了關於研究的詩。科學研究與殖民主義最嚴重的過度行為有關的方式對於世界上許多被殖民民族來說仍然是一段令人銘記的歷史。這段歷史仍然冒犯了我們最深層的人性意識。僅僅知道有人通過用小米種子填充我們祖先的頭骨來衡量我們的“能力”，並將小米種子的數量與心理思考能力進行比較，就會冒犯我們對我們是誰和我們是什麼的感覺。這讓我們感到震驚的是，西方研究人員和知識分子可以假設他們根據與我們中的一些人的短暫接觸，就知道我們所能知道的一切。令我們震驚的是，西方可以渴望、提取和聲稱擁有我們的認知方式、我們的意象、我們創造和生產的事物，然後同時拒絕創造和發展這些想法的人，並試圖剝奪他們進一步成為自己文化和國家創造者的機會。 當我們與上個世紀和之前幾個世紀相關的做法仍然被用來否認原住民對存在、土地和領土、自決權、我們的語言和文化知識形式的生存、我們的自然資源和生活在我們環境中的系統的有效性時，這讓我們感到憤怒。

這種對帝國主義的集體記憶通過收集、分類和以各種方式呈現有關土著人民的知識的方式得以延續，然後通過西方的眼睛回到那些被殖民的人。愛德華·賽義德（Edward Said）將這一過程稱為西方關於他者的話語，它得到了「制度、詞彙、學術、意象、學說，甚至殖民官僚機構和殖民風格」的支持。根據賽義德的說法，這個過程已經部分奏效了

because of the constant interchange between the scholarly and the imaginative construction of ideas about the Orient. The scholarly construction, he argues, is supported by a corporate institution which 'makes statements about it [the Orient], authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching about it, settling it, ruling over it'.[3] In these acts both the formal scholarly pursuits of knowledge and the informal, imaginative, anecdotal constructions of the Other are intertwined with each other and with the activity of research. This book identifies research as a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of resisting of the Other. In this example, the Other has been constituted with a name, a face, a particular identity, namely *Indigenous peoples*. While it is more typical (with the exception of feminist research) to write about research within the framing of a specific scientific or disciplinary approach, it is surely difficult to discuss *research methodology* and *Indigenous peoples* together, in the same breath, without having an analysis of imperialism, without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices.

Many researchers, academics and project workers may see the benefits of their particular research projects as serving a greater good 'for mankind', or serving a specific emancipatory goal for an oppressed community. But belief in the ideal that benefiting mankind is indeed a primary outcome of scientific research is as much a reflection of ideology as it is of academic training. It becomes so taken for granted that many researchers simply assume that they as individuals embody this ideal and are natural representatives of it when they work with other communities. Indigenous peoples across the world have other stories to tell which not only question the assumed nature of those ideals and the practices that they generate, but also serve to tell an alternative story: the history of Western research through the eyes of the colonized. These counter-stories are powerful forms of resistance which are repeated and shared across diverse Indigenous communities. And, of course, most Indigenous peoples and their communities do not differentiate scientific or 'proper' research from the forms of amateur collecting, journalistic approaches, film making or other ways of 'taking' Indigenous knowledge that have occurred so casually over the centuries. The effect of travellers' tales, as pointed out by French philosopher Foucault, has contributed as much to the West's knowledge of itself as has the systematic gathering of scientific data. From some Indigenous perspectives the gathering of information by scientists was

這個過程之所以有效，部分原因是學術界和富有想像力的東方觀念之間不斷交流。他認為，學術建構得到了一個公司機構的支持，該機構「對它（東方）發表聲明，授權對它的看法，描述它，透過教導它，解決它，統治它」。在這些行為中，對知識的正式學術追求和他者的非正式、富有想像力的軼事結構相互交織在一起，並與研究活動交織在一起。本書將研究確定為西方的利益和認識方式與他者的利益和抵抗方式之間鬥爭的重要場所。在這個例子中，他者是由一個名字、一張臉、一個特定的身份組成的，即原住民。雖然在特定科學或學科方法的框架內撰寫研究更為典型（女權主義研究除外），但如果不對帝國主義進行分析，不了解對知識的追求深深植根於帝國和殖民實踐的多層次的複雜方式，肯定很難同時討論研究方法和原住民。

許多研究人員、學者和項目工作者可能認為他們的特定研究項目的好處是為“人類”服務於更大的利益，或者為受壓迫社區服務於特定的解放目標。但是，相信造福人類確實是科學研究的主要成果的理想，既是意識形態的反映，也是學術訓練的反映。它變得如此理所當然，以至於許多研究人員只是簡單地假設他們作為個人體現了這一理想，並且在與其他社區合作時是它的自然代表。世界各地的原住民還有其他故事要講，這些故事不僅質疑這些理想的假定性質及其產生的實踐，而且還講述了一個另類故事：透過被殖民者的視角講述西方研究的歷史。這些反故事是強大的抵抗形式，在不同的原住民社區中重複和分享。當然，大多數原住民及其社區並沒有將科學或「適當」研究與業餘收集、新聞方法、電影製作或其他「獲取」原住民知識的形式區分開來，這些形式是幾個世紀以來如此隨意發生的。正如法國哲學家傅柯所指出的，旅行者故事的影響對西方對自己的認識的貢獻與科學數據的系統收集一樣多。從一些原住民的角度來看，科學家收集信息是

as random, *ad hoc* and damaging as that undertaken by amateurs. There was no difference, from these perspectives, between 'real' or scientific research and any other visits by inquisitive and acquisitive strangers.

This book acknowledges the significance of Indigenous perspectives on research and attempts to account for how, and why, such perspectives may have developed. It is written by someone who grew up within Indigenous communities where stories about research and particularly about researchers (the human carriers of research) were intertwined with stories about all other forms of colonization and injustice. These were cautionary tales where the surface story was not as important as the underlying examples of cultural protocols broken, values negated, small tests failed and key people ignored. The greater danger, however, was in the creeping policies that intruded into every aspect of our lives, legitimated by research, informed more often by ideology. The power of research was not in the visits made by researchers to our communities, nor in their fieldwork and the rude questions they often asked. In fact, many individual non-Indigenous researchers remain highly respected and well-liked by the communities with whom they have lived. At a common sense level research was talked about both in terms of its absolute worthlessness to us, the Indigenous world, and its absolute usefulness to those who wielded it as an instrument. It told us things already known, suggested things that would not work, and made careers for people who already had jobs. 'We are the most researched people in the world' is a comment I have heard frequently from several different Indigenous communities. The truth of such a comment is unimportant, what does need to be taken seriously is the sense of weight and unspoken cynicism about research that the message conveys.

This cynicism ought to have been strong enough to deter any self-respecting Indigenous person from being associated with research. Obviously, in this case, it has not, which leads to my other motivation for writing about Indigenous peoples and research. This is a book which attempts to do something more than deconstructing Western scholarship simply by our own retelling, or by sharing Indigenous horror stories about research. In a decolonizing framework, deconstruction is part of a much larger intent. Taking apart the story, revealing underlying texts, and giving voice to things that are often known intuitively does not help people to improve their current conditions. It provides words, perhaps, an insight that explains certain experiences – but it does not prevent someone from dying. It is with that sense of reality that the second part of the book has been written. Whilst Indigenous communities have quite valid fears about the further loss of intellectual and cultural knowledges,

從一些原住民的角度來看，科學家收集信息就像業餘愛好者收集的信息一樣隨機、臨時和具有破壞性。從這些角度來看，“真實”或科學研究與好奇和好博的陌生人的任何其他訪問之間沒有區別。

本書承認原住民觀點對研究的重要性，並試圖解釋這種觀點是如何以及為什麼發展起來的。它是由在原住民社區長大的人寫的，在那裡，關於研究的故事，特別是關於研究人員（研究的人類載體）的故事與所有其他形式的殖民和不公正的故事交織在一起。這些都是警示故事，表面的故事並不像文化協議被破壞、價值觀被否定、小測試失敗和關鍵人物被忽視的潛在例子那麼重要。然而，更大的危險在於侵入我們生活方方面面的悄悄政策，這些政策通過研究合法化，更多時候由意識形態提供信息。研究的力量不在於研究人員對我們社區的訪問，也不在於他們的實地考察和他們經常提出的粗魯問題。事實上，許多非原住民研究人員仍然受到與他們一起生活的社區的高度尊重和喜愛。在常識層面上，人們談論研究對我們原住民世界絕對毫無價值，以及它對那些將其作為工具的人絕對有用。它告訴我們已知的事情，建議行不通的事情，並為已經有工作的人創造職業。“我們是世界上研究最多的人”是我經常從幾個不同的原住民社區聽到的評論。這種評論的真實性並不重要，需要認真對待的是該信息所傳達的對研究的重量感和不言而喻的憤世嫉俗。

這種憤世嫉俗應該足夠強烈，足以阻止任何有自尊心的原住民參與研究。顯然，在這種情況下，它沒有，這導致了我撰寫有關原住民和研究的另一個動機。這本書試圖做的不僅僅是通過我們自己的複述或分享有關研究的土著恐怖故事來解構西方學術。在非殖民化框架中，解構是一個更大意圖的一部分。拆解故事，揭示潛在的文本，並為通常直觀地知道的事物發聲，並不能幫助人們改善他們目前的狀況。它也許提供了一種解釋某些經歷的洞察力——但它並不能阻止某人的死亡。正是帶著這種現實感，本書的第二部分才被寫成。雖然原住民社區對智力和文化知識的進一步喪失有相當合理的擔憂，

and have worked to gain international attention and protection through covenants on such matters, many Indigenous communities continue to live within political and social conditions that perpetuate extreme levels of poverty, chronic ill health and poor educational opportunities.[4] Their children may be removed forcibly from their care, 'adopted' or institutionalized. The adults may be as addicted to alcohol as their children are to glue, they may live in destructive relationships which are formed and shaped by their impoverished material conditions and structured by politically oppressive regimes. While they live like this they are constantly fed messages about their worthlessness, laziness, dependence and lack of 'higher' order human qualities. This applies as much to Indigenous communities in First World nations as it does to Indigenous communities in developing countries. Within these sorts of social realities, questions of imperialism and the effects of colonization may seem to be merely academic; sheer physical survival is far more pressing. The problem is that constant efforts by governments, states, societies and institutions to deny the historical formations of such conditions have simultaneously denied our claims to humanity, to having a history, and to all sense of hope. To acquiesce is to lose ourselves entirely and implicitly agree with all that has been said about us. To resist is to retrench in the margins, retrieve 'what we were and remake ourselves'. The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope.

It is from within these spaces that increasing numbers of Indigenous academics and researchers have begun to address social issues within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization and social justice. This burgeoning international community of Indigenous scholars and researchers is talking more widely about Indigenous research, Indigenous research protocols and Indigenous methodologies. Its members position themselves quite clearly as Indigenous researchers who are informed academically by critical and often feminist approaches to research, and who are grounded politically in specific Indigenous contexts and histories, struggles and ideals. Many Indigenous communities and organizations have developed policies about research, are discussing issues related to control over research activities and the knowledge that research produces, and have developed ethical guidelines and discussion documents. The second part of this book addresses some of the issues currently being discussed amongst Indigenous communities that relate to our own priorities and

並努力通過就此類問題簽訂契約來獲得國際關注和保護，許多原住民社區繼續生活在政治和社會條件下，這些條件使極端貧困、慢性健康狀況不佳和教育機會不佳長期存在。他們的孩子可能會被強行從他們的照顧中帶走、“收養”或收容。成年人可能像他們的孩子沉迷於膠水一樣沉迷於酒精，他們可能生活在破壞性的關係中，這些關係是由他們貧困的物質條件形成和塑造的，並由政治壓迫政權構建的。當他們這樣生活時，他們不斷地被灌輸關於他們毫無價值、懶惰、依賴和缺乏“更高”人類品質的信息。這既適用於第一世界國家的原住民社區，也適用於發展中國家的原住民社區。在這些社會現實中，帝國主義和殖民化的影響問題似乎只是學術問題;純粹的身體生存要緊迫得多。問題在於，政府、國家、社會和機構不斷努力否認這種條件的歷史形成，同時否認了我們對人類、擁有歷史和所有希望的主張。默許就是完全迷失自己，並含蓄地同意所有關於我們的言論。抵抗就是縮減在邊緣，找回“我們過去的樣子並重塑自己”。過去、我們在本地和全球的故事、現在、我們的社區、文化、語言和社會習俗——所有這些都可能是邊緣化的空間，但它們也成為抵抗和希望的空間。

正是在這些空間中，越來越多的原住民學者和研究人員開始在自決、非殖民化和社會正義的更廣泛框架內解決社會問題。 這個由原住民學者和研究人員組成的新興國際社區正在更廣泛地談論原住民研究、原住民研究協議和原住民方法。其成員非常明確地將自己定位為原住民研究人員，他們在學術上受到批判性且通常是女權主義的研究方法的啟發，並在政治上以特定的原住民背景和歷史、鬥爭和理想為基礎。許多原住民社區和組織已經制定了有關研究的政策，正在討論與控制研究活動和研究產生的知識相關的問題，並制定了道德準則和討論文件。本書的第二部分討論了原住民社區目前正在討論的一些問題，這些問題與我們自己的優先事項和

problems. These priorities often demand an understanding of the ways in which we can ask and seek answers to our own concerns within a context in which resistance to new formations of colonization still has to be mounted and articulated. In other words, research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions.

If in a sense this book is simply another contribution to the ways in which social science researchers in general think about methodologies and approaches to research – in this case among people and communities who hold research in high disdain – it has not been written with that intention. Rather, it is addressed more specifically to those researchers who work with, alongside and for communities who have chosen to identify themselves as Indigenous. A growing number of these researchers define themselves as Indigenous, although their training has been primarily within the Western academy and specific disciplinary methodologies. Many Indigenous researchers have struggled individually to engage with the disconnections that are apparent between the demands of research, on one side, and the realities they encounter amongst their own and other Indigenous communities, with whom they share lifelong relationships, on the other side. There are a number of ethical, cultural, political and personal issues that can present special difficulties for Indigenous researchers who, in their own communities, work partially as insiders, and are often employed for this purpose, and partially as outsiders, because of their Western education or because they may work across clan, tribe, linguistic, age and gender boundaries. Simultaneously, they work within their research projects or institutions as insiders within a particular paradigm or research model, and as outsiders because they are often marginalized and perceived to be representative of either a minority or a rival interest group. Patricia Hill Collins refers to 'the outsider within' positioning of research.[5] Sometimes when in the community ('in the field') or when sitting in on research meetings it can feel like inside-out/outside-in research. More often, however, I think that Indigenous research is not quite as simple as it looks, nor quite as complex as it feels! If I have one consistent message for the students I teach and the researchers I train it is that Indigenous research is a humble and humbling activity.

Indigenous researchers are expected, by their communities and by the institutions which employ them, to have some form of historical and critical analysis of the role of research in the Indigenous world. In general, this analysis has been acquired organically and outside of the academy. Despite the extensive literature about the life and

本書的第二部分討論了原住民社區目前正在討論的一些與我們自己的優先事項和問題相關的問題。這些優先事項通常要求我們了解如何在仍然必須抵制新的殖民形態的背景下詢問和尋求我們自己擔憂的答案。換句話說，研究不是一種無辜或遙遠的學術活動，而是一種事關重大的活動，並且發生在一系列政治和社會條件下。

如果從某種意義上說，這本書只是對社會科學研究人員普遍思考研究方法和方法的方式的又一次貢獻——在這種情況下，在高度蔑視研究的人們和社區中——它並不是出於這種意圖而寫的。相反，它更具體地針對那些與選擇將自己視為原住民的社區合作、與社區一起工作並為其服務的研究人員。越來越多的研究人員將自己定義為原住民，儘管他們的培訓主要是在西方學院和特定的學科方法中進行的。許多原住民研究人員一直在單獨努力解決研究需求與他們在自己和其他原住民社區之間遇到的現實之間明顯的脫節，另一方面，他們與他們有著終生的關係。有許多倫理、文化、政治和個人問題可能會給原住民研究人員帶來特殊的困難，他們在自己的社區中，部分作為內部人員工作，並且經常為此目的而受僱，部分作為局外人，因為他們接受西方教育，或者因為他們可能跨越氏族、部落、語言、年齡和性別界限。同時，他們在自己的研究項目或機構內作為特定範式或研究模式中的內部人工作，並作為局外人工作，因為他們經常被邊緣化並被認為代表少數群體或敵對利益集團。帕特里夏·希爾·柯林斯 （Patricia Hill Collins） 提到了研究的“局外人”定位。 有時，當在社區中（“在現場”）或參加研究會議時，感覺就像由內而外/由外而內的研究。然而，更多時候，我認為原住民研究並不像看起來那麼簡單，也不像感覺那麼複雜！如果我對我所教的學生和我培訓的研究人員有一個一致的信息，那就是原住民研究是一項謙卑和謙卑的活動。

原住民研究人員的社區和僱用他們的機構都期望對研究在原住民世界中的作用進行某種形式的歷史和批判性分析。總的來說，這種分析是在學院之外有機地獲得的。儘管有大量關於生活和

customs of Indigenous peoples, there are few critical texts on research methodologies which mention the word Indigenous or its localized synonyms. Critiques by feminist scholars, by critical theorists, by black and African American scholars have provided ways of talking about knowledge and its social constructions, and about methodologies and the politics of research. But the words that apply to Indigenous researchers have been inserted into the text, then read with our own world in/sight. I hope that what is written here provides space for further dialogue within a framework that privileges the Indigenous presence, that uses 'the words' (such as colonialism, decolonization, self-determination), and that acknowledges our continuing existence. It has not been written, therefore, as a technical book about research for people who talk the language of research, but as a book which situates research in a much larger historical, political and cultural context and then examines its critical nature within those dynamics.

The term 'Indigenous' is problematic in that it appears to collectivize many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different. Other collective terms also in use refer to 'First Peoples' or 'Native Peoples', 'First Nations' or 'People of the Land', 'Aboriginals' or 'Fourth World Peoples'.[6] Some groups prefer the labels that connect us to Mother Earth, and to deeply significant spiritual relationships. While not denying the powerful world views embedded in such terms, within my own cultural framework as within others, they are not the terms that will be used here. A recent phenomenon which partly explains such a position is the Western fascination with New Age spiritual meanings which makes our own belief systems available, yet again, for further mining and exploitation. In some contexts, such as Australia and North America, the word 'Indigenous' is a way of including the many diverse communities, language groups and nations, each with their own identification within a single grouping. In other contexts, such as New Zealand, the terms 'Māori' or *tangata whenua* are used much more frequently than 'Indigenous' as the universal term, while different origin and tribal terms are also used to differentiate between groups. Although the word 'Māori' is an Indigenous term it has been identified as a label which defines a colonial relationship between 'Māori' and 'Pakeha', the non-Indigenous settler population. For many of the world's Indigenous communities there are prior terms by which they have named themselves. There are also terms by which Indigenous communities have come to be known, initially perhaps as a term of insult applied by colonizers, but then politicized as a powerful signifier of oppositional identity, for example the use of the term 'Black

儘管有大量關於原住民生活和習俗的文獻，但很少有關於研究方法的批判性文本提到原住民一詞或其本地化同義詞。女權主義學者、批判理論家、黑人和非裔美國學者的批評提供了談論知識及其社會結構、方法論和研究政治的方式。但適用於原住民研究人員的詞語已入文本中，然後帶著我們自己的世界/視野閱讀。我希望這裡所寫的內容能夠為在一個賦予原住民存在特權、使用「文字」（例如殖民主義、非殖民化、自決）並承認我們持續存在的框架內進行進一步對話提供空間。因此，它不是作為一本關於研究的技術書籍而寫的，面向那些談論研究語言的人，而是作為一本將研究置於更大的歷史、政治和文化背景下，然後在這些動態中審視其批判性質的書。

「原住民」一詞是有問題的，因為它似乎將許多不同的人群集體化，他們的經歷在帝國主義統治下大不相同。其他也使用的集體術語指的是“原住民”或“原住民”、“原住民”或“土地人民”、“原住民”或“第四世界人民”。有些群體更喜歡將我們與地球母親以及非常重要的精神關係聯繫起來的標籤。雖然不否認這些術語中蘊含的強大世界觀，但在我自己的文化框架內和其他文化框架中，它們不是這裡使用的術語。最近一個現象部分解釋了這種立場，是西方對新時代精神意義的迷戀，這使得我們自己的信仰體系再次可用於進一步的挖掘和開發。在某些情況下，例如澳大利亞和北美，“原住民”一詞是一種包含許多不同社區、語言群體和國家的方式，每個社區、語言群體和國家在一個群體中都有自己的身份。在其他情況下，例如新西蘭，術語“毛利人”或 tangata whenua 比“土著”更頻繁地用作通用術語，而不同的起源和部落術語也用於區分群體。雖然“毛利人”一詞是一個土著術語，但它已被確定為定義“毛利人”和“白人”（非土著定居者人口）之間殖民關係的標籤。對於世界上許多原住民社區來說，他們都有先前的術語來命名自己。 還有一些術語使原住民社區廣為人知，最初可能是殖民者施加的侮辱術語，但後來被政治化為反對派身份的有力象徵，例如使用“黑人”一詞

Australia' by Aborigine activists. Inside these categories for describing or labelling are other terms that describe different layers of relationships and meanings within and between different groups. Some of these terms are about the classification systems used within the local colonial context, and others are about a prior relationship with groups whose territories now span different states.

'Indigenous peoples' is a relatively recent term which emerged in the 1970s out of the struggles primarily of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood. It is a term that internationalizes the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples.[7] The final 's' in 'peoples' has been argued for quite vigorously by Indigenous activists because of the right of peoples to self-determination. It is also used as a way of recognizing that there are real differences between different Indigenous peoples.[8] The term has enabled the collective voices of colonized people to be expressed strategically in the international arena. It has also been an umbrella enabling communities and peoples to come together, transcending their own colonized contexts and experiences, in order to learn, share, plan, organize and struggle collectively for self-determination on the global and local stages. Thus the world's Indigenous populations belong to a network of peoples. They share experiences as peoples who have been subjected to the colonization of their lands and cultures, and the denial of their sovereignty, by a colonizing society that has come to dominate and determine the shape and quality of their lives, even after it has formally pulled out. As Wilmer has put it, 'indigenous peoples represent the unfinished business of decolonization'.[9]

The word 'Indigenous' is also used in ways which are quite contrary to the definitions of the term just described, but which are legitimate meanings of the word itself. For example it is used to describe or account for the distinctiveness of colonial literary and/or feminist traditions. It has been coopted politically by the descendants of settlers who lay claim to an 'Indigenous' identity through their occupation and settlement of land over several generations or simply through being born in that place – though they tend not to show up at Indigenous peoples' meetings nor form alliances that support the self-determination of the people whose forebears once occupied the land that they have 'tamed' and upon which they have settled. Nor do they actively struggle as a society for the survival of Indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures. Their linguistic and cultural homeland is somewhere else, their cultural loyalty is to some other place. Their power, their privilege, their history are all vested in their legacy as colonizers.

例如，原住民活動人士使用「黑人澳洲」一詞。在這些用於描述或標記的類別中，還有其他術語描述不同群體內部和不同群體之間的不同層次的關係和含義。其中一些術語是關於當地殖民背景下使用的分類系統，而另一些術語是關於與領土現在跨越不同州的群體的先前關係。

“原住民”是一個相對較新的術語，出現在 1970 年代，主要是美洲印第安人運動 （AIM） 和加拿大印第安人兄弟會的鬥爭中。這個術語將世界上一些被殖民民族的經歷、問題和鬥爭國際化。由於人民的自決權，原住民活動家一直強烈主張“人民”中的最後“s”。它也被用作認識到不同原住民之間存在真正差異的一種方式。這個詞使被殖民者的集體聲音能夠在國際舞台上戰略性地表達出來。它也是一個保護傘，使社區和人民能夠走到一起，超越他們自己的殖民背景和經驗，以便在全球和地方舞台上學習、分享、計劃、組織和集體爭取自決。因此，世界上的原住民屬於一個民族網絡。他們分享了作為民族的經歷，他們的土地和文化被殖民化，並被殖民社會剝奪了他們的主權，殖民社會已經主導並決定了他們生活的形式和質量，即使在它正式退出之後。正如威爾默所說，“土著人民代表了非殖民化的未竟事業”。

“土著”一詞的使用方式也與剛才描述的術語的定義完全相反，但這些都是該詞本身的合法含義。例如，它用於描述或解釋殖民文學和/或女權主義傳統的獨特性。它在政治上被定居者的後代所利用，他們通過幾代人佔領和定居土地，或者僅僅通過出生在那個地方來宣稱“土著”身份——儘管他們往往不出現在土著人民的會議上，也不結成聯盟來支持那些祖先曾經佔領過他們“馴服”並定居的土地的人民的自決權。他們也沒有作為一個社會積極為原住民語言、知識和文化的生存而奮鬥。他們的語言和文化家園在其他地方，他們的文化忠誠是對其他地方的忠誠。他們的權力、他們的特權、他們的歷史都賦予了他們作為殖民者的遺產。

Part of the project of this book is 'researching back', in the same tradition of 'writing back' or 'talking back', that characterizes much of the post-colonial or anti-colonial literature.[10] It has involved a 'knowing-ness of the colonizer' and a recovery of ourselves, an analysis of colonialism, and a struggle for self-determination. Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized. It is regulated through the formal rules of individual scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms, and the institutions that support them (including the state). It is realized in the myriad of representations and ideological constructions of the Other in scholarly and 'popular' works, and in the principles which help to select and recontextualize those constructions in such things as the media, official histories and school curricula. Ashis Nandy argues that the structures of colonialism contain rules by which colonial encounters occur and are 'managed'.[11] The different ways in which these encounters happen and are managed are different realizations of the underlying rules and codes which frame in the broadest sense what is possible and what is impossible. In a very real sense research has been an encounter between the West and the Other. Much more is known about one side of those encounters than is known about the other side. This book reports to some extent on views that are held and articulated by 'the other sides'. The first part of the book explores topics around the theme of imperialism, research and knowledge. They can be read at one level as a narrative about a history of research and Indigenous peoples but make much more sense if read as a series of intersecting and overlapping essays around a theme.

One of the issues examined relates to the way research became institutionalized in the colonies, not just through academic disciplines, but through learned and scientific societies and scholarly networks. The transplanting of research institutions, including universities, from the imperial centres of Europe enabled local scientific interests to be organized and embedded in the colonial system. Many of the earliest local researchers were not formally 'trained' and were hobbyist researchers and adventurers. The significance of travellers' tales and adventurers' adventures is that they represented the Other to a general audience back in Europe which became fixed in the milieu of cultural ideas. Images of the 'cannibal' chief, the 'red' Indian, the 'witch' doctor, or the 'tattooed and shrunken' head, and stories which told of savagery and primitivism, generated further interest, and therefore further opportunities, to represent the Other again.

本書項目的一部分是“研究回頭”，按照“回頭”或“回頭”的相同傳統，這是許多後殖民或反殖民文學的特徵。它涉及「對殖民者的認識」和對自我的恢復、對殖民主義的分析和自決的鬥爭。研究是規範和實現帝國主義和殖民主義基本準則的方式之一。它通過各個學術學科和科學範式的正式規則以及支持它們的機構（包括國家）進行監管。它體現在學術和「通俗」作品中對他者的無數表徵和意識形態建構中，以及在媒體、官方歷史和學校課程等事物中幫助選擇和重新語境化這些建構的原則中。阿希斯·南迪 （Ashis Nandy） 認為，殖民主義的結構包含殖民遭遇發生和「管理」的規則。這些遭遇發生和管理的不同方式是對基本規則和準則的不同認識，這些規則和準則在最廣泛的意義上構成了什麼是可能的，什麼是不可能的。在非常真實的意義上，研究是西方與他者之間的相遇。對這些遭遇的一方的了解比對另一方的了解要多得多。本書在某種程度上報告了「另一方」所持有和表達的觀點。本書的第一部分探討了圍繞帝國主義、研究和知識主題的主題。它們可以在某個層面上被解讀為關於研究史和原住民的敍述，但如果將它們解讀為圍繞一個主題的一系列交叉和重疊的文章，則更有意義。

所研究的問題之一與研究在殖民地制度化的方式有關，不僅通過學科，而且通過學術和科學協會以及學術網絡。包括大學在內的研究機構從歐洲帝國中心移植，使當地的科學興趣能夠組織起來並嵌入殖民體系中。許多最早的當地研究人員沒有接受過正式的“培訓”，而是業餘研究人員和冒險家。旅行者的故事和冒險家的冒險的意義在於，它們代表了歐洲普通觀眾的他者，而歐洲的普通觀眾已經固定在文化思想的環境中。「食人族」酋長、「紅色」印第安人、「巫醫」或「紋身和縮小」的頭的圖像，以及講述野蠻和原始主義的故事，引起了進一步的興趣，因此也產生了更多的機會，再次代表他者。

Travellers' stories were generally the experiences and observations of white men whose interactions with Indigenous 'societies' or 'peoples' were constructed around their own cultural views of gender and sexuality. Observations made of Indigenous women, for example, resonated with views about the role of women in European societies based on Western notions of culture, religion, race and class. Treaties and trade could be negotiated with Indigenous men. Indigenous women were excluded from such serious encounters. As Memmi noted in his 'Mythical Portrait of the Colonized', the use of zoological terms to describe primitive people was one form of dehumanization.[12] These images have become almost permanent, so deeply embedded are they in the way Indigenous women are discussed. 'How often do we read in the newspaper about the death or murder of a Native man, and in the same paper about the victimisation of a female Native, as though we were a species of sub-human animal life?' asks a First Nation Canadian woman, Lee Maracle. 'A female horse, a female Native, but everyone else gets to be called a man or a woman.'[13] Across the Pacific, Māori women writers Patricia Johnston and Leonie Pihama make reference to Joseph Banks's description of young Māori women who were as 'skittish as unbroke fillies'.[14] Similarly, in Australia, Aborigine women talk about a history of being hunted, raped and then killed like animals.

Travellers' tales had wide coverage. Their dissemination occurred through the popular press, from the pulpit, in travel brochures which advertised for immigrants, and through oral discourse. They appealed to the voyeur, the soldier, the romantic, the missionary, the crusader, the adventurer, the entrepreneur, the imperial public servant and the Enlightenment scholar. They also appealed to the downtrodden, the poor and those whose lives held no possibilities in their own imperial societies, and who chose to migrate as settlers. Others, also powerless, were shipped off to the colony as the ultimate prison. In the end they were all inheritors of imperialism who had learned well the discourses of race and gender, the rules of power, the politics of colonialism. They became the colonizers.

The second part of the book examines the different approaches and methodologies that are being developed to ensure that research with Indigenous peoples can be more respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful. The chapters in the second part ought not to be read as a 'how to' manual but as a series of accounts and guidelines which map a wide range of research-related issues. Feminism and the application of more critical approaches to research have greatly influenced the social sciences. Significant spaces have been opened up within the academy

旅行者的故事通常是白人男性的經歷和觀察，他們與原住民“社會”或“人民”的互動是圍繞著他們自己的性別和性取向文化觀點構建的。例如，對原住民婦女的觀察與基於西方文化、宗教、種族和階級觀念的歐洲社會中婦女角色的觀點產生了共鳴。條約和貿易可以與原住民進行談判。原住民婦女被排除在這種嚴肅的接觸之外。正如梅米在他的《被殖民者的神話肖像》中指出的那樣，使用動物學術語來描述原始人是非人化的一種形式。這些圖像幾乎已成為永久性的，它們深深植根於討論原住民婦女的方式中。「我們有多少次在報紙上讀到有關原住民男子死亡或謀殺的報導，以及在同一份報紙上讀到有關女性原住民受害的報導，就好像我們是亞人類動物的物種一樣？」加拿大原住民婦女李．馬拉克爾問道。“一匹母馬，一匹母馬，一個母原住民，但其他人都可以被稱為男人或女人。”太平洋彼岸，毛利女作家帕特里夏．約翰斯頓（Patricia Johnston）和萊昂妮．皮哈馬（Leonie Pihama）提到了約瑟夫．班克斯（Joseph Banks）對年輕毛利女性的描述，她們“像未破碎的母馬一樣膽小”。同樣，在澳大利亞，原住民婦女談論著像動物一樣被獵殺、強姦然後殺害的歷史。

旅行者的故事覆蓋範圍很廣。它們的傳播是通過大眾媒體、講壇、為移民做廣告的旅行手冊以及口頭話語進行的。他們吸引了偷窺狂、士兵、浪漫主義者、傳教士、十字軍、冒險家、企業家、帝國公務員和啟蒙運動學者。他們還吸引了那些受壓迫的人、窮人和那些在自己的帝國社會中生活沒有可能性的人，以及那些選擇作為定居者移民的人。其他人也無能為力，被運往殖民地作為終極監獄。最後，他們都是帝國主義的繼承者，他們很好地了解了種族和性別的話語、權力規則和殖民主義的政治。他們成為殖民者。

本書的第二部分研究了正在開發的不同方法和方法，以確保對原住民的研究能夠更加尊重、道德、同情和有用。第二部分的章節不應被視為“操作方法”手冊，而應將其視為一系列描述和指南，這些說明和指南涵蓋了廣泛的研究相關問題。女權主義和更批判性的研究方法的應用極大地影響了社會科學。學院內開闢了重要的空間

and within some disciplines to talk more creatively about research with particular groups and communities – women, the economically oppressed, ethnic minorities and Indigenous peoples. These discussions have been informed as much by the politics of groups outside the academy as by engagement with the problems which research with real, living, breathing, thinking people actually involves. Communities and Indigenous activists have openly challenged the research community about such things as racist practices and attitudes, ethnocentric assumptions and exploitative research, sounding warning bells that research can no longer be conducted with Indigenous communities as if their views did not count or their lives did not matter.

In contemporary Indigenous contexts there are some major research issues which continue to be debated quite vigorously. These can be summarized best by the critical questions that communities and Indigenous activists often ask, in a variety of ways: Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated?[15] While there are many researchers who can handle such questions with integrity there are many more who cannot, or who approach these questions with some cynicism, as if they are a test merely of political correctness. What may surprise many people is that what may appear as the 'right', most desirable answer can still be judged incorrect. These questions are simply part of a larger set of judgements on criteria that a researcher cannot prepare for, such as: Is her spirit clear? Does he have a good heart? What other baggage are they carrying? Are they useful to us? Can they fix up our generator? Can they actually do anything?

The issues for Indigenous researchers seeking to work within Indigenous contexts are framed somewhat differently. If they are 'insiders' they are frequently judged on insider criteria; their family background, status, politics, age, gender, religion, as well as on their perceived technical ability. What is frustrating for some Indigenous researchers is that, even when their own communities have access to an Indigenous researcher, they will still select or prefer a non-Indigenous researcher over an Indigenous researcher. There are a number of reasons this happens, sometimes based on a deeply held view that Indigenous people will never be good enough, or that Indigenous researchers may divulge confidences within their own community, or that the researcher may have some hidden agenda. For quite legitimate reasons the Indigenous researcher may not be the best person for the research, or may be rejected because they do not have sufficient

在學院內部和一些學科內已經開闢了重要的空間，可以更有創意地與特定群體和社區（婦女、經濟受壓迫者、少數民族和原住民）討論研究。這些討論既受到學院外團體的政治的影響，也受到對真實、活生生、有思想的人進行研究實際涉及的問題的影響。社區和原住民活動家公開挑戰研究界，例如種族主義做法和態度、種族中心主義假設和剝削性研究，敲響了警鐘，不能再對原住民社區進行研究，就好像他們的觀點不重要或他們的生命不重要一樣。

在當代原住民背景下，有一些重大研究問題繼續受到激烈的爭論。這些可以用社區和原住民活動家經常以多種方式提出的關鍵問題來最好地概括：這是誰的研究？誰擁有它？它服務於誰的利益？誰將從中受益？誰設計了它的問題並框定了它的範圍？誰來執行它？誰來寫？其結果將如何傳播？雖然有許多研究人員能夠誠信地處理此類問題，但還有更多研究人員不能，或者以一些憤世嫉俗的態度對待這些問題，就好像它們只是對政治正確的測試一樣。可能讓許多人感到驚訝的是，看似「正確」、最理想的答案仍然可能被判定為不正確。這些問題只是研究人員無法準備的一系列標準判斷的一部分，例如：她的精神清晰嗎？他有一顆善良的心嗎？他們還背著什麼包袱？它們對我們有用嗎？他們能修理我們的發電機嗎？他們真的能做任何事情嗎？

尋求在原住民背景下工作的原住民研究人員的問題有些不同。如果他們是“內部人士”，他們經常根據內部人士的標準進行評判;他們的家庭背景、地位、政治、年齡、性別、宗教，以及他們感知的技術能力。對於一些原住民研究人員來說，令人沮喪的是，即使他們自己的社區可以接觸到原住民研究人員，他們仍然會選擇或更喜歡非原住民研究人員而不是原住民研究人員。發生這種情況的原因有很多，有時是基於一種根深蒂固的觀點，即原住民永遠不會足夠好，或者原住民研究人員可能會洩露自己社區內的機密，或者研究人員可能有一些隱藏的議程。出於相當合理的原因，原住民研究人員可能不是研究的最佳人選，或者可能會因為他們沒有足夠的資金而被拒絕

credibility. The point being made is that Indigenous researchers work within a set of 'insider' dynamics and it takes considerable sensitivity, skill, maturity, experience and knowledge to work these issues through. Non-Indigenous teachers and supervisors are often ill prepared to assist Indigenous researchers in these areas and there are so few Indigenous teachers that many students simply 'learn by doing'. They often get hurt and fail in the process. I have heard this articulated by Indigenous researchers as 'being burned' or 'being done over'. The second part of the book provides some ways for thinking about such issues.

In writing a book that focuses on research I have drawn together a range of experiences and reflections on both Indigenous and research issues. I have a childhood familiarity with museums, having helped my father – a Māori anthropologist – pursue his own research in the back rooms of the Auckland War Memorial Museum and other museums in the United States. I cannot really recollect how, specifically, I helped him because many of my strongest memories are of playing hide and seek in the cupboards and corridors. I do remember quite vividly, however, the ritual of cleansing ourselves by sprinkling water over us which my mother insisted on when we returned home. My grandmother was not too thrilled with the idea of my being in a museum at all. Many other Māori people, I was aware, were scared of what lay in the cupboards, of whose bones and whose ancestors were imprisoned in those cases. Later, my first ever paid job was as an assistant working at the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. I helped my father, when required, to photograph intricately carved Marquesan adzes which ships of the East India Company had taken back from the Pacific to Salem. My paid job was to work in the basement of the museum typing labels to put on the logbooks of ships which had sailed from New England during the American Revolution. What was especially ironic was that there I was, a 16-year-old Māori, in the basement of a museum in Salem, Massachusetts, working on material related to the American Revolution – and none of it was new to me! I had already had a strong diet of British, European and American history.

In a sense, then, I grew up in a world in which science and our own Indigenous beliefs and practices coexisted. I did not become an anthropologist, and although many Indigenous writers would nominate anthropology as representative of all that is truly bad about research, it is not my intention to single out one discipline over another as representative of what research has done to Indigenous peoples. I argue that, in their foundations, Western disciplines are as much implicated in each other as they are in imperialism. Some, such as anthropology,

或者可能會因為沒有足夠的可信度而被拒絕。要點是，原住民研究人員在一系列「內部」動態中工作，需要相當大的敏感性、技能、成熟度、經驗和知識來解決這些問題。非原住民教師和主管往往沒有準備好協助這些領域的原住民研究人員，而且原住民教師太少了，以至於許多學生只是“邊做邊學”。他們經常在這個過程中受傷並失敗。我聽說原住民研究人員將這句話闡述為“被燒毀”或“被重來”。本書的第二部分提供了一些思考此類問題的方法。

在寫一本專注於研究的書時，我匯集了一系列關於原住民和研究問題的經驗和反思。我從小就熟悉博物館，曾幫助我的父親——一位毛利人類學家——在奧克蘭戰爭紀念博物館和美國其他博物館的密室裡進行自己的研究。我真的不記得我具體是如何幫助他的，因為我許多最深刻的記憶是在櫥櫃和走廊裡玩捉迷藏。然而，我確實清楚地記得，當我們回家時，我母親堅持要用水灑在我們身上來淨化自己的儀式。我的祖母對我進入博物館的想法並不太興奮。我知道，許多其他毛利人都害怕櫥櫃裡的東西，他們的骨頭和誰的祖先在這些案件中被囚禁。後來，我的第一份有薪工作是在馬薩諸塞州塞勒姆的皮博迪博物館擔任助理。當需要時，我幫助父親拍攝東印度公司的船隻從太平洋帶回塞勒姆的雕刻精美的馬克薩斯鰹。我的有薪工作是在博物館的地下室打字，在美國獨立戰爭期間從新英格蘭起航的船隻的航海日誌上打字。特別諷刺的是，我，一個 16 歲的毛利人，在馬薩諸塞州塞勒姆一家博物館的地下室裡，正在研究與美國革命相關的材料——這些對我來說都不是新鮮事！我已經對英國、歐洲和美國的歷史有了濃厚的了解。

從某種意義上說，我成長在一個科學與我們自己的原住民信仰和實踐共存的世界裡。我沒有成為一名人類學家，儘管許多原住民作家會提名人類學代表研究中真正糟糕的所有事情，但我無意將一門學科而不是另一門學科作為研究對原住民所做的代表。我認為，在西方學科的基礎上，它們彼此之間有著密切的牽連，就像它們與帝國主義有關一樣。有些，例如人類學，

made the study of us into 'their' science, others were employed in the practices of imperialism in less direct but far more devastating ways. My own academic background is in education, and in my field there is a very rich history of research which attempts to legitimate views about Indigenous peoples which have been antagonistic and dehumanizing. Discussions around the concept of intelligence, on discipline, or on factors that contribute to achievement depend heavily on notions about the Other. The organization of school knowledge, the hidden curriculum and the representation of difference in texts and school practices all contain discourses which have serious implications for Indigenous students as well as for other minority ethnic groups.

My own career in research began in the health field, working alongside a team of respiratory physicians, paediatricians, epidemiologists and psychologists who were trying to make sense of the ways families manage asthma in young children. As coordinator of this project, I had to learn very quickly how to participate in discussions on a wide range of matters, how to gain access to some very serious bureaucratic systems such as hospital wards and emergency clinics, and how to talk about research to a range of audiences, from medical doctors to families with limited English language. I enjoyed the challenges of thinking about what things mean, about why things happen and about the different ways in which the world can be understood. I also enjoyed interviewing people and, even more, analyzing the responses they gave. While I enjoyed the hands-on level at which I was working I found that the more rewarding work involved me in trying to 'think through' a problem, 'working with' the data and bringing it together with my own readings. Mostly, however, I found that the particular issues I faced as an Indigenous researcher working with Indigenous research participants were never addressed by the literature, my own training or the researchers with whom I worked. Later I became involved in other research projects in education, evaluation, tribal research and community-based projects. I began to teach others about research and have since become involved in managing much larger research projects that train Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers. I have spoken about research to First Nations peoples in Canada, to Hawai'ian and other Pacific Islands researchers, and to Aborigine audiences as well as to many Māori groups who have become active as research communities. I supervise Indigenous students carrying out their research projects, participate in research groups and lead some of my own projects.

In positioning myself as an Indigenous woman, I am claiming a genealogical, cultural and political set of experiences. My *whakapapa* or

將我們的研究納入「他們的」科學，其他人則以不那麼直接但更具破壞性的方式參與帝國主義的實踐。我自己的學術背景是教育，在我的領域有非常豐富的研究歷史，試圖使對原住民的觀點合法化，這些觀點一直是敵對和非人化的。圍繞智力概念、紀律或有助於成就的因素的討論在很大程度上取決於對他者的概念。學校知識的組織、隱藏的課程以及文本和學校實踐中差異的表現都包含對原住民學生和其他少數民族群體產生嚴重影響的話語。

我自己的研究生涯始於健康領域，與呼吸內科醫生、兒科醫生、流行病學家和心理學家組成的團隊一起工作，他們試圖理解家庭管理幼兒哮喘的方式。作為這個項目的協調員，我必須非常迅速地學習如何參與廣泛問題的討論，如何進入一些非常嚴肅的官僚系統，例如醫院病房和急診診所，以及如何向一系列受眾談論研究，從醫生到英語語言有限的家庭。我喜歡思考事物的含義、事情發生的原因以及理解世界的不同方式的挑戰。我也喜歡採訪人們，甚至更喜歡分析他們給出的回應。雖然我喜歡我正在工作的實踐水平，但我發現更有價值的工作涉及我嘗試“思考”一個問題，“處理”數據並將其與我自己的讀數結合在一起。然而，大多數情況下，我發現作為一名與原住民研究參與者合作的原住民研究人員，我面臨的特殊問題從未被文獻、我自己的培訓或與我一起工作的研究人員解決。後來我參與了教育、評估、部落研究和社區項目方面的其他研究項目。我開始向其他人傳授研究知識，此後開始參與管理培訓原住民和非原住民研究人員的大型研究項目。我曾向加拿大的原住民、夏威夷和其他太平洋島國的研究人員、原住民受眾以及許多作為研究社區活躍的毛利群體談論過研究。 我監督原住民學生開展他們的研究項目，參加研究小組並領導我自己的一些項目。

在將自己定位為原住民女性時，我聲稱擁有一系列家譜、文化和政治經歷。我的 whakapapa 或

descent lines come through both my parents. Through them I belong to two different major 'tribal' groups and have close links to others.[16] In my case, these links were nurtured through my early years by my extended family relationships and particularly by my maternal grand-mother. It is through my grandmother that my sense of place became so firmly grounded. That was especially important because my parents worked away from either of their tribal territories. My grandmother insisted, and my parents supported this although she gave them no choice, that I return to her as often as possible. When I had to return to my parents she would pack food parcels for me just in case they did not feed me well enough! Although she developed in me the spiritual relationships to the land, to our tribal mountain and river, she also developed a sense of quite physical groundedness, a sense of reality, and a sense of humour about ourselves. It may be those qualities that make me sceptical or cautious about the mystical, misty-eyed discourse that is sometimes employed by Indigenous people to describe our relationships with the land and the universe. I believe that our survival as peoples has come from our knowledge of our contexts, our environment, not from some active beneficence of our Earth Mother. We had to know to survive. We had to work out ways of knowing, we had to predict, to learn and reflect, we had to preserve and protect, we had to defend and attack, we had to be mobile, we had to have social systems which enabled us to do these things. We still have to do these things.

Politically, my dissent lines come down through my tribal lines but also through my experiences as a result of schooling and an urban background. One of my tribes, Ngati Awa, is part of what is referred to as the *raupatu.* The *raupatu* refers to those tribes whose territories were invaded and whose lands were confiscated by the New Zealand government last century. The grievances which have come about through the *raupatu* form the basis of our claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. That particular dissent line is part of a legacy shared by many other Indigenous peoples. My other dissent lines, however, were shaped by the urban Māori activism which occurred in New Zealand in the late 1960s and early 1970s. I belonged to one group, Nga Tamatoa or 'Young Warriors', and was at one point its secretary. We had several aims, although the main two were the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and the compulsory teaching of our language in schools. We formed a number of different alliances with other radical groups and some of our members belonged simultaneously to two or three groups. One of my roles was to educate younger Māori students about our aims. This took me into school assemblies and to situations where young people

我的 whakapapa 或血統線來自我的父母。通過他們，我屬於兩個不同的主要“部落”群體，並且與其他人有著密切的聯繫。就我而言，這些聯繫是在我早年由我的大家庭關係，尤其是我的外祖母培養的。正是透過我的祖母，我的地方感變得如此牢固。這一點尤其重要，因為我的父母在遠離部落領土的地方工作。我的祖母堅持，我的父母也支持這一點，儘管她沒有選擇，但我盡可能多地回到她身邊。當我不得不回到父母身邊時，她會為我打包食物包，以防萬一他們沒有給我吃得足夠好！雖然她在我身上培養了與土地、我們部落的山脈和河流的精神關係，但她也培養了一種相當身體上的腳踏實地感、一種現實感和一種關於我們自己的幽默感。可能正是這些品質讓我對原住民有時用來描述我們與土地和宇宙的關係的神秘、朦朧的話語持懷疑態度或謹慎態度。我相信，我們作為民族的生存來自於我們對環境和環境的了解，而不是來自地球母親的某種積極的仁慈。我們必須知道才能生存。我們必須想出認識的方式，我們必須預測、學習和反思，我們必須保存和保護，我們必須防禦和攻擊，我們必須移動，我們必須擁有使我們能夠做這些事情的社會系統。我們仍然必須做這些事情。

在政治上，我的異議路線來自我的部落界限，也來自我因學校教育和城市背景而產生的經歷。我的一個部落 Ngati Awa 是所謂的 raupatu 的一部分。raupatu 指的是那些領土被入侵、土地被新西蘭政府沒收的部落。通過 raupatu 引起的不滿構成了我們向懷唐伊法庭提出索賠的基礎。這條特殊的異議路線是許多其他原住民共同遺產的一部分。然而，我的其他異議路線是由 1960 年代末和 1970 年代初在新西蘭發生的城市毛利激進主義塑造的。我屬於一個團體，Nga Tamatoa 或“青年戰士”，並一度擔任該團體的秘書。我們有幾個目標，儘管主要兩個是承認《懷唐伊條約》和在學校強制教授我們的語言。我們與其他激進團體結成了許多不同的聯盟，我們的一些成員同時屬於兩三個團體。我的職責之一是教育年輕的毛利學生了解我們的目標。這讓我參加了學校集會和年輕人

gathered. From those beginnings I became a primary or elementary teacher, then a secondary school counsellor, a health researcher and then a lecturer at university. While my professional career was developing I also helped in the early development of Te Kohanga Reo, the Māori language nests, and was one of the group which initiated an alternative Māori elementary school movement known as Kura Kaupapa Māori. I write, therefore, from the position of an Indigenous Māori woman from New Zealand. Like Indigenous peoples in Australia, Canada, the United States and Western Europe I write from the context of the First World, a world described in Julian Burger's *Report from the Frontier* simply as rich.[17] Despite the very powerful issues which locate many First World Indigenous peoples in Third World social conditions we still, comparatively speaking, occupy a place of privilege within the world of Indigenous peoples. That does not mean that Indigenous peoples from the First World have better ideas or know anything more. It may mean that such things as access to food and water can be taken for granted or that the politics of food and water can be played out in vastly different ways within the First World than is possible within developing states.

One of the many criticisms that gets levelled at Indigenous intellectuals or activists is that our Western education precludes us from writing or speaking from a 'real' and authentic Indigenous position. Of course, those who do speak from a more 'traditional' Indigenous point of view are criticized because they do not make sense ('speak English, what!'). Or, our talk is reduced to some 'nativist' discourse, dismissed by colleagues in the academy as naive, contradictory and illogical. Alternatively it may be dismissed as some modernist invention of the primitive. Criticism is levelled by non-Indigenous and Indigenous communities. It positions Indigenous intellectuals in some difficult spaces both in terms of our relations with Indigenous communities and within the Western academy. It is not a new phenomenon either, the matter having been addressed previously by Frantz Fanon, for example. More recent writers have situated discussions about the intellectual within debates about post-colonialism.[18] Many Indigenous intellectuals actively resist participating in any discussion within the discourses of post-coloniality. This is because post-colonialism is viewed as the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which reinscribes their power to define the world. For each Indigenous intellectual who actually succeeds in the academy, however – and we are talking relatively small numbers – there is a whole array of issues about the ways we relate inside and outside of our own communities, inside and outside the academy, and between all those different worlds.

這讓我參加了學校集會和年輕人聚集的場合。從這些開始，我成為一名小學教師，然後是中學輔導員，然後是健康研究員，然後是大學講師。在我的職業生涯發展的同時，我還幫助了毛利語巢穴 Te Kohanga Reo 的早期發展，並且是發起名為 Kura Kaupapa 毛利語的替代毛利小學運動的團體之一。因此，我從一位來自新西蘭的原住民毛利婦女的立場來寫這篇文章。就像澳大利亞、加拿大、美國和西歐的原住民一樣，我從第一世界的背景下寫作，朱利安．伯格 （Julian Burger） 的《邊境報告》中將這個世界描述為簡單地富裕。儘管許多第一世界原住民處於第三世界社會條件下存在非常強大的問題，但相對而言，我們仍然在原住民世界中佔據特權地位。這並不意味著來自第一世界的原住民有更好的想法或知道更多。這可能意味著，諸如獲得食物和水之類的事情可以被視為理所當然，或者食物和水的政治在第一世界內可以以與發展中國家截然不同的方式進行。

針對原住民知識分子或活動家的眾多批評之一是，我們的西方教育阻止我們從「真實」和真實的原住民立場進行寫作或演講。當然，那些確實從更「傳統」的原住民觀點說話的人會受到批評，因為他們沒有意義（“說英語，什麼！或者，我們的談話被簡化為一些「本土主義」話語，被學院的同事認為天真、矛盾和不合邏輯。或者，它可以被駁回為原始人的某種現代主義發明。批評來自非原住民和原住民社區。它使原住民知識分子處於一些困難的領域，無論是在我們與原住民社區的關係方面，還是在西方學術界。這也不是一個新現象，例如弗朗茨．法農（Frantz Fanon）之前已經談到了這個問題。最近的作家將關於知識分子的討論置於有關後殖民主義的辯論中。許多原住民知識分子積極抵制參與後殖民話語中的任何討論。這是因為後殖民主義被視為西方知識分子的便捷發明，重新銘刻了他們定義世界的力量。然而，對於每個在學院中真正取得成功的原住民知識分子來說——我們談論的是相對較少的數字——關於我們在自己的社區內外、學院內外以及所有這些不同世界之間的聯繫方式，存在一系列問題。

Language and the citing of texts are often the clearest markers of the theoretical traditions of a writer. In this book I draw on selected ideas, scholarship and literature. These may or may not be attributed to either Western or Indigenous traditions. I say that because like many other writers I would argue that 'we', Indigenous peoples, people 'of colour', the Other, however we are named, have a presence in the Western imagination, in its fibre and texture, in its sense of itself, in its language, in its silences and shadows, its margins and intersections. The selection of ideas has been informed by a preference for, and a grounding in, particular forms of analysis which are probably already evident. Like many other Māori undergraduate students who attended university in the 1970s I read some texts for my formal course of study and another set of alternative readings to keep sane, to keep connected to the rest of my life and, more importantly, to make sense of things that were happening around me. Much of that alternative reading course is now collected in anthologies labelled as cultural studies.

In addition to this literature, however, are the stories, values, practices and ways of knowing which continue to inform Indigenous pedagogies. In international meetings and networks of Indigenous peoples, oracy, debate, formal speech making, structured silences and other conventions which shape oral traditions remain a most important way of developing trust, sharing information, strategies, advice, contacts and ideas. In Māori language there is the expression *Kanohi kitea* or the 'seen face', which conveys the sense that being seen by the people – showing your face, turning up at important cultural events – cements your membership within a community in an ongoing way and is part of how one's credibility is continually developed and maintained.[19] In First Nations and Native American communities there are protocols of being respectful, of showing or accepting respect and reciprocating respectful behaviours, which also develop membership, credibility and reputation. In Hawai'i *kanaka Maoli*, or native Hawai'ian researchers, have talked of the many aunties, uncles and elders whose views must be sought prior to conducting any interviews in a community. In Australia Aborigine researchers speak also of the many levels of entry which must be negotiated when researchers seek information. Other Indigenous researchers speak of the long-term relationships which are established and extend beyond a research relationship to one involving families, communities, organizations and networks.

Some methodologies regard the values and beliefs, practices and customs of communities as 'barriers' to research or as exotic customs with which researchers need to be familiar in order to carry out their

語言和文本引用通常是作家理論傳統的最清晰標誌。在這本書中，我借鑒了精選的思想、學術和文獻。這些可能歸因於也可能不歸因於西方或土著傳統。我這麼說是因為像許多其他作家一樣，我認為「我們」、原住民、「有色人種」、他者，無論我們如何稱呼，都存在於西方的想像中，存在於它的纖維和紋理中，存在於它本身的感覺中，在它的語言中，在它的沉默和陰影中，它的邊緣和交叉點中。思想的選擇是基於對特定分析形式的偏好和基礎，這些分析形式可能已經很明顯。像許多其他在 1970 年代上大學的毛利本科生一樣，我為我的正式學習課程閱讀了一些文本，並閱讀了另一組替代閱讀材料，以保持理智，與我的餘生保持聯繫，更重要的是，理解我周圍發生的事情。這種另類閱讀課程的大部分現在都收集在標記為文化研究的選集中。

然而，除了這些文獻之外，還有繼續為原住民教學法提供信息的故事、價值觀、實踐和認知方式。在原住民的國際會議和網絡中，口頭、辯論、正式演講、結構化沉默和其他塑造口頭傳統的慣例仍然是建立信任、分享信息、戰略、建議、聯繫和想法的最重要方式。在毛利語中，有 Kanohi kitea 或“看見的臉”一詞，它傳達了一種感覺，即被人們看到——露臉、出現在重要的文化活動中——以持續的方式鞏固你在社區中的成員身份，並且是一個人的信譽如何不斷發展和維護的一部分。在原住民和美洲原住民社區中，有尊重、表達或接受尊重以及回報尊重行為的協議，這也培養了成員資格、信譽和聲譽。在夏威夷，卡納卡·毛利（或夏威夷本土研究人員）談到了許多阿姨、叔叔和長輩，在社區進行任何採訪之前，必須徵求她們的意見。在澳大利亞，原住民研究人員還談到了研究人員尋求信息時必須協商的許多層次的進入。其他原住民研究人員談到了長期關係，這些關係已經建立並超越研究關係，延伸到涉及家庭、社區、組織和網絡的關係。

一些方法將社區的價值觀和信仰、實踐和習俗視為研究的“障礙”，或者研究人員需要熟悉的異國習俗才能開展他們的研究

work without causing offence. Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of methodology. They are 'factors' to be built into research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the final results of a study and to be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood. This does not preclude writing for academic publications but is simply part of an ethical and respectful approach. There are diverse ways of disseminating knowledge and of ensuring that research reaches the people who have helped make it. Two important ways not always addressed by scientific research are to do with 'reporting back' to the people and 'sharing knowledge'. Both ways assume a principle of reciprocity and feedback.

Reporting back to the people is never ever a one-off exercise or a task that can be signed off on completion of the written report. Some of my students have presented their work in formal ceremonies to family and tribal councils; one has had his work positioned amongst the wreaths which have surrounded the casket of a deceased relation. I have travelled with another student back to an area where she carried out her interviews so that she could present copies of her work to the people she interviewed. The family was waiting for her; they cooked food and made us welcome. We left knowing that her work will be passed around the family to be read and eventually will have a place in the living room along with other valued family books and family photographs. Other Indigenous students have presented a symposium on their research into native schools to an international conference, or given a paper to an academic audience. Some have been able to develop strategies and community-based initiatives directly from their own research projects. Some have taken a theoretical approach to a problem and through their analyses have shown new ways of thinking about issues of concern to Indigenous peoples.

Sharing knowledge is also a long-term commitment. It is much easier for researchers to hand out a report and for organizations to distribute pamphlets than to engage in continuing knowledge-sharing processes. For Indigenous researchers, however, this is what is expected of us as we live and move within our various communities. The old colonial adage that knowledge is power is taken seriously in Indigenous communities and many processes have been discussed and enacted in order to facilitate effective ways of sharing knowledge. Indigenous communities probably know more than the dominant white community about issues raised by the Human Genome Diversity Project, for example, or the

社區的做法和習俗是研究的“障礙”或作為研究人員需要熟悉的異國習俗，以便在不引起冒犯的情況下開展工作。土著方法論傾向於將文化協議、價值觀和行為視為方法論的一個組成部分。它們是明確地融入研究的“因素”，需要反射性地思考，作為研究設計的一部分公開聲明，作為研究最終結果的一部分進行討論，並以文化上適當的方式和可以理解的語言傳播回人們。這並不排除為學術出版物寫作，而只是道德和尊重方法的一部分。傳播知識並確保研究到達幫助實現知識的人手中的方式有很多種。科學研究並不總是解決的兩個重要方式是向人們“報告”和“分享知識”。這兩種方式都假設了互惠和反饋的原則。

向人民報告從來都不是一次性的，也不是完成書面報告後可以簽字的任務。我的一些學生在正式儀式上向家庭和部落委員會展示了他們的作品;其中一位將他的作品放置在圍繞已故親屬棺材的花圈中。我和另一位學生一起回到她進行採訪的地區，以便她可以向她採訪的人展示她的作品副本。家人在等她;他們做飯，歡迎我們。我們離開時知道她的作品將在家人中傳遞以供閱讀，並最終將與其他有價值的家庭書籍和家庭照片一起在客廳裡佔有一席之地。其他原住民學生在國際會議上發表了一場關於他們對本土學校研究的研討會，或向學術觀眾發表了一篇論文。有些人已經能夠直接從自己的研究項目中制定戰略和基於社區的舉措。有些人對問題採取了理論方法，並通過他們的分析展示了對原住民關心的問題的新思考方式。

分享知識也是一項長期承諾。對於研究人員來說，分發報告和組織分發小冊子比參與持續的知識共享過程要容易得多。然而，對於原住民研究人員來說，這是我們在各個社區中生活和移動時對我們的期望。原住民社區認真對待“知識就是力量”的古老殖民格言，並且已經討論和頒布了許多流程，以促進知識共享的有效方式。例如，原住民社區可能比占主導地位的白人社區更了解人類基因組多樣性計畫或

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) agreement. I recall, when attending the Indigenous Peoples World Conference on Education in Woollongong, New South Wales, an Aborigine woman telling me that 'we are always waiting for them [white Australia] to catch up. They still don't know.' I use the term 'sharing knowledge' deliberately, rather than the term 'sharing information' because to me the responsibility of researchers and academics is not simply to share surface information (pamphlet knowledge) but to share the theories and analyses which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented. By taking this approach seriously it is possible to introduce communities and people who may have had little formal schooling to a wider world, a world which includes people who think just like them, who share in their struggles and dreams and who voice their concerns in similar sorts of ways. To assume in advance that people will not be interested in, or will not understand, the deeper issues is arrogant. The challenge always is to demystify, to decolonize.

In reading this book you may well think that it is an anti-research book on research. There is certainly a history of research of Indigenous peoples which continues to make Indigenous students who encounter this history very angry. Sometimes they react by deciding never to do any research; but then they go out into the community and, because of their educational background and skills they are called upon to carry out projects or feasibility studies or evaluations or to write submissions that are based on information, data, archival records and interviews with elders. They are referred to as project workers, community activists or consultants, anything but 'researchers'. They search and record, they select and interpret, they organize and re-present, they make claims on the basis of what they assemble. This is research. The processes they use can also be called methodologies. The specific tools they use to gain information can also be called methods. Everything they are trying to do is informed by a theory, regardless of whether they can talk about that theory explicitly.

Finally, a brief comment on non-Indigenous researchers still researching with Indigenous peoples or about Indigenous issues. Clearly, there have been some shifts in the way non-Indigenous researchers and academics have positioned themselves and their work in relation to the people for whom the research still counts. It is also clear, however, that there are powerful groups of researchers who resent Indigenous people asking questions about their research and whose research paradigms constantly permit them to exploit Indigenous peoples and their knowledges. On the positive side, in the New Zealand context,

或關稅和貿易總協定 （GATT） 協定。我記得在新南威爾士州伍倫貢參加原住民世界教育會議時，一位原住民婦女告訴我，“我們一直在等待他們（澳大利亞白人）迎頭趕上。他們仍然不知道。我特意使用「共享知識」一詞，而不是「共享資訊」一詞，因為對我來說，研究人員和學者的責任不僅僅是分享表面資訊（小冊子知識），而是分享理論和分析，這些理論和分析為知識和資訊的建構和表示方式提供了資訊。通過認真對待這種方法，可以將可能很少受過正規教育的社區和人們介紹到一個更廣闊的世界，這個世界包括與他們有同樣想法的人，他們分享他們的掙扎和夢想，並以類似的方式表達他們的擔憂。預先假設人們不會對更深層次的問題感興趣或不理解，這是傲慢的。挑戰始終是揭開神秘面紗，去殖民化。

在閱讀這本書時，你很可能會認為這是一本關於研究的反研究書。當然，有對原住民的研究歷史，這繼續讓遇到這段歷史的原住民學生非常憤怒。有時他們的反應是決定從不做任何研究;但隨後他們走進社區，由於他們的教育背景和技能，他們被要求開展項目或可行性研究或評估，或者根據信息、數據、檔案記錄和對長老的採訪撰寫意見書。他們被稱為項目工作人員、社區活動家或顧問，除了“研究人員”之外，什麼都不是。他們搜索和記錄，他們選擇和解釋，他們組織和重新呈現，他們根據他們收集的東西提出主張。這就是研究。他們使用的過程也可以稱為方法論。他們用來獲取信息的具體工具也可以稱為方法。他們試圖做的一切都是由一個理論提供信息的，無論他們是否可以明確地談論該理論。

最後，對仍在與原住民或原住民問題進行研究的非原住民研究人員的簡要評論。顯然，非原住民研究人員和學者將自己及其工作與研究仍然重要的人聯繫起來的方式發生了一些變化。然而，同樣明顯的是，有一些強大的研究人員群體對原住民提出有關他們研究的問題感到厭惡，他們的研究範式不斷允許他們利用原住民及其知識。從積極的一面來看，在新西蘭的背景下，

work is being carried out in terms of bicultural research, partnership research and multi-disciplinary research. Other researchers have had to clarify their research aims and think more seriously about effective and ethical ways of carrying out research with Indigenous peoples. Still others have developed ways of working with Indigenous peoples on a variety of projects in an ongoing and mutually beneficial way. The discussion about what that means for non-Indigenous researchers and for Indigenous peoples is not addressed here directly. It is not that I do not have views on the matter but rather that the present work has grown out of a concern to develop Indigenous peoples as researchers. There is so little material that addresses the issues Indigenous researchers face. The book is written primarily to help ourselves.

Notes

1 Thompson, A. S. (1859), *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present, Savage and Civilized,* John Murray, London. Thompson writes that, 'This comparative smallness of the brain is produced by neglecting to exercise the higher faculties of the mind, for as muscles shrink from want of use, it is only natural that generations of mental indolence should lessen the size of brains', Vol. 1, p. 81.
2 Said, E. (1978), *Orientalism,* Vintage Books, London, p. 2.
3 *Ibid.,* p. 3.
4 See, for a summary of issues, Burger, J. (1987), *Report from the Frontier: The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples,* Zed Books, London.
5 Collins, Patricia Hill (1991), 'Learning from the Outsider Within: the Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought', in *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Research as Lived Research,* eds M. M. Fonow and J. A. Cook, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
6 Aga Khan, Sadruddin, and Hassan bin Talal (1987), *Indigenous Peoples: a Global Quest for Justice. A Report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Affairs,* Zed Books, London.
7 For background see *ibid.* and Wilmer, F. (1993), *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics,* Sage, California.
8 Burger, J. (1990), *The Gaia Atlas of First Peoples,* Gaia Books, London.
9 Wilmer, *The Indigenous Voice,* p. 5.
10 I am not quite sure who said it first but several writers and texts have employed this concept in their titles and writing. Salman Rushdie wrote that the 'Empire writes back to the center'. African American women writers have taken the theme of 'talking back' or 'back chat' in similar ways to which Māori women speak of 'answering back'. Also important was a critical text on racism in Britain written by the Center

正在進行雙文化研究、夥伴關係研究和多學科研究方面的工作。其他研究人員必須澄清他們的研究目標，並更認真地思考對原住民進行研究的有效和合乎道德的方式。還有一些人開發了以持續和互利的方式與原住民合作開展各種項目的方法。關於這對非原住民研究人員和原住民意味著什麼的討論在這裡沒有直接討論。並不是說我對此事沒有看法，而是目前的工作是出於對培養原住民作為研究人員的關注。解決原住民研究人員面臨的問題的材料太少了。

這本書主要是為了幫助我們自己而寫的。

筆記

1 湯普森，AS （1859），《新西蘭的故事：過去與現在》，
野蠻與文明，約翰·默里，倫敦。湯普森寫道，“大腦的這種相對狹小是由於忽視了鍛煉思維的高級能力而產生的，因為當肌肉因缺乏使用而萎縮時，一代又一代的精神懶惰自然會縮小大腦的大小”，第 1 卷，第 81 頁。

2 Said， E. （1978），《東方主義》，Vintage Books，倫敦，第 2 頁。

3 同上，第 3 頁。

4 有關問題的摘要，請參見 Burger， J. （1987），來自邊境的報告：世界土著人民的狀況，Zed Books，倫敦。

5 柯林斯，帕特里夏·希爾 （1991），“向局外人學習：黑人女權主義思想的社會學意義”，收錄於《超越方法論：作為生活研究的女權主義研究》，M. M. Fonow 和 J.
A. 庫克，印第安納大學出版社，布盧明頓。

6 Aga Khan、Sadruddin 和 Hassan bin Talal （1987），原住民：
全球對正義的追求。國際人道主義事務獨立委員會的報告，Zed Books，倫敦。

7 有關背景，請參見同上和 Wilmer， F. （1993），《世界政治中的土著之聲》，Sage，加利福尼亞州。

8 Burger， J. （1990），《蓋亞原住民地圖集》，蓋亞圖書，倫敦。

9 威爾默，《原住民之聲》，第 5 頁。

10 我不太確定是誰先說的，但一些作家和文本在他們的標題和寫作中都採用了這個概念。薩爾曼·拉什迪 （Salman Rushdie） 寫道，“帝國回信給中間派”。非裔美國女作家以與毛利女性所說的“回擊”類似的方式來處理“頂嘴”或“頂嘴”的主題。同樣重要的是該中心撰寫的一篇關於英國種族主義的批判性文章

for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham (1982): *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 1970s Britain,* Hutchinson, London.

11 Nandy, A. (1989), *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism,* Oxford University Press, Delhi.

12 Memmi, A. (1965), *The Colonizer and the Colonized,* expanded edition (1991), Beacon Press, Boston, pp. 79–89.

13 Maracle, L. (1996), *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism,* Press Gang Publishers, Vancouver, p. 21.

14 Johnston, P. and L. Pihama (1994), 'The Marginalisation of Māori Women', *Hecate,* Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 83–97.

15 See, for example, Smith, L. T. (1985), 'Te Rapunga I Te Ao Māori', in *Issues of Research and Māori,* eds G. H. Smith and M. K. Hohepa, Research Unit for Māori Education, Education Department, University of Auckland.

16 The term 'tribal' is problematic in the Indigenous context but is used commonly in New Zealand to refer to large kinship-based, political groupings of Māori. Our preferred name for a 'tribe' is *iwi.*

17 Burger, *Report from the Frontier,* pp. 177–208.

18 See, for example, essays by Spivak, Gayatri (1990), *The Post-Colonial Critic,* ed. S. Harasym, Routledge, New York.

19 Bishop, R. and T. Glynn (1992), 'He Kanohi Kitea: Conducting and Evaluating Educational Research', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 125–35.

同樣重要的是伯明翰大學當代文化研究中心（1982 年）撰寫的一篇關於英國種族主義的批判性**反擊**：1970 年代英國的種族與種族主義，哈欽森，倫敦。

11 Nandy， A. （1989），《親密的敵人：殖民主義下自我的喪失與恢復》，牛津大學出版社，德里。

12 Memmi， A. （1965），《殖民者與被殖民者》，擴展版（1991），Beacon Press，波士頓，第 79-89 頁。

13 Maracle， L. （1996），《我是女人：社會學和女權主義的本土視角》，Press Gang Publishers，溫哥華，第 21 頁。

14 Johnston， P. 和 L. Pihama （1994），“毛利婦女的邊緣化”，Hecate，第 20 卷，第 2 期，第 83-97 頁。

15 例如，參見 Smith， L. T. （1985），'Te Rapunga I Te Ao Māori'，in Issues of Research and Māori， eds G. H. Smith and M. K. Hohepa， Research Unit for Māori Education， Education Department， University of Auckland.

16 “部落”一詞在原住民語境中是有問題的，但在新西蘭通常用於指代毛利人的大型基於親屬關係的政治團體。我們對「部落」的首選名稱是 iwi。

17 伯格，來自邊境的報告，第 177-208 頁。

18 例如，參見 Spivak， Gayatri （1990） 的文章，The Post-Colonial Critic， ed. S. Harasym， Routledge， New York.

19 Bishop， R. 和 T. Glynn （1992），“He Kanohi Kitea：指揮和評估教育研究“，新西蘭教育研究雜誌，第 27 卷，第 2 期，第 125-35 頁。

Chapter 1

Imperialism, History, Writing and Theory

The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house

Audre Lorde[1]

Imperialism frames the Indigenous experience. It is part of our story, our version of modernity. Writing about our experiences under imperialism and its more specific expression of colonialism has become a significant project of the Indigenous world. In a literary sense this has been defined by writers like Salman Rushdie, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and many others whose literary origins are grounded in the landscapes, languages, cultures and imaginative worlds of peoples and nations whose own histories were interrupted and radically reformulated by European imperialism. While the project of creating this literature is important, what Indigenous activists would argue is that imperialism cannot be struggled over only at the level of text and literature. Imperialism still hurts, still destroys and is reforming itself constantly. Indigenous peoples as an international group have had to challenge, understand and have a shared language for talking about the history, the sociology, the psychology and the politics of imperialism and colonialism as an epic story telling of huge devastation, painful struggle and persistent survival. We have become quite good at talking that kind of talk, most often amongst ourselves, for ourselves and to ourselves. 'The talk' about the colonial past is embedded in our political discourses, our humour, poetry, music, storytelling and other common sense ways of passing on both a narrative of history and an attitude about history. The lived experiences of imperialism and colonialism contribute another dimension to the ways in which terms like 'imperialism' can be understood. This is a dimension that Indigenous peoples know and understand well.

In this chapter the intention is to discuss and contextualize four concepts which are often present (though not necessarily clearly visible) in the ways in which the ideas of Indigenous peoples are articulated: imperialism, history, writing, and theory. These terms may seem to make

C哈普特 1

帝國主義、歷史、寫作和理論

主人的工具永遠不會拆主人的房子

奧德麗．洛德

帝國主義構成了原住民的經驗。這是我們故事的一部分，我們版本的現代性。寫我們在帝國主義下的經歷及其對殖民主義的更具體表達已成為原住民世界的一個重要項目。在文學意義上，這是由薩爾曼．拉什迪（Salman Rushdie）、恩古吉．瓦．蒂昂奧（Ngugi wa Thiong'o）和許多其他作家定義的，他們的文學起源植根於人民和國家的風景、語言、文化和富有想像力的世界，這些民族和國家自己的歷史被歐洲帝國主義打斷和徹底重新表述。雖然創作這些文學的項目很重要，但原住民活動家會爭辯說，帝國主義不能僅在文本和文學層面上進行鬥爭。帝國主義仍然在傷害，仍然在破壞，並且正在不斷地自我改革。土著人民作為一個國際群體，必須挑戰、理解並擁有共同的語言來談論帝國主義和殖民主義的歷史、社會學、心理學和政治，作為一個講述巨大破壞、痛苦鬥爭和持續生存的史詩故事。我們已經非常擅長談論這種談話，最常見的是我們自己之間，為我們自己和對自己。關於殖民歷史的「談話」嵌入了我們的政治話語、幽默、詩歌、音樂、講故事和其他傳遞歷史敘事和歷史態度的常識性方式中。帝國主義和殖民主義的生活經驗為理解「帝國主義」等術語的方式提供了另一個維度。這是原住民非常了解和理解的維度。

在本章中，目的是討論和語境化四個概念，這些概念經常出現在原住民思想的表達方式中（儘管不一定清晰可見）：帝國主義、歷史、寫作和理論。這些術語似乎使

up a strange selection, particularly as there are more obvious concepts such as self-determination or sovereignty which are used commonly in Indigenous discourses. I have selected these words because from an Indigenous perspective they are problematic. They are words which tend to provoke a whole array of feelings, attitudes and values. They are words of emotion which draw attention to the thousands of ways in which Indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures have been silenced or misrepresented, ridiculed or condemned in academic and popular discourses. They are also words which are used in particular sorts of ways or avoided altogether. In thinking about knowledge and research, however, these are important terms which underpin the practices and styles of research with Indigenous peoples. Decolonization is a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels. For researchers, one of those levels is concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices.

Before moving forward let me refer to the words of Audre Lorde that open this chapter. It is easy to think of the tools that the master created being generic and unbiased tools such as education, government, democracy and so forth. Not only are these terms not innocent but it is important to recognize that imperialism and colonialism enabled the design of specific tools tailored especially to deal with Indigenous Peoples. The Doctrine of Discovery was a specific tool designed by the Catholic Church that ultimately became and still exists as a principle of discovery enshrined in law that will probably apply if humans choose to colonize a new planet. As Steve Newcomb argues, the Doctrine of Discovery was 'premised on the idea that any Christian people, nation or state had a right of domination over the "discovered" lands and lives of non-Christians'. The colonizer did not simply design an education system. They designed an education especially to destroy Indigenous cultures, value systems and appearance. Those systems were called Indian boarding schools, residential schools, village day schools. They designed social policies designed especially to break down Indigenous families. These systems resulted in the stolen children in Australia, the removal of thousands of Indigenous children from their parents and communities, who were then placed in the homes of white families. The master's tools of colonization will not work to decolonize what the master built. Our challenge is to fashion new tools for the purpose of decolonizing and Indigenous tools that can revitalize Indigenous knowledge.[2]

這些術語似乎構成了一個奇怪的選擇，特別是因為在原住民話語中經常使用更明顯的概念，例如自決或主權。我選擇這些詞是因為從原住民的角度來看，它們是有問題的。這些詞往往會激起一系列的感受、態度和價值觀。它們是情感的話語，引起了人們對原住民語言、知識和文化在學術和流行話語中被壓制或歪曲、嘲笑或譴責的數千種方式的關注。它們也是以特定方式使用或完全避免的詞。然而，在思考知識和研究時，這些是支撐原住民研究實踐和風格的重要術語。非殖民化是一個在多個層面上與帝國主義和殖民主義接觸的過程。對於研究人員來說，其中一個層次涉及對為研究實踐提供信息的基本假設、動機和價值觀有更批判性的理解。

在繼續之前，讓我先參考一下奧德麗·洛德 （Audre Lorde） 在本章開頭的話。人們很容易認為大師創造的工具是通用且公正的工具，例如教育、政府、民主等。這些術語不僅不是無辜的，而且重要的是要認識到帝國主義和殖民主義使得設計出專門針對原住民的特定工具。發現教義是天主教會設計的一種特定工具，最終成為並仍然存在，作為法律中規定的發現原則，如果人類選擇殖民一個新星球，它可能會適用。正如史蒂夫·紐科姆（Steve Newcomb）所說，發現教義「以這樣一種觀點為前提，即任何基督教民族、民族或國家都有權統治『發現』的土地和非基督徒的生活」。殖民者不僅僅是設計一個教育體系。他們設計了一種專門摧毀原住民文化、價值體系和外表的教育。這些系統被稱為印第安寄宿學校、寄宿學校、鄉村走讀學校。他們設計了專門為瓦解原住民家庭而設計的社會政策。這些系統導致澳大利亞的兒童被盜，數千名原住民兒童被帶離父母和社區，然後被安置在白人家庭的家中。主人的殖民工具不會使主人建造的東西去殖民化。我們的挑戰是打造以非殖民化為目的的新工具和可以振興原住民知識的原住民工具。

Imperialism

There is one particular figure whose name looms large, and whose spectre lingers, in Indigenous discussions of encounters with the West: Christopher Columbus. It is not simply that Columbus is identified as the one who started it all, but rather that he has come to represent a huge legacy of suffering and destruction. Columbus 'names' that legacy more than any other individual.[3] He sets its modern time frame (500-plus years) and defines the outer limits of that legacy, that is, total destruction.[4] But there are other significant figures who symbolize and frame Indigenous experiences in other places. In the imperial literature, these are the 'heroes', the discoverers and adventurers, the 'fathers' of colonialism. In the Indigenous literature these figures are not so admired; their deeds are definitely not the deeds of wonderful discoverers and conquering heroes. In the South Pacific, for example, it is the British explorer James Cook, whose expeditions had a very clear scientific purpose and whose first encounters with Indigenous peoples were fastidiously recorded. Hawai'ian academic Haunani Kay Trask's list of what Cook brought to the Pacific includes: 'capitalism, Western political ideas (such as predatory individualism) and Christianity. Most destructive of all he brought diseases that ravaged my people until we were but a remnant of what we had been on contact with his pestilent crew'.[5] The French are remembered by Tasmanian Aborigine Greg Lehman, 'not [for] the intellectual hubbub of an emerging anthrologie or even with the swish of their travel-weary frocks. It is with an arrogant death that they presaged their appearance….'[6] For many communities, there were waves of different sorts of Europeans: Dutch, Portuguese, British, French, whoever had political ascendancy over a region. And, in each place, after figures such as Columbus and Cook had long departed, there came a vast array of military personnel, imperial administrators, priests, explorers, missionaries, colonial officials, artists, entrepreneurs and settlers, who cut a devastating swathe, and left a permanent wound, on the societies and communities who occupied the lands named and claimed under imperialism.

The concepts of imperialism and colonialism are crucial ones which are used across a range of disciplines, often with meanings which are taken for granted. The two terms are interconnected and what is generally agreed upon is that colonialism is but one expression of imperialism. Imperialism tends to be used in at least four different ways when describing the form of European imperialism which 'started'

帝國主義

有一個特別的人物，他的名字在原住民與西方相遇的討論中隱約可見，他的幽靈揮之不去：克里斯托弗．哥倫布。這不僅僅是因為哥倫布被認為是這一切的始作俑者，而是因為他已經代表了痛苦和破壞的巨大遺產。哥倫布比任何其他人都更多地「命名」了這一遺產。他設定了現代時間框架（500 多年），並定義了該遺產的外部界限，即徹底毀滅。但還有其他重要人物象徵和塑造了其他地方的原住民經歷。在帝國文學中，這些是“英雄”，是發現者和冒險家，是殖民主義的“父親”。在原住民文學中，這些人物並不那麼受人欽佩。他們的事迹絕對不是奇特的發現者和征服英雄的事迹。例如，在南太平洋，英國探險家詹姆斯．庫克（James Cook）的探險具有非常明確的科學目的，並且他與原住民的第一次接觸被嚴格記錄下來。夏威夷學者豪納尼．凱．特拉斯克（Haunani Kay Trask） 列出庫克帶到太平洋的東西包括：“資本主義、西方政治思想（如掠奪性個人主義）和基督教。最具破壞性的是，他帶來了疾病，蹂躪了我的人民，直到我們只剩下我們與他的瘟疫船員接觸過的東西的殘餘。塔斯馬尼亞原住民格雷格．雷曼 （Greg Lehman） 記得法國人，“不是因為新興人類學的知識喧囂，甚至不是因為他們疲憊不堪的連衣裙的嗖嗖聲。 正是以傲慢的死亡預示了他們的出現.....「對於許多社區來說，出現了不同種類的歐洲人的浪潮：荷蘭人、葡萄牙人、英國人、法國人，無論誰在某個地區擁有政治優勢。而且，在哥倫布和庫克等人物早已離開後，在每個地方都出現了大量的軍事人員、帝國行政人員、牧師、探險家、傳教士、殖民官員、藝術家、企業家和定居者，他們對佔領帝國主義命名和宣稱的土地的社會和社區造成了毀滅性的傷害，並留下了永久的創傷。

帝國主義和殖民主義的概念是重要的概念，它們被用於一系列學科，通常具有理所當然的含義。這兩個術語是相互關聯的，普遍認為殖民主義只是帝國主義的一種表現形式。在描述「開始」的歐洲帝國主義形式時，帝國主義往往至少以四種不同的方式使用。

in the fifteenth century: (1) imperialism as economic expansion; (2) imperialism as the subjugation of 'others'; (3) imperialism as an idea or spirit with many forms of realization; and (4) imperialism as a discursive field of knowledge. These usages do not necessarily contradict each other; rather, they need to be seen as analyses which focus on different layers of imperialism. Initially, the term was used by historians to explain a series of developments leading to the economic expansion of Europe. Imperialism in this sense could be tied to a chronology of events related to 'discovery', conquest, exploitation, distribution and appropriation.

Economic explanations of imperialism were first advanced by English historian J. A. Hobson in 1902 and by Lenin in 1917.[7] Hobson saw imperialism as being an integral part of Europe's economic expansion. He attributed the later stages of nineteenth-century imperialism to the inability of Europeans to purchase what was being produced and the need for Europe's industrialists to shift their capital to new markets which were secure. Imperialism was the system of control which secured the markets and capital investments. Colonialism facilitated this expansion by ensuring that there was European control, which necessarily meant securing and subjugating the Indigenous populations. Like Hobson, Lenin was concerned with the ways in which economic expansion was linked to imperialism, although he argued that the export of capital to new markets was an attempt to rescue capitalism because Europe's workers could not afford what was being produced.

A second use of the concept of imperialism focuses more upon the exploitation and subjugation of Indigenous peoples. Although economic explanations might account for why people like Columbus were funded to explore and discover new sources of wealth, they do not account for the devastating impact on the Indigenous peoples whose lands were invaded.

By the time contact was made in the South Pacific, Europeans, and more particularly the British, had learned from their previous encounters with Indigenous peoples and had developed much more sophisticated 'rules of practice'.[8] While these practices ultimately lead to forms of subjugation, they also lead to subtle nuances which give an unevenness to the story of imperialism, even within the story of one Indigenous society. While in New Zealand all Māori tribes, for example, lost the majority of their lands, not all tribes had their lands confiscated, were invaded militarily or were declared to be in rebellion. Similarly, while many Indigenous nations signed treaties, other Indigenous communities have no treaties. Furthermore, legislated identities which

在描述十五世紀「開始」的歐洲帝國主義形式時，帝國主義往往至少以四種不同的方式使用：（1）帝國主義是經濟擴張;（2）帝國主義是對「他者」的征服;（3）帝國主義作為一種具有多種實現形式的思想或精神;（4）帝國主義作為一種話語知識領域。這些用法不一定相互矛盾;相反，它們需要被視為關注帝國主義不同層面的分析。最初，歷史學家使用該術語來解釋導致歐洲經濟擴張的一系列發展。從這個意義上說，帝國主義可以與與「發現」、征服、剝削、分配和挪用相關的事件年表聯繫在一起。

對帝國主義的經濟解釋首先由英國歷史學家 J. A. Hobson 於 1902 年提出，列寧於 1917 年提出。霍布森認為帝國主義是歐洲經濟擴張不可或缺的一部分。他將十九世紀帝國主義的後期歸因於歐洲人無法購買正在生產的產品，以及歐洲實業家需要將資本轉移到安全的新市場。帝國主義是確保市場和資本投資的控制體系。殖民主義通過確保歐洲控制來促進這種擴張，這必然意味著保護和征服土著居民。和霍布森一樣，列寧也關注經濟擴張與帝國主義的聯繫方式，儘管他認為資本向新市場輸出是拯救資本主義的企圖，因為歐洲的工人買不起正在生產的東西。

帝國主義概念的第二種用途更側重於對原住民的剝削和征服。儘管經濟解釋可能解釋了為什麼像哥倫布這樣的人被資助去探索和發現新的財富來源，但它們並沒有解釋對土地被入侵的原住民的毀滅性影響。

當在南太平洋進行接觸時，歐洲人，尤其是英國人，已經從他們之前與原住民的接觸中吸取了教訓，並制定了更複雜的“實踐規則”。雖然這些做法最終導致了征服的形式，但它們也導致了微妙的細微差別，使帝國主義的故事變得不平衡，即使在一個土著社會的故事中也是如此。例如，在新西蘭，所有毛利部落都失去了大部分土地，但並非所有部落的土地都被沒收、被軍事入侵或被宣布叛亂。同樣，雖然許多原住民國家簽署了條約，但其他原住民社區卻沒有條約。此外，立法身份

regulated who was an Indian and who was not, who was a *metis,* who had lost all status as an Indigenous person, who had the correct fraction of blood quantum, who lived in the regulated spaces of reserves and communities, were all worked out arbitrarily (but systematically), to serve the interests of the colonizing society. The specificities of imperialism help to explain the different ways in which Indigenous peoples have struggled to recover histories, lands, languages and basic human dignity. The way arguments are framed, the way dissent is controlled, the way settlements are made, while certainly drawing from international precedents, are also situated within a more localized discursive field.

A third major use of the term is much broader. It links imperialism to the spirit which characterized Europe's global activities. MacKenzie defines imperialism as being 'more than a set of economic, political and military phenomena. It is also a complex ideology which had widespread cultural, intellectual and technical expressions.'[9] This view of imperialism locates it within the Enlightenment spirit which signalled the transformation of economic, political and cultural life in Europe. In this wider Enlightenment context, imperialism becomes an integral part of the development of the modern state, of science, of ideas and of the 'modern' human person. In complex ways imperialism was also a mode through which the new states of Europe could expand their economies, through which new ideas and discoveries could be made and harnessed, and through which Europeans could develop their sense of European-ness. The imperial imagination enabled European nations to imagine the possibility that new worlds, new wealth and new possessions existed that could be discovered and controlled. This imagination was realized through the promotion of science, economic expansion and political practice.

These three interpretations of imperialism have reflected a view from the imperial centre of Europe. In contrast, a fourth use of the term has been generated by writers whose understandings of imperialism and colonialism have been based either on their membership of and experience within colonized societies, or on their interest in understanding imperialism from the perspective of local contexts. Although these views of imperialism take into account the other forms of analysis, there are some important distinctions. There is, for example, a greater and more immediate need to understand the complex ways in which people were brought within the imperial system, because its impact is still being felt, despite the apparent independence gained by former colonial territories. The reach of imperialism into 'our heads'

規定誰是印第安人、誰不是印第安人、誰是梅蒂人、誰失去了原住民的所有身份、誰擁有正確的血量、誰生活在保護區和社區的受監管空間，這些都是武斷的（但系統地），以服務於殖民社會的利益。帝國主義的特殊性有助於解釋原住民努力恢復歷史、土地、語言和基本人類尊嚴的不同方式。論點的框架方式、異議的控制方式、和解的方式，雖然當然借鑒了國際先例，但也位於一個更本地化的話語領域。

該術語的第三個主要用法要廣泛得多。它將帝國主義與歐洲全球活動的精神聯繫起來。麥肯齊將帝國主義定義為“不僅僅是一系列經濟、政治和軍事現象。它也是一種複雜的意識形態，具有廣泛的文化、知識和技術表現形式。這種帝國主義觀將其定位在啟蒙精神中，啟蒙精神標誌著歐洲經濟、政治和文化生活的轉變。在這種更廣泛的啟蒙運動背景下，帝國主義成為現代國家、科學、思想和「現代」人類發展的一個組成部分。在複雜的方面，帝國主義也是一種模式，通過它，歐洲的新國家可以擴大他們的經濟，通過它可以創造和利用新的想法和發現，通過它，歐洲人可以通過它來發展他們的歐洲性意識。帝國的想像力使歐洲國家能夠想像存在可以發現和控制的新世界、新財富和新財產的可能性。這種想像是通過促進科學、經濟擴張和政治實踐來實現的。

這三種對帝國主義的解釋反映了歐洲帝國中心的觀點。相比之下，該術語的第四次使用是由作家產生的，他們對帝國主義和殖民主義的理解要么基於他們在殖民社會中的成員身份和經驗，要么基於他們對從當地背景的角度理解帝國主義的興趣。儘管這些帝國主義觀點考慮了其他形式的分析，但也有一些重要的區別。例如，人們更需要了解人們被帶入帝國體系的複雜方式，因為儘管前殖民領土表面上獲得了獨立，但它的影響仍然存在。帝國主義進入「我們的頭腦」

challenges those who belong to colonized communities to understand how this occurred, partly because we perceive a need to decolonize our minds, to recover ourselves, to claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity. This analysis of imperialism has been referred to more recently in terms such as 'post-colonial discourse', the 'empire writes back' and/or 'writing from the margins'. There is a more political body of writing, however, which extends to the revolutionary, anti-colonial work of various activists (only some of whom, such as Frantz Fanon, actually wrote their ideas down) that draws also upon the work of black and African American writers and other minority writers whose work may have emerged out of a concern for human and civil rights, the rights of women and other forms of oppression.

Colonialism became imperialism's outpost, the fort and the port of imperial outreach. Whilst colonies may have started as a means to secure ports, access to raw materials and efficient transfer of commodities from point of origin to the imperial centre, they also served other functions. It was not just Indigenous populations who had to be subjugated. Europeans also needed to be kept under control, in service to the greater imperial enterprise. Colonial outposts were also cultural sites which preserved an image or represented an image of what the West or 'civilization' stood for. Colonies were not exact replicas of the imperial centre, culturally, economically or politically. Europeans resident in the colonies were not culturally homogeneous, so there were struggles within the colonizing community about its own identity. Wealth and class status created very powerful settler interests which came to dominate the politics of a colony. Colonialism was, in part, an image of imperialism, a particular realization of the imperial imagination. It was also, in part, an image of the future nation it would become. In this image lie images of the Other, stark contrasts and subtle nuances, of the ways in which the Indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with, which make the stories of colonialism part of a grander narrative and yet part also of a very local, very specific experience.

A constant reworking of our understandings of the impact of imperialism and colonialism is an important aspect of Indigenous cultural politics and forms the basis of an Indigenous language of critique. Within this critique there have been two major strands. One draws upon a notion of authenticity, of a time before colonization in which we were intact as Indigenous peoples. We had absolute authority over our lives; we were born into and lived in a universe which was entirely of our making. We did not ask, need or want to be 'discovered' by Europe. The second strand of the language of critique demands that

帝國主義進入「我們的頭腦」，挑戰那些屬於被殖民社區的人理解這是如何發生的，部分原因是我們意識到需要去殖民化我們的思想，恢復我們自己，並要求一個空間來發展真正的人性意識。這種對帝國主義的分析最近被用「後殖民話語」、「帝國回信」和/或「從邊緣寫作」等術語來提及。然而，還有一種更具政治性的寫作體系，它延伸到各種活動家的革命性、反殖民主義作品（只有其中一些人，例如弗朗茨·法農，實際上寫下了他們的想法），其中也借鑒了黑人和非裔美國作家以及其他少數族裔作家的作品，他們的作品可能是出於對人權和公民權利的關注， 婦女權利和其他形式的壓迫。

殖民主義成為帝國主義的前哨、堡壘和帝國外展的港口。雖然殖民地最初可能是為了確保港口安全、獲取原材料以及將商品從原產地有效轉移到帝國中心的一種手段，但它們也具有其他功能。必須被征服的不僅僅是原住民。歐洲人也需要受到控制，為更大的帝國事業服務。殖民前哨站也是保存西方或「文明」所代表的形象或代表形象的文化遺址。殖民地在文化、經濟或政治上都不是帝國中心的精確複製品。居住在殖民地的歐洲人在文化上並不同質，因此殖民社區內部存在關於自身身份的鬥爭。財富和階級地位創造了非常強大的定居者利益，這些利益開始主導殖民地的政治。殖民主義在某種程度上是帝國主義的形象，是帝國想像力的特殊實現。這在某種程度上也是它未來國家的形象。在這幅圖像中，存在著他者的圖像，鮮明的對比和微妙的細微差別，以及原住民社區被感知和處理的方式，這使得殖民主義的故事成為更宏大敍事的一部分，但同時也是一種非常本地、非常具體的經歷的一部分。

不斷重新設計我們對帝國主義和殖民主義影響的理解是原住民文化政治的一個重要方面，並構成了原住民批判語言的基礎。在這種批評中，有兩個主要部分。人們借鑒了真實性的概念，即殖民化之前的時代，我們作為原住民完好無損。我們對自己的生活擁有絕對的權威;我們出生並生活在一個完全由我們創造的宇宙中。我們沒有要求、不需要或不想被歐洲「發現」。批判語言的第二條線要求

we have an analysis of how we were colonized, of what that has meant in terms of our immediate past and what it means for our present and future. The two strands intersect but what is particularly significant in Indigenous discourses is that solutions are posed from a combination of the time before, *colonized time,* and the time before that, *pre-colonized time.* Decolonization encapsulates both sets of ideas.

There are, however, new challenges to the way Indigenous peoples think and talk about imperialism. When the word globalization is substituted for the word imperialism, or when the prefix 'post' is attached to colonial, we are no longer talking simply about historical formations which are still lingering in our consciousness. Globalization and conceptions of a new world order represent different sorts of challenges for Indigenous peoples. While being on the margins of the world has had dire consequences, being incorporated within the world's marketplace has different implications and in turn requires the mounting of new forms of resistance. Similarly, post-colonial discussions have also stirred some Indigenous resistance, not so much to the literary reimagining of culture as being centred in what were once conceived of as the colonial margins, but to the idea that colonialism is over, finished business. This is best articulated by Aborigine activist Bobbi Sykes, who asked at an academic conference on post-colonialism, 'What? Post-colonialism? Have they left?' There is also, amongst Indigenous academics, the sneaking suspicion that the fashion of post-colonialism has become a strategy for reinscribing or reauthorizing the privileges of non-Indigenous academics because the field of 'post-colonial' discourse has been defined in ways which can still leave out Indigenous peoples, our ways of knowing and our current concerns.

Research within late-modern and late-colonial conditions continues relentlessly and brings with it a new wave of exploration, discovery, exploitation and appropriation. Researchers enter communities armed with goodwill in their front pockets and patents in their back pockets; they bring medicine into villages and extract blood for genetic analysis.

No matter how appalling their behaviours, how insensitive and offensive their personal actions may be, their acts and intentions are always justified as being for the 'good of mankind'. Research of this nature *on* Indigenous peoples is still justified by the ends rather than the means, particularly if the Indigenous peoples concerned can still be positioned as ignorant and undeveloped (savages). Other researchers gather traditional herbal and medicinal remedies and remove them for analysis in laboratories around the world. Still others collect the intangibles: the belief systems and ideas about healing, about the

批判語言的第二條線要求我們分析我們是如何被殖民的，這對我們的過去意味著什麼，以及它對我們的現在和未來意味著什麼。這兩條線是相交的，但在原住民話語中特別重要的是，解決方案是從之前的殖民時間和之前的殖民前時間的組合中提出的。去殖民化概括了這兩套想法。

然而，原住民思考和談論帝國主義的方式面臨新的挑戰。當全球化一詞被帝國主義一詞取代時，或者當殖民主義前綴“post”被附加時，我們不再簡單地談論仍然縈繞在我們意識中的歷史形態。全球化和新世界秩序的概念對原住民來說是不同類型的挑戰。雖然處於世界邊緣已經產生了可怕的後果，但融入世界市場會產生不同的影響，反過來又需要增加新形式的抵抗。同樣，後殖民討論也激起了一些原住民的抵制，與其說是文化的文學重新想像，不如說是以曾經被認為是殖民邊緣為中心，而是殖民主義已經結束、已完成的事情的想法。原住民活動家博比·賽克斯（Bobbi Sykes） 對此表達得最好，他在一次關於後殖民主義的學術會議上問道：“什麼？後殖民主義？他們走了嗎？』在原住民學者中，還有一種偷偷的懷疑，即後殖民主義的時尚已成為重新銘刻或重新授權非原住民學者特權的一種策略，因為「後殖民」話語領域的定義方式仍然可能遺漏原住民、我們的認知方式和我們當前的擔憂。

在晚期現代和晚期殖民條件下的研究繼續進行，並帶來了新一波的探索、發現、開發和挪用浪潮。研究人員進入社區時，前兜裡揣著善意，後兜裡揣著專利;他們將藥物帶入村莊並提取血液進行基因分析。

無論他們的行為多麼令人震驚，他們的個人行為多麼麻木不仁和冒犯，他們的行為和意圖總是被證明是為了“人類的利益”。對原住民進行這種性質的研究仍然是基於目的而不是手段的，特別是如果相關原住民仍然可以被定位為無知和未開發（野蠻人）的話。其他研究人員收集傳統的草藥和藥物，並將它們取出到世界各地的實驗室進行分析。還有一些人收集無形的東西：關於治療的信仰體系和想法，關於

universe, about relationships and ways of organizing, and the practices and rituals which go alongside such beliefs, such as sweat lodges, massage techniques, chanting, hanging crystals and wearing certain colours. The global hunt for new knowledges, new materials, new cures, supported by international agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) brings new threats to Indigenous communities. The ethics of research, the ways in which Indigenous communities can protect themselves and their knowledges, the understandings required not just of state legislation but of international agreements – these are the topics now on the agenda of many Indigenous meetings.

On Being Human

> *The faculty of imagination is not strongly developed among them, although they permitted it to run wild in believing absurd superstitions.*
>
> A. S. Thompson, 1859[10]

One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our minds or intellects. We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the 'arts' of civilization. By lacking such virtues we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilization but from humanity itself. In other words we were not 'fully human'; some of us were not even considered partially human. Ideas about what counted as human in association with the power to define people as human or not human were already encoded in imperial and colonial discourses prior to the period of imperialism covered here.[11] Imperialism provided the means through which concepts of what counts as human could be applied systematically as forms of classification, for example through hierarchies of race and typologies of different societies. In conjunction with imperial power and with 'science', these classification systems came to shape relations between imperial powers and Indigenous societies.

Said has argued that the 'oriental' was partially a creation of the West, based on a combination of images formed through scholarly and imaginative works. Fanon argued earlier that the colonized were brought into existence by the settler and the two, settler and colonized,

關於宇宙，關於關係和組織方式，以及與這些信仰相伴的實踐和儀式，例如汗水小屋、按摩技術、誦經、懸掛水晶和穿著某些顏色的衣服。在關稅和貿易總協定 （GATT） 等國際協議的支持下，全球對新知識、新材料、新療法的尋找給原住民社區帶來了新的威脅。研究的道德、原住民社區保護自己和知識的方式、不僅對國家立法和國際協議的要求理解——這些都是現在許多原住民會議議程上的主題。

關於做人

> 他們之間的想像力並不強烈，儘管他們允許想像力在相信荒謬的迷信時肆意妄為。
>
> AS 湯普森，1859 年

原始民族的一個假定特徵是我們無法使用我們的思想或智力。我們無法發明事物，我們無法創造制度或歷史，我們無法想像，我們無法生產任何有價值的東西，我們不知道如何利用自然界的土地和其他資源，我們不實踐文明的“藝術”。由於缺乏這些美德，我們不僅失去了文明的資格，而且失去了人類本身的資格。換句話說，我們不是「完全的人」;我們中的一些人甚至不被認為是部分人類。關於什麼算作人類以及將人定義為人類或非人類的權力相關的想法，在本文介紹的帝國主義時期之前就已經編碼在帝國主義和殖民話語中。帝國主義提供了一種手段，通過這種手段，可以系統地應用什麼是人類的概念作為分類形式，例如通過種族等級制度和不同社會的類型學。這些分類系統與皇權和「科學」相結合，塑造了皇權與原住民社會之間的關係。

賽義德認為，「東方」部分是西方的創造，基於透過學術和想像力作品形成的圖像組合。法農早些時候認為，被殖民者是由定居者和定居者和被殖民者兩者創造的，

are mutual constructions of colonialism. In Fanon's words: 'we know each other well'.[12] The European powers had by the nineteenth century already established systems of rule and forms of social relations which governed interaction with the Indigenous peoples being colonized. These relations were gendered, hierarchical and supported by rules, some explicit and others masked or hidden. The principle of 'humanity' was one way in which the implicit or hidden rules could be shaped. To consider Indigenous peoples as not fully human, or not human at all, enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies of either extermination or domestication. Some Indigenous peoples ('not human') were hunted and killed like vermin, others ('partially human') were rounded up and put in reserves like creatures to be broken in, branded and put to work.

The struggle to assert and claim humanity has been a consistent thread of anti-colonial discourses on colonialism and oppression. This struggle for humanity has generally been framed within the wider discourse of humanism, the appeal to human 'rights', the notion of a universal human subject, and the connections between being human and being capable of creating history, knowledge and society. The focus on asserting humanity has to be seen within the anti-colonial analysis of imperialism and what were seen as imperialism's dehumanizing imperatives, which were structured into the language, economy, social relations and cultural life of colonial societies. Mignolo and Walsh link the invention of the idea of the 'Human' to the very heart of the colonial matrix of power and see the formation of the idea of the Human and the separate idea of Nature emerging in the European Renaissance.[13]

From the nineteenth century onwards the processes of dehumanization were often hidden behind justifications for imperialism and colonialism, which were clothed within an ideology of humanism and liberalism and the assertion of moral claims that related to a concept of civilized 'man'. The moral justifications did not necessarily stop the continued hunting of Aborigines in the early nineteenth century, nor the continued ill-treatment of different Indigenous peoples even today.

Problems have arisen, however, within efforts to struggle for humanity by overthrowing the ideologies relating to our supposed lack of humanity. The arguments of Fanon, and many writers since Fanon, have been criticized for essentializing our 'nature', for taking for granted the binary categories of Western thought, for accepting arguments supporting cultural relativity, for claiming an authenticity which is overly idealistic and romantic, and for simply engaging in an inversion of the colonizer/colonized relationship without addressing the complex

是殖民主義的相互建構。用法農的話來說：“我們彼此很了解”。到 19 世紀，歐洲列強已經建立了統治體系和社會關係形式，以管理與被殖民土著人民的互動。這些關係是性別化的、等級制度的，並由規則支持，有些是明確的，有些是掩蓋或隱藏的。「人性」原則是塑造隱性或隱性規則的一種方式。將原住民視為不完全人類或根本不是人類，使得保持距離成為可能，並證明各種滅絕或馴化政策是合理的。一些原住民（“非人類”）像害蟲一樣被獵殺，其他人（“部分人類”）被圍捕並像生物一樣被放入保護區，以便被闖入、烙印和工作。

維護和主張人性的鬥爭一直是關於殖民主義和壓迫的反殖民論述的一貫主線。這種為人類而奮鬥的鬥爭通常被納入更廣泛的人文主義話語、對人權“權利”的訴求、普遍人類主體的概念，以及人類與能夠創造歷史、知識和社會之間的聯繫。主張人性的重點必須體現在對帝國主義的反殖民分析以及帝國主義的非人化命令中，這些命令被結構化為殖民社會的語言、經濟、社會關係和文化生活。米尼奧洛和沃爾什將「人類」概念的發明與殖民權力矩陣的核心聯繫起來，並看到了歐洲文藝復興時期人類概念的形成和自然概念的獨立概念的出現。

從十九世紀開始，非人化的過程往往隱藏在帝國主義和殖民主義的辯護背後，這些理由披著人文主義和自由主義的意識形態，以及與文明「人」概念相關的道德主張的主張。道德理由並不一定阻止十九世紀初對原住民的持續狩獵，也不一定阻止即使在今天仍然虐待不同的原住民。

然而，在通過推翻與我們所謂的缺乏人性有關的意識形態來為人性而奮鬥的努力中出現了問題。法農的論點以及自法農以來的許多作家都受到批評，因為將我們的「本性」本質化，認為西方思想的二元範疇是理所當然的，接受支持文化相對論的論點，聲稱一種過於理想主義和浪漫主義的真實性，以及簡單地顛倒殖民者/被殖民關係而不解決複雜問題

problems of power relations. Colonized peoples have been compelled to define what it means to be human because there is a deep understanding of what it has meant to be considered not fully human, to be *savage*. The difficulties of such a process, however, have been bound inextricably to constructions of colonial relations around the binary of colonizer and colonized. These two categories are not just a simple opposition but consist of several relations, some more clearly oppositional than others. Unlocking one set of relations most often requires unlocking and unsettling the different constituent parts of other relations. The binary of colonizer/colonized does not take into account, for example, the development of different layerings which have occurred within each group and across the two groups. Millions of Indigenous peoples were ripped from their lands over several generations and shipped into slavery. The lands they went to as slaves were lands already taken from another group of Indigenous peoples. Slavery was as much a system of imperialism as was the claiming of other peoples' territories. Other Indigenous peoples were transported to various outposts in the same way as interesting plants and animals were reclimatized, in order to fulfil labour requirements. Hence there are large populations in some places of non-Indigenous groups, also victims of colonialism, whose primary relationship and allegiance is often to the imperial power rather than to the colonized people of the place to which they themselves have been brought. To put it simply, Indigenous peoples as commodities were transported to and fro across the empire. There were also sexual relations between colonizers and colonized which led to communities who were referred to as 'half-castes' or 'half-breeds', or stigmatized by some other specific term which often excluded them from belonging to either settler or Indigenous societies. Sometimes children from 'mixed' sexual relationships were considered at least half-way civilized; at other times they were considered worse than civilized. Legislation was frequently used to regulate both the categories to which people were entitled to belong and the sorts of relations which one category of people could have with another.

Since the Second World War wars of independence and struggles for decolonization by former parts of European empires have shown us that attempts to break free can involve enormous violence: physical, social, economic, cultural and psychological. The struggle for freedom has been viewed by writers such as Fanon as a necessarily, inevitably violent process between 'two forces opposed to each other by their very nature'.[14] Fanon argues further that 'Decolonization which sets out to change the order of the world is, obviously, a programme of complete

以及簡單地參與殖民者/被殖民關係的顛倒，而沒有解決權力關係的複雜問題。被殖民的民族被迫定義人類的意義，因為人們深刻理解被認為不完全是人類、野蠻意味著什麼。然而，這一過程的困難與圍繞殖民者和被殖民者的二元關係的殖民關係建構密不可分。這兩個類別不僅僅是一個簡單的對立，而是由幾種關係組成，有些關係比其他關係更明顯。解鎖一組關係通常需要解鎖並擾亂其他關係的不同組成部分。殖民者/殖民者的二元論沒有考慮，例如，在每個群體內和兩個群體之間發生的不同分層的發展。數以百萬計的原住民在幾代人中被從他們的土地上奪走，並被運往奴隸。他們作為奴隸去的土地是已經從另一群原住民手中奪走的土地。奴隸制與對其他民族領土的主張一樣，都是一種帝國主義制度。其他原住民被運送到各個前哨站，就像有趣的植物和動物被重新適應一樣，以滿足勞動力需求。因此，在一些地方有大量的非土著群體，他們也是殖民主義的受害者，他們的主要關係和效忠往往是對皇權，而不是他們自己被帶到的地方的被殖民人民。簡單來說，原住民作為商品在帝國各地來回運輸。 殖民者和被殖民者之間也存在性關係，導致社區被稱為“半種姓”或“混血兒”，或者被其他特定術語污名化，這些術語通常將他們排除在定居者或土著社會之外。有時，來自「混合」性關係的兒童被認為至少文明了一半;在其他時候，他們被認為比文明更糟糕。立法經常被用來規範人們有權歸屬的類別以及一類人與另一類人之間可能建立的關係類型。

自第二次世界大戰以來，歐洲帝國前部分的獨立戰爭和非殖民化鬥爭向我們表明，掙脫束縛的嘗試可能涉及巨大的暴力：身體、社會、經濟、文化和心理。法農等作家將爭取自由的鬥爭視為「兩種本質上相互對立的力量」之間必然的、不可避免的暴力過程。法農進一步認為，「旨在改變世界秩序的去殖民化顯然是一個完整的計劃

disorder'.[15] This introduces another important principle embedded in imperialism, that of order. The principle of order provides the underlying connection between such things as the nature of imperial social relations, the activities of Western science, the establishment of trade, the appropriation of sovereignty and the establishment of law. No great conspiracy had to occur for the simultaneous developments and activities which took place under imperialism because imperial activity was driven by fundamentally similar underlying principles. Nandy refers to these principles as the 'code' or 'grammar' of imperialism.[16] The idea of code suggests that there is a deep structure which regulates and legitimates imperial practices.

The fact that Indigenous societies had their own systems of order was dismissed through what Albert Memmi referred to as a series of negations: they were not fully human, they were not civilized enough to have systems, they were not literate, their languages and modes of thought were inadequate.[17] As Fanon and later writers such as Nandy have claimed, imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world. It was a process of systematic fragmentation which can still be seen in the disciplinary carve up of the Indigenous world: bones, mummies and skulls to the museums, artwork to private collectors, languages to linguistics, 'customs' to anthropologists, beliefs and behaviours to psychologists. To discover how fragmented this process was, one needs only to stand in a museum, a library, a bookshop, and ask where Indigenous peoples are located. Fragmentation is not a phenomenon of postmodernism as many might claim. For Indigenous peoples fragmentation has been the consequence of imperialism.

Writing, History and Theory

A critical aspect of the struggle for self-determination has involved questions relating to our history as Indigenous peoples and a critique of how we, as the Other, have been represented or excluded from various accounts. Every issue has been approached by Indigenous peoples with a view to *re*writing and *re*righting our position in history. Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes. It is not simply about giving an oral account or a genealogical naming of the land and the events which raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit,

一個完全無序的計劃“。這引入了帝國主義中嵌入的另一個重要原則，即秩序原則。秩序原則提供了諸如帝國社會關係的性質、西方科學活動、貿易的建立、主權的侵佔和法律的建立等事物之間的潛在聯繫。在帝國主義統治下同時發生的發展和活動不必發生重大陰謀，因為帝國活動是由基本相似的基本原則驅動的。南迪將這些原則稱為帝國主義的“代碼”或“語法”。法典的思想表明，有一個深層結構來規範帝國實踐並使其合法化。

原住民社會擁有自己的秩序體系這一事實被阿爾伯特．梅米（Albert Memmi）所說的一系列否定所駁回：他們不是完全的人類，他們沒有足夠的文明來擁有系統，他們沒有文化，他們的語言和思維模式是不夠的。正如法農和後來的作家（如南迪）所聲稱的那樣，帝國主義和殖民主義給被殖民民族帶來了徹底的混亂，使他們與他們的歷史、風景、語言、社會關係以及他們自己的思維、感受和與世界互動的方式脫節。這是一個系統性碎片化的過程，在原住民世界的學科分割中仍然可以看到：骨頭、木乃伊和頭骨歸博物館，藝術品歸私人收藏家，語言歸語言學，“習俗”歸人類學家，信仰和行為歸於心理學家。要發現這個過程是多麼分散，人們只需要站在博物館、圖書館、書店裡，詢問原住民在哪裡。碎片化並不像許多人聲稱的那樣是後現代主義的現象。對原住民來說，分裂是帝國主義的結果。

寫作、歷史和理論

爭取自決的鬥爭的一個關鍵方面涉及與我們作為原住民的歷史有關的問題，以及對我們作為他者如何被代表或排除在各種敍述之外的批評。原住民已經解決了每一個問題，以期改寫和糾正我們在歷史上的地位。原住民想要講述我們自己的故事，以我們自己的方式，為了我們自己的目的，寫出我們自己的版本。這不僅僅是對這片土地和在這片土地上肆虐的事件進行口述或家譜命名，而是一種非常強烈的需要，即為一種精神作見證和恢復，

to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying. The sense of history conveyed by these approaches is not the same thing as the discipline of history, and so our accounts collide, crash into each other.

Writing or literacy, in a very traditional sense of the word, has been used to determine the breaks between the past and the present, the beginning of history and the development of theory.[18] Writing has been viewed as the mark of a superior civilization and other societies have been judged, by this view, to be incapable of thinking critically and objectively, or having distance from ideas and emotions. Writing is part of theorizing and writing is part of history. Writing, history and theory, then, are key sites in which Western research of the Indigenous world have come together. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, however, from another perspective writing and especially writing theory are very intimidating ideas for many Indigenous students. Having been immersed in the Western academy which claims theory as thoroughly Western, which has constructed all the rules by which the Indigenous world has been theorized, Indigenous voices have been overwhelmingly silenced. The act, let alone the art and science, of theorizing our own existence and realities is not something which many Indigenous people assume is possible. Frantz Fanon's call for the Indigenous intellectual and artist to create a new literature, to work in the cause of constructing a national culture after liberation, still stands as a challenge. While this has been taken up by writers of fiction, many Indigenous scholars who work in the social and other sciences struggle to write, theorize and research as Indigenous scholars.

Is History Important for Indigenous Peoples?

This may appear to be a trivial question as the answer most colonized people would give, I think, is that 'yes, history is important'. But I doubt if what they would be responding to is the notion of history which is understood by the Western academy. Poststructuralist critiques of history which draw heavily on French poststructural thought have focused on the characteristics and understandings of history as an Enlightenment or modernist project. Their critique is of both liberal and Marxist concepts of history. Feminists have argued similarly (but not necessarily from a poststructuralist position) that history is the story of a specific form of domination, namely of patriarchy, literally 'his-story'.

While acknowledging the critical approaches of poststructuralist theory and cultural studies, the arguments which are debated at this

讓一個支離破碎、垂死的世界重新存在。這些方法所傳達的歷史感與歷史學科不同，因此我們的敍述相互碰撞、碰撞。

寫作或識字，從非常傳統的意義上來說，一直被用來確定過去和現在之間的斷裂、歷史的開始和理論的發展。寫作被視為優越文明的標誌，而其他社會則被這種觀點判斷為無法批判性和客觀地思考，或與思想和情感保持距離。寫作是理論化的一部分，寫作是歷史的一部分。因此，寫作、歷史和理論是西方對原住民世界研究匯聚的關鍵場所。然而，正如我們在本章開頭看到的那樣，從另一個角度來看，寫作，尤其是寫作理論，對許多原住民學生來說是非常令人生畏的想法。沉浸在聲稱理論完全西方的西方學院中，該學院構建了原住民世界理論化的所有規則，原住民的聲音被壓倒性地壓制了。將我們自己的存在和現實理論化的行為，更不用說藝術和科學了，這是許多原住民認為不可能的事情。弗朗茨·法農 （Frantz Fanon） 呼籲原住民知識分子和藝術家創作一種新的文學，在解放後為建構民族文化的事業而努力，這仍然是一個挑戰。雖然小說作家已經接受了這一點，但許多從事社會和其他科學工作的原住民學者很難以原住民學者的身份寫作、理論化和研究。

歷史對原住民重要嗎？

這似乎是一個微不足道的問題，因為我認為大多數被殖民者會給出的答案是“是的，歷史很重要”。但我懷疑他們是否會回應西方學院所理解的歷史概念。後結構主義對歷史的批判大量借鑒了法國後結構思想，重點關注歷史作為啟蒙運動或現代主義項目的特徵和理解。他們的批評是對自由主義和馬克思主義歷史概念的批評。女權主義者也以類似的方式論證（但不一定是從後結構主義的立場出發），歷史是一種特定形式的統治的故事，即父權制的故事，字面意思是“他的故事”。

在承認後結構主義理論和文化研究的批判方法的同時，在此爭論的論點

level are not new to Indigenous peoples. There are numerous oral stories which tell of what it means, what it feels like, to be present while your history is erased before your eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored or rendered as the lunatic ravings of drunken old people. The negation of Indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly 'primitive' and 'incorrect' and mostly because they challenged and resisted the mission of colonization. Indigenous peoples have also mounted a critique of the way history is told from the perspective of the colonizers. At the same time, however, Indigenous groups have argued that history is important for understanding the present and that reclaiming history is a critical and essential aspect of decolonization. The critique of Western history argues that history is a modernist project which has developed alongside imperial beliefs about the Other. History is assembled around a set of interconnected ideas which I will summarize briefly here. I have drawn on a wide range of discussions by Indigenous people and by writers such as Robert Young, J. Abu-Lughod, Keith Jenkins and C. Steadman.[19]

1 The idea that history is a totalizing discourse

The concept of totality assumes the possibility and the desirability of being able to include absolutely all known knowledge into a coherent whole. In order for this to happen, classification systems, rules of practice and methods had to be developed to allow for knowledge to be selected and included in what counts as history.

2 The idea that there is a universal history

Although linked to the notion of totality, the concept of universal assumes that there are fundamental characteristics and values which all human subjects and societies share. It is the development of these universal characteristics which are of historical interest.

3 The idea that history is one large chronology

History is regarded as being about developments over time. It charts the progress of human endeavour through time. Chronology is important as a method because it allows events to be located at a point in time. The actual time events take place also makes them 'real' or factual. In order to begin the chronology, a time of 'discovery' has to be established.

在這個層面上爭論的論點對原住民來說並不新鮮。有許多口述故事講述了當你的歷史在你眼前被抹去、被忽視、被忽視或被渲染為醉酒老人的瘋狂狂歡時，存在的意義和感覺。否定原住民的歷史觀是主張殖民意識形態的關鍵部分，部分原因是這些觀點被認為是明顯的“原始”和“不正確”，主要是因為它們挑戰和抵制殖民的使命。原住民也對從殖民者的角度講述歷史的方式提出了批評。然而，與此同時，原住民團體認為歷史對於理解現在很重要，而恢復歷史是非殖民化的關鍵和重要方面。對西方歷史的批判認為，歷史是一個現代主義項目，它與帝國對他者的信仰一起發展。歷史是圍繞著一套相互關聯的思想而構建的，我將在這裡簡要總結一下。我借鑒了原住民和作家的廣泛討論，例如 Robert Young、J. Abu-Lughod、Keith Jenkins 和 C.

斯特德曼。

1 歷史是一種整體話語的想法

整體性的概念假設了能夠將絕對所有已知知識納入一個連貫整體的可能性和可取性。為了實現這一目標，必須制定分類系統、實踐規則和方法，以便選擇知識並將其納入歷史中。

2 存在普遍歷史的想法

儘管與整體的概念有關，但普遍的概念假設存在所有人類主體和社會共有的基本特徵和價值觀。正是這些普遍特徵的發展具有歷史意義。

3 歷史是一個大年表的想法

歷史被認為是關於隨著時間的推移而發展的。它描繪了人類努力隨時間推移的進展。年表作為一種方法很重要，因為它允許將事件定位在某個時間點。事件發生的實際時間也使它們成為“真實”或事實。為了開始年表，必須建立一個「發現」的時間。

Chronology is also important for attempting to go backwards and explain how and why things happened in the past.

4 The idea that history is about development

Implicit in the notion of development is the notion of progress. This assumes that societies move forward in stages of development much as an infant grows into a fully developed adult human being. The earliest phase of human development is regarded as primitive, simple and emotional. As societies develop they become less primitive, more civilized, more rational, and their social structures become more complex and bureaucratic.

5 The idea that history is about a self-actualizing human subject

In this view humans have the potential to reach a stage in their development where they can be in total control of their faculties. There is an order of human development which moves, in stages, through the fulfilment of basic needs, the development of emotions, the development of the intellect and the development of morality. Just as the individual moves through these stages, so do societies.

6 The idea that the story of history can be told in one coherent narrative

This idea suggests that we can assemble all the facts in an ordered way so that they tell us the truth or give us a very good idea of what really did happen in the past. In theory it means that historians can write a true history of the world.

7 The idea that history as a discipline is innocent

This idea says that 'facts' speak for themselves and that the historian simply researches the facts and puts them together. Once all the known facts are assembled they tell their own story, without any need of a theoretical explanation or interpretation by the historian. This idea also conveys the sense that history is pure as a discipline, that is, it is not implicated with other disciplines.

8 The idea that history is constructed around binary categories

This idea is linked to the historical method of chronology. In order for history to begin there has to be a period of beginning and some criteria

年表對於嘗試倒推並解釋過去事情如何以及為何發生也很重要。

4 歷史是關於發展的觀念

發展概念中隱含著進步的概念。這假設社會在發展階段向前發展，就像嬰兒成長為完全發育的成年人一樣。人類發展的最早階段被認為是原始的、簡單的和感性的。隨著社會的發展，它們變得不那麼原始、更文明、更理性，社會結構也變得更加複雜和官僚化。

5 歷史是關於自我實現的人類主體的想法

從這個觀點來看，人類有可能達到一個發展階段，在那裡他們可以完全控制自己的能力。人類發展有一種秩序，它通過滿足基本需求、情感的發展、智力的發展和道德的發展，分階段進行。正如個人經歷這些階段一樣，社會也是如此。

6 歷史故事可以用一個連貫的敍述來講述的想法

這個想法表明，我們可以以有序的方式將所有事實組合在一起，以便它們告訴我們真相或讓我們對過去真正發生的事情有一個很好的了解。從理論上講，這意味著歷史學家可以書寫一部真實的世界歷史。

7 歷史作為一門學科是無辜的觀念

這個想法說，「事實」不言自明，歷史學家只是研究事實並將它們放在一起。一旦所有已知的事實都匯集在一起，它們就會講述自己的故事，而不需要歷史學家進行任何理論解釋或解釋。這個想法也傳達了一種感覺，即歷史作為一門學科是純粹的，也就是說，它與其他學科沒有牽連。

8 歷史是圍繞二元類別構建的思想

這個想法與年表的歷史方法有關。為了開始歷史，必須有一個開始的時期和一些標準

for determining when something begins. In terms of history this was often attached to concepts of 'discovery', the development of literacy, or the development of a specific social formation. Everything before that time is designated as prehistorical, belonging to the realm of myths and traditions, 'outside' the domain.

9 The idea that history is patriarchal

This idea is linked to the notions of self-actualization and development, as women were regarded as being incapable of attaining the higher orders of development. Furthermore they were not significant in terms of the ways societies developed because they were not present in the bureaucracies or hierarchies where changes in social or political life were being determined.

Other key ideas

Intersecting this set of ideas are some other important concepts. Literacy, as one example, was used as a criterion for assessing the development of a society and its progress to a stage where history can be said to begin. Even places such as India, China and Japan, however, which were very literate cultures prior to their 'discovery' by the West, were invoked through other categories which defined them as uncivilized. Their literacy, in other words, did not count as a record of legitimate knowledge.

The German philosopher Hegel is usually regarded as the 'founding father' of history in the sense outlined here. This applies to both Liberal and Marxist views.[20] Hegel conceived of the fully human subject as someone capable of 'creating (his) own history'. However, Hegel did not simply invent the rules of history. As Robert Young argues, 'the entire Hegelian machinery simply lays down the operation of a system already in place, already operating in everyday life'.[21] It should also be self-evident that many of these ideas are predicated on a sense of Otherness. They are views which invite a comparison with 'something/someone else' which exists *on the outside,* such as the oriental, the 'Negro', the 'Jew', the 'Indian', the 'Aborigine'. Views about the Other had already existed for centuries in Europe, but during the Enlightenment these views became more formalized through science, philosophy and imperialism, into explicit systems of classification and 'regimes of truth'. The racialization of the human subject and the social order enabled comparisons to be made between the 'us' of the West and the 'them' of the Other. History was the story of people who 'were regarded as *fully human'*. Others who

為了讓歷史開始，必須有一段開始的時期，以及一些確定某件事何時開始的標準。就歷史而言，這通常與「發現」、識字能力的發展或特定社會形態的發展等概念有關。在那之前的一切都被指定為史前時期的，屬於神話和傳統的領域，在領域之外。

9 歷史是父權制的觀念

這個想法與自我實現和發展的概念有關，因為女性被認為無法達到更高水平的發展。此外，它們在社會發展方式方面並不重要，因為它們不存在於決定社會或政治生活變化的官僚機構或等級制度中。

其他關鍵想法

與這套想法相交的是其他一些重要概念。例如，識字率被用作評估社會發展及其發展到可以說是歷史開始的階段的標準。然而，即使是像印度、中國和日本這樣的地方，在被西方「發現」之前，它們都是非常有文化的文化，也被其他類別所引用，將它們定義為未開化的。換句話說，他們的識字能力不算作合法知識的記錄。

德國哲學家黑格爾通常被視為歷史的「奠基元勳」，正如這裡所概述的那樣。這適用於自由主義和馬克思主義的觀點。黑格爾將完全人類的主體設想為能夠「創造（他自己的）歷史」的人。然而，黑格爾並不是簡單地發明了歷史規則。正如羅伯特·楊所說，“整個黑格爾的機器只是奠定了一個已經存在的系統的運行，已經在日常生活中運行”。不言而喻的是，其中許多想法都是基於他者感。這些觀點會讓人與存在於外部的「某物/他人」進行比較，例如東方人、「黑人」、「猶太人」、「印第安人」、「原住民」。關於他者的觀點在歐洲已經存在了幾個世紀，但在啟蒙運動期間，這些觀點通過科學、哲學和帝國主義變得更加正式，成為明確的分類系統和“真理制度”。人類主體和社會秩序的種族化使得西方的「我們」和他者的「他們」之間得以進行比較。歷史是「被視為完全人類」的人的故事。其他

were not regarded as human (that is, capable of self-actualization) were prehistoric. This notion is linked also to Hegel's master – slave construct which has been applied as a psychological category (by Freud) and as a system of social ordering.

A further set of important ideas embedded in the modernist view of history relates to the origins (causes) and nature of social change. The Enlightenment project involved new conceptions of society and of the individual based around the precepts of rationalism, individualism and capitalism. There was a general belief that not only could individuals remake themselves but so could societies. The modern industrial state became the point of contrast between the pre-modern and the modern.

History in this view began with the emergence of the rational individual and the modern industrialized society. However, there is something more to this idea in terms of how history came to be conceptualized as a method. The connection to the industrial state is significant because it highlights what was regarded as being worthy of history. The people and groups who 'made' history were the people who developed the underpinnings of the state – the economists, scientists, bureaucrats and philosophers. That they were all men of a certain class and race was 'natural' because they were regarded (naturally) as fully rational, self-actualizing human beings capable, therefore, of creating social change, that is, history. The day-to-day lives of 'ordinary' people, and of women, did not become a concern of history until much more recently.

Contested Histories

For Indigenous peoples, the critique of history is not unfamiliar, although it has now been claimed by postmodern theories. The idea of contested stories and multiple discourses about the past, by different communities, is closely linked to the politics of everyday contemporary Indigenous life. It is very much a part of the fabric of communities that value oral ways of knowing. These contested accounts are stored within genealogies, within the landscape, within weavings and carvings, even within the personal names that many people carried. The means by which these histories were stored was through their systems of knowledge. Many of these systems have since been reclassified as oral *traditions* rather than histories.

Under colonialism Indigenous peoples have struggled against a Western view of history and yet been complicit with that view. We have

其他不被視為人類（即能夠自我實現）的人是史前時代的。這個概念也與黑格爾的主人——奴隸結構有關，該結構已被應用為一種心理學範疇（弗洛伊德）和一種社會秩序系統。

現代主義歷史觀中嵌入的另一組重要思想與社會變革的起源（原因）和性質有關。啟蒙運動項目涉及基於理性主義、個人主義和資本主義戒律的社會和個人的新概念。人們普遍認為，不僅個人可以重塑自己，社會也可以。現代工業國家成為前現代與現代的對比點。

這種觀點的歷史始於理性個人和現代工業化社會的出現。然而，就歷史如何被概念化為一種方法而言，這個想法還有更多的東西。與工業國家的聯繫很重要，因為它凸顯了人們認為值得歷史的東西。「創造」歷史的人和團體是發展國家基礎的人——經濟學家、科學家、官僚和哲學家。他們都是某個階級和種族的人是"自然的"，因為他們（自然地）被視為完全理性的、自我實現的人，因此能夠創造社會變革，即歷史。「普通」人和婦女的日常生活直到最近才成為歷史關注的問題。

有爭議的歷史

對於原住民來說，對歷史的批判並不陌生，儘管現在已經被後現代理論所宣稱。不同社區關於過去的有爭議的故事和多種話語的想法與當代原住民日常生活的政治密切相關。它在很大程度上是重視口頭認知方式的社區結構的一部分。這些有爭議的記載儲存在家譜中、風景中、編織和雕刻中，甚至儲存在許多人攜帶的個人名字中。儲存這些歷史的手段是透過它們的知識系統。其中許多系統此後被重新歸類為口頭傳統而不是歷史。

在殖民主義下，原住民一直在與西方的歷史觀作鬥爭，但卻與這種觀點同謀。我們有

often allowed our 'histories' to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold. Schooling is directly implicated in this process. Through the curriculum and its underlying theory of knowledge, early schools redefined the world and where Indigenous peoples were positioned within the world. From being direct descendants of sky and earth parents, Christianity positioned some of us as higher-order savages who deserved salvation in order that we could become children of God. Maps of the world reinforced our place on the periphery of the world, although we were still considered part of the Empire. This included having to learn new names for our own lands. Other symbols of our loyalty, such as the flag, were also an integral part of the imperial curriculum.[22] Our orientation to the world was already being redefined as we were being excluded systematically from the writing of the history of our own lands. This on its own may not have worked were it not for the actual material redefinition of our world which was occurring simultaneously through such things as the renaming and 'breaking in' of the land, the alienation and fragmentation of lands through legislation, the forced movement of people off their lands, and the social consequences which resulted in high sickness and mortality rates.

Indigenous attempts to reclaim land, language, knowledge and sovereignty have usually involved contested accounts of the past by colonizers and colonized. These have occurred in the courts, before various commissions, tribunals and official enquiries, in the media, in Parliament, in bars and on talkback radio. In these situations contested histories do not exist in the same cultural framework as they do when tribal or clan histories, for example, are being debated within the Indigenous community itself. They are not simply struggles over 'facts' and 'truth'; the rules by which these struggles take place are never clear (other than that we as the Indigenous community know they are going to be stacked against us); and we are not the final arbiters of what really counts as the truth.

It is because of these issues that I ask the question, 'Is history in its modernist construction important or not important for Indigenous peoples?' For many people who are presently engaged in research on Indigenous land claims, the answer would appear to be self-evident. We assume that when 'the truth comes out' it will prove that what happened was wrong or illegal and that therefore the system (tribunals, the courts, the government) will set things right. We believe that history is also about justice, that understanding history will enlighten our decisions about the future. *Wrong.* History is also about power. In fact, history is mostly about power. It is the story of the powerful and how they became

我們經常允許我們的「歷史」被講述，然後當我們聽到它們被重述時，我們就變成了局外人。學校教育直接牽涉到這個過程。通過課程及其基礎知識理論，早期學校重新定義了世界以及原住民在世界上的位置。基督教將我們中的一些人定位為更高層次的野蠻人，他們應該得到救贖，以便我們能夠成為上帝的兒女。世界地圖強化了我們在世界邊緣的地位，儘管我們仍然被認為是帝國的一部分。這包括必須為我們自己的土地學習新名稱。我們忠誠的其他象徵，例如旗幟，也是帝國課程中不可或缺的一部分。我們對世界的取向已經被重新定義，因為我們被系統地排除在我們自己土地的歷史書寫之外。如果不是因為對我們世界的實際物質重新定義，這種重新定義同時發生，例如土地的更名和“闖入”，通過立法對土地的異化和碎片化，人們被迫離開他們的土地，以及導致高疾病率和死亡率的社會後果。

原住民奪回土地、語言、知識和主權的嘗試通常涉及殖民者和被殖民者對過去的有爭議的敍述。這些發生在法庭、各種委員會、法庭和官方調查、媒體、議會、酒吧和對講廣播中。在這些情況下，有爭議的歷史並不存在於與部落或氏族歷史等在原住民社區內部進行辯論時相同的文化框架中。它們不僅僅是關於「事實」和「真相」的鬥爭;這些鬥爭發生的規則從來都不明確（除了我們作為原住民社區知道它們將對我們不利）;我們不是真正算作真相的最終仲裁者。

正是因為這些問題，我才問一個問題，“現代主義建構的歷史對原住民來說重要還是不重要？對於許多目前從事原住民土地主張研究的人來說，答案似乎是不言而喻的。我們假設，當“真相大白”時，它將證明所發生的事情是錯誤的或非法的，因此系統（法庭、法院、政府）將糾正事情。我們相信歷史也關乎正義，了解歷史將啟發我們對未來的決定。錯。歷史也關乎權力。事實上，歷史主要是關於權力的。這是有權勢的人以及他們如何成為

powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others. It is because of this relationship with power that we have been excluded, marginalized and 'Othered'. In this sense history is not important for Indigenous peoples because a thousand accounts of the 'truth' will not alter the 'fact' that Indigenous peoples are still marginal and do not possess the power to transform history into justice.

This leads then to several other questions. The one which is most relevant to this book is the one which asks, 'Why then has revisiting history been a significant part of decolonization?' The answer, I suggest, lies in the intersection of Indigenous approaches to the past, of the modernist history project itself and of the resistance strategies which have been employed. Our colonial experience traps us in the project of modernity. There can be no 'postmodern' for us until we have settled some business of the modern. This does not mean that we do not understand or employ multiple discourses, or act in incredibly contradictory ways, or exercise power ourselves in multiple ways. It means that there is unfinished business, that we are still being colonized (and know it), and that we are still searching for justice.

Coming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization. To hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges. The pedagogical implication of this access to alternative knowledges is that they can form the basis of alternative ways of doing things. Transforming our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West), however, requires us to revisit, site by site, our history under Western eyes. This in turn requires a theory or approach which helps us to engage with, understand and then act upon history. It is in this sense that the sites visited in this book begin with a critique of a Western view of history. Telling our stories from the past, reclaiming the past, giving testimony to the injustices of the past are all strategies which are commonly employed by Indigenous peoples struggling for justice. On the international scene, it is extremely rare and unusual when Indigenous accounts are accepted and acknowledged as valid interpretations of what has taken place. And yet, the need to tell our stories remains the powerful imperative of a powerful form of resistance.

Is Writing Important for Indigenous Peoples?

As I am arguing, every aspect of the act of producing knowledge has influenced the ways in which Indigenous ways of knowing have been

這是關於有權勢者的故事，以及他們如何變得強大，然後他們如何利用自己的權力讓他們保持在可以繼續統治他人的位置上。正是由於這種與權力的關係，我們被排斥、邊緣化和「他者化」。從這個意義上說，歷史對原住民來說並不重要，因為對「真相」的一千次描述不會改變原住民仍然處於邊緣地位的「事實」，並且不具備將歷史轉化為正義的力量。

這就引出了其他幾個問題。與本書最相關的是問：“那麼，為什麼重溫歷史是非殖民化的重要組成部分？我認為，答案在於原住民對過去的方法、現代主義歷史項目本身以及所採用的抵抗策略的交叉點。我們的殖民經驗將我們困在現代性項目中。在我們解決一些現代事務之前，我們不可能有“後現代”。這並不意味著我們不理解或採用多種話語，或以極其矛盾的方式行事，或以多種方式行使權力。這意味著還有未竟的事業，我們仍在被殖民（並且知道這一點），我們仍在尋求正義。

了解過去一直是非殖民化批判教學法的一部分。持有另類歷史就是持有另類知識。這種獲得替代知識的教學意義是，它們可以構成替代做事方式的基礎。然而，改變我們對自己歷史的殖民看法（正如西方所寫的那樣），需要我們逐個地點重新審視西方眼光下的歷史。這反過來又需要一種理論或方法來幫助我們參與、理解歷史並採取行動。正是從這個意義上說，本書所訪問的遺址都是從對西方歷史觀的批判開始的。講述我們過去的故事，找回過去，為過去的不公正行為作證，這些都是為正義而奮鬥的原住民通常採用的策略。在國際舞台上，原住民的敍述被接受並承認為對所發生的事情的有效解釋是極其罕見和不尋常的。然而，講述我們的故事的必要性仍然是強大抵抗形式的強大必要條件。

寫作對原住民重要嗎？

正如我所論證的，生產知識行為的各個方面都影響了原住民的認識方式

represented. Reading, writing, talking, these are as fundamental to academic discourse as science, theories, methods, paradigms. To begin with reading, one might cite the talk in which Māori writer Patricia Grace undertook to show that 'Books Are Dangerous'.[23] She argues that there are four things that make many books dangerous to Indigenous readers: (1) they do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity; (2) when they tell us only about others, they are saying that we do not exist; (3) they may be writing about us but are writing things which are untrue; and (4) they are writing about us but saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are not good. Although Grace is talking about school texts and journals, her comments also apply to academic writing. Much of what I have read has said that we do not exist, that if we do exist it is in terms which I cannot recognize, that we are no good and that what we think is not valid.

Leonie Pihama makes a similar point about film. In a review of *The Piano* she says: 'Māori people struggle to gain a voice, struggle to be heard from the margins, to have our stories heard, to have our descriptions of ourselves validated, to have access to the domain within which we can control and define those images which are held up as reflections of our realities.'[24] Representation is important as a concept because it gives the impression of 'the truth'. When I read texts, for example, I frequently have to orientate myself to a text world in which the centre of academic knowledge is either in Britain, the United States or Western Europe; in which words such as 'we', 'us', 'our', 'I' actually exclude me. It is a text world in which (if what I am interested in rates a mention) I have learned that I belong *partly* in the Third World, *partly* in the 'Women of Colour' world, *partly* in the black or African world. I read myself into these labels *partly* because I have also learned that, although there may be commonalities, they still do not entirely account for the experiences of Indigenous peoples.

So, reading and interpretation present problems when we do not see ourselves in the text. There are problems, too, when we do see ourselves but can barely recognize ourselves through the representation. One problem of being trained to read this way, or, more correctly, of learning to read this way over many years of academic study, is that we can adopt uncritically similar patterns of writing. We begin to write about ourselves as Indigenous peoples as if we really were 'out there', the 'Other', with all the baggage that this entails. Another problem is that academic writing is a form of selecting, arranging and presenting knowledge. It privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant; and, by engaging in the same process uncritically,

生產知識行為的各個方面都影響了原住民認識方式的表現方式。閱讀、寫作、說話，這些與科學、理論、方法、範式一樣，是學術話語的基礎。首先，人們可以引用毛利作家帕特里夏·格蕾絲 （Patricia Grace）的演講，以表明"書籍是危險的"。她認為，有四件事使許多書籍對原住民讀者構成危險：（1）它們不會強化我們的價值觀、行為、習俗、文化和身份;（2）當他們只告訴我們關於別人的事情時，他們是在說我們不存在;（3）他們可能在寫我們，但寫的是不真實的東西;（4）他們寫的是關於我們的文章，但卻說著消極和麻木不仁的話，告訴我們我們不好。儘管格蕾絲談論的是學校課本和期刊，但她的評論也適用於學術寫作。我讀到的許多內容都說我們不存在，如果我們確實存在，那是我無法認識的術語，我們不好，我們認為是無效的。

萊昂妮·皮哈馬 （Leonie Pihama） 對電影也提出了類似的觀點。在對《鋼琴》的評論中，她說：「毛利人努力獲得發言權，努力從邊緣被聽到，努力讓我們的故事被聽到，我們對自己的描述得到驗證，進入我們可以控制和定義那些被舉為反映我們現實的圖像的領域。」表徵作為一個概念很重要，因為它給人一種『真相』的印象。例如，當我閱讀文本時，我經常不得不將自己定位到一個學術知識中心在英國、美國或西歐的文本世界;其中"我們"、"我們"、"我們的"、"我"等詞實際上排除了我。這是一個文本世界，在這個世界中（如果我感興趣的內容值得提及的話）我了解到我部分屬於第三世界，部分屬於"有色人種女性"世界，部分屬於黑人或非洲世界。我讀懂了這些標籤，部分原因是我也了解到，儘管可能存在共同點，但它們仍然不能完全解釋原住民的經歷。

因此，當我們在文本中看不到自己時，閱讀和解釋就會帶來問題。當我們確實看到自己，但幾乎無法透過表徵認識自己時，也會有問題。被訓練以這種方式閱讀，或者更準確地說，在多年的學術研究中學習以這種方式閱讀的一個問題是，我們可以不加批判地採用相似的寫作模式。我們開始寫自己作為原住民，就好像我們真的在"外面"，"他者"，以及隨之而來的所有包袱。另一個問題是，學術寫作是一種選擇、排列和呈現知識的形式。它賦予文本集、對思想歷史的看法、哪些問題被認為是重要的特權;並且，通過不加批判地參與同樣的過程，

we too can render Indigenous writers invisible or unimportant while reinforcing the validity of other writers. If we write without thinking critically about our writing, it can be dangerous. Writing can also be dangerous because we reinforce and maintain a style of discourse which is never innocent. Writing can be dangerous because sometimes we reveal ourselves in ways which get misappropriated and used against us. Writing can be dangerous because, by building on previous texts written about Indigenous peoples, we continue to legitimate views about ourselves which are hostile to us. This is particularly true of academic writing, although journalistic and imaginative writing reinforce these 'myths'.

These attitudes inform what is sometimes referred to as either the 'Empire writes back' discourse or post-colonial literature. This kind of writing assumes that the centre does not necessarily have to be located at the imperial centre.[25] It is argued that the centre can be shifted ideologically through imagination and that this shifting can recreate history. Another perspective relates to the ability of 'native' writers to appropriate the language of the colonizer as the language of the colonized and to write so that it captures the ways in which the colonized actually use the language, their dialects and inflections, and in the way they make sense of their lives. Its other importance is that it speaks to an audience of people who have also been colonized. This is one of the ironies of many Indigenous peoples' conferences where issues of Indigenous language have to be debated in the language of the colonizers. Another variation of the debate relates to the use of literature to write about the terrible things which happened under colonialism or as a consequence of colonialism. These topics inevitably implicated the colonizers *and their literature* in the processes of cultural domination.

Yet another position, espoused in African literature by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, was to write in the languages of Africa. For Ngugi wa Thiong'o, to write in the language of the colonizers was to pay homage to them, while to write in the languages of Africa was to engage in an anti-imperialist struggle. He argued that language carries culture and the language of the colonizer became the means by which the 'mental universe of the colonized' was dominated.[26] This applied, in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's view, particularly to the language of writing. Whereas oral languages were frequently still heard at home, the use of literature in association with schooling resulted in the alienation of a child from the child's history, geography, music and other aspects of culture.[27]

In discussing the politics of academic writing, in which research writing is a subset, Cherryl Smith argues that 'colonialism, racism and

我們也可以使原住民作家變得隱形或不重要，同時加強其他作家的有效性。如果我們在寫作時沒有批判性地思考我們的寫作，那可能是危險的。寫作也可能很危險，因為我們強化和維持了一種從來都不是無辜的話語風格。寫作可能很危險，因為有時我們會以被盜用和用來對付我們的方式暴露自己。寫作可能是危險的，因為通過建立在以前關於原住民的文本的基礎上，我們繼續對我們懷有敵意的關於自己的合法觀點。學術寫作尤其如此，儘管新聞和富有想像力的寫作強化了這些“神話”。

這些態度影響了有時被稱為「帝國回信」話語或後殖民文學的內容。這種寫作假設中心不一定位於帝國中心。有人認為，中心可以通過想像在意識形態上轉移，而這種轉移可以重現歷史。另一種觀點涉及「母語」作家將殖民者的語言挪用為被殖民者的語言並寫作的能力，以便捕捉被殖民者實際使用語言的方式、他們的方言和語調變化，以及他們理解自己生活的方式。它的另一個重要性是它與同樣被殖民的人們交談。這是許多原住民會議的諷刺之一，在這些會議上，原住民語言問題必須用殖民者的語言進行辯論。辯論的另一種變體涉及使用文學來寫殖民主義下或殖民主義結果所發生的可怕事情。這些話題不可避免地將殖民者及其文學捲入文化統治過程。

Ngugi wa Thiong'o 在非洲文學中擁護的另一個立場是用非洲語言寫作。對恩古吉．瓦．蒂昂奧來說，用殖民者的語言寫作就是向他們致敬，而用非洲的語言寫作就是參與反帝國主義鬥爭。他認為語言承載著文化，殖民者的語言成為「被殖民者的精神世界」被支配的手段。在 Ngugi wa Thiong'o 看來，這尤其適用於書寫語言。雖然口語在家裡仍然經常被聽到，但與學校教育相關的文學使用導致孩子與孩子的歷史、地理、音樂和其他文化方面的疏遠。

在討論學術寫作的政治（其中研究寫作是一個子集）時，切里爾．史密斯認為，“殖民主義、種族主義和

cultural imperialism do not occur only in society, outside of the gates of universities'.[28] Academic writing, she continues, is a way of '"writing back" whilst at the same time writing to ourselves'.[27] The act of 'writing back' and simultaneously writing to ourselves is not simply an inversion of how we have learned to write academically.[29] The different audiences to whom we speak makes the task somewhat difficult. The scope of the literature which we use in our work contributes to a different framing of the issues. The oral arts and other forms of expression set our landscape in a different frame of reference. Our understandings of the academic disciplines within which we have been trained also frame our approaches. Even the use of pronouns such as 'I' and 'we' can cause difficulties when writing for several audiences, because while it may be acceptable now in academic writing, it is not always acceptable to Indigenous audiences.[30]

Edward Said also asks the following questions: 'Who writes? For whom is the writing being done? In what circumstances? These it seems to me are the questions whose answers provide us with the ingredients making a politics of interpretation.'[31] These questions are important ones which are being asked in a variety of ways within our communities. They are asked, for example, about research, policy making and curriculum development. Said's comments, however, point to the problems of interpretation, in this case of academic writing. Who is doing the writing is important in the politics of the Third World and African America, and indeed for Indigenous peoples; it is even more important in the politics of how these worlds are being represented 'back to' the West. Although in the literary sense the imagination is crucial to writing, the use of language is not highly regarded in academic discourses which claim to be scientific. The concept of imagination, when employed as a sociological tool, is often reduced to a way of seeing and understanding the world, or a way of understanding how people either construct the world or are constructed by the world. As Toni Morrison argues, however, the imagination can be a way of sharing the world.[32] This means, according to Morrison, struggling to find the language to do this and then struggling to interpret and perform within that shared imagination.

Writing Theory

Research is linked in all disciplines to theory. Research adds to, is generated from, creates or broadens our theoretical understandings.

種族主義和文化帝國主義不僅發生在社會中，在大學大門之外。她繼續說，學術寫作是一種「「回信」的方式，同時又寫給自己」。「回信」和同時寫信給自己的行為不僅僅是我們學習學術寫作方式的顛倒。我們與之交談的不同受眾使這項任務有些困難。我們在工作中使用的文獻範圍有助於對問題形成不同的框架。口頭藝術和其他表達形式將我們的景觀置於不同的參考框架中。我們對所接受培訓的學科的理解也構成了我們的方法。即使是使用“我”和“我們”等代詞，在為多個讀者寫作時也會造成困難，因為雖然現在在學術寫作中可能是可以接受的，但原住民讀者並不總是可以接受的。

愛德華·賽義德還提出了以下問題：“誰在寫作？寫作是為了誰？在什麼情況下？在我看來，這些問題的答案為我們提供了構成解釋政治的要素。這些問題是重要的問題，在我們的社區中以各種方式被提出。例如，他們被問及研究、政策制定和課程開發。然而，賽義德的評論指出了解釋的問題，在這種情況下是學術寫作。誰在寫作對於第三世界和非裔美國人的政治很重要，對原住民來說也很重要;在政治上，這些世界如何被「回到」西方更為重要。儘管在文學意義上，想像力對寫作至關重要，但在自稱科學的學術話語中，語言的使用並不受到高度重視。想像力的概念，當被用作社會學工具時，往往被簡化為一種看待和理解世界的方式，或者一種理解人們如何建構世界或被世界建構的方式。然而，正如托尼·莫里森所說，想像力可以成為分享世界的一種方式。根據莫里森的說法，這意味著努力尋找做到這一點的語言，然後努力在共同的想像力中進行解釋和表演。

寫作理論

所有學科的研究都與理論聯繫在一起。研究增加了我們的理論理解，產生於理論，創造或拓寬了我們的理論理解。

Indigenous peoples have been, in many ways, oppressed by theory. Any consideration of the ways our origins have been examined, our histories recounted, our arts analysed, our cultures dissected, measured, torn apart and distorted back to us will suggest that theories have not looked sympathetically or ethically at us. Writing research is often considered marginally more important than writing theory, providing it results in tangible benefits for farmers, economists, industries and sick people. For Indigenous peoples, most of the theorizing has been driven by anthropological approaches. These approaches have shown enormous concern for our origins as peoples and for aspects of our linguistic and material culture.

The development of theories by Indigenous scholars which attempt to explain our existence in contemporary society (as opposed to the 'traditional' society constructed under modernism) has only just begun. Not all these theories claim to be derived from some 'pure' sense of what it means to be Indigenous, nor do they claim to be theories which have been developed in a vacuum separated from any association with civil and human rights movements, other nationalist struggles or other theoretical approaches. What is claimed, however, is that new ways of theorizing by Indigenous scholars are grounded in a real sense of, and sensitivity towards, what it means to be an Indigenous person. As Kathie Irwin urges, 'We don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us to come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools – it always has. This power is ours.'[33] Contained within this imperative is a sense of being able to determine priorities, to bring to the centre those issues of our own choosing, and to discuss them amongst ourselves.

I am arguing that theory at its simplest level is important for Indigenous peoples. At the very least it helps make sense of reality. It enables us to make assumptions and predictions about the world in which we live. It contains within it a method or methods for selecting and arranging, for prioritizing and legitimating what we see and do. Theory enables us to deal with contradictions and uncertainties. Perhaps more significantly, it gives us space to plan, to strategize, to take greater control over our resistances. The language of a theory can also be used as a way of organizing and determining action. It helps us to interpret what is being told to us, and to predict the consequences of what is being promised. Theory can also protect us because it contains within it a way of putting reality into perspective. If it is a good theory, it also allows for new ideas and ways of looking at things to be incorporated constantly, without the need to search constantly for new theories.

原住民在許多方面一直受到理論的壓迫。任何對我們的起源被審視、我們的歷史被敍述、我們的藝術被分析、我們的文化被剖析、衡量、撕裂和扭曲的方式的考慮都會表明，理論並沒有同情或道德地看待我們。撰寫研究通常被認為比撰寫理論稍微重要一些，前提是它可以為農民、經濟學家、工業和病人帶來切實的好處。對於原住民來說，大多數理論都是由人類學方法驅動的。這些方法顯示出對我們作為民族的起源以及我們語言和物質文化的各個方面的極大關注。

原住民學者試圖解釋我們在當代社會中的存在（而不是現代主義下構建的"傳統"社會）的理論發展才剛剛開始。並非所有這些理論都聲稱源自某種對原住民意味著什麼的「純粹」意義，也沒有聲稱是在真空中發展起來的理論，與公民和人權運動、其他民族主義鬥爭或其他理論方法的任何聯繫都分離開來。然而，據稱，原住民學者的新理論方式是基於對原住民的真正意義和敏感性。正如凱西·歐文 （Kathie Irwin） 所敦促的那樣，"我們不需要其他人開發工具來幫助我們接受我們是誰。我們可以而且將會做這項工作。真正的權力在於設計工具的人——它一直都是如此。這種力量是我們的。」這種命令包含一種能夠確定優先事項的感覺，將我們自己選擇的那些問題置於中心，並在我們之間討論它們。

我認為最簡單的理論對原住民來說很重要。至少它有助於理解現實。它使我們能夠對我們生活的世界做出假設和預測。它包含一種或多於一種選擇和安排的方法，用於確定我們所看到和所做的事情的優先順序和合法化。理論使我們能夠處理矛盾和不確定性。也許更重要的是，它給了我們空間來計劃、制定戰略、更好地控制我們的抵抗。理論的語言也可以用作組織和決定行動的一種方式。它幫助我們解釋告訴我們的內容，並預測所應許的後果。理論也可以保護我們，因為它包含一種正確看待現實的方式。如果它是一個好的理論，它還允許不斷地融入新的想法和看待事物的方式，而不需要不斷地尋找新的理論。

As Teresia Teaiwa says, 'Engaging broadly with theory and theorists of all kinds is part of exercising intellectual agency and is a necessary foundation for achieving fuller self-determination for Native and Indigenous and Pacific peoples in the academy.' She goes on to argue that 'Sovereign intellectuals have nothing to lose by admitting that some white men, white women, and white people are part of our genealogies of thinking whether we like it or not. Some white men, white women, white people are the ancestors we get to choose'. The challenge for centuries has been the absence of the sovereignty to choose native and Indigenous scholars writing about Indigenous matters while drawing on Indigenous knowledge, languages and values.[34]

A dilemma posed by such a thorough critical approach to history, writing and theory is that whilst we may reject or dismiss them, this does not make them go away, nor does the critique necessarily offer the alternatives. We live simultaneously within such views while needing to pose, contest and struggle for the legitimacy of oppositional or alternative histories, theories and ways of writing. At some points there is, there has to be, dialogue across the boundaries of oppositions. This has to be because we constantly collide with dominant views while we are attempting to transform our lives on a larger scale than our own localized circumstances. This means struggling to make sense of our own world while also attempting to transform what counts as important in the world of the powerful.

Part of the exercise is about recovering our own stories of the past. This is inextricably bound to a recovery of our language and epistemological foundations. It is also about reconciling and what is really important about the past with what is important about the present, and reprioritizing accordingly. These issues raise significant questions for Indigenous communities who are not only beginning to fight back against the invasion of their communities by academic, corporate and populist researchers, but to think about, and carry out research, on their own concerns. One of the problems discussed in the first section of this book is that the methodologies and methods of research, the theories that inform them, the questions which they generate and the writing styles they employ, all become significant acts which need to be considered carefully and critically before being applied. In other words, they need to be 'decolonized'. Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centring our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes.

正如 Teresia Teaiwa 所說，“與各種理論和理論家廣泛接觸是行使智力能動性的一部分，也是在學院中實現原住民、原住民和太平洋人民更充分自決的必要基礎。她接著認為，「主權知識分子承認一些白人男性、白人女性和白人是我們無論喜歡與否的思維譜系的一部分，都沒有什麼可失去的。一些白人男性、白人女性、白人是我們可以選擇的祖先」。幾個世紀以來，挑戰一直是缺乏選擇本土和原住民學者的主權，他們在利用原住民知識、語言和價值觀的同時撰寫有關原住民事務的文章。

對歷史、寫作和理論採取如此徹底的批判方法所帶來的一個困境是，雖然我們可以拒絕或駁回它們，但這並不能使它們消失，批評也不一定提供替代方案。我們同時生活在這樣的觀點中，同時需要為對立或另類歷史、理論和寫作方式的合法性而提出、競爭和鬥爭。在某些時候，必須跨越反對派的界限進行對話。這一定是因為我們不斷地與主流觀點發生衝突，同時我們試圖在比我們自己的本地環境更大的範圍內改變我們的生活。這意味著努力理解我們自己的世界，同時也試圖改變在強權世界中重要的東西。

練習的一部分是關於恢復我們自己過去的故事。這與我們的語言和認識論基礎的恢復密不可分。它還涉及調和過去真正重要的事情與現在的重要事情，並相應地重新確定優先順序。這些問題給原住民社區提出了重大問題，他們不僅開始反擊學術、企業和民粹主義研究人員對其社區的入侵，而且還開始思考並開展研究，以解決自己的擔憂。本書第一部分討論的問題之一是，研究的方法和方法、為它們提供信息的理論、它們產生的問題以及它們所採用的寫作風格，都成為重要的行為，在應用之前需要仔細和批判性地考慮。換句話說，他們需要被「去殖民化」。然而，去殖民化並不意味著也不意味著完全拒絕所有理論、研究或西方知識。相反，它是關於集中我們的關注點和世界觀，然後從我們自己的角度和我們自己的目的來了解和理解理論和研究。

As a site of struggle, research has a significance for Indigenous peoples that is embedded in our history under the gaze of Western imperialism and Western science. It is framed by our attempts to escape the penetration and surveillance of that gaze whilst simultaneously reordering and reconstituting ourselves as Indigenous human beings in a state of ongoing crisis. Research has not been neutral in its objectification of the Other. Objectification is a process of dehumanization. In its clear links to Western knowledge, research has generated a particular relationship to Indigenous peoples which continues to be problematic. At the same time, however, new pressures which have resulted from our own politics of self-determination, of wanting greater participation in, or control over, what happens to us, and from changes in the global environment, have meant that there is a much more active and knowing engagement in the activity of research by Indigenous peoples. Many Indigenous groups, communities and organizations are thinking about, talking about and carrying out research activities of various kinds. In this chapter I have suggested that it is important to have a critical understanding of some of the tools of research – not just the obvious technical tools but the conceptual tools, the ones which make us feel uncomfortable, which we avoid, for which we have no easy response.

I lack imagination you say
No. I lack language.
The language to clarify my resistance to the literate. . . .

Cherrie Moraga[35]

London visit 2019

Cobbled stories
Buried deep
A narrative
Woven in stone
Grand and assured
The empire
Inhabits
The illogic of these
Crooked little streets
As well the
Proud displays of stolen knowledges
In museums
And archives

作為鬥爭的場所，研究對原住民具有重要意義，在西方帝國主義和西方科學的注視下，它植根於我們的歷史中。它的框架是我們試圖擺脫這種凝視的滲透和監視，同時在持續的危機狀態下重新安排和重建我們自己作為原住民。研究在物化他者方面並不中立。物化是一個非人化的過程。由於與西方知識有明顯的聯繫，研究與原住民建立了一種特殊的關係，但這種關係仍然存在問題。然而，與此同時，我們自己的自決政治、希望更多地參與或控制發生在我們身上的事情以及全球環境的變化所產生的新壓力，意味著原住民的研究活動更加積極和有意識地參與。許多原住民團體、社區和組織正在思考、討論和開展各種研究活動。在本章中，我建議對一些研究工具有一個批判性的理解很重要——不僅僅是明顯的技術工具，還有概念工具，那些讓我們感到不舒服、我們避免、我們沒有簡單反應的工具。

我缺乏想像力，你說不。
我缺乏語言。
澄清我對識字者的抵制的語言

切麗．莫拉加

2019 年倫敦之行

鵝卵石故事
深埋
敍述
用石頭編織
宏偉而有把握
帝國
棲息在這些彎曲的小街道的不合邏輯中，以及博物館和檔案館中被盜知識的驕傲展示

conserved and preserved
trophies to inhumanity
How cosmopolitan
How metropolitan
How very modern
How steeped
It seeps
In its imperial glory
This little island
This grand city
That once ruled the world

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Notes

1 Lorde, Audre (1979), 'The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House', comments at 'The Personal and the Political' panel, Second Sex Conference, reproduced in Moraga, C. and G. Anzaldua (1981), *This Bridge Called My Back,* Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, New York, pp. 98–101.
2 Newcomb, S. (2008), *Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery*, 3rd Edition, Fulcrum Publishing.
3 See Sale, K. (1990), *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy,* Alfred Knopf, New York.
4 See Churchill, W. (1994), *Indians Are Us? Culture and Genocide in North America,* Common Courage Press, Maine.
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7 Giddens, A. (1989), *Sociology,* Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 530–3.
8 The term 'rules of practice' comes from Foucault. See, for this encounter, Salmond, A. (1991), *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642–1772,* Viking, Auckland.
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11 Goldberg, D. T. (1993), *Racist Culture, Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning,* Blackwell, Oxford. See also Sardar, Z., A. Nandy and W. Davies (1993), *Barbaric Others: A Manifesto of Western Racism,* Pluto Press, London.

保存和保存的戰利品 不人
道 多麼國際化 多麼大都會
多麼現代 它多麼浸透在它
的帝國榮耀中 這個小島 這
座曾經統治世界的宏偉城
市

琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯

筆記

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Chapter 2

Research through Imperial Eyes

Many critiques of research have centred around the theory of knowledge known as empiricism and the scientific paradigm of positivism which is derived from empiricism. Positivism takes a position that applies views about how the natural world can be examined and understood to the social world of human beings and human societies. Understanding is viewed as being akin to measuring. As the ways we try to understand the world are reduced to issues of measurement, the focus of understanding becomes more concerned with procedural problems. The challenge then for understanding the social world becomes one of developing operational definitions of phenomena which are reliable and valid. The analysis in this chapter begins with a much broader brushstroke. Most Indigenous criticisms of research are expressed within the single terms of 'white research', 'academic research' or 'outsider research'. The finer details of how Western scientists might name themselves are irrelevant to Indigenous peoples who have experienced unrelenting research of a profoundly exploitative nature. From an Indigenous perspective Western research is more than just research that is located in a positivist tradition. It is research which brings to bear, on any study of Indigenous peoples, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power.

In this chapter I argue that what counts as Western research draws from an 'archive' of knowledge and systems, rules and values which stretch beyond the boundaries of Western science to the system now referred to as the West. Stuart Hall makes the point that the West is an idea or concept, a language for imagining a set of complex stories, ideas, historical events and social relationships. Hall suggests that the concept of the West functions in ways which (1) allow 'us' to characterize and *classify* societies into categories, (2) condense complex images of other societies through a *system of representation*, (3) provide a standard *model of comparison*, and (4) provide *criteria of evaluation* against which other societies can be ranked.[1] These are the procedures

C哈普特 2

帝國之眼的研究

許多對研究的批評都圍繞著被稱為經驗主義的知識理論和源自經驗主義的實證主義科學範式。實證主義採取的立場是將如何審視和理解自然世界的觀點應用於人類和人類社會的社會世界。理解被視為類似於測量。隨著我們試圖理解世界的方式被簡化為測量問題，理解的焦點變得更加關注程序問題。因此，理解社會世界的挑戰就變成了對可靠和有效的現象進行操作定義之一。本章的分析從更廣泛的筆觸開始。大多數原住民對研究的批評都是用「白人研究」、「學術研究」或「局外人研究」等單一術語來表達的。西方科學家如何為自己命名的細節與經歷過深刻剝削性質的無情研究的原住民無關。從原住民的角度來看，西方研究不僅僅是實證主義傳統的研究。正是這種研究，在對原住民的任何研究中，都會帶來一種文化取向、一套價值觀、對時間、空間和主體性等事物的不同概念化、不同和相互競爭的知識理論、高度專業化的語言形式和權力結構。

在本章中，我認為所謂的西方研究來自知識和系統、規則和價值觀的“檔案”，這些知識和系統、規則和價值觀超越了西方科學的界限，延伸到現在被稱為西方的系統。斯圖爾特·霍爾指出，西方是一種思想或概念，一種想像一系列複雜故事、思想、歷史事件和社會關係的語言。霍爾認為，西方概念的功能是：（1）允許「我們」對社會進行表徵和分類，（2）透過表徵系統濃縮其他社會的複雜形象，（3）提供標準的比較模型，以及（4）提供可以對其他社會進行排名的評估標準。這些是程序

by which Indigenous peoples and their societies were coded into the Western system of knowledge.

Research contributed to, and drew from, these systems of classification, representation and evaluation. The cultural archive did not embody a unitary system of knowledge but should be conceived of as containing multiple traditions of knowledge and ways of knowing. Some knowledges are more dominant than others, some are submerged and outdated. Some knowledges are actively in competition with each other and some can only be formed in association with others. Whilst there may not be a unitary system, there are 'rules' which help make sense of what is contained within the archive and enable 'knowledge' to be recognized. These rules can be conceived of as rules of classification, rules of framing and rules of practice.[2] Although the term 'rules' may sound like a set of fixed items which are articulated in explicit ways as regulations, it also means rules which are masked in some way and which tend to be articulated through implicit understandings of how the world works. Power is expressed at both the explicit and implicit levels. Dissent, or challenges to the rules, is manageable because it also conforms to these rules, particularly at the implicit level. Scientific and academic debate in the West takes place within these rules. Two major examples of how this works can be found in Marxism and Western feminism. Arguably, Western feminism has provided a more radical challenge to knowledge than Marxism because of its challenge to epistemology: not just the body of knowledge and world view, but the science of how knowledge can be understood. Even Western feminism, however, has been challenged, particularly by women of colour, for conforming to some very fundamental Western European world views, value systems and attitudes towards the Other. Indigenous peoples would probably claim to know much of this implicitly, but in this chapter some fundamental ideas related to understandings of being human, of how humans relate to the world, are examined. Differences between Western and Indigenous conceptions of the world have always provided stark contrasts. Indigenous beliefs were considered shocking, abhorrent and barbaric, and were prime targets for the efforts of missionaries. Many of those beliefs still persist; they are embedded in Indigenous languages and stories and etched in memories.

The Cultural Formations of Western Research

Forms of imperialism and colonialism, notions of the Other, and theories about human nature existed long before the Enlightenment in Western

這些是將原住民及其社會編碼到西方知識體系中的程序。
研究為這些分類、表示和評估系統做出了貢獻並借鑒了這些系統。文化檔案並沒有體現一個單一的知識體系，而應該被設想為包含多種知識傳統和認識方式。有些知識比其他知識更占主導地位，有些則被淹沒和過時。有些知識是相互積極競爭的，有些知識只能與其他知識結合形成。雖然可能沒有單一的系統，但有一些“規則”可以幫助理解檔案中包含的內容並使“知識”能夠被識別。這些規則可以被認為是分類規則、框架規則和實踐規則。儘管“規則”一詞聽起來像是一組以明確方式表達為法規的固定項目，但它也意味著以某種方式被掩蓋的規則，並且往往通過對世界如何運作的隱含理解來表達。權力在顯性和隱性層面上表達。異議或對規則的挑戰是可以管理的，因為它也符合這些規則，特別是在隱含的層面上。西方的科學和學術辯論都是在這些規則內進行的。這如何發揮作用的兩個主要例子可以在馬克思主義和西方女權主義中找到。可以說，西方女權主義比馬克思主義對知識提出了更激進的挑戰，因為它對認識論的挑戰：不僅是知識體系和世界觀，而且是如何理解知識的科學。然而，即使是西方女權主義也受到挑戰，尤其是有色人種女性，因為她符合一些非常基本的西歐世界觀、價值體系和對他者的態度。 土著人民可能會聲稱隱含地知道其中的大部分內容，但在本章中，將研究一些與理解人類身份、人類如何與世界聯繫相關的基本思想。西方和土著對世界觀念之間的差異總是形成鮮明的對比。土著信仰被認為是令人震驚、令人厭惡和野蠻的，並且是傳教士努力的主要目標。其中許多信念仍然存在;它們嵌入原住民語言和故事中，並銘刻在記憶中。

西方研究的文化形態

帝國主義和殖民主義的形式、他者觀念和人性理論早在西方啟蒙運動之前就已經存在了

philosophy. Some scholars have argued that the key tenets of what is now seen as Western civilization are based on black experiences and a black tradition of scholarship, and have simply been appropriated by Western philosophy and redefined as Western epistemology.[3] Western knowledges, philosophies and definitions of human nature form what Foucault has referred to as a cultural archive and what some people might refer to as a 'storehouse' of histories, artefacts, ideas, texts and/or images, which are classified, preserved, arranged and represented back to the West. This storehouse contains the fragments, the regions and levels of knowledge traditions, and the 'systems' which allow different and differentiated forms of knowledge to be retrieved, enunciated and represented in new contexts.[4] Although many colonized peoples refer to the West, usually with a term of their own, as a cohesive system of people, practices, values and languages, the cultural archive of the West represents multiple traditions of knowledge. Rather, there are many different traditions of knowledge and moments of history in which philosophical ideas are sometimes reformed or transformed, in which new knowledges lead to new sets of ideas.

Foucault also suggests that the archive reveals 'rules of practice' which the West itself cannot necessarily describe because it operates within the rules and they are taken for granted. Various Indigenous peoples would claim, indeed do claim, to be able to describe many of those rules of practice as they have been 'revealed' and/or perpetrated on Indigenous communities. Hall has suggested that the Western cultural archive functions in ways which allow shifts and transformations to happen, quite radically at times, without the archive itself, and the modes of classifications and systems of representation contained within it, being destroyed. This sense of what the idea of the West represents is important here because to a large extent theories about research are underpinned by a cultural system of classification and representation, by views about human nature, human morality and virtue, by conceptions of space and time, by conceptions of gender and race. Ideas about these things help determine what counts as real. Systems of classification and representation enable different traditions or fragments of traditions to be retrieved and reformulated in different contexts as discourses, and then to be played out in systems of power and domination, with real material consequences for colonized peoples. Nandy, for example, discusses the different phases of colonization, from 'rapacious bandit-kings' intent on exploitation, to 'well-meaning middle class liberals' intent on salvation as a legitimation of different forms of colonization.[5] These phases of colonization, driven by different economic needs and differing ideologies of legitimation, still had real

關於人性的理論早在西方哲學的啟蒙運動之前就已經存在了。一些學者認為，現在被視為西方文明的關鍵原則是基於黑人的經驗和黑人的學術傳統，只是被西方哲學挪用並重新定義為西方認識論。西方的知識、哲學和人性的定義構成了傅柯所說的文化檔案，以及一些人可能稱之為歷史、人工製品、思想、文本和/或圖像的“倉庫”，這些歷史、人工製品、思想、文本和/或圖像被分類、保存、排列和再現回西方。這個倉庫包含知識傳統的碎片、區域和層次，以及允許在新環境中檢索、闡述和表示不同和差異化形式的知識的“系統”。儘管許多被殖民的民族將西方稱為一個由人、習俗、價值觀和語言組成的有凝聚力的系統，但西方的文化檔案代表了多種知識傳統。相反，有許多不同的知識傳統和歷史時刻，哲學思想有時會被改革或轉變，其中新知識導致新的思想集。

福柯還認為，檔案揭示了西方本身不一定能描述的“實踐規則”，因為它在規則範圍內運作，而且它們被認為是理所當然的。各種原住民會聲稱，確實聲稱，能夠描述其中許多在原住民社區上被「揭示」和/或實施的實踐規則。霍爾認為，西方文化檔案的運作方式允許轉變和轉變發生，有時甚至是相當激進的，而檔案本身以及其中包含的分類模式和表徵系統卻沒有被破壞。這種對西方思想所代表的意義在這裡很重要，因為在很大程度上，關於研究的理論是由分類和表徵的文化體系、對人性、人類道德和美德的看法、空間和時間的概念、性別和種族的概念所支撐的。關於這些事情的想法有助於確定什麼才算真實。分類和表徵系統使不同的傳統或傳統的碎片能夠在不同的語境中被檢索和重新表述為話語，然後在權力和統治體系中上演，為被殖民的人民帶來真正的物質後果。例如，南迪討論了殖民化的不同階段，從「貪婪的強盜國王」意圖剝削，到「善意的中產階級自由主義者」意圖將救贖作為不同形式殖民化的合法化。這些殖民階段在不同的經濟需求和不同的合法意識形態的推動下，仍然具有真實性

consequences for the nations, communities and groups of Indigenous people being colonized. These consequences have led Nandy to describe colonization as a 'shared culture' for those who have been colonized and for those who have colonized. This means, for example, that colonized peoples share a language of colonization, share knowledge about their colonizers, and, in terms of a political project, share the same struggle for decolonization. It also means that colonizers, too, share a language and knowledge of colonization.

The Intersections of Race and Gender

David Theo Goldberg argues that one of the consequences of Western experiences under imperialism is that Western ways of viewing, talking about and interacting with the world at large are intricately embedded in racialized discourses.[6] Notions of difference are discussed in Greek philosophy, for example, as ways of rationalizing the essential characteristics and obligations of slaves.[7] Medieval literature and art represent fabulous monsters and half-human, half-animal creatures from far-off places. According to Goldberg, concern about these images led to 'observers [being] overcome by awe, repulsion and fear of the implied threat to spiritual life and the political state'.[8] Goldberg argues that whilst these early beliefs and images 'furnished models that modern racism would assume and transform according to its own lights', there was no explicit category or space in medieval thought for racial differentiation.[9] What did happen, according to Goldberg, was that the 'savage' was internalized as a psychological and moral space within the individual that required 'repression, denial and disciplinary restraint'.[10] In Goldberg's analysis, modernity and the philosophy of liberalism (which underpins modernist discourses) transformed these fragments of culture into an explicit racialized discourse. Race, as a category, was linked to human reason and morality, to science, to colonialism and to the rights of citizenship in ways that produced the racialized discourse and racist practices of modernity.[11]

Western concepts of race intersect in complex ways with concepts of gender. Gender refers not just to the roles of women and how those roles are constituted but to the roles of men and the relations between men and women. Ideas about gender difference and what that means for a society can similarly be traced back to the fragmented artefacts and representations of Western culture, and to different and differentiated traditions of knowledge. The desired and undesired qualities of women,

仍然對被殖民的原住民國家、社區和群體產生了真正的後果。這些後果導致南迪將殖民描述為那些被殖民者和那些被殖民者的“共同文化”。例如，這意味著被殖民的人民共享殖民語言，分享有關殖民者的知識，並且就政治項目而言，共享相同的非殖民化鬥爭。這也意味著殖民者也共享殖民的語言和知識。

種族與性別的交叉點

大衛．西奧．戈德堡認為，西方在帝國主義統治下的經驗的後果之一是，西方看待、談論和與整個世界互動的方式錯綜複雜地嵌入了種族化話語中。例如，希臘哲學中討論了差異的概念，作為合理化奴隸的基本特徵和義務的方式。中世紀的文學和藝術代表了來自遙遠地方的神話般的怪物和半人半動物的生物。根據戈德堡的說法，對這些圖像的擔憂導致「觀察者被敬畏、排斥和恐懼所征服，擔心對精神生活和政治國家的隱含威脅」。戈德堡認為，雖然這些早期的信仰和圖像“提供了現代種族主義將根據其自身的光芒假設和轉變的模型”，但中世紀思想中沒有明確的種族差異化類別或空間。根據戈德堡的說法，確實發生的事情是，「野蠻人」被內化為個人內部的心理和道德空間，需要「壓抑、否認和紀律約束」。在戈德堡的分析中，現代性和自由主義哲學（支撐現代主義話語）將這些文化碎片轉化為明確的種族化話語。種族作為一個範疇，與人類理性和道德、科學、殖民主義和公民權聯繫在一起，從而產生了現代性的種族化話語和種族主義實踐。

西方的種族概念與性別概念以複雜的方式交叉。性別不僅指女性的角色以及這些角色的構成方式，還指男性的角色以及男女之間的關係。關於性別差異及其對社會意味著什麼的想法同樣可以追溯到西方文化中支離破碎的人工製品和表徵，以及不同和差異化的知識傳統。女性想要的和不想要的品質，

for example – as mothers, daughters and wives – were inscribed in the texts of the Greeks and Romans, sculptured, painted and woven into medieval wall hangings, and performed through oral poetry. Different historical ideas about men and women were enacted through social institutions such as marriage, family life, the class system and ecclesiastic orders.[12] These institutions were underpinned by economic systems, notions of property and wealth, and were increasingly legitimated in the West through Judaeo-Christian beliefs. Economic changes from feudal to capitalist modes of production influenced the construction of the 'family' and the relations of women and men in Western societies. Gender distinctions and hierarchies are also deeply encoded in Western languages. It is impossible to speak without using this language, and, more significantly for Indigenous peoples, it is impossible to translate or interpret our societies into English, French or Castilian, for example, without making gendered distinctions.

The process of engendering descriptions of the Other has had very real consequences for Indigenous women in that the ways in which Indigenous women were described, objectified and represented by Europeans in the nineteenth century has left a legacy of marginalization within Indigenous societies as much as within the colonizing society. In New Zealand many of these issues are the subject of a claim brought by a group of prominent Māori women to the Waitangi Tribunal. The Waitangi Tribunal was established to hear the claims by Māori relating to contraventions of the Treaty of Waitangi.[13] Before this Tribunal, the Māori women taking the claim are having to establish and argue, using historical texts, research and oral testimonies, that the Crown has ignored the *rangatiratanga*, or chiefly and sovereign status, of Māori women. To argue this, the claimants are compelled to prove that Māori women were as much *rangatira* (chiefs) as Māori men. At a very simple level the 'problem' is a problem of translation. *Rangatiratanga* has generally been interpreted in English as meaning chieftainship and sovereignty, which in colonialism was a 'male thing'.

This claim illustrates the complexities which Stuart Hall raised. Several different and differentiated sets of ideas and representations are to be 'retrieved' and 'enunciated' in the historically specific context of this claim. In summary these may be classified as: (1) a legal framework inherited from Britain, which includes views about what constitutes admissible evidence and valid research; (2) a 'textual' orientation, which will privilege the written text (seen as expert and research-based) over oral testimonies (a concession to Indigenous 'elders'); (3) views about science, which will allow for the efficient selection and

例如，作為母親、女兒和妻子，被銘刻在希臘人和羅馬人的文本中，被雕刻、繪畫和編織成中世紀的壁掛，並通過口頭詩歌進行表演。關於男人和女人的不同歷史觀念是通過婚姻、家庭生活、階級制度和教會秩序等社會制度制定的。這些機構以經濟體系、財產和財富概念為基礎，並通過猶太基督教信仰在西方日益合法化。從封建生產方式到資本主義生產方式的經濟變化影響了西方社會的「家庭」建構和男女關係。性別區別和等級制度也深深地編碼在西方語言中。如果不使用這種語言，就不可能說話，更重要的是，對於原住民來說，例如，如果不進行性別區分，就不可能將我們的社會翻譯或解釋成英語、法語或卡斯蒂利亞語。對他者進行性別描述的過程對原住民婦女產生了非常現實的影響，因為十九世紀歐洲人對原住民婦女的描述、物化和代表方式在原住民社會和殖民社會中留下了邊緣化的遺產。在新西蘭，其中許多問題是一群著名的毛利婦女向懷唐伊法庭提出的索賠的主題。懷唐伊法庭的成立是為了審理毛利人違反《懷唐伊條約》的索賠。在這個法庭之前，提出索賠的毛利婦女必須利用歷史文獻、研究和口頭證詞來證明和辯稱，王室忽視了毛利婦女的 rangatiratanga，即主要和主權地位。為了爭論這一點，索賠人被迫證明毛利婦女和毛利男子一樣是 rangatira（酋長）。在非常簡單的層面上，「問題」是翻譯問題。Rangatiratanga 在英語中通常被解釋為酋長和主權的意思，這在殖民主義中是“男性的東西”。

這一說法說明了斯圖爾特·霍爾提出的複雜性。幾組不同且差異化的思想和表徵將在這一主張的歷史特定背景下被“檢索”和“闡述”。總之，這些可以分為：（1） 從英國繼承的法律框架，其中包括關於什麼構成可採納證據和有效研究的觀點;（2） “文本”取向，這將使書面文本（被視為專家和基於研究）優於口頭證詞（對原住民“長老”的讓步）;（3） 對科學的看法，這將允許有效的選擇和

arrangement of 'facts'; (4) 'rules of practice' such as 'values' and 'morals', which all parties to the process are assumed to know and to have given their 'consent' to abide by, for example, notions of 'goodwill' and 'truth telling'; (5) ideas about subjectivity and objectivity which have already determined the constitution of the Tribunal and its 'neutral' legal framework, but which will continue to frame the way the case is heard; (6) ideas about time and space, views related to history, what constitutes the appropriate length of a hearing, 'shape' of a claim, size of the panel; (7) views about human nature, individual accountability and culpability; (8) the selection of speakers and experts, who speaks for whom, whose knowledge is presumed to be the 'best fit' in relation to a set of proven 'facts'; and (9) the politics of the Treaty of Waitangi and the way those politics are managed by politicians and other agencies such as the media. Within each set of ideas are systems of classification and representation – epistemological, ontological, juridical, anthropological and ethical – which are coded in such ways as to 'recognize' each other and either mesh together, or create a cultural 'force field' that can screen out competing and oppositional discourses. Taken as a whole system, these ideas determine the wider rules of practice which ensure that Western interests remain dominant.

Conceptualizations of the Individual and Society

Social science research is based upon ideas, beliefs and theories about the social world. While it is acknowledged that people always live in some form of social organization (e.g. a family unit, an efficient hunting and gathering unit, a pastoral unit, and increasingly larger and more effective and sophisticated variations of those basic units), Western forms of research also draw on cultural ideas about the human self and the relationship between the individual and the groups to which he or she may belong. Such ideas explore both the internal workings of an individual and the relationships between what an individual is and how an individual behaves. These ideas suggest that relationships between or among groups of people are basically causal and can be observed and predicted. Some earlier accounts of how and why individuals behave as they do were based on ideas which often began with a creation story to explain the presence of people in their specific environment and on understandings of human behaviour as being connected to some form of external force, such as spiritually powerful beings, 'gods' or sacred objects. Human activity was seen to be caused by factors outside the

這將允許有效地選擇和安排“事實”;（4）“實踐規則”，例如“價值觀”和“道德”，假設該過程的所有各方都知道並已“同意”遵守，例如“善意”和“說真話”的概念;（5） 關於主觀性和客觀性的想法，這些想法已經決定了法庭的組成及其“中立”的法律框架，但將繼續構成案件的審理方式;（6） 關於時間和空間的想法、與歷史有關的觀點、聽證會的適當長度的構成、索賠的“形狀”、小組的規模;（7） 對人性、個人責任和罪責的看法;（8） 選擇演講者和專家，誰代表誰說話，他們的知識被假定為與一組經過驗證的“事實”有關的“最合適”;（9） 《懷唐伊條約》的政治以及政客和媒體等其他機構管理這些政治的方式。在每組思想中都有分類和表徵系統——認識論、本體論、法學、人類學和倫理學——它們的編碼方式是相互“識別”並嚷嚷在一起，或者創造一個文化“力場”，可以篩選出競爭和對立的話語。從整體系統來看，這些想法決定了更廣泛的實踐規則，確保西方利益仍然占主導地位。

個人與社會的概念化

社會科學研究基於有關社會世界的思想、信念和理論。雖然人們承認人們總是生活在某種形式的社會組織中（例如家庭單位、高效的狩獵和採集單位、畜牧單位，以及這些基本單位的越來越大、更有效和複雜的變體），但西方形式的研究也借鑒了關於人類自我以及個人與他或她可能所屬的群體之間的關係的文化觀念。這些想法既探討了個人的內部運作，也探討了個人是什麼與個人行為方式之間的關係。這些想法表明，人群之間或人群之間的關係基本上是因果關係，可以觀察和預測。一些早期關於個人如何以及為何會做出這樣的行為的描述是基於一些想法，這些想法通常以創造故事開始，以解釋人們在特定環境中的存在，以及對人類行為的理解，即與某種形式的外部力量有關，例如精神上強大的存在、“神”或神聖的物體。人類活動被認為是由外部因素引起的

control of the individual. Early European societies would not have made much distinction between human beings and their natural environment. Classical Greek philosophy is regarded as the point at which ideas about these relationships changed from 'naturalistic' explanations to humanistic explanations. Naturalistic explanations linked nature and life as one and humanistic explanations separate people out from the world around them, and place humanity on a higher plane (than animals and plants) because of such characteristics as language and reason.[14] Socrates, Plato and Aristotle are regarded as the founders of this humanistic tradition of knowledge.

Human nature, that is, the essential characteristics of an individual person, is an overarching concern of Western philosophy, even though 'human' and 'nature' are also seen to be in opposition to each other. Education, research and other scholarly traditions have emerged from or been framed by debates relating to human nature. The separation between mind and body, the investing of a human person with a soul, a psyche and a consciousness, the distinction between sense and reason, definitions of human virtue and morality, are cultural constructs. These ideas have been transformed as philosophers have incorporated new insights and discoveries, but the underlying categories have remained in place. Taken over from Aristotle and Plato, in Greek philosophy, the mind–body distinction was heavily Christianized by Aquinas. French philosopher Descartes developed this dualism further, making distinctions which would relate to the separate disciplines required to study the body (physiology) and the mind (psychology). His distinctions are now referred to as the Cartesian dualism. Hegel reasoned that the split was dialectical, meaning that there was a contradictory interplay between the two ideas and the form of debate required to develop these ideas. It must be remembered, however, that concepts such as the mind or the intellect, the soul, reason, virtue and morality are not in themselves 'real' or biological parts of a human body. Whilst the workings of a mind may be associated in Western thinking primarily with the human brain, the mind itself is a concept or an idea. In Māori world views, for example, the closest equivalent to the idea of a 'mind' or intellect is associated with the entrails and other parts of the body. The head was considered *tapu* for other reasons.

What makes ideas 'real' is the system of knowledge, the formations of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are located. What an individual is – and the implications this has for the way researchers or teachers, therapists or social workers, economists or journalists, might approach their work – is based on centuries of

人類活動被認為是由個人無法控制的因素引起的。早期的歐洲社會不會對人類及其自然環境做出太大區分。古典希臘哲學被認為是關於這些關係的觀念從「自然主義」解釋轉變為人文主義解釋的時刻。自然主義的解釋將自然和生命作為一個整體聯繫起來，而人文主義的解釋則將人與周圍的世界分開，並由於語言和理性等特徵而將人類置於更高的層面（比動物和植物）。蘇格拉底、柏拉圖和亞里士多德被認為是這種人文主義知識傳統的創始人。

人性，即個體的本質特徵，是西方哲學的首要關注點，儘管「人」和「自然」也被視為相互對立。教育、研究和其他學術傳統源於與人性有關的辯論或被其框架。心靈和身體的分離，人類對靈魂、心靈和意識的投入，理智和理性的區別，人類美德和道德的定義，都是文化建構。隨著哲學家納入新的見解和發現，這些想法已經發生了轉變，但基本類別仍然存在。在希臘哲學中，從亞里士多德和柏拉圖那裡繼承了身心的區別，被阿奎那嚴重基督教化。法國哲學家笛卡爾進一步發展了這種二元論，做出了與研究身體（生理學）和心靈（心理學）所需的不同學科相關的區別。他的區別現在被稱為笛卡爾二元論。黑格爾認為分裂是辯證的，這意味著這兩種思想之間存在矛盾的相互作用，以及發展這些思想所需的辯論形式。然而，必須記住，思想或智力、靈魂、理性、美德和道德等概念本身並不是人體的“真實”或生物部分。雖然在西方思維中，心靈的運作可能主要與人腦相關，但心靈本身就是一個概念或想法。例如，在毛利人的世界觀中，最接近「思想」或智力概念的等價物與內臟和身體的其他部位有關。

由於其他原因，頭部被認為是 tapu。

使觀念「真實」的是知識體系、文化的形成以及這些觀念所處的權力關係。個人是什麼——以及這對研究人員或教師、治療師或社會工作者、經濟學家或記者可能處理工作的方式的影響——是基於幾個世紀以來

philosophical debate, principles of debate and systems for organizing whole societies predicated on these ideas. These ideas constitute reality. Reality cannot be constituted without them. When confronted by the alternative conceptions of other societies, Western reality became reified as representing something 'better', reflecting 'higher orders' of thinking, and being less prone to the dogma, witchcraft and immediacy of people and societies which were so 'primitive'. Ideological appeals to such things as literacy, democracy and the development of complex social structures make this way of thinking appear to be a universal truth and a necessary criterion of civilized society. Although eighteenth- and nineteenth-century forms of colonization brought Christian beliefs about the soul and human morality to Indigenous peoples, these concepts were discussed in Western traditions prior to Christianity. Christianity, when organized into a system of power, brought to bear on these basic concepts a focus of systematic study and debate which could then be used to regulate all aspects of social and spiritual life.

The individual, as the basic social unit from which other social organizations and social relations form, is another system of ideas which needs to be understood as part of the West's cultural archive. Western philosophies and religions place the individual as the basic building block of society. The transition from feudal to capitalist modes of production simply emphasized the role of the individual. Concepts of social development were seen as the natural progression and replication of human development. The relationship between the individual and the group, however, was a major theoretical problem for philosophy. This problem tended to be posed as a dialectic or tension between two irreconcilable notions. Hegel's dialectic of the self and society has become the most significant model for thinking about this relationship. His master–slave construct has served as a form of analysis which is both psychological and sociological, and in the colonial context highly political.

Rousseau has a particular influence over the way Indigenous peoples in the South Pacific came to be regarded, because of his highly romanticized and idealized view of human nature. It is to Rousseau that the idea of the 'noble savage' is attributed. This view linked the natural world to an idea of innocence and purity, and the developed world to corruption and decay. It was thought that the people who lived in the idyllic conditions of the South Pacific, close to nature, would possess 'noble' qualities from which the West could relearn and rediscover what had been lost. This romanticized view was particularly relevant to the way South Pacific women were represented, especially the women of

可能接近他們的工作——基於幾個世紀的哲學辯論、辯論原則以及基於這些思想的組織整個社會的系統。這些想法構成了現實。沒有它們，現實就無法構成。當面對其他社會的另類觀念時，西方現實被具體化為代表「更好的」事物，反映「更高層次」的思維，並且不太容易受到教條、巫術和人們和社會的即時性的影響，這些都是如此「原始」的人和社會。對識字、民主和複雜社會結構發展等事物的意識形態訴求使這種思維方式似乎是一種普遍真理和文明社會的必要標準。儘管十八世紀的殖民形式將基督教關於靈魂和人類道德的信仰帶給了原住民，但這些概念在基督教之前的西方傳統中就已經討論過了。基督教在組織成一個權力體系時，就把這些基本概念帶到了系統研究和辯論的焦點上，然後可以用來規範社會和精神生活的各個方面。

個人作為其他社會組織和社會關係形成的基本社會單位，是另一種思想體系，需要將其理解為西方文化檔案的一部分。西方哲學和宗教將個人視為社會的基本組成部分。從封建生產方式到資本主義生產方式的轉變只是強調了個人的作用。社會發展的概念被視為人類發展的自然進展和複製。然而，個人與群體之間的關係是哲學的一個主要理論問題。這個問題往往被提出為兩個不可調和的概念之間的辯證法或張力。黑格爾的自我與社會辯證法，成為思考這種關係的最重要模式。他的主奴結構是一種既是心理學的，也是社會學的，在殖民背景下是高度政治性的。

盧梭對南太平洋原住民的看待方式有著特殊的影響，因為他對人性的看法高度浪漫化和理想化。「高貴的野蠻人」的概念歸功於盧梭。這種觀點將自然世界與純真和純潔的觀念聯繫起來，將發達世界與腐敗和腐爛聯繫起來。人們認為，生活在南太平洋田園詩般的環境中、親近大自然的人們將擁有“高貴”的品質，西方可以從中重新學習和重新發現失去的東西。這種浪漫化的觀點與南太平洋女性的代表方式特別相關，尤其是南太平洋女性

Tahiti and Polynesia. The view soon lost favour, or was turned around into the 'ignoble savage', when it was found that these idealized humans actually indulged in 'barbaric' and 'savage' customs and were capable of what were viewed as acts of grave injustice and 'despicability'.

Just as in the psychological traditions the individual has been central, so within sociological traditions the individual is assumed to be the basic unit of a society. A major sociological concern becomes a struggle over the extent to which individual consciousness and reality shapes, or is shaped by, social structure. During the nineteenth century, this view of the individual and society became heavily influenced by social Darwinism. This meant, for example, that a society could be viewed as a 'species' of people with biological traits.[15] 'Primitive' societies could be ranked according to these traits, predictions could be made about their survival and ideological justifications could be made about their treatment. Early sociology came to focus on the belief systems of these 'primitive' people and the extent to which they were capable of thought and of developing 'simple' ideas about religion. This focus was intended to enhance the understandings of Western society by showing how simple societies developed the building blocks of classification systems and modes of thought. These systems, it was believed, would demonstrate how such social phenomena as language developed. This in turn would enable distinctions to be made between categories which were fixed – that is, the structural underpinnings of society – and categories which people could create, that is, the cultural aspects of the lifeworld. It also reinforced, through contrasting associations or oppositional categories, how superior the West was.

Conceptions of Space

Similar claims can be made about other concepts, such as time and space. These concepts are particularly significant for some Indigenous languages because the language makes no clear or absolute distinction between the two: for example, the Māori word for time or space is the same. Other Indigenous languages have no related word for either space or time, having instead a series of very precise terms for parts of these ideas, or for relationships between the idea and something else in the environment. There are positions within time and space in which people and events are located, but these cannot necessarily be described as distinct categories of thought. Western ideas about time and space are encoded in language, philosophy and science. Philosophical

尤其是大溪地和波利尼西亞的婦女。這種觀點很快就失去了青睞，或者變成了“卑鄙的野蠻人”，因為人們發現這些理想化的人類實際上沉迷於“野蠻”和“野蠻”的習俗，並且能夠做出被視為嚴重不公正和“卑鄙”的行為。

正如在心理學傳統中，個人一直是中心一樣，在社會學傳統中，個人也被認為是社會的基本單位。一個主要的社會學問題變成了關於個人意識和現實在多大程度上塑造或被社會結構塑造的鬥爭。在十九世紀，這種個人和社會觀深受社會達爾文主義的影響。例如，這意味著一個社會可以被視為具有生物特徵的人的'物種'。原始社會可以根據這些特徵進行排名，可以對它們的生存進行預測，也可以對它們的待遇做出意識形態的合理性。早期的社會學開始關注這些“原始”人的信仰體系，以及他們思考和發展關於宗教的“簡單”想法的能力。這一重點旨在通過展示簡單的社會如何發展分類系統和思維模式的基石來增強對西方社會的理解。人們相信，這些系統將展示語言等社會現象是如何發展的。這反過來又使人們能夠區分固定的類別（即社會的結構基礎）和人們可以創造的類別（即生活世界的文化方面）。它還通過對比的聯想或對立的類別強化了西方的優越性。

空間概念

對於其他概念，例如時間和空間，也可以提出類似的主張。這些概念對於一些原住民語言來說尤其重要，因為該語言在兩者之間沒有明確或絕對的區別：例如，毛利語中時間或空間的詞是相同的。其他原住民語言沒有與空間或時間相關的詞，而是有一系列非常精確的術語來表示這些想法的一部分，或者概念與環境中其他事物之間的關係。在時間和空間中，人和事件所處的位置是存在的，但這些位置不一定被描述為不同的思想類別。西方關於時間和空間的觀念被編碼在語言、哲學和科學中。哲學的

conceptions of time and space have been concerned with: (1) the relationships between the two ideas, that is, whether space and time are absolute categories or whether they exist relationally; and (2) the measurement of time and space.[16] Space came to be seen as consisting of lines which were either parallel or elliptical. From these ideas, ways of thinking which related to disciplines of study emerged (e.g. mapping and geography, measurement and geometry, motion and physics). These distinctions are generally part of a taken-for-granted view of the world. Spatialized language is frequently used in both everyday and academic discourses.

Henri Lefebvre argues that the notion of space has been 'appropriated by mathematics' which has claimed an ideological position of dominance over what space means.[17] Mathematics has constructed a language which attempts to define with absolute exactness the parameters, dimensions, qualities and possibilities of space. This language of space influences the way the West thinks about the world beyond earth (cosmology), the ways in which society is viewed (public/private space, city/country space), the ways in which gender roles were defined (public/domestic, home/work) and the ways in which the social world of people could be determined (the market place, the theatre).[18] Compartmentalized, space can be better defined and measured.

Conceptions of space were articulated through the ways in which people arranged their homes and towns, collected and displayed objects of significance, organized warfare, set out agricultural fields and arranged gardens, conducted business, displayed art and performed drama, separated out one form of human activity from another. Spatial arrangements are an important part of social life. Western classifications of space include such notions as architectural space, physical space, psychological space, theoretical space and so forth. Foucault's metaphor of the cultural archive is an architectural image. The archive not only contains artefacts of culture, but is itself an artefact and a construct of culture. For the Indigenous world, Western conceptions of space, of arrangements and display, of the relationship between people and the landscape, of culture as an object of study, have meant that not only has the Indigenous world been represented in particular ways back to the West, but the Indigenous world view, the land and the people, have been radically transformed in the spatial image of the West. In other words, Indigenous space has been colonized. Land, for example, was viewed as something to be tamed and brought under control. The landscape, the arrangement of nature, could be altered by 'Man': swamps could be drained, waterways diverted, inshore areas filled, not simply for

時間和空間的哲學概念一直關注：（1）兩種思想之間的關係，即空間和時間是否是絕對範疇，還是它們在關係上存在;（2） 時間和空間的測量。空間開始被視為由平行或橢圓形的線組成。從這些想法中，出現了與研究學科相關的思維方式（例如地圖和地理、測量和幾何、運動和物理學）。這些區別通常是理所當然的世界觀的一部分。空間化語言經常用於日常和學術話語中。

亨利．列斐伏爾（Henri Lefebvre）認為，空間的概念已經“被數學挪用”，數學聲稱在意識形態上佔據了對空間含義的主導地位。數學構建了一種語言，它試圖絕對準確地定義空間的參數、維度、品質和可能性。這種空間語言影響了西方對地球以外世界的思考方式（宇宙學）、看待社會的方式（公共/私人空間、城市/鄉村空間）、性別角色的定義方式（公共/家庭、家庭/工作）以及人們的社會世界可以確定的方式（市場、 劇院）。劃分後，空間可以更好地定義和測量。

空間的概念通過人們佈置家園和城鎮、收集和展示重要物品、組織戰爭、佈置農田和佈置花園、開展商業、展示藝術和表演戲劇的方式來表達，將一種人類活動形式與另一種形式分開。空間安排是社會生活的重要組成部分。西方對空間的分類包括建築空間、物理空間、心理空間、理論空間等概念。福柯對文化檔案的隱喻是一種建築形象。檔案館不僅包含文化文物，而且本身就是一種文物和文化建構。對原住民世界來說，西方對空間、佈置和展示、人與景觀之間的關係、文化作為研究對象的概念，意味著原住民世界不僅以特定的方式被代表到西方，而且原住民的世界觀、土地和人民，在西方的空間形象中也發生了根本性的轉變。換句話說，原住民空間已經被殖民了。例如，土地被視為需要馴服和控制的東西。景觀、自然的安排可以被「人」改變：沼澤可以排幹，水道可以改道，近海地區可以填平，而不僅僅是為了

physical survival, but for further exploitation of the environment or making it 'more pleasing' aesthetically. Renaming the land was probably as powerful ideologically as changing the land. Indigenous children in schools, for example, were taught the new names for places that they and their parents had lived in for generations. These were the names which appeared on maps and which were used in official communications. This newly named land became increasingly disconnected from the songs and chants used by Indigenous peoples to trace their histories, to bring forth spiritual elements or to carry out the simplest of ceremonies. More significantly, however, space was appropriated from Indigenous cultures and then 'gifted back' as reservations, reserved pockets of land for Indigenous people who once possessed all of it.

Other artefacts and images of Indigenous cultures were also classified, stored and displayed in museum cases and boxes, framed by the display cases as well as by the categories of artefacts with which they were grouped. Some images became part of the postcard trade and the advertising market or were the subject of Western artistic interpretations of Indigenous peoples. Still other 'live' and performing examples were put 'on stage' as concert parties to entertain Europeans. Indigenous cultures became framed within a language and a set of spatialized representations.[19]

A specific example of the colonization of an Indigenous architectural space and of Indigenous spatial concepts can be found in the story of the Mataatua, a carved Māori house built in 1875 as a wedding gift from one tribal group to another. The New Zealand government negotiated and gained agreement to send the Mataatua to the British Empire Exhibition at Sydney in 1879. The house was displayed according to the aesthetic and economic sense of the exhibition's curators:

> Finding that it would cost at least 700 pounds to erect it in the ordinary manner as a Māori house, the walls were reversed so that the carvings showed on the outside; and the total cost, including painting and roofing with Chinese matting was reduced to 165 pounds.[20]

A 'Māori House', displayed inside-out and lined with Chinese matting was seen as an important contribution by New Zealand to the Sydney Exhibition. As argued by its original owners,

> the house itself had undergone a transformation as a result of being assimilated into a British Empire Exhibition. It changed from being a 'living' meeting house which the people used and had become an

不僅僅是為了身體上的生存，而是為了進一步開發環境或使其在美學上“更令人愉悅”。重新命名土地在意識形態上可能與改變土地一樣強大。例如，學校裡的原住民兒童被教導他們和他們的父母世代居住的地方的新名稱。這些是出現在地圖上並用於官方通訊的名稱。這片新命名的土地與原住民用來追溯歷史、帶來精神元素或進行最簡單的儀式的歌曲和聖歌越來越脫節。然而，更重要的是，空間是從原住民文化中挪用的，然後作為保留地“贈送”回來，為曾經擁有所有土地的原住民保留了一小塊土地。

其他土著文化的文物和圖像也被分類、儲存和展示在博物館的櫃子和盒子中，由陳列櫃以及與它們分組的文物類別構成。一些圖像成為明信片貿易和廣告市場的一部分，或者成為西方對原住民的藝術詮釋的主題。還有一些“現場”和表演的例子被“搬上舞台”作為音樂會派對來娛樂歐洲人。土著文化被框定在一種語言和一組空間化表徵中。

原住民建築空間和原住民空間概念殖民化的一個具體例子可以在 Mataatua 的故事中找到，這是一座建於 1875 年的毛利雕刻房屋，作為一個部落群體送給另一個部落群體的結婚禮物。新西蘭政府通過談判並獲得同意，將 Mataatua 送往 1879 年在悉尼舉行的大英帝國展覽會。這棟房子是根據展覽策展人的審美和經濟意識展示的：

> 發現以毛利房屋的普通方式建造它至少需要 700 英鎊，因此將牆壁反轉，使雕刻在外面顯現出來;總成本，包括油漆和中式墊子屋頂，降至 165 英鎊。

一座由內而外展示並襯有中國墊子的“毛利房屋”被視為新西蘭對悉尼展覽的重要貢獻。正如其原始所有者所主張的那樣，

> 房子本身因被同化為大英帝國展覽而發生了轉變。它從人們使用的「活生生的」教堂變成了

> ethnological curiosity for strange people to look at the wrong way and in the wrong place.[21]

Having gained agreement for this single purpose, the New Zealand government then appropriated the house and sent it to England, where it was displayed at the South Kensington Museum, stored for forty years at the Victoria and Albert Museum, displayed again at the Wembley British Empire Exhibition in 1924, shipped back to New *Zealand* for a South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin in 1925, and then 'given', by the government, to the Otago Museum. Ngati Awa, the owners of this house, have been negotiating for its return since 1983. This has now been agreed upon by the New Zealand government after a case put to the Waitangi Tribunal, and the 'door lintel' of the Mataatua has been returned as a symbolic gesture prior to the return of the entire house over the next two years.

Space is often viewed in Western thinking as being static or divorced from time. This view generates ways of making sense of the world as a 'realm of stasis', well-defined, fixed and without politics.[22] This is particularly relevant in relation to colonialism. The establishment of military, missionary or trading stations, the building of roads, ports and bridges, the clearing of bush and the mining of minerals all involved processes of marking, defining and controlling space. There is a very specific spatial vocabulary of colonialism which can be assembled around three concepts: (1) the line, (2) the centre, and (3) the outside. The 'line' is important because it was used to map territory, to survey

Table 2.1 The spatial vocabulary of colonialism in nineteenth-century Aotearoa

The Line	The Centre	The Outside
maps	mother country	empty land
charts	London	terra nullius
roads	magistrate's residence	uninhabited
boundaries	redoubt, stockade, barracks	unoccupied
pegs	prison	uncharted
surveys	mission station	reserves
claims	Parliament	Māori pa
fences	store	Kainga
hedges	Church	Marae
stone walls	Europe	burial grounds
tracks	port	background
genealogies	foreground	hinterland
perimeters	flagpole	

對陌生人以錯誤的方式和錯誤的地方看待的民族學好奇心。

在獲得這一單一目的的同意後，新西蘭政府隨後徵用了這棟房子並將其送往英國，在南肯辛頓博物館展出，在維多利亞和阿爾伯特博物館存放了四十年，在 1924 年的溫布利大英帝國展覽會上再次展出，1925 年運回新西蘭參加在但尼丁舉行的南洋展覽， 然後由政府「贈予」奧塔哥博物館。這棟房子的主人 Ngati Awa 自 1983 年以來一直在就歸還它進行談判。在向懷唐伊法庭提起案件後，新西蘭政府現在已經同意了這一點，並且馬塔圖亞的“門楣”已作為象徵性姿態歸還，然後在未來兩年內歸還整棟房子。

在西方思維中，空間通常被視為靜態的或與時間分離的。這種觀點產生了將世界理解為一個「停滯領域」的方式，定義明確、固定且沒有政治。這與殖民主義尤其相關。軍事、傳教士或貿易站的建立、道路、港口和橋樑的建設、灌木叢的清理和礦物的開採都涉及標記、定義和控制空間的過程。殖民主義有一個非常具體的空間詞彙，可以圍繞三個概念組合起來：（1）線，（2）中心，（3）外部。“線”很重要，因為它被用來繪製領土地圖、測量

表 2.1 十九世紀奧特亞羅瓦殖民主義的空間詞彙

線	中心	外面
地圖	祖國	空地
圖表	倫敦	無主之地
道路	裁判官官邸	無人居住的

邊界 堡壘、柵欄、軍營 空置的釘子 監獄 未知的調查 傳教站保護區 索賠 議會 毛利人 pa 柵欄 商店 Kainga 樹籬 教堂 Marae 石牆 歐洲 墓地 軌道 港口背景 家譜 前景 腹地周邊 旗桿

land, to establish boundaries and to mark the limits of colonial power. The 'centre' is important because orientation to the centre was an orientation to the system of power. The 'outside' is important because it positioned territory and people in an oppositional relation to the colonial centre; for Indigenous Australians to be in an 'empty space' was to 'not exist'. That vocabulary in New Zealand is depicted in Table 2.1.

Conceptions of Time

Time is associated with social activity, and how other people organized their daily lives fascinated and horrified Western observers. The links between the industrial revolution, the Protestant ethic, imperialism and science can be discussed in terms of time and the organization of social life. Changes in the mode of production brought about by the industrial revolution, an emerging middle class able to generate wealth and make distinctions in their lives between work, leisure, education and religion, and a working-class evangelical movement which linked work to salvation contributed to a potent cultural mix. In Africa, the Americas and the Pacific, Western observers were struck by the contrast in the way time was used (or rather, not used or organized) by Indigenous peoples. Representations of 'native life' as being devoid of work habits, and of native people being lazy, indolent, with low attention spans, is part of a colonial discourse that continues to this day. There were various explanations advanced for such indolence; a hot climate, for example, was viewed as a factor. Often it was a simple association between race and indolence, darker skin peoples being considered more 'naturally' indolent.

An example of how integral time is to social life can be found in the journals of Joseph Banks. Banks accompanied Cook on his first voyages to the South Pacific. The Royal Society supervised the Greenwich Observatory which eventually set the world-wide standard of time measurement (Greenwich mean time) and was instrumental in organizing Cook's voyage to Tahiti in 1769 to observe the transit of Venus. Throughout this journey Banks kept a detailed diary which documents his observations and reflections upon what he saw. The diary was a precise organization of his life on board ship, not only a day-by-day account, but an account which included weather reports, lists of plants and birds collected, and details on the people he encountered. Life on board the *Endeavour* was organized according to the rules and regulations of the British Admiralty, an adaptation of British time. Not

土地，以建立邊界並標記殖民權力的界限。「中心」很重要，因為對中心的定位就是對權力體系的定位。「外部」很重要，因為它將領土和人民置於與殖民中心的對立關係中;對於澳大利亞原住民來說，處於“空曠的空間”中就是“不存在”。新西蘭的詞彙如表 2.1 所示。

時間概念

時間與社交活動有關，其他人如何組織日常生活讓西方觀察者著迷和恐懼。工業革命、新教倫理、帝國主義和科學之間的聯繫可以從時間和社會生活的組織的角度來討論。工業革命帶來的生產方式變化，新興的中產階級能夠創造財富，並在生活中區分工作、休閒、教育和宗教，以及將工作與救贖聯繫起來的工人階級福音派運動，促成了強大的文化混合。在非洲、美洲和太平洋地區，西方觀察家對原住民使用時間（或者更確切地說，不使用或組織）時間的方式的對比感到震驚。將「原住民生活」描述為缺乏工作習慣，以及原住民懶惰、懶惰、注意力持續時間低，是持續至今的殖民話語的一部分。對於這種懶惰，有各種各樣的解釋;例如，炎熱的氣候被視為一個因素。通常，這是種族和懶惰之間的簡單聯繫，膚色較深的人被認為更“天生”懶惰。

時間對社會生活的重要性的一個例子可以在約瑟夫·班克斯的日記中找到。班克斯陪同庫克第一次航行到南太平洋。英國皇家學會監督格林威治天文台，該天文台最終制定了世界時間測量標準（格林威治標準時間），並在組織庫克 1769 年前往塔希提島觀測金星凌日的航行中發揮了重要作用。在整個旅程中，班克斯寫了一本詳細的日記，記錄了他對所見所聞的觀察和反思。日記是他在船上生活的精確組織，不僅是每日的記錄，而且包括天氣預報、收集的植物和鳥類清單以及他遇到的人的詳細信息。奮進號上的生活是根據英國海軍部的規則和規定組織的，這是英國時間的改編。不

only did the diary measure time, but there were scientific instruments on board which also measured time and place. As an observer, Banks saw the Pacific world through his own sense of time, his observations were prefaced by phrases such as 'at daybreak', 'in the evening', 'by 8 o'clock', 'about noon', 'a little before sunset'.[23] He confessed, however – after describing in detail such things as dress, ornaments, tattooing, house construction and layout, clothing, gardens, net-making, the women, food, religion and language, and after describing visits he and a companion made at particular times to observe the people eating, carrying out their daily activities and sleeping – that he was unable to get a 'complete idea' of how the people divided time.

The connection between time and 'work' became more important after the arrival of missionaries and the development of more systematic colonization. The belief that 'natives' did not value work or have a sense of time provided ideological justification for exclusionary practices which reached across such areas as education, land development and employment. The evangelical missionaries who arrived in the Pacific had a view of salvation in which were embedded either lower middle-class English or puritanical New England work practices and values. It was hard work to get to heaven and 'savages' were expected to work extra hard to qualify to get into the queue. This also meant wearing 'decent' clothes designed more for hard labour in cold climates, eating 'properly' at 'proper' meal times (before and after work) and reorganizing family patterns to enable men to work at some things and women to support them.

Lineal views of both time and space are important when examining Western ideas about history. Here, the Enlightenment is a crucial point in time. Prior to this period of Western development was an era likened to a period of 'darkness' (the 'Age of Darkness') which 'coincided' with the rise of power to the east. This era was followed by reformation within the Church of Rome. During these periods of time, which are social 'constructions' of time, society was said to be feudal, belief systems were based on dogma, monarchs ruled by divine authority, and literacy was confined to the very few. People lived according to myths and stories which hid the 'truth' or were simply not truths. These stories were kept alive by memory. The Enlightenment has also been referred to as the 'Age of Reason'. During this period, history came to be viewed as a more reasoned or scientific understanding of the past. History could be recorded systematically and then retrieved through recourse to written texts. It was based on a lineal view of time and was linked closely to notions of progress. Progress could be 'measured' in

日記不僅測量了時間，船上還有科學儀器，也測量了時間和地點。作為一名觀察者，班克斯通過自己的時間感觀察太平洋世界，他的觀察以“黎明時分”、“傍晚”、“8 點鐘”、“中午左右”、“日落前一點”等短語開頭。然而，在詳細描述了服裝、裝飾品、紋身、房屋建造和佈局、服裝、花園、網製作、婦女、食物、宗教和語言等事情之後，他承認，在描述了他和一個同伴在特定時間進行的訪問以觀察人們的飲食、日常活動和睡眠之後，他無法“完整地了解”人們如何分配時間。

在傳教士到來和更系統的殖民化發展後，時間與「工作」之間的聯繫變得更加重要。“本地人”不重視工作或沒有時間感的信念為教育、土地開發和就業等領域的排他性做法提供了意識形態上的理由。抵達太平洋的福音派傳教士對救恩的看法，其中嵌入了中下階層的英國或清教徒的新英格蘭工作實踐和價值觀。到達天堂是一項艱苦的工作，“野蠻人”被期望更加努力地工作才能獲得進入隊列的資格。這也意味著穿著更適合在寒冷氣候下從事艱苦勞動的“體面”衣服，在“適當”的用餐時間（工作前後）“適當”飲食，並重組家庭模式，使男性能夠從事某些事情，而女性則能夠支持他們。

在審視西方歷史觀時，時間和空間的直線觀都很重要。在這裡，啟蒙運動是一個關鍵的時間點。在西方發展的這段時期之前，有一個被比作「黑暗時代」（「黑暗時代」）的時代，它「恰逢」東方權力的崛起。這個時代之後是羅馬教會內部的宗教改革。在這些時期，即時間的社會「建構」時期，社會被認為是封建的，信仰體系基於教條，君主由神聖權威統治，識字能力僅限於極少數人。人們按照隱藏“真相”或根本不是真相的神話和故事生活。這些故事因記憶而保持活力。啟蒙運動也被稱為“理性時代”。在此期間，歷史開始被視為對過去的更理性或更科學的理解。歷史可以系統地記錄下來，然後透過訴諸書面文本來檢索。它基於時間的線性觀，並與進步的概念密切相關。進展可以“衡量”在

terms of technological advancement and spiritual salvation. Progress is evolutionary and teleological and is present in both liberal and Marxist ideas about history.

Different orientations towards time and space, different positioning within time and space and different systems of language for making space and time 'real' underpin notions of past and present, of place and of relationships to the land. Ideas about progress are grounded within ideas and orientations towards time and space. What has come to count as history in contemporary society is a contentious issue for many Indigenous communities because it is not only the story of domination; it is also a story which assumes that there was a 'point in time' which was 'prehistoric'. The point at which society moves from prehistoric to historic is also the point at which tradition breaks with modernism. Traditional Indigenous knowledge ceased, in this view, when it came into contact with 'modern' societies, that is the West. What occurred at this point of culture contact was the beginning of the end for 'primitive' societies. Deeply embedded in these constructs are systems of classification and representation which lend themselves easily to binary oppositions, dualisms, and hierarchical orderings of the world.

One of the concepts through which Western ideas about the individual and community, about time and space, knowledge and research, imperialism and colonialism can be drawn together is the concept of distance. The individual can be distanced, or separated, from the physical environment, the community. Through the controls over time and space, the individual can also operate at a distance from the universe. Both imperial and colonial rule were systems of rule which stretched from the centre outwards to places which were far and distant. Distance again separated the individuals in power from the subjects they governed. It was all so impersonal, rational and extremely effective. In research, the concept of distance is most important as it implies a neutrality and objectivity on behalf of the researcher. Distance is measurable. What it has come to stand for is objectivity, which is not measurable to quite the same extent.

Research 'through imperial eyes' describes an approach which assumes that Western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas possible to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social life and of human beings. It is an approach to Indigenous peoples which still conveys a sense of innate superiority and an overabundance of desire to bring progress into the lives of Indigenous peoples – spiritually, intellectually, socially and economically. It is research which from

進步可以用技術進步和精神救贖來「衡量」。進步是進化的和目的論的，存在於自由主義和馬克思主義的歷史觀念中。

對時間和空間的不同取向、在時間和空間中的不同定位以及使空間和時間“真實”的不同語言系統支撐著過去和現在、地點和與土地關係的概念。關於進步的想法是基於對時間和空間的想法和取向。對於許多原住民社區來說，當代社會中被視為歷史的是一個有爭議的問題，因為它不僅是統治的故事，也是統治的故事。這也是一個假設存在一個「史前」的「時間點」的故事。社會從史前走向歷史的時刻，也是傳統與現代主義決裂的時刻。在這種觀點中，當傳統的土著知識與「現代」社會（即西方）接觸時就停止了。在這個文化接觸點發生的事情是「原始」社會終結的開始。這些結構中深深嵌入的是分類和表徵系統，它們很容易導致二元對立、二元論和世界的等級排序。

西方關於個人和社區、關於時間和空間、知識和研究、帝國主義和殖民主義的觀念可以匯集在一起的概念之一是距離的概念。個人可以與物理環境、社區保持距離或分離。通過對時間和空間的控制，個體也可以在遠離宇宙的地方進行操作。帝國統治和殖民統治都是從中心向外延伸到遙遠的地方的統治體系。距離再次將掌權者與他們所統治的臣民分開。這一切都是如此不近人情、理性和極其有效。在研究中，距離的概念是最重要的，因為它意味著代表研究人員的中立性和客觀性。距離是可以測量的。它所代表的是客觀性，而客觀性無法在完全相同的程度上衡量。

「透過帝國的眼光」進行的研究描述了一種方法，它假設西方關於最基本事物的觀念是唯一可能持有的觀念，當然是唯一理性觀念，也是唯一能夠理解世界、現實、社會生活和人類的觀念。這是一種對待原住民的方法，仍然傳達了一種與生俱來的優越感和過度的願望，即在精神、智力、社會和經濟上為原住民的生活帶來進步。這是來自

Indigenous perspectives 'steals' knowledge from others and then uses it to benefit the people who 'stole' it. Some Indigenous and minority group researchers would call this approach simply racist. It is research which is imbued with an 'attitude' and a 'spirit' which assumes a certain ownership of the entire world, and which has established systems and forms of governance which embed that attitude in institutional practices. These practices determine what counts as legitimate research and who count as legitimate researchers. Before assuming that such an attitude has long since disappeared, it is often worth reflecting on who would make such a claim, researchers or Indigenous peoples? A recent attempt (fortunately unsuccessful) to patent an Indigenous person in the New Guinea Highlands might suggest that there are many groups of Indigenous peoples who are still without protection when it comes to the activities of research.[24] Although in this particular case the attempt was unsuccessful, what it demonstrated yet again is that there are people out there who in the name of science and progress still consider Indigenous peoples as specimens, not as humans.

Notes

1 Hall, S. (1992), 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power', Chapter 6 of *Formations of Modernity,* eds S. Hall and B. Gielben, Polity Press and Open University, Cambridge, pp. 276–320.
2 Bernstein, B. (1971), 'On the Classification and Framing of Knowledge', in *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education,* ed. M. F. D. Young, Collier Macmillan, London, pp. 47–69.
3 See for example, Bernal, M. (1991), *Black Athena, The Afroasiatic Roots of Civilisation,* Vintage, London.
4 Foucault, M. (1972), *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* trans. A. Sheridan Smith, Pantheon, New York.
5 Nandy, A. (1989), *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism,* Oxford University Press, Delhi, p. xi.
6 Goldberg, D. T. (1993), *Racist Culture, Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning,* Blackwell, Oxford.
7 *Ibid.,* p. 23.
8 *Ibid.,* p. 23.
9 *Ibid.,* p. 23.
10 *Ibid.,* p. 23.
11 *Ibid.,* pp. 41–60.
12 Erler, M. and M. Kowaleski (1988), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages,* University of Georgia Press, Athens.

從原住民的角度來看，這項研究從他人那裡“竊取”知識，然後利用它來造福“竊取”知識的人。一些原住民和少數群體的研究人員會稱這種方法只是種族主義。正是這種研究充滿了一種“態度”和一種“精神”，它承擔了對整個世界的某種所有權，並建立了將這種態度嵌入到制度實踐中的系統和治理形式。這些做法決定了什麼算作合法研究，誰算作合法研究人員。在假設這種態度早已消失之前，通常值得反思的是，研究人員或原住民是誰會提出這樣的主張？最近在新幾內亞高地為原住民申請專利的嘗試（幸運的是沒有成功）可能表明，在研究活動方面，有許多原住民群體仍然沒有受到保護。儘管在這個特殊情況下，嘗試沒有成功，但它再次表明，有些人仍然以科學和進步的名義將原住民視為標本，而不是人類。

筆記

1 Hall， S. （1992），〈西方與其他國家：話語與權力〉，《現代性形態》第 6 章，S. Hall 和 B. Gielben 編，Polity Press 和開放大學，劍橋，第 276-320 頁。

2 Bernstein， B. （1971），〈論知識的分類和框架〉，載於《知識與控制：教育社會學的新方向》，編輯。
MFD Young，Collier Macmillan，倫敦，第 47-69 頁。

3 例如，參見 Bernal， M. （1991），《黑色雅典娜，文明的亞非根源》，Vintage，倫敦。

4 Foucault， M. （1972），《知識考古學》，A. Sheridan Smith 譯，萬神殿，紐約。

5 Nandy， A. （1989），《親密的敵人：殖民主義下自我的喪失與恢復》，牛津大學出版社，德里，第 xi 頁。

6 Goldberg， DT （1993），《種族主義文化、哲學和意義政治》，布萊克威爾，牛津。

7 同上，第 23 頁。

8 同上，第 23 頁。

9 同上，第 23 頁。

10 同上，第 23 頁。

11 同上，第 41-60 頁。

12 Erler， M. 和 M. Kowaleski （1988），《中世紀的婦女與權力》，喬治亞大學出版社，雅典。

13 The Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Māori chiefs and the British Crown in 1840. The Waitangi Tribunal was established by Parliament under The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. This Act established the Tribunal with the brief of hearing claims by Māori that the Crown had contravened the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. This applied to recent grievances. The Tribunal was given powers to recommend actions to the Crown. The Act was amended in 1985 in order to extend the scope of claims back to 1840.

14 Brennan, J. F. (1991), *Racist Culture: The History and Systems of Psychology,* third edition, Prentice Hall International, New Jersey.

15 Goldberg, *Racist Culture,* pp. 62–9.

16 In the fifth century Zeno, for example, posited a series of paradoxes which centred around two ideas, one which suggests that space and time are continuous, and one which suggests that they are made up of divisible parts. Others have argued since Zeno that there can be no such thing as 'empty' space because, if it is empty, it does not exist.

17 Lefebvre, H. (1991), *The Production of Space,* Blackwell, Oxford.

18 See for example, Williams, R. (1973), *The Country and the City,* Paladin, London. See also Fanon, Frantz (1967), *The Wretched of the Earth,* Penguin, London, p. 30. Fanon talks about 'zones' where natives live and 'zones' where settlers live. For him, the border between the two are clear and there is no possibility of reconciliation.

19 See also, Gidley, M., ed. (1994), *Representing Others: White Views of Indigenous Peoples,* University of Exeter Press.

20 Appendices to the Journals of the New Zealand House of Representatives, 1880, H5: 2.

21 Te Runanga o Ngati Awa (1990), *Nga Karoretanga o Mataatua Whare: The Wanderings of the Carved House, Mataatua,* Ngati Awa Research Report 2, Whakatane, New Zealand.

22 Massey, D. (1993), 'Politics and Space/Time', in *Place and the Politics of Identity,* eds M. Keith, and S. Pile, Routledge, London, pp. 141–61.

23 Beaglehole, J. C. (1962), *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks,* Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

24 See account of this attempt in *Third World Resurgence,* No. 63, p. 30.

13 1840 年，毛利酋長與英國王室簽署了《懷唐伊條約》。懷唐伊法庭由議會根據 1975 年《懷唐伊條約法》設立。該法案成立了法庭，並聽取了毛利人關於王室違反《懷唐伊條約》原則的索賠。這適用於最近的不滿。審裁處有權向官方建議採取行動。該法案於 1985 年進行了修訂，以將索賠範圍擴大到 1840 年。

14 Brennan， JF （1991），種族主義文化：歷史和系統心理學，第三版，新澤西州普倫蒂斯霍爾國際。

15 戈德堡，《種族主義文化》，第 62-9 頁。

16 例如，在五世紀，芝諾提出了一系列悖論，這些悖論圍繞著兩個想法，一個認為空間和時間是連續的，另一個認為它們是由可分割的部分組成的。自芝諾以來，其他人一直認為不可能有「空」空間這樣的東西，因為如果它是空的，它就不存在。

17 Lefebvre， H. （1991），《空間的生產》，布萊克威爾，牛津。

18 例如，參見 Williams， R. （1973），The Country and the City，Paladin，倫敦。另見 Fanon， Frantz （1967），《地球的悲慘》，企鵝出版社，倫敦，第 30 頁。法農談到了當地人居住的“區域”和定居者居住的“區域”。對他來說，兩人的邊界是明確的，沒有和解的可能。

19 另見 Gidley， M.， ed. （1994），《代表他人：原住民的白人觀點》，埃克塞特大學出版社。

20 新西蘭眾議院期刊附錄，1880 年，H5：2。

21 Te Runanga o Ngati Awa （1990），《Mataatua Whare： The Wanderings of the Carved House》，Mataatua，Ngati Awa Research Report 2，新西蘭法卡塔尼。

22 Massey， D. （1993），“政治與空間/時間”，在《地方與身份政治》，M. Keith 和 S. Pile 編，勞特利奇，倫敦，第 141-61 頁。

23 Beaglehole， JC （1962），約瑟夫·班克斯、安格斯和羅伯特兒子的奮進日記，悉尼。

24 參見《第三世界復興》第 63 期，第 30 頁中對這一嘗試的描述。

Chapter 3

COLONIZING KNOWLEDGES

We have a history of people putting Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define.

Merata Mita[1]

In the previous chapter the metaphor of an archive was used to convey the process in which the West drew upon a vast history of itself and on multiple traditions of knowledge incorporating cultural views of reality, time and space. This chapter argues that the form of imperialism which Indigenous peoples are confronting now emerged from that period of European history known as the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment provided the spirit, the impetus, the confidence, and the political and economic structures that facilitated the search for new knowledges. The project of the Enlightenment is often referred to as 'modernity' and that project is said to have provided the stimulus for the industrial revolution, the philosophy of liberalism, the development of disciplines in the sciences and the development of public education. Imperialism underpinned and was critical to these developments. Whilst imperialism is often thought of as a system which drew everything back into the centre, it was also a system which distributed materials and ideas outwards. Said's notion of 'positional superiority' is useful here for conceptualizing the ways in which knowledge and culture were as much part of imperialism as raw materials and military strength. Knowledge was also there to be discovered, extracted, appropriated and distributed. Processes for enabling these things to occur became organized and systematic. They not only informed the field of study referred to by Said as 'Orientalism' but other disciplines of knowledge and 'regimes of truth'. It is through these disciplines that the Indigenous world has been *re*presented to the West and it is through these disciplines that Indigenous peoples often *re*search for the fragments of ourselves which were taken, catalogued, studied and stored. It is not the intention of this chapter to tell the history of Western knowledge but rather to

C哈普特 3

殖民知識

> 我們有歷史，人們將毛利人置於顯微鏡下，就像科學家觀察昆蟲一樣。那些進行觀察的人正在賦予自己定義的力量。
>
> 三田梅拉塔

在前一章中，檔案館的隱喻被用來傳達西方利用自身廣闊的歷史以及結合現實、時間和空間的文化觀點的多種知識傳統的過程。本章認為，原住民現在所面臨的帝國主義形式是從被稱為啟蒙運動的歐洲歷史時期出現的。啟蒙運動提供了精神、動力、信心以及促進對新知識的探索的政治和經濟結構。啟蒙運動的計劃通常被稱為“現代性”，據說該計劃為工業革命、自由主義哲學、科學學科的發展和公共教育的發展提供了刺激。帝國主義支撐著這些發展，並且對這些發展至關重要。 雖然帝國主義通常被認為是一個將一切拉回中心的系統，但它也是一個向外分配材料和思想的系統。賽義德的「地位優勢」概念在這裡有助於概念化知識和文化如何成為帝國主義的一部分，就像原材料和軍事力量一樣。知識也在那裡被發現、提取、挪用和分發。使這些事情發生的過程變得有組織和系統化。它們不僅為賽義德所說的「東方主義」研究領域提供了資訊，還為其他知識學科和「真理制度」提供了資訊。 正是通過這些學科，原住民世界才被呈現在西方，正是通過這些學科，原住民經常研究我們自己的碎片，這些碎片被獲取、編目、研究和存儲。本章的意圖不是講述西方知識的歷史，而是

draw that history down into the colonized world, show the relationship between knowledge, research and imperialism, and then discuss the ways in which it has come to structure our own ways of knowing, through the development of academic disciplines and through the education of colonial elites and Indigenous or 'native' intellectuals. Western knowledge and science are 'beneficiaries' of the colonization of Indigenous peoples. The knowledge gained through our colonization has been used, in turn, to colonize us in what Ngugi wa Thiong'o calls the colonization 'of the mind'.[2]

Establishing the Positional Superiority of Western Knowledge

The project of modernity signalled the end of feudalism and absolutist authority, legitimated by divine rule, and announced the beginning of the modern state. The new state formation had to meet the requirements of an expanding economy based on major improvements in production. The industrial revolution changed and made new demands upon the individual and the political system. The modern state was wrested from the old regime of absolutist monarchs by the articulation of liberal political and economic theories.[3] As a system of ideas, liberalism focuses on the individual, who has the capacity to reason, on a society which promotes individual autonomy and self-interest, and on a state which has a rational rule of law which regulates a public sphere of life, but which allows individuals to pursue their economic self-interest. Once it was accepted that humans had the capacity to reason and to attain this potential through education, through a systematic form of organizing knowledge, then it became possible to debate these ideas in rational and 'scientific' ways.

The development of scientific thought, the exploration and 'discovery' by Europeans of other worlds, the expansion of trade, the establishment of colonies, and the systematic colonization of Indigenous peoples in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are all facets of the modernist project. Modernism is more than a representation of fragments from the cultural archive in new contexts. 'Discoveries' about and from the 'new' world expanded and challenged ideas the West held about itself.[4] The production of knowledge, new knowledge and transformed 'old' knowledge, ideas about the nature of knowledge and the validity of specific forms of knowledge, became as much commodities of colonial exploitation as other natural resources.[5] Indigenous peoples were classified alongside the flora and fauna; hierarchical typologies of

本章的目的不是講述西方知識的歷史，而是將這段歷史拖入殖民世界，展示知識、研究和帝國主義之間的關係，然後討論它如何通過學科的發展以及通過殖民精英和土著或“本土”知識分子的教育來構建我們自己的認識方式。西方知識和科學是原住民殖民化的「受益者」。通過我們的殖民獲得的知識反過來又被用來殖民我們，在 Ngugi wa Thiong'o 所說的“心靈”殖民中。

確立西方知識的位置優勢

現代性計劃標誌著封建主義和專制權威的終結，由神聖統治合法化，並宣告了現代國家的開始。新的國家形成必須滿足基於生產重大改進的經濟擴張的要求。工業革命發生了變化，對個人和政治制度提出了新的要求。現代國家是通過自由主義政治和經濟理論的闡述從專制君主的舊政權中奪回的。作為一種思想體系，自由主義關注的是具有推理能力的個人，關注促進個人自主和自身利益的社會，以及一個擁有理性法治的國家，該法治規範了公共生活領域，但允許個人追求其經濟自身利益。一旦人們接受人類有能力推理並通過教育、通過系統化的組織知識形式來獲得這種潛力，那麼就有可能以理性和“科學”的方式辯論這些想法。

十八世紀和十九世紀科學思想的發展、歐洲人對其他世界的探索和「發現」、貿易的擴張、殖民地的建立以及原住民的系統性殖民化都是現代主義計畫的各個方面。現代主義不僅僅是在新背景下對文化檔案片段的表現。關於「新」世界的「發現」擴展並挑戰了西方對自己的觀念。知識的生產、新知識和轉化的「舊」知識、關於知識本質和特定知識形式有效性的想法，與其他自然資源一樣成為殖民剝削的商品。原住民與動植物一起被歸類;的層次類型

humanity and systems of representation were fuelled by new discoveries; and cultural maps were charted and territories claimed and contested by the major European powers. Hence some Indigenous peoples were ranked above others in terms of such things as the belief that they were 'nearly human', 'almost human' or 'sub-human'. This often depended on whether it was thought that the peoples concerned possessed a 'soul' and could therefore be 'offered' salvation and whether or not they were educable and could be offered schooling. These systems for organizing, classifying and storing new knowledge, and for theorizing the meanings of such discoveries, constituted research. In a colonial context, however, this research was undeniably also about power and domination. The instruments or technologies of research were also instruments of knowledge and instruments for legitimating various colonial practices.

The imaginary line between 'East' and 'West', drawn in 1493 by a Papal Bull, allowed for the political division of the world and the struggle by competing Western states to establish what Said has referred to as a 'flexible positional superiority' over the known, and yet to become known, world.[6] This positional superiority was contested at several levels by European powers. These imaginary boundaries were drawn again in Berlin in 1884 when European powers sat around the table to carve up Africa and other parts of 'their' empires. They continue to be redrawn. Imperialism and colonialism are the specific formations through which the West came to 'see', to 'name' and to 'know' Indigenous communities. The cultural archive with its systems of representation, codes for unlocking systems of classification, and fragmented artefacts of knowledge enabled travellers and observers to make sense of what they saw and to represent their new-found knowledge back to the West through the authorship and authority of their representations.

Whilst colonialism at an economic level, including its ultimate expression through slavery, opened up new materials for exploitation and new markets for trade, at a cultural level, ideas, images and experiences about the Other helped to shape and delineate the essential differences between Europe and the rest. Notions about the Other, which already existed in the European imagination, were recast within the framework of Enlightenment philosophies, the industrial revolution and the scientific 'discoveries' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When discussing the scientific foundations of Western research, the Indigenous contribution to these foundations is rarely mentioned. To have acknowledged their contribution would, in terms of the rules of research practice, be as legitimate as acknowledging the contribution of a variety of plant, a shard of pottery or a 'preserved head of a native'

原住民與動植物一起被歸類;人類的等級類型和表徵系統受到新發現的推動;文化地圖被繪製出來，領土被歐洲主要列強主張和爭奪。因此，一些原住民在相信他們“接近人類”、“幾乎人類”或“亞人類”等方面排名高於其他人。這通常取決於人們是否認為有關民族擁有“靈魂”，因此可以“提供”救贖，以及他們是否具有教育能力並可以接受教育。這些用於組織、分類和存儲新知識以及將此類發現的意義理論化的系統構成了研究。然而，在殖民背景下，這項研究不可否認也是關於權力和統治的。研究工具或技術也是知識工具和使各種殖民實踐合法化的工具。

1493 年，教皇諭令劃定了「東方」和「西方」之間的假想界線，允許世界的政治分裂，以及相互競爭的西方國家為建立賽義德所說的對已知但尚未為人所知的世界的「靈活立場優勢」而進行的鬥爭。歐洲列強在多個層面上爭奪了這種地位優勢。1884 年，歐洲列強圍坐在桌子旁瓜分非洲和「他們」帝國的其他地區時，這些想像的邊界再次在柏林劃定。它們繼續被重新繪製。帝國主義和殖民主義是西方「看到」、「命名」和「了解」原住民社區的特定形態。文化檔案及其表徵系統、解鎖分類系統的密碼以及支離破碎的知識人工製品使旅行者和觀察者能夠理解他們所看到的，並通過其表徵的作者身份和權威將他們新發現的知識帶回西方。

雖然經濟層面的殖民主義，包括其通過奴隸制的最終表現，為剝削開闢了新的材料和新的貿易市場，但在文化層面上，關於他者的思想、形象和經驗有助於塑造和描繪歐洲與其他國家之間的本質差異。關於他者的概念已經存在於歐洲人的想像中，在啟蒙運動哲學、工業革命和十八世紀和十九世紀的科學「發現」的框架內被重新塑造。在討論西方研究的科學基礎時，很少提到原住民對這些基礎的貢獻。就研究實踐規則而言，承認他們的貢獻與承認各種植物、陶器碎片或“保存完好的當地人頭像”的貢獻一樣合法

to research. Furthermore, according to Bazin, 'Europeans could not even imagine that other people could ever have done things before or better than themselves'.[7] The objects of research do not have a voice and do not contribute to research or science. In fact, the logic of the argument would suggest that it is simply impossible, ridiculous even, to suggest that the object of research can contribute to anything. An object has no life force, no humanity, no spirit of its own, so therefore 'it' cannot make an active contribution. This perspective is not deliberately insensitive; it is simply that the rules did not allow such a thought to enter the scene. Thus, Indigenous Asian, American, Pacific and African forms of knowledge, systems of classification, technologies and codes of social life, which began to be recorded in some detail by the seventeenth century, were regarded as 'new discoveries' by Western science.[8] These discoveries were commodified as property belonging to the cultural archive and body of knowledge of the West.[9]

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also constituted an era of highly competitive 'collecting'. Many Indigenous people might call this 'stealing' rather than 'collecting'. This included the collecting of territories, of new species of flora and fauna, of mineral resources and of cultures. James Clifford, for example, refers to ethnography as a science which was

> [a] form of culture collecting … [which] highlights the ways that diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement. Collecting – at least in the West, where time is generally thought to be linear and irreversible – implies a rescue of phenomena from inevitable historical decay or loss.[10]

The idea that collectors were actually rescuing artefacts from decay and destruction, and from Indigenous peoples themselves, legitimated practices which also included commercial trade and plain and simple theft. Clearly, in terms of trade Indigenous peoples were often active participants, in some cases delivering 'made to order' goods. The different agendas and rivalries of Indigenous groups were also known to have been incorporated into the commercial activities of Europeans. Hence, muskets could be traded and then used to pursue traditional enemies or one group of people could be used to capture and assist in the enslavement of another group who were also their traditional rivals. Indigenous property is still said to be housed in 'collections', which in turn are housed either in museums or private galleries, and

一塊陶器碎片或一個“保存完好的當地人頭像”進行研究。此外，根據巴贊的說法，“歐洲人甚至無法想像其他人可以做過比自己更好的事情”。研究對象沒有發言權，也沒有對研究或科學做出貢獻。事實上，論證的邏輯表明，暗示研究對象可以為任何事情做出貢獻是根本不可能的，甚至是荒謬的。一個物體沒有生命力，沒有人性，沒有自己的精神，因此「它」不能做出積極的貢獻。這種觀點並不是故意麻木不仁;只是規則不允許這樣的想法進入場景。因此，到十七世紀開始詳細記錄的亞洲、美洲、太平洋和非洲土著知識形式、分類系統、技術和社會生活代碼，被西方科學視為“新發現”。這些發現被商品化為屬於西方文化檔案和知識體系的財產。

十八世紀和十九世紀也構成了一個競爭激烈的「收藏」時代。許多原住民可能稱之為“偷竊”而不是“收集”。這包括收集領土、動植物新物種、礦產資源和文化。例如，詹姆斯·克利福德 （James Clifford） 將民族誌稱為一門科學，它是

> [一種] 文化收藏的形式.....[它]強調了不同的經驗和事實被選擇、收集、脫離其原始時間場合的方式，並在新的安排中賦予持久價值。收藏——至少在西方，時間通常被認為是線性的和不可逆轉的——意味著將現象從不可避免的歷史衰敗或損失中拯救出來。

收藏家實際上是在從腐爛和破壞中拯救文物，以及從原住民本身手中拯救文物的想法是合法的做法，其中還包括商業貿易和簡單而簡單的盜竊。顯然，在貿易方面，原住民經常積極參與，在某些情況下提供“定制”商品。眾所周知，土著群體的不同議程和競爭也被納入歐洲人的商業活動中。因此，火槍可以交易，然後用來追擊傳統的敵人，或者一群人可以用來捕獲和協助奴役另一群人，他們也是他們的傳統對手。據說原住民財產仍然被收藏在“收藏品”中，而這些收藏品又被收藏在博物館或私人畫廊中，並且

art and artefacts are often grouped and classified in the name of their 'collector'. These collections have become the focus of Indigenous peoples' attempts to reclaim ancestral remains and other cultural items (known in the West as 'artefacts') belonging to their people.

It is important to remember, however, that colonialism was not just about collection. It was also about re-arrangement, re-presentation and re-distribution. For example, plant species were taken by Joseph Banks for the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew – a collection point where they could be 'grown, studied, and disbursed to the colonial stations, a centre of plant transfers on the scientific level, and of the generation and publication of know-ledge about plants'.[11] The British Empire became a global laboratory for research and development. New species of plants and animals were introduced to the colonies to facilitate development and to 'strengthen' Indigenous species. This point is worth remembering as it contrasts with the view, sometimes referred to as a diffusionist explanation, that knowledge, people, flora and fauna simply disbursed themselves around the world. This botanical colonization had already been successfully carried out in other places: for example, maize, sweet potatoes and tobacco from South America had been widely distributed. At the centre of this collection and distribution network was the imperial 'home' country. The colonies were peripheral satellites which gained access to these new knowledges and technologies through 'recourse to the writings of authors in the centre'.[12] One effect of this system of redistribution was the interference caused by new species to the ecologies of their new environments and the eventual extinction of several species of bird and animal life.[13] In the case of New Zealand, Cherryl Smith argues that, ecologically, the Indigenous world was colonized by weeds.[14]

Among the other significant consequences of ecological imperialism – carried by humans, as well as by plants and animals – were the viral and bacterial diseases which devastated Indigenous populations. This devastation or genocide was, in the accounts of many Indigenous peoples, used deliberately as a weapon of war. Stories are told in Canada, for example, of blankets used by smallpox victims being sent into First Nation communities while the soldiers and settlers camped outside waiting for the people to die. There were several ideologies which legitimated the Western impact on Indigenous health and well-being. These supported racial views already in place but which in the later nineteenth century became increasingly legitimated by the 'scientific' views of social Darwinism. The concept of the 'survival of the fittest', used to explain the evolution of species in the natural world, was

藝術品和手工藝品通常以其“收藏家”的名義進行分組和分類。這些藏品已成為原住民試圖收回屬於其人民的祖先遺骸和其他文化物品（在西方稱為“文物”）的重點。

然而，重要的是要記住，殖民主義不僅僅是收集。它還涉及重新編排、重新呈現和重新分配。例如，約瑟夫·班克斯 （Joseph Banks） 為邱園皇家植物園 （Royal Botanic Gardens） 採集了植物物種——一個收集點，在那裡它們可以“種植、研究並分配到殖民站，科學層面的植物轉移中心，以及植物知識的產生和出版”。大英帝國成為全球研發實驗室。新的動植物物種被引入殖民地，以促進發展並“加強”本土物種。這一點值得記住，因為它與有時被稱為擴散主義解釋的觀點形成鮮明對比，即知識、人、動植物只是在世界各地傳播。這種植物殖民已經在其他地方成功進行：例如，來自南美洲的玉米、紅薯和煙草已經廣泛分佈。這個收藏和分銷網絡的中心是帝國的“祖國”。殖民地是外圍衛星，通過“求助於中心作家的著作”來獲得這些新知識和技術。這種再分配系統的影響之一是新物種對其新環境的生態造成干擾，並最終導致多種鳥類和動物生命滅絕。就新西蘭而言，切里爾·史密斯認為，從生態上講，原住民世界被雜草殖民。

生態帝國主義的其他重大後果——由人類以及植物和動物攜帶——包括摧毀原住民的病毒和細菌疾病。在許多原住民的敍述中，這種破壞或種族滅絕被故意用作戰爭武器。例如，在加拿大，有人講述天花受害者使用的毯子被送到原住民社區，而士兵和定居者則在外面紮營等待人們死亡。有幾種意識形態使西方對原住民健康和福祉的影響合法化。這些支持已經存在的種族觀點，但在十九世紀後期，社會達爾文主義的「科學」觀點越來越合法化。「適者生存」的概念，用於解釋自然界中物種的演化，是

applied enthusiastically to the human world. It became a very powerful belief that Indigenous peoples were inherently weak and therefore, at some point, would die out. There were debates about how this could be prevented, for example, through miscegenation and cultural assimilation, and whether this, in fact, was 'desirable'. Judgements on these issues circled back or depended upon prior considerations as to whether the Indigenous group concerned had souls, could be saved, and also could be redeemed culturally. Influential debates on these matters by Catholic scholars such as Bartolome de Las Casas took place during the sixteenth century. In nineteenth-century New Zealand some of the debates delved right down into the supposed fecundity rates of Indigenous women and the better prospects for racial survival if miscegenation occurred. There were very serious scientific views put forward to account for the demise of the Indigenous populations. Some views included sterility caused by the 'licentiousness' of the women, a vegetable diet, infanticide and abortion. Other causes were put down to a sense of 'hopelessness' and lack of spirit, which came about through contact with 'civilization'.[15]

But there were also state policies (federal, provincial and local) of 'benign neglect' which involved minimal intervention (the 'infected blanket' strategy) while people suffered and died. There were also more proactive policies based around such ideas as 'Manifest Destiny' which sanctioned the taking of Indigenous lands by any means.[16] Ward Churchill and other Indigenous writers classify these actions as part of the Columbian legacy of genocide.[17] In relation to the diseases (and disease) which the West is said to have introduced to Indigenous peoples, the bigger question has always been the extent to which the impact of disease is an inevitable consequence of contact with the West. The significance of the issues which this question raises emerges when we examine, in a later chapter, the world-wide search currently being undertaken amongst Indigenous populations for genetic solutions to Western diseases. Aborigine activist Bobbi Sykes has an 'acid test' for the Western impact on Indigenous health which consists of two lists: one a list of diseases introduced by Europeans to Aboriginal people, the other a list of diseases introduced by Aboriginal people to Europeans. There are no items listed on the second list. That empty space tells a very potent story.[18]

The globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilized' knowledge. This form of global knowledge is generally referred to as 'universal' knowledge, available to all and not really 'owned' by

被熱情地應用到人類世界。它成為一種非常強烈的信念，即原住民本質上是軟弱的，因此在某個時候會滅絕。關於如何防止這種情況發生，例如通過異族通婚和文化同化，以及這實際上是否是“可取的”，存在爭論。對這些問題的判斷是回溯或依賴於先前的考慮，即有關原住民群體是否有靈魂、是否可以得救以及是否可以在文化上得到救贖。巴托洛梅·德·拉斯·卡薩斯 （Bartolome de Las Casas） 等天主教學者在十六世紀就這些問題進行了有影響力的辯論。在十九世紀的新西蘭，一些辯論直接深入探討了原住民婦女所謂的生育率，以及如果發生異族通婚，種族生存的更好前景。提出了非常嚴肅的科學觀點來解釋原住民的消亡。一些觀點包括婦女的“放蕩”導致的不育、蔬菜飲食、殺嬰和墮胎。其他原因被歸結為“絕望”和缺乏精神的感覺，這是通過與“文明”的接觸而產生的。

但也有州政策（聯邦、省和地方）的“良性忽視”，在人們受苦和死亡時涉及最少的干預（“感染毯”策略）。還有基於“天命昭彰”等理念的更積極主動的政策，批准以任何方式奪取原住民土地。沃德·丘吉爾和其他原住民作家將這些行為歸類為哥倫比亞種族滅絕遺產的一部分。關於據說西方傳染給原住民的疾病（和疾病），更大的問題始終是疾病的影響在多大程度上是與西方接觸的必然結果。當我們在後面的章節中研究目前在土著人口中進行的世界範圍內尋找西方疾病的遺傳解決方案時，這個問題所提出的問題的重要性就顯現出來了。原住民活動家博比·賽克斯 （Bobbi Sykes） 對西方對原住民健康的影響進行了“酸性測試”，該測試由兩份清單組成：一份是歐洲人介紹給原住民的疾病清單，另一份是原住民向歐洲人介紹的疾病清單。第二個清單上沒有列出任何項目。那個空白講述了一個非常有力的故事。

知識和西方文化的全球化不斷重申西方將自己視為合法知識的中心、知識的仲裁者和「文明」知識的來源。這種形式的全球知識通常被稱為“普遍”知識，所有人都可以獲得，而不是真正“擁有”的知識

anyone, that is, until non-Western scholars make claims to it. When claims like that are made history is revised (again) so that the story of civilization remains the story of the West. For this purpose, the Mediterranean world, the basin of Arabic culture and the lands east of Constantinople are conveniently appropriated as part of the story of Western civilization, Western philosophy and Western knowledge.[19] Through imperialism, however, these cultures, peoples and their nation states were repositioned as 'oriental', or 'outsider' in order to legitimate the imposition of colonial rule. For Indigenous peoples from other places, the real lesson to be learned is that we have no claim whatsoever to civilization. It is something which has been introduced from the West, by the West, to Indigenous peoples, for our benefit and for which we should be duly grateful.

The nexus between cultural ways of knowing, scientific discoveries, economic impulses and imperial power enabled the West to make ideological claims to having a superior civilization. The 'idea' of the West became a reality when it was re-presented back to Indigenous nations through colonialism. By the nineteenth century colonialism not only meant the imposition of Western authority over Indigenous lands, Indigenous modes of production and Indigenous law and government, but the imposition of Western authority over all aspects of Indigenous knowledges, languages and cultures. This authority incorporated what Said refers to as alliances between the ideologies, 'clichés', general beliefs and understandings held about the Orient and the views of 'science' and philosophical theories.[20]

For many Indigenous peoples the major agency for imposing this positional superiority over knowledge, language and culture was colonial education. Colonial education came in two basic forms: missionary or religious schooling (which was often residential) followed later by public and secular schooling. Numerous accounts across nations now attest to the critical role played by schools in assimilating colonized peoples, and in the systematic, frequently brutal, forms of denial of Indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures. Not all groups of Indigenous peoples, however, were permitted to attend school – some groups being already defined in some way as 'ineducable' or just plain troublesome and delinquent. Furthermore, in many examples the Indigenous language was used as the medium of instruction and access to the colonizing language was denied specifically. This policy was designed to deny opportunities to participate as citizens.

Colonial education was also used as a mechanism for creating new Indigenous elites. It was not the only mechanism for producing elite

所有人都可以使用，而不是真正被任何人「擁有」，也就是說，直到非西方學者聲稱擁有它。當這樣的主張被提出時，歷史就會（再次）被修改，這樣文明的故事仍然是西方的故事。為此，地中海世界、阿拉伯文化盆地和君士坦丁堡以東的土地被方便地挪用為西方文明、西方哲學和西方知識故事的一部分。然而，通過帝國主義，這些文化、民族及其民族國家被重新定位為“東方”或“局外人”，以便使殖民統治的實施合法化。對於來自其他地方的原住民來說，真正需要學習的教訓是，我們對文明沒有任何要求。這是從西方、西方、為了我們的利益而引入原住民的東西，我們應該對此表示應有的感謝。

文化認識方式、科學發現、經濟衝動和皇權之間的聯繫使西方能夠在意識形態上宣稱擁有優越的文明。當西方的「想法」透過殖民主義重新呈現給原住民民族時，它變成了現實。到了十九世紀，殖民主義不僅意味著將西方權威強加於原住民土地、原住民生產方式以及原住民法律和政府，還意味著西方權威強加於原住民知識、語言和文化的各個方面。這種權威納入了賽義德所說的意識形態、“陳詞濫調”、對東方的普遍信念和理解以及“科學”和哲學理論觀點之間的聯盟。

對許多原住民來說，將這種地位優越性強加於知識、語言和文化的主要機構是殖民教育。殖民教育有兩種基本形式：傳教士或宗教學校（通常是住宿），後來是公立和世俗學校。現在，各國的許多記載都證明了學校在同化被殖民民族以及系統性、通常是殘酷的否認土著語言、知識和文化方面發揮的關鍵作用。然而，並非所有原住民群體都被允許上學——有些群體已經以某種方式被定義為“不可教育”，或者只是麻煩和犯罪。此外，在許多例子中，土著語言被用作教學語言，並且被明確拒絕使用殖民語言。該政策旨在剝奪作為公民參與的機會。

殖民教育也被用作培養新原住民精英的機制。它並不是培養精英的唯一機制

groups, as the traditional hierarchies within an Indigenous society who converted to the colonial ideology also formed part of the elite group. Schooling helped identify talented students who were then groomed for more advanced education. Many of these students were sent away to boarding schools while others were sent to the metropolitan centre in Europe for their university studies. In these settings, and through their learning, students acquired the tastes, and sampled some of the benefits and privileges, of living within the metropolitan culture. Their elite status came about through the alignment of their cultural and economic interests with those of the colonizing group rather than with those of their own society.

School knowledge systems, however, were informed by a much more comprehensive system of knowledge which linked universities, scholarly societies and imperial views of culture. Hierarchies of knowledge and theories which had rapidly developed to account for the discoveries of the new world were legitimated at the centre. Schools simply reproduced domesticated versions of that knowledge for uncritical consumption. Although colonial universities saw themselves as being part of an international community and inheritors of a legacy of Western knowledge, they were also part of the historical processes of imperialism. They were established as an essential part of the colonizing process, a bastion of civilization and a sign that a colony and its settlers had 'grown up'. Attempts to 'indigenize' colonial academic institutions and/or individual disciplines within them have been fraught with major struggles over what counts as knowledge, as language, as literature, as curriculum and as the role of intellectuals, and over the critical function of the concept of academic freedom.[21]

Colonizing the Disciplines

Academic knowledges are organized around the idea of disciplines and fields of knowledge. These are deeply implicated in each other and share genealogical foundations in various classical and Enlightenment philosophies. Most of the 'traditional' disciplines are grounded in cultural world views which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems. Underpinning all of what is taught at universities is the belief in the concept of science as the all-embracing method for gaining an understanding of the world. Some of these disciplines, however, are more directly implicated in colonialism in that either they have derived their

這並不是產生精英群體的唯一機制，因為原住民社會中皈依殖民意識形態的傳統等級制度也構成了精英群體的一部分。學校教育有助於識別有才華的學生，然後培養他們接受更高等教育。這些學生中的許多人被送到寄宿學校，而另一些學生則被送到歐洲的大都會中心接受大學學習。在這些環境中，通過他們的學習，學生們獲得了生活在大都市文化中的品味，並品嚐了一些好處和特權。他們的精英地位是通過他們的文化和經濟利益與殖民群體的利益而不是他們自己社會的利益保持一致而產生的。

然而，學校知識體系是由一個更全面的知識體系所啟發的，該體系將大學、學術團體和帝國文化觀聯繫起來。為解釋新世界的發現而迅速發展的知識和理論的等級制度在中心得到了合法化。學校只是複製了這些知識的馴化版本，供不加批判地消費。儘管殖民大學將自己視為國際社會的一部分和西方知識遺產的繼承者，但它們也是帝國主義歷史進程的一部分。它們被建立為殖民過程的重要組成部分、文明的堡壘以及殖民地及其定居者已經「成長」的標誌。將殖民學術機構和/或其中的個別學科「本土化」的嘗試充滿了關於知識、語言、文學、課程和知識分子角色以及學術自由概念的關鍵功能的重大鬥爭。

殖民學科

學術知識是圍繞學科和知識領域的概念組織的。這些彼此深深相關，並在各種古典哲學和啟蒙哲學中共享譜系基礎。大多數“傳統”學科都建立在文化世界觀之上，這些世界觀要么與其他信仰體系對抗，要么沒有處理其他知識體系的方法。大學所教授的所有內容的基礎是相信科學概念是了解世界的包羅萬象的方法。然而，其中一些學科更直接地與殖民主義有關，因為它們要么衍生出

methods and understandings from the colonized world or they have tested their ideas in the colonies. How the colonized were governed, for example, was determined by previous experiences in other colonies and by the prevailing theories about race, gender, climate and other factors generated by 'scientific' methods. Classification systems were developed specifically to cope with the mass of new knowledge generated by the discoveries of the 'new world'. New colonies were the laboratories of Western science. Theories generated from the exploration and exploitation of colonies, and of the people who had prior ownership of these lands, formed the totalizing appropriation of the Other.

Robert Young argues that Hegel articulates a philosophical structure of the appropriation of the other as a form of knowledge which uncannily simulates the project of nineteenth-century imperialism; the construction of knowledges which all operate through forms of expropriation and incorporation of the other mimics at a conceptual level the geographical and economic absorption of the non-European world by the West.[22]

David Goldberg claims that notions of the Other are more deeply embedded in classical philosophy but became racialized within the framework of liberalism and the ideas about people and society which developed as disciplines through liberalism.[23] In an interesting discussion on the discourses which employ the word 'civilization', John Laffey suggests that the word 'civilization' entered Anglo-French usage in the second part of the eighteenth century, enabling the distinction to be drawn between those who saw themselves as civilized and those whom they then regarded as the 'savages' abroad and at home.[24] As a standard of judgement, according to Laffey, the word 'civilized' became more defined with the help of Freud and more specialized in the way different disciplines employed the concept. One such use was comparative and allowed for comparisons between children and savages or children and women, for example. This way of thinking was elaborated further into psychological justifications for the distinctions between the civilized and the uncivilized. Freud's influence on the way disciplines developed in relation to colonialism is further explored by Marianna Torgovnick, who examines the links between Freud and anthropology in her analysis of Malinowski's book *The Sexual Life of Savages*.[25] According to Torgovnick,

> Freud's explanation of the human psyche in terms of sexuality under-girded their endeavors and influenced the structure of many ethnographic enquiries at this stage of the discipline's development

更直接地與殖民主義有關，因為他們要么從被殖民的世界獲得他們的方法和理解，要么在殖民地測試了他們的想法。例如，被殖民者的統治方式取決於其他殖民地以前的經驗以及由「科學」方法產生的有關種族、性別、氣候和其他因素的流行理論。分類系統是專門為應對“新世界”的發現而產生的大量新知識而開發的。新殖民地是西方科學的實驗室。從對殖民地的探索和開發以及先前擁有這些土地所有權的人們的理論中產生的理論，形成了對他者的總體佔有。

羅伯特·楊（Robert Young）認為，黑格爾闡明了一種哲學結構，將挪用他者作為一種知識形式，它不可思議地模擬了十九世紀帝國主義的計劃;知識的建構都是透過徵用和整合其他形式運作的，在概念層面上模仿了西方對非歐洲世界的地理和經濟吸收。

大衛·戈德堡聲稱，他者的概念更深入地植根於古典哲學中，但在自由主義的框架內以及通過自由主義發展為學科的關於人和社會的觀念中被種族化。在對使用「文明」一詞的話語進行有趣的討論時，約翰·拉菲（John Laffey）認為，「文明」一詞在十八世紀下半葉進入英法用法，從而能夠區分那些認為自己是文明的人和那些當時他們認為是國外和國內的「野蠻人」的人。根據拉菲的說法，作為一種判斷標準，“文明”一詞在弗洛伊德的幫助下變得更加明確，並且在不同學科使用該概念的方式上更加專業。例如，其中一種用法是比較性的，允許在兒童和野蠻人或兒童和婦女之間進行比較。這種思維方式被進一步闡述為文明與未開化之間區別的心理學理由。瑪麗安娜·托戈夫尼克 （Marianna Torgovnick） 進一步探討了弗洛伊德對與殖民主義相關的學科發展方式的影響，她在對馬林諾夫斯基的著作《野蠻人的性生活》的分析中研究了弗洛伊德與人類學之間的聯繫。根據托爾戈夫尼克的說法，

> 弗洛伊德從性方面對人類心理的解釋削弱了他們的努力，並影響了該學科發展的這個階段許多民族誌研究的結構

> even when those enquiries suggested (as they often did) modifications of Freudian paradigms, such as the Oedipus complex.[26]

Other key intellectuals have also been referred to as not so innocent philosophers of the truth. Henry Louis Gates Jr names Kant, Bacon, Hume, Jefferson and Hegel as 'great intellectual racialists' who have been influential in defining the role of literature and its relationship to humanity, 'The salient sign of the black person's humanity … would be the mastering of the very essence of Western civilization, the very foundation of the complex fiction upon which white Western culture has been constructed….'[27]

Of all the disciplines, anthropology is the one most closely associated with the study of the Other and with the defining of primitivism.[28] As Adam Kuper argued, 'The anthropologists took this primitive society as their special subject, but in practice primitive society proved to be their own society (as they understood it) seen in a distorting mirror.'[29] The ethnographic 'gaze' of anthropology has collected, classified and represented other cultures to the extent that anthropologists are often the academics popularly perceived by the Indigenous world as the epitome of all that it is bad with academics. Haunani Kay Trask accuses anthropologists of being 'takers and users' who 'exploit the hospitality and generosity of native people'.[30] Trinh T. Minh-ha makes similar references to anthropology and anthropologists, including those whose intent now is to train Third World anthropologists. 'Gone out of date,' she says, 'then revitalised, the mission of civilizing savages mutates into the imperative of "making equal"'.[31] In writing a history of geography, Livingstone refers to this discipline as the 'science of imperialism par excellence'.[32] His comment relates to geographical studies into such things as the mapping of racial difference, the links which were drawn between climate and mental abilities, the use of map makers in French colonies for military intelligence and the development of acclimatization societies.[33] As suggested above in the Introduction, history is also implicated in the construction of totalizing master discourses which control the Other. The history of the colonies, from the perspective of the colonizers, has effectively denied other views of what happened and what the significance of historical 'facts' may be to the colonized. 'If history is written by the victor,' argues Janet Abu-Lughod, 'then it must, almost by definition, "deform" the history of the others.'[34] Donna Awatere claims that, 'The process of recording what happened automatically favours the white occupiers because they won. In such a way a whole past is "created" and then given the authority

> 即使這些詢問建議（正如他們經常做的那樣）對弗洛伊德範式的修改，例如俄狄浦斯情結。

其他關鍵知識分子也被稱為不那麼無辜的真理哲學家。小亨利·路易斯·蓋茨將康德、培根、休謨、傑斐遜和黑格爾稱為"偉大的知識分子種族主義者"，他們在定義文學的作用及其與人性的關係方面發揮了影響力，"黑人人性的顯著標誌……將是對西方文明本質的掌握，是構建西方白人文化的複雜虛構的基礎……」

在所有學科中，人類學是與他者研究和原始主義定義聯繫最密切的學科。正如亞當·庫珀（Adam Kuper）所說，"人類學家將這個原始社會作為他們的特殊主題，但實際上原始社會被證明是他們自己的社會（正如他們所理解的那樣）在扭曲的鏡子中看到的。人類學的民族誌「凝視」已經收集、分類和代表了其他文化，以至於人類學家通常是土著世界普遍認為的學者，認為他們是學術界不好的一切的縮影。豪納尼·凱·特拉斯克 （Haunani Kay Trask） 指責人類學家是"接受者和使用者"，他們"利用當地人的熱情好客和慷慨"。Trinh T. Minh-ha 對人類學和人類學家也進行了類似的提及，包括那些現在打算培訓第三世界人類學家的人。"過時了，"她說，"然後重新煥發活力，文明野蠻人的使命變成了"使人平等"的必要性。在撰寫地理史時，利文斯頓將這門學科稱為"卓越的帝國主義科學"。他的評論涉及地理學研究，例如種族差異的繪製、氣候和心智能力之間的聯繫、法國殖民地使用地圖製作者進行軍事情報以及適應社會的發展等。正如上文引言中所暗示的，歷史也牽涉到控制他者的總體主話語的建構中。從殖民者的角度來看，殖民地的歷史實際上否認了對所發生的事情以及歷史「事實」對被殖民者可能具有重要意義的其他觀點。 珍妮特·阿布盧戈德（Janet AbuLughod）認為：
"如果歷史是由勝利者書寫的，那麼它幾乎根據定義就必須"扭曲"其他人的歷史。唐娜·阿瓦特爾（Donna Awatere）聲稱，"記錄所發生的事情的過程自動有利於白人佔領者，因為他們贏了。以這種方式，整個過去被「創造」，然後被賦予權威

of truth.'[35] These comments have been echoed wherever Indigenous peoples have had the opportunity to 'talk back' to the academic world.

While disciplines are implicated in each other, particularly in their shared philosophical foundations, they are also insulated from each other through the maintenance of what are known as disciplinary boundaries. Basil Bernstein has shown how this works in his paper on the 'classification and framing of knowledge'.[36] Insulation enables disciplines to develop independently. Their histories are kept separate and 'pure'. Concepts of 'academic freedom', the 'search for truth' and 'democracy' underpin the notion of independence and are vigorously defended by intellectuals. Insularity protects a discipline from the 'outside', enabling communities of scholars to distance themselves from others and, in the more extreme forms, to absolve themselves of responsibility for what occurs in other branches of their discipline, in the academy and in the world.

In the context of research and at a very pragmatic level researchers from different projects and different research teams can be in and out of the same community (much in the way many government social services are in and out of family homes), showing 'as a collective' little responsibility for the overall impact of their activities. At other levels criticism of individual researchers and their projects is deflected by the argument that those researchers are different in some really significant 'scientific' way from others. How Indigenous communities are supposed to work this out is a mystery. There are formal organizations of disciplines, researchers and communities of scholars, many of which have ethical guidelines. These organizations are based on the idea that scholars consent to participate within them as scholars, as professionals, or as ethical human beings. Not all who carry out research in Indigenous communities belong to, or are bound by, such collegial self-discipline.

Disciplining the Colonized

The concept of discipline is even more interesting when we think about it not simply as a way of organizing systems of knowledge but also as a way of organizing people or bodies. Foucault has argued that discipline in the eighteenth century became 'formulas of domination' which were at work in schools, hospitals and military organizations.[37] Techniques of detail were developed to maintain discipline over the body. The colonizing of the Other through discipline has a number of different

created" and then given the authority of truth.'These comments have been echoed wherever Indigenous peoples have had the opportunity to 'talk back' to the academic world.

重試 錯誤原因

While disciplines are implicated in each other, particularly in their shared philosophical foundations, they are also insulated from each other through the maintenance of what are known as disciplinary boundaries. Basil Bernstein has shown how this works in his paper on the 'classification and framing of knowledge'.Insulation enables disciplines to develop independently. Their histories are kept separate and 'pure'. Concepts of 'academic freedom', the 'search for truth' and 'democracy' underpin the notion of independence and are vigorously defended by intellectuals. Insularity protects a discipline from the 'outside', enabling communities of scholars to distance themselves from others and, in the more extreme forms, to absolve themselves of responsibility for what occurs in other branches of their discipline, in the academy and in the world.

重試 錯誤原因

In the context of research and at a very pragmatic level researchers from different projects and different research teams can be in and out of the same community (much in the way many government social services are in and out of family homes), showing 'as a collective' little responsibility for the overall impact of their activities. At other levels criticism of individual researchers and their projects is deflected by the argument that those researchers are different in some really significant 'scientific' way from others. How Indigenous communities are supposed to work this out is a mystery. There are formal organizations of disciplines, researchers and communities of scholars, many of which have ethical guidelines. These organizations are based on the idea that scholars consent to participate within them as scholars, as professionals, or as ethical human beings. Not all who carry out research in Indigenous communities belong to, or are bound by, such collegial self-discipline.

重試 錯誤原因

Disciplining the Colonized

重試 錯誤原因

The concept of discipline is even more interesting when we think about it not simply as a way of organizing systems of knowledge but also as a way of organizing people or bodies. Foucault has argued that discipline in the eighteenth century became 'formulas of domination' which were at work in schools, hospitals and military organizations.Techniques of detail were developed to maintain discipline over the body. The colonizing of the Other through discipline has a number of different

重試 錯誤原因

meanings. In terms of the way knowledge was used to discipline the colonized it worked in a variety of ways. The most obvious forms of discipline were through exclusion, marginalization and denial. Indigenous ways of knowing were excluded and marginalized. This happened to Indigenous views about land, for example, through the forced imposition of individualized title, through taking land away for 'acts of rebellion', and through redefining land as 'waste land' or 'empty land' and then taking it away. Foucault suggests that one way discipline was distributed was through enclosure. This is the other side of exclusion in that the margins are enclosures: reserved lands are enclosures, schools enclose, but in order to enclose they also exclude, there is something on the outside. Discipline is also partitioned, individuals separated and space compartmentalized. This allowed for efficient supervision and for simultaneous distinctions to be made between individuals. This form of discipline worked at the curriculum level, for example, as a mechanism for selecting out 'native' children and girls for domestic and manual work. It worked also at the assessment level, with normative tests designed around the language and cultural capital of the white middle classes.

The deepest memory of discipline, however, is of the sheer brutality meted out to generations of Indigenous communities. Aborigine parents in Australia had their children forcibly removed, sent away beyond reach and 'adopted'.[38] Native children in Canada were sent to residential schools at an age designed to systematically destroy their language and memories of home. There is a growing body of testimony from First Nations people in Canada which tells of years of abuse, neglect and viciousness meted out to young children by teachers and staff in schools run by various religious denominations.[39] These forms of discipline were supported by paternalistic and racist policies and legislation; they were accepted by white communities as necessary conditions which had to be met if Indigenous people wanted to become citizens (of their own lands). These forms of discipline affected people physically, emotionally, linguistically and culturally. They were designed to destroy every last remnant of alternative ways of knowing and living, to obliterate collective identities and memories and to impose a new order. Even after the Second World War, when the post-colonial period was beginning according to some cultural studies theorists, many Indigenous peoples around the world were still not recognized as humans, let alone citizens. The effect of such discipline was to silence (forever in some cases) or to suppress the ways of knowing, and the languages for knowing, of many different

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Indigenous peoples. Reclaiming a voice in this context has also been about reclaiming, reconnecting and reordering those ways of knowing which were submerged, hidden or driven underground.

Colonialism and 'Native' Intellectuals

The position within their own societies of 'native' intellectuals who have been trained in the West has been regarded by those involved in nationalist movements as very problematic. Much of the discussion about intellectuals in social and cultural life, and their participation in anti-colonial struggles, is heavily influenced by Marxist revolutionary thought, is framed in the language of oppositional discourse, and was written during the post-war period when struggles for independence were under way.[40] Included within the rubric of 'intellectual' by liberation writers such as Frantz Fanon are also artists, writers, poets, teachers, clerks, officials, the petit bourgeoisie and other professionals engaged in producing 'culture'. Their importance in nationalist movements is related to their abilities to reclaim, rehabilitate and articulate Indigenous cultures, and to their implicit leadership over 'the people' as voices able to legitimate a new nationalist consciousness.

At the same time, however, these same producers and legitimators of culture are the group most closely aligned to the colonizers in terms of their class interests, their values and their ways of thinking. This view was restated in 1984 by Donna Awatere who wrote that '[Colonial Māori] … are noticeable because they have succeeded as white in some section of white culture; economically, through the arts, at sport, through religion, the universities, the professions.'[41] There were concerns that native intellectuals may have become estranged from their own cultural values to the point of being embarrassed by, and hostile towards, all that those values represented. In his introduction to Cesaire's *Return to My Native Land* Mazisi Kunene wrote that, 'those [students] who returned despised and felt ashamed of their semi-literate or illiterate parents who spoke inelegant patois'.[42] In New Zealand the few Māori who were trained at universities in the last part of the nineteenth century are generally viewed positively as individuals who retained a love for their culture and language and who were committed in the context of the times to the survival of Indigenous people. What is problematic is that this group of men have been named by the dominant non-Indigenous population as individuals who represent 'real' leadership. They have

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been idealized as the 'saviours of the people' and their example remains as a 'measure' of real leadership.

As Fanon has argued, the problem of creating and legitimating a national culture 'represents a special battlefield'[43] and intellectuals are important to this battle in a number of different ways. In recognizing that intellectuals were trained and enculturated in the West, Fanon identifies three levels through which 'native' intellectuals can progress in their journey 'back over the line'.[44] First there is a phase of proving that intellectuals have been assimilated into the culture of the occupying power. Second comes a period of disturbance and the need for the intellectuals to remember who they actually are, a time for remembering the past. In the third phase the intellectuals seek to awaken the people, to realign themselves with the people and to produce a revolutionary and national literature.[45] In this phase the 'native writer progressively takes on the habit of addressing his [*sic*] own people'.[46]

Fanon was writing about Algeria and the structure of French colonialism in Africa. He himself was trained in France as a psychiatrist and was influenced by European philosophies. One of the problems of connecting colonialism in New Zealand with its formations elsewhere is that New Zealand, like Canada and Australia, was already privileged as a white dominion within the British Empire and Commonwealth, with the Indigenous populations being minorities. Whilst geographically on the margins of Europe, they were economically and culturally closely attached to Britain. Within these states the Indigenous people were absolute minorities. The settlers who came arrived as permanent migrants. For Indigenous peoples in these places this meant a different kind of experience with colonialism and different possibilities for decolonization. What it also points to is that Indigenous intellectuals have emerged from different colonial and Indigenous systems. In the Pacific Islands, for example, scholars come from majority cultures and independent island nations but they have also been incorporated at a regional level into the metropolitan cultures of Australia and New Zealand.[47] Hau'ofa argues that 'the ruling classes of the South Pacific are increasingly culturally homogeneous. They speak the same language, which is English; they share the same ideologies and the same material life styles….'[48]

Currently the role of the 'native' intellectual has been reformulated not in relation to nationalist or liberationary discourses but in relation to the 'post-colonial' intellectual. Many intellectuals who position themselves as 'post-colonial' move across the boundaries of Indigenous and metropolitan, institution and community, politics and scholarship.

他們被理想化為“人民的救世主”，他們的榜樣仍然是真正領導力的“衡量標準”。

正如法農所說，創造和合法化民族文化的問題“代表了一個特殊的戰場”，知識分子在許多不同的方面對這場戰鬥很重要。在認識到知識分子在西方接受培訓和文化化時，法農確定了「本土」知識分子可以在「回到底線」的旅程中取得進步的三個層面。首先，有一個階段證明知識分子已經被同化到佔領國的文化中。其次是一段動盪的時期，知識分子需要記住自己的真實身份，一個記住過去的時期。在第三階段，知識分子尋求喚醒人民，重新與人民保持一致，並產生革命和民族文學。在這個階段，“本土作家逐漸養成向自己的人民講話的習慣”。

法農正在寫關於阿爾及利亞和法國在非洲的殖民主義結構的文章。他本人在法國接受過精神科醫生培訓，並受到歐洲哲學的影響。將新西蘭的殖民主義與其他地方的殖民主義聯繫起來的問題之一是，新西蘭與加拿大和澳大利亞一樣，已經在大英帝國和英聯邦內享有白人自治領的特權，原住民是少數民族。雖然在地理上位於歐洲邊緣，但他們在經濟和文化上與英國緊密相連。在這些州內，原住民是絕對的少數群體。來到這裡的定居者是作為永久移民抵達的。對於這些地方的原住民來說，這意味著對殖民主義的不同體驗和非殖民化的不同可能性。它還指出，原住民知識分子來自不同的殖民和原住民制度。例如，在太平洋島嶼，學者來自多數文化和獨立島國，但他們也在區域層面被納入澳大利亞和新西蘭的大都市文化中。豪奧法認為，“南太平洋的統治階級在文化上越來越同質化。他們說同一種語言，那就是英語;他們擁有相同的意識形態和相同的物質生活方式.....」

目前，「本土」知識分子的角色不是與民族主義或解放話語有關，而是與「後殖民」知識分子有關。許多將自己定位為「後殖民」的知識分子跨越了原住民和大都市、機構和社區、政治和學術的界限。

Their place in the academy is still highly problematic. Gayatri Spivak, who writes as a post-colonial Asian/Indian intellectual working in the United States, argues that Third World intellectuals have to position themselves strategically as intellectuals within the academy, within the Third World or Indigenous world, and within the Western world in which many intellectuals actually work. The problem, she argues, for Third World intellectuals remains the problem of being taken seriously.

> For me, the question 'Who should speak?' is less crucial than 'Who will listen?'. 'I will speak for myself as a Third World person' is an important position for political mobilization today. But the real demand is that, when I speak from that position, I should be listened to seriously; not with that kind of benevolent imperialism….[49]

Spivak acknowledges that the task of changing the academy is difficult: 'I would say that if one begins to take a whack at shaking the structure up, one sees how much more consolidated the opposition is.'[50]

The role of intellectuals, teachers, artists and writers in relation to Indigenous communities is still problematic, and the rhetoric of liberation still forms part of Indigenous discourses. Indigenous communities continue to view education in its Western, modern, sense as being critical to development and self-determination. While criticizing Indigenous people who have been educated at universities, on one hand, many Indigenous communities will struggle and save to send their children to university on the other. There is a very real ambivalence in Indigenous communities towards the role of Western education and those who have been educated in universities. This is reflected in many contexts in struggles over leadership, representation and voice between those perceived as 'traditional' and those seen either as the 'radicals' or simply as having Western credentials. In Australia, the term 'flash blacks' encompasses both those who are well educated and those who have high-flying jobs. In New Zealand one struggle over the value of Western education was played out in the 1980s through a process of reprivileging of 'elders' – and a reification of elders as the holders of all traditional knowledge – and a parallel deprivileging of the younger, frequently much better educated members (in a Western sense) of an *iwi* (tribe). Māori academics who work away from their tribal territories can easily be criticized because they live away from home, and are perceived therefore as being distanced from the people. At the same time, they are drawn into tribal life whenever a crisis occurs or there are additional demands for specialist knowledge and skills. The

他們在學院中的地位仍然存在很大問題。加亞特里·斯皮瓦克 （Gayatri Spivak） 是一位在美國工作的後殖民亞洲/印度知識分子，他認為第三世界知識分子必須戰略性地將自己定位為學院內、第三世界或原住民世界以及許多知識分子實際工作的西方世界的知識分子。她認為，對於第三世界知識分子來說，問題仍然是被認真對待的問題。

> 對我來說，「誰應該發言」這個問題不如「誰會聽」重要。「我將以第三世界人的身份為自己發聲」是當今政治動員的重要立場。但真正的要求是，當我從這個立場發言時，應該被認真地傾聽;不是那種仁慈的帝國主義.....

斯皮瓦克承認改變學院的任務很困難：“我想說，如果一個人開始嘗試撼動這個結構，就會發現反對派更加鞏固。

知識分子、教師、藝術家和作家在原住民社區中的作用仍然存在問題，解放的言論仍然是原住民話語的一部分。原住民社區繼續將西方現代意義上的教育視為對發展和自決至關重要。在批評在大學接受教育的原住民的同時，另一方面，許多原住民社區會努力並儲蓄送孩子上大學。原住民社區對西方教育和那些在大學接受教育的人的作用存在著非常真實的矛盾心理。這反映在許多情況下，那些被視為“傳統”的人與那些被視為“激進派”或僅僅具有西方資格的人之間關於領導力、代表性和發言權的鬥爭中。在澳大利亞，“閃黑”一詞既包括受過良好教育的人，也包括那些擁有高薪工作的人。在紐西蘭，一場關於西方教育價值的鬥爭在 1980 年代上演，透過對「長輩」的緩刑過程——將長老具體化為所有傳統知識的持有者——以及同時剝奪年輕的、通常受過良好教育的成員（在西方意義上）的 iwi（部落）。在部落領土之外工作的毛利學者很容易受到批評，因為他們住在遠離家鄉的地方，因此被認為與人民保持距離。同時，每當危機發生或對專業知識和技能有額外需求時，他們就會被捲入部落生活。這

bottom line, however, is that in very fundamental ways they still remain members of an *iwi* with close relations to families and other community ties.

The 'Authentic, Essentialist, Deeply Spiritual' Other

At one international conference I attended in New Zealand to discuss issues related to Indigenous intellectual and cultural property rights, the local newspapers were informed and invited to interview some of the delegates. One news reporter thought it would be a good idea to have a group photograph, suggesting that it would be a very colourful feature for the newspaper to highlight. When she and the photographer turned up at the local *marae* (cultural centre) they were so visibly disappointed at the motley display of track suits, jeans and other items of 'modern' dress, that they chose not to take a photograph. 'Oh, I forgot to come as a native', joked one of the delegates. 'My feathers got confiscated at the airport when I arrived.' 'I suppose my eyes are too blue.' 'Are we supposed to dress naked?' As we have seen, the notion of 'authentic' is highly contested when applied to, or by, Indigenous peoples. 'Authorities' and outside experts are often called in to verify, comment upon, and give judgements about the validity of Indigenous claims to cultural beliefs, values, ways of knowing and historical accounts. Such issues are often debated vigorously by the 'public' (a category which usually means the dominant group), leading to an endless parading of 'nineteenth-century' views of race and racial difference. Questions of who is a 'real Indigenous' person, what counts as a 'real Indigenous leader', which person displays 'real cultural values' and the criteria used to assess the characteristics of authenticity are frequently the topic of conversation and political debate. These debates are designed to fragment and marginalize those who speak for, or in support of, Indigenous issues. They frequently have the effect also of silencing and making invisible the presence of other groups within the Indigenous society like women, the urban non-status tribal person and those whose ancestry or 'blood quantam' is 'too white'.[51] In Tasmania, where experts had already determined that Aborigines were 'extinct', the voices of those who still speak as Aboriginal Tasmanians are interpreted as some political invention of a people who no longer exist and who therefore no longer have claims.

Recent post-structural and psychoanalytical feminist theorists have argued against the claims made by earlier generations of feminists that women as a group were different, because their essence as women was

然而，最重要的是，在非常基本的方面，他們仍然是與家庭和其他社區關係密切的 iwi 成員。

「真實的、本質主義的、深刻的靈性」的他者

在我參加的一次在新西蘭討論與原住民知識產權和文化產權相關的問題的國際會議上，當地報紙被告知並邀請採訪了一些代表。一位新聞記者認為合影是個好主意，這表明這將是報紙強調的一個非常豐富多彩的專題。當她和攝影師出現在當地的 marae（文化中心）時，他們明顯對雜亂無章的運動服、牛仔褲和其他“現代”服裝感到非常失望，因此他們選擇不拍照。「哦，我忘了以本地人的身份來，」其中一位代表開玩笑說。“當我到達機場時，我的羽毛在機場被沒收了。”「我想我的眼睛太藍了。」「我們應該赤身裸體嗎？」正如我們所見，“真實”的概念在應用於原住民或被原住民應用時受到高度爭議。「當局」和外部專家經常被要求核實、評論原住民對文化信仰、價值觀、認知方式和歷史記載的主張的有效性，並做出判斷。這些問題經常受到「公眾」（通常指主導群體的類別）的激烈辯論，導致「十九世紀」對種族和種族差異的看法無休止地遊行。誰是「真正的原住民」、什麼才算「真正的原住民領袖」、誰表現出「真正的文化價值觀」以及用於評估真實性特徵的標準等問題經常成為對話和政治辯論的話題。這些辯論旨在分裂和邊緣化那些為原住民問題發言或支持原住民問題的人。 它們通常還具有壓制和隱形原住民社會中其他群體的存在的效果，例如婦女、城市無地位部落成員以及血統或“血統”“太白”的人。在塔斯馬尼亞，專家們已經確定原住民已經“滅絕”，那些仍然以塔斯馬尼亞原住民身份發言的人的聲音被解釋為一個不再存在的民族的某種政治發明，因此他們不再擁有主權。最近的後結構和精神分析女權主義理論家反對前幾代女權主義者的說法，即女性作為一個群體是不同的，因為她們作為女性的本質是不同的

fundamentally, undeniably different, and that therefore their 'sisterhood' would be a natural meeting place for all women. Pedagogically, essentialism was attacked because of its assumption that, because of this essence, it was necessary to be a woman and to experience life as a woman before one could analyse or understand women's oppression. Third World women and women of colour also attacked this assumption because it denied the impact of imperialisms, racism and local histories on women, who were different from white women who lived in First World nations. The concept of authentic, which is related to essentialism, was also deconstructed but more so from psychoanalytic perspectives because the concept assumed that if we strip away the oppressions and psychological consequences of oppression, we would find a 'pure' and authentic self. One of the major problems with the way words are defined is that these debates are often held by academics in one context, within a specific intellectual discourse, and then appropriated by the media and popular press to serve a more blatant ideological and racist agenda.[52] As Trinh T. Minh-ha put it when writing of anthropologists in particular, 'But once more *they* spoke. *They* decide who is "racism-free or anti-colonial", and they seriously think they can go on formulating criteria for us….'[53]

In the colonized world, however, these terms are not necessarily employed in the same way that First World academics may have used them. The term 'authentic', for example, was an oppositional term used in at least two different ways. First, it was used as a form of articulating what it meant to be dehumanized by colonization; and, second, for reorganizing 'national consciousness' in the struggles for decolonization. The belief in an authentic self is framed within humanism but has been politicized by the colonized world in ways which invoke simultaneous meanings; it does appeal to an idealized past when there was no colonizer, to our strengths in surviving thus far, to our language as an uninterrupted link to our histories, to the ownership of our lands, to our abilities to create and control our own life and death, to a sense of balance among ourselves and with the environment, to our authentic selves as a people. Although this may seem overly idealized, these symbolic appeals remain strategically important in political struggles. Furthermore the imputing of a Western psychological self, which is a highly individualized notion, to group consciousness as it is centred in many colonized societies, is not a straightforward translation of the individual to the group, although this is often the only way that Westerners can come to understand what may constitute a group. The purpose of commenting on such a concept is that what counts as 'authentic' is used by the West as one of the criteria to determine who

因為她們作為女性的本質從根本上是不可否認的，因此她們的「姐妹情誼」將成為所有女性的自然聚會場所。在教育學上，本質主義受到攻擊，因為它假設，由於這種本質，必須先成為女性並體驗女性生活，然後才能分析或理解女性的壓迫。第三世界婦女和有色人種女性也攻擊了這一假設，因為它否認了帝國主義、種族主義和當地歷史對女性的影響，她們與生活在第一世界國家的白人女性不同。與本質主義相關的真實概念也被解構，但從精神分析的角度來看更是如此，因為這個概念假設如果我們剝離壓迫和壓迫的心理後果，我們就會找到一個“純粹”和真實的自我。詞語定義方式的主要問題之一是，這些辯論通常由學者在一種背景下、在特定的知識話語中進行，然後被媒體和大眾媒體挪用，以服務於更公然的意識形態和種族主義議程。正如 Trinh T. Minh-ha 在特別寫到人類學家時所說，“但他們又一次說話了。他們決定誰是「無種族主義或反殖民主義」的，他們認真地認為他們可以繼續為我們制定標準.....」

然而，在殖民世界中，這些術語的使用方式不一定與第一世界學者使用它們的方式相同。例如，「真實」一詞是一個對立術語，至少以兩種不同的方式使用。首先，它被用作闡明殖民化非人化意味著什麼的形式;其次，在非殖民化鬥爭中重組「民族意識」。對真實自我的信念被人文主義所框定，但被殖民世界以喚起同時意義的方式政治化;它確實訴諸於沒有殖民者的理想化過去，訴諸於我們迄今為止生存的優勢，訴諸於我們的語言，作為與我們的歷史、我們土地的所有權、我們創造和控制自己的生與死的能力、我們之間以及與環境的平衡感的不間斷聯繫， 讓我們作為一個民族的真實自我。儘管這似乎過於理想化，但這些象徵性呼籲在政治鬥爭中仍然具有戰略重要性。此外，將西方心理自我（一個高度個性化的概念）歸因於許多殖民社會中以群體意識為中心的群體意識，並不是將個人直接翻譯成群體，儘管這通常是西方人理解什麼可能構成群體的唯一途徑。評論這樣一個概念的目的是，西方將什麼算作「真實」作為確定誰的標準之一

really is Indigenous, who is worth saving, who is still innocent and free from Western contamination. There is a very powerful tendency in research to take this argument back to a biological 'essentialism' related to race, because the idea of culture is much more difficult to control. At the heart of such a view of authenticity is a belief that Indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves and still claim to be Indigenous. Nor can they be complicated, internally diverse or contradictory. Only the West has that privilege.

The concept of essentialism is also discussed in different ways within the Indigenous world. It is accepted as a term which is related to humanism and is seen therefore in the same way as the idea of authenticity. In this use of the word, claiming essential characteristics is as much strategic as anything else, because it has been about claiming human rights and Indigenous rights. But the essence of a person is also discussed in relation to Indigenous concepts of spirituality. In these views, the essence of a person has a genealogy which can be traced back to an earth parent, usually glossed as an Earth Mother. A human person does not stand alone, but shares with other animate and, in the Western sense, 'inanimate' beings, a relationship based on a shared 'essence' of life. The significance of place, of land, of landscape, of other things in the universe, in defining the very essence of a people, makes for a very different rendering of the term essentialism as used by Indigenous peoples.

The arguments of different Indigenous peoples based on spiritual relationships to the universe, to the landscape and to stones, rocks, insects and other things, seen and unseen, have been difficult arguments for Western systems of knowledge to deal with or accept. These arguments give a partial indication of the different world views and alternative ways of coming to know, and of being, which still endure within the Indigenous world. Concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, then to appropriate, and then to claim, are critical sites of resistance for Indigenous peoples. The values, attitudes, concepts and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent, in many cases, the clearest contrast and mark of difference between Indigenous peoples and the West. It is one of the few parts of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control … yet.

The settler colonial anxiety blues

We are the ones who made this country
discovered you,
And claimed this land

評論這樣一個概念的目的是，西方將什麼算作「真實」作為確定誰是真正的原住民、誰值得拯救、誰仍然無辜且不受西方污染的標準之一。研究中有一種非常強烈的趨勢，將這一論點帶回與種族相關的生物學“本質主義”，因為文化的概念更難控制。這種真實性觀點的核心是相信原住民文化無法改變，無法重新創造自己，並且仍然聲稱自己是原住民。它們也不可能是複雜的、內部多樣化的或矛盾的。只有西方才有這種特權。

本質主義的概念在原住民世界中也以不同的方式進行討論。它被接受為一個與人文主義相關的術語，因此與真實性的概念相同。在這種詞的使用中，聲稱基本特徵與其他任何事情一樣具有戰略意義，因為它是關於主張人權和原住民權利。但一個人的本質也與原住民的靈性概念有關。在這些觀點中，一個人的本質有一個可以追溯到地球父母的家譜，通常被修飾為地球母親。人類不是孤立的，而是與其他有生命的、西方意義上的「無生命」生物分享一種基於共同生命「本質」的關係。地點、土地、景觀和宇宙中其他事物在定義一個民族的本質時的重要性，使得原住民使用的本質主義一詞的解釋非常不同。

不同原住民基於與宇宙、景觀以及石頭、岩石、昆蟲和其他可見和不可見的事物的精神關係而提出的論點一直是西方知識體系難以處理或接受的論點。這些論點部分表明了原住民世界中仍然存在的不同世界觀和認識和存在的替代方式。基督教試圖摧毀、挪用、然後聲稱的靈性概念是原住民抵抗的關鍵場所。在許多情況下，靈性信念中蘊含的價值觀、態度、概念和語言代表了原住民與西方之間最明顯的對比和差異標誌。這是西方無法破譯、無法理解、無法控制的我們自己的少數部分之一.....還。

定居者殖民焦慮憂鬱症

我們是讓這個國家發現你，並佔領這片土地的人

We burnt its forests
For days on end
To break this land
This untamed savage land
To break it in
And break it down

And now we have the blues
Settler colonial anxiety blues
Māori people are rising up
Going places that were once just for us

We took your land
To punish you
We took more land
For our farms
We took more land
For our roads and townships

We took more land
For the railway line
We took more land
and more land
and more land
we took your bodies
To use and discard
We took Your babies
For you don't deserve them
We took Your women
To possess
And Your men to humiliate
For our needs are more important
Than yours

And now we have the blues
Settler colonial anxiety blues
Māori people are rising up
Having their say
On what we have done

We made laws to justify our desires
To defeat you
To break you in and
Break you down

並佔領了這片土地 我們連
續幾天燒毀了它的森林 破
壞了這片未開化的野蠻土
地 破壞了它 破壞了它 摧毀
了它

現在我們有了藍調 定居者殖民焦慮 藍調
毛利人正在崛起 去曾經只屬於我們的地
方

我們奪走了你的土地
懲罰你
我們佔領了更多的土地
對於我們的農場
我們佔用了更多的土地作為我
們的道路和鄉鎮

我們奪取了更多的土地 為了
鐵路線 我們奪取了更多的土
地，更多的土地，更多的土
地 我們奪走了你們的屍體 使
用和丟棄 我們奪走了你們的
嬰兒 因為你們不配擁有他們
我們奪走了你們的女人

佔有和羞辱你的人，因為我們的需
要比你的需要更重要

現在我們有了藍調 定居者殖
民焦慮 藍調 毛利人正在崛起
對我們所做的事情發表意見

我們制定法律來證明我們的慾望是合
理的，打敗你，打垮你，打垮你

We offered you
The crumbs from our tables
To work for us
To fight for us
That was the deal
For you to live with us
Under us
For us

And now we have the blues
The settler colonial anxiety blues
Māori people are rising up
Moving us aside
From our seats of power
Where do we go?
What do we do?
Who are we?
Why have you rejected us?

We need you to make us feel good
We need you so we can be powerful
We need you to give us our identity
Without you what will we do
Who will we be?

And now we have the blues
The settler colonial anxiety blues
Māori people are rising up
Forcing us to examine the past
To see ourselves in the harsh
Light of colonialism
You misconstrue our good intentions
as racism and hatred
Can't you remember the times
We saved you from yourselves?
Your tribalism and savagery?

We came to civilise
Not to oppress
We came to save
Not to condemn
We came to develop
Not to destroy

我們向你提供 我們餐桌上的
麵包屑 為我們工作 為我們而
戰 這就是交易 讓你和我們一
起生活 在我們之下 為我們

現在我們有了藍調 定居者 殖民焦
慮 憂鬱症 毛利人正在崛起 將我們
從權力席位移開 我們該去哪裡？
我們該怎麼辦？我們是誰？你為什
麼拒絕我們？

我們需要你讓我們感覺良好 我們需要
你，這樣我們才能變得強大 我們需要
你給我們我們的身份 沒有你，我們該
怎麼辦，我們會成為誰？

現在我們有憂鬱症 定居者殖民焦慮憂
鬱症 毛利人正在崛起 迫使我們審視過
去 在殖民主義的嚴酷光芒中看待自己
你誤解了我們的善意是種族主義和仇恨
難道你不記得我們從自己手中拯救你們
的時代嗎？你的部落主義和野蠻？

我們來到文明
不壓迫
我們是來拯救的
不譴責
我們來開發不是為了
破壞

But now we are blue
Anxious and unsettled
Our world is changing hands
And we cling to a past
That we denied you
The soothing pillow of a dying colonialism
The rising of the first peoples
The people of this land
They sing
They haka
They protest
Their self-determination
Coming
Into being

And now we are blue

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Notes

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但現在我們是藍色的 焦慮和不安 我們的世
界正在易手 我們緊緊抓住我們拒絕你的過去
垂死的殖民主義的撫慰枕頭 原住民的崛起
這片土地的人民 他們唱歌 他們哈卡 他們抗
議 他們的自決 誕生

現在我們是藍色的

琳達．圖希瓦伊．史密斯

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34 Abu-Lughod， J. （1989），〈論歷史的重塑：如何重塑過去〉，載於《重塑歷史》，迪亞藝術基金會，海灣出版社，西雅圖，第 118 頁。
35 Awatere， D. （1983），〈Awatere on Intellectuals： Academic Fragmentation or Visionary Unity〉，Craccum 的文章，奧克蘭大學學生會，5 月 3 日，奧克蘭，第 6-7 頁。

36 Bernstein, B. (1971), 'On the Classification and Framing of Knowledge', in *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education,* ed. M. F. D. Young, Collier Macmillan, London, pp. 47–69.
37 Foucault, M. (1977), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* trans. A. Sheridan, Penguin, London, p. 137.
38 This practice is known popularly as the 'stolen children' policy but an official inquiry was conducted by the Australian government called 'A National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families'. This was completed in 1997.
39 A government commission to investigate the abuses in the residential school system for Indian children was recently completed by the Canadian government. For further background, read Furness, E. (1995), *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School,* Arsenal Pulp Press, Vancouver; Haig-Brown, C. (1988), *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School,* Tillacum Library, Vancouver; and L. Taine, ed. (1993), *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years,* University of Saskatchewan Press, Saskatoon.
40 Gramsci's views on the intellectual have been influential, among other Marxist views. So too have the existentialist views of Jean Paul Sartre, who wrote the introduction to Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth.* A critique of these influences on Fanon, in particular, can be read in Young, *White Mythologies.*
41 Awatere, D. (1984), *Māori Sovereignty*, Broadsheet, Auckland, p. 83.
42 Cesaire, A. (1969), *Return to My Native Land,* translated by John Berger and Anna Bostock, introduction by Mazisi Kunene, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, p. 24.
43 Fanon, F. (1990), *The Wretched of the Earth,* Penguin, London, p. 193.
44 *Ibid.,* pp. 178–9.
45 *Ibid.,* p. 179.
46 *Ibid.,* p. 193.
47 Hau'ofa, E. (1987), 'The New South Pacific Society: Integration and Independence', in *Class and Culture in the South Pacific,* eds A. Hooper, S. Britton, R. Crocombe, J. Huntsman and C. Macpherson, Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland, Institute for Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, pp. 1–15.
48 *Ibid.,* p. 3.
49 Spivak, G. (1990), 'Questions of Multiculturalism', in *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues,* ed. S. Harasayam, Routledge, New York, pp. 59–60.
50 Spivak, G. (1990), 'Criticism, Feminism and the Institution', in *The Post-Colonial Critic,* p. 6.
51 'Blood quantum' refers to the 'amount' of native blood one has and is used in places such as Hawai'i to determine eligibility to access Hawai'ian lands and identity. It is based on racial beliefs that the more Indigenous

36 Bernstein， B. （1971），〈論知識的分類和框架〉，載於《知識與控制：教育社會學的新方向》，編輯。
MFD Young，Collier Macmillan，倫敦，第 47-69 頁。

37 Foucault， M. （1977），《紀律與懲罰：監獄的誕生》，譯。
A. Sheridan，企鵝出版社，倫敦，第 137 頁。

38 這種做法通常被稱為“被盜兒童”政策，但澳大利亞政府進行了一項名為“原住民和托雷斯海峽島民兒童與其家庭分離的全國調查”的官方調查。該工程於 1997 年完成。

39 加拿大政府最近完成了一個調查印第安兒童寄宿學校系統虐待行為的政府委員會。有關更多背景信息，請閱讀 Furness， E. （1995），仁慈的受害者：威廉姆斯湖寄宿學校的黑暗遺產，阿森納紙漿出版社，溫哥華;Haig-Brown， C. （1988），《抵抗與復興：印第安寄宿學校的倖存》，溫哥華蒂拉庫姆圖書館;（1993），《寄宿學校：被偷走的歲月》，薩斯喀徹溫大學出版社，薩斯卡通。

40 葛蘭西對知識分子的看法以及其他馬克思主義觀點都具有影響力。讓．保羅．薩特（Jean Paul Sartre）的存在主義觀點也是如此，他為法農的書《地球的悲慘者》撰寫了序言。特別是對法農的這些影響的批評，可以在《年輕的白人神話》中讀到。

41 Awatere， D. （1984），《毛利主權》，Broadsheet，奧克蘭，第 83 頁。

42 Cesaire， A. （1969），《回到我的祖國》，約翰．伯傑和安娜．博斯托克翻譯，Mazisi Kunene 介紹，企鵝圖書，哈蒙茲沃思，第 24 頁。

43 Fanon， F. （1990），《地球的悲慘》，企鵝出版社，倫敦，第 193 頁。

44 同上，第 178-9 頁。

45 同上，第 179 頁。

46 同上，第 193 頁。

47 Hau'ofa， E. （1987），“新南太平洋社會：整合和獨立“，載於《南太平洋的階級與文化》，A. Hooper， S. 編輯。
Britton， R. Crocombe， J. Huntsman and C. Macpherson， Centre for Pacific Studies， University of Auckland， Institute for Pacific Studies， University of the South Pacific， 第 1-15 頁。

48 同上，第 3 頁。

49 Spivak， G. （1990），“多元文化主義問題”，載於《後殖民》評論家：訪談、策略、對話，S. Harasayam 編，勞特利奇，紐約，第 59-60 頁。

50 Spivak， G. （1990），〈批評、女權主義和制度〉，載於《後殖民批評家》，第 6 頁。

51 “血量”是指一個人擁有的本土血液的“數量”，在夏威夷等地用於確定進入夏威夷土地和身份的資格。它基於種族信仰，即土著越多

peoples intermarried the more assimilated or 'watered down' they became. Conversely if they did not intermarry they remained 'pure'.

52 Similar debates occur over a word such as 'invention', where anthropologists may talk to each other about the invention of culture; the media can then accuse Indigenous people of inventing culture to serve their own interests *at the expense of the dominant group.* This occurred in New Zealand over an article written by A. Hanson (1991), 'The Making of the Māori: Culture Invention and its Logic', in *American Anthropologist,* pp. 890–902. One of the larger daily newspapers took the article and turned it into the following headline: 'US EXPERT SAYS Māori CULTURE INVENTED', *Dominion,* Saturday, 24 February.

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Chapter 4

Research Adventures on Indigenous Lands

As mentioned earlier, travellers' tales and other anecdotal ways of representing Indigenous peoples have contributed to the general impressions and the milieu of ideas that have informed Western knowledge and Western constructions of the Other. There has been recent theorizing of the significance of travel, and of location, on shaping Western understandings of the Other and producing more critical understandings of the nature of theory.[1] bell hooks, in describing black representations of whiteness, writes of these journeys as being acts of terror which have become part of our memory.[2] While travelling theory may focus on the location of those who travel, the attention here is on the people whose bodies, territories, beliefs and values have been travelled *through*. One particular genre of travellers' tales relates to the 'adventures' experienced in the new world, in Indian country, or Māoriland, or some other similarly named territory. These adventures were recounted with some relish; they told stories of survival under adversity and recorded eye witness accounts of fabulous, horrible, secret, never-seen-before-by-a-European ceremonies, rituals or events. From an Indigenous perspective all early Westerners were travellers who came with a mission (scientific, religious or entrepreneurial), rather than with a sense of adventure, and many decided to stay. The sense of adventure and spirit which is contained in histories of science and biographies of scientists are a good example of how wondrous and exciting the discoveries of 'new scientific knowledge' from the new world were perceived in the West. Missionaries and traders also conveyed that sense of adventure in their accounts. For missionaries there was the huge and exciting minefield of lost and fallen souls who needed rescuing. The savagery, abhorrence and 'despicability' of the natives challenged their very vocabulary. For traders, the opportunities were equally immense, their field of operations covering vast continents and oceans.

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events they were recording. There was a consciousness expressed in some accounts of the 'need' to record what was seen in the interests of expanding knowledge and of the need to write things down before too many changes occurred to the peoples being observed. There were also artistic representations of Indigenous peoples that had wide appeal to audiences in Europe. Many travellers, including women, were aristocratic and had the resources to travel; they were available for speaking engagements on their return home.[3] Various scientific societies and gentlemen's clubs were keen to discuss and debate the travel exploits of such people. The more romanticized versions of travellers fed the public imagination with tales of daring and gallantry. An example of this is the story of Pocahontas.

This chapter discusses some of the ways in which the more informal systems for collecting information on and about Indigenous societies became more formally constituted and institutionalized within the New Zealand colonial context. One of the reasons why this is important is that the more formal these systems became, the more authoritative and influential they were. What may have begun as early fanciful, ill-informed opinions or explanations of Indigenous life and customs quickly entered the language and became ways of representing and relating to Indigenous peoples. In the case of religious missionaries the viewpoints expressed were designed as much to justify further financial support from their central base as to justify any ideological motivations. The more horrendous and evil the people, the stronger the imperative was to carry out God's work. Many of these early travellers' views are now taken for granted as facts and have become embedded in the language and attitudes of non-Indigenous people towards Indigenous peoples. They continue to frame the discourses on Indigenous issues of a particular society and account in part for the very specific use of language, including terms of abuse, the sorts of issues which are selected for debate and even the types of resistance being mounted by Indigenous peoples.

It is through both the organization of interested people into learned societies and the institutionalization of their ideas and attitudes that the directions and priorities of research into Indigenous peoples have been shaped. The role in this process of well-intentioned officials, missionaries, traders and travellers, who became familiar with Indigenous customs, languages and made important friends, is a complex one. They were often identified as 'friends' of the natives to be used, reviled, sometimes honoured by their own societies and by their Indigenous host society. They often formed relationships with Indigenous women, had children,

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were gifted lands and things of value. Others became more serious scholars intent on recording the details of what they viewed as a dying culture. Many also reinvented themselves, so to speak, beginning their adventures perhaps as traders and ending them as highly respected 'orientalists'. Others built their careers as government soldiers intent on killing resistant Indigenous populations and then became teachers or surveyors, magistrates or settler-elected politicians.

They Came, They Saw, They Named, They Claimed

In the Pacific context, research on Indigenous Māori by Europeans began in a systematic way from Cook's first voyage. Prior to that time Abel Tasman's observations and encounters with Māori (which were not happy ones) had infiltrated into the general consciousness of Europeans as travellers' tales.[4] Māori were represented as savages and, according to Salmond, his descriptions 'gave Māori a bloodthirsty reputation in Europe'.[5] Tasman is also credited as the man who 'discovered' and 'named' New Zealand. Although Salmond argues that 'not much can be learned about Māori life from this voyage',[6] Tasman and his crew nevertheless signalled the start of recorded observations of Māori, a process which more recently has led some Māori to claim that we 'are the most researched people in the world'.[7] Similar claims are made by other Indigenous people who can trace back even further the beginnings of their recorded encounters.

Cook's voyages to New Zealand are more important to Māori in that the link to science and research was much more explicit. His first voyage was funded partially by the Royal Society in order that the transit of Venus could be observed in Tahiti. The journey also included the southern places already known as New Zealand and Australia. Joseph Banks was regarded highly as a botanist and sailed with Cook, taking his own small entourage of eight people. His observations of plant life and his penchant for collecting plants and birds also included observations of Māori and the potential of New Zealand as a colony. Banks's journal covers a number of topics which were of great interest at that time and was full of comparisons with other places known to the British. The ease with which comparisons could be made reinforces our sense of the imperial gaze with which Banks assessed the land and all that was part of it. While at one level this ability could be called knowledge, it was imperial knowledge that measured everything new against what was known by Banks himself. He noted the quality of the natural resources

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and commented on the 'immense quantity of woodland, which was yet uncleared, but promised great returns to the people who would take the trouble of clearing it'.[8] He noted the 'properest place we have yet seen for establishing a colony' along what he called the River Thames. 'The River Thames would furnish plenty of fish, and the soil make ample returns of any European vegetables sown in it.'[9] After describing the landscape, insects and butterflies, sea animals, birds, vegetables, cultivated plants and fruits, Banks described the people – the men, then the women – with the same detached eye. He comments on their appearances and their dispositions, still making comparisons with other 'Islanders' (South Sea Islanders) they had previously met. He goes on to write about their clothing, their houses, their food, their technology, their weaponry, death ceremonies, religion and language. He commented on what he liked and on what disgusted him, and made suppositions which attempted to explain what he considered 'curious'. In short, his work constituted a pre-ethnography of those sections of Māori society which Banks encountered.

Unlike Tasman, who visited only one coastline, Cook circumnavigated New Zealand and proceeded to rename the entire country at will. This renaming was at one level entirely arbitrary, responding to the fortunes or misfortunes of those on board the ship and to the impressions gained from out at sea of the land they were observing. Other names, however, recalled the geography and people of Britain. These names and the landmarks associated with them were inscribed on maps and charts and thus entered into the West's archive as the spoils of discovery. The renaming of the world has never stopped. After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 and settlement by British settlers became more intensive, townships, streets and regions were renamed after other parts of the British Empire. Some towns took on names which reflected Britain's battles in other parts of its Empire, such as India, or Britain's heroes from its various conquests of other nations. Naming the world has been likened by Paulo Freire to claiming the world and claiming those ways of viewing the world that count as legitimate.[10]

If the first encounters with Europeans were ones in which Indigenous people were observed as research objects, what did that mean for Māori? Salmond argues that these observations, or what she refers to as 'interpretative encounters', occurred both ways, with Māori people exercising a considerable degree of agency over how they saw these first Europeans and pursuing their own agenda.[11] The master narrative has been the one established from European accounts, while Māori interpretations remained as oral stories. The difficulty with trying to

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extract specific reactions to 'research' is that, for the most part, Māori people involved did not 'know', in the sense that we would now expect them to know, that they were being researched. Research could not be disconnected from other European activities. 'Researchers' were also missionaries, amateur botanists, surveyors, officials, traders – any European, in fact, who was able to write or draw pictures. Indeed, many Europeans managed to combine several occupations into one life. Colenso, for example, began life in New Zealand as a printer, was ordained as a minister and then awarded medals as a botanist. In between his ordination and honours as a botanist he had a child with a Māori woman while still married, was defrocked, and then reinstated as a minister.[12]

During the Land Wars which took place in New Zealand in the 1860s the multiple roles of colonists became far more problematic for some tribes, as military men who led campaigns against Māori then became resident magistrates or land commissioners who presided over the alienation of Māori land, or interpreters in trials or land dealings, or, in later life, 'reliable' and respected sources on Māori beliefs and customs.[13] Their authority as experts in Māori things was vested in the whole structure of colonialism so that while engaging in very colonial operations with Māori, they also carried out investigations into Māori life which later were published under their names. Through their publications they came to be seen by the outside world as knowledgeable, informed and relatively 'objective'. Their 'informants' were relegated to obscurity, their colonial activities seen as unproblematic, and their chronic ethnocentrism viewed as a sign of the times.

At one level, all the Europeans who wrote about their travels, their time in residence and their experiences with Indigenous peoples contributed to the larger research encounter which occurred between the colonizing world and Indigenous worlds. For example, there were a number of books published in the nineteenth century which told the stories of life in the New Zealand colony and of contact with Māori through the eyes of British colonists. These 'adventures' idealized some aspects of life in the colony and obviously, as autobiographies, put the authors at the centre of events. At the same time, the actual experience the writers had and their encounters with 'real life savages' continually fed the imaginations of people 'back home'. On the basis of these stories and the hard-sell of settlement companies, new migrants set off for their own adventures in the colonies armed with all their newly acquired misinformation about the availability of land, Indigenous land, and the opportunity to make new lives.

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Those observers of Indigenous peoples whose interest was of a more 'scientific' nature could be regarded as being far more dangerous in that they had theories to prove, evidence and data to gather and specific languages by which they could classify and describe the Indigenous world. So, for example, skulls were measured and weighed to prove that 'primitive' minds were smaller than the European mind.[14] This was the 'science' of craniometry.[15] Other stories are told of burial caves being 'discovered' and examined for the precious 'artefacts' which were left with the dead, of carved houses being dismantled and shipped to England, of dried and shrunken heads sold and exported back to museums. This side of the research encounter, with the inducements that sometimes went with the exchange of 'artefacts', has left a long-lasting resentment among Indigenous peoples, who are now attempting to have items and the remains of ancestors returned to their own people.

On the Road to … Research

Some amateur scientists developed a passion for their work which extended to more systematic studies of Indigenous peoples. In New Zealand George Grey, Percy Smith and Elsdon Best – among a number of other collectors and appreciators of Māori knowledge – represent the kinds of increasingly systematic research encounters which occurred between Māori and Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These encounters remain influential in that they also involved an attitude to Indigenous peoples which was a complex mixture of colonial exploitation and fostered dependence. They had a deep sympathy towards Māori people as an ideal while being hostile towards those Māori who fell short of this construct. They were also driven by the need to collect volumes of material. Sir George Grey, who served as a colonial official in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, is described by Stocking as a 'benevolent administrative despot [with an] iron willed personality' and a 'systematic propagator of Anglo-Saxon imperialism in a period of colonial retrenchment'.[16] Stocking also refers to Grey, however, as 'one of the more perceptive ethnographers of his day and author of some of the most influential ethnographic work this century'.[17] As Governor, Grey collected around him a number of Māori chiefs and confidants. Much of his material on Māori was gathered from his close friendships with chiefs whose names mean little to the non-Māori audience and whose knowledge has been rendered entirely invisible.

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On the Road to ⋯ Research

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Both Percy Smith and Elsdon Best were colonial officials who surveyed Māori land on one hand and observed Māori life on the other. Percy Smith, who was older than Best, eventually became Surveyor General. Elsdon Best has been acknowledged as a New Zealand-born ethnologist of high standing in the scientific community because of his years of meticulous study of Māori culture. He spent some time in the Armed Constabulary and was sent to Taranaki to 'put down' the passive resistance of Te Whiti. His senior officer and brother-in-law, Captain Gudgeon, and Percy Smith, who was also at Taranaki, later became the founding members of the Polynesian Society. Percy Smith became Best's mentor and after Best left the Armed Constabulary he followed Smith to the heavily forested and isolated Urewera in the eastern Bay of Plenty in 1895 to assist in the building of a road through the lands of Tuhoe. Best remained in the Urewera until 1910. In 1900 he became a health inspector in the Mataatua District and then became the ethnologist at the Dominion Museum. Most of Best's research was carried out among the people of Tuhoe.

Best's research amongst Tuhoe is probably the most significant early work on Māori because it was clearly conceived by Best as research, and followed many of the conventions now associated with social science. This includes systematic note taking, checking and rechecking of sources, interviews with informants and, eventually, the publication of results. At the same time, however, he was not involved with Tuhoe simply as a researcher. He was employed initially as paymaster-storeman for the road works and was expected to ease the communications between the road workers, who were British, and the chiefs of Tuhoe, who did not actually desire to have a road built through their lands.[18] He was to play this intermediary role between Māori and colonial officials for the rest of his life. Colonial officials clearly saw Best as a 'friend of the Māori', but how Māori, particularly Tuhoe, regarded him has been left largely to anecdote and unrecorded stories.[19]

Revisiting some of Best's material suggests that the people of Tuhoe did react to Best, the researcher, in a number of ways. There were acts of openness and generosity as well as occasions of hostility and resistance. Best, for his part, was deeply committed to his pursuit of knowledge, but was also generous and willing to learn from his mistakes. He either paid or gave a 'gift' to some of his informants. It is unclear where this practice came from; it is possible to interpret it in terms of established Māori values of gifting or in a less sympathetic context of bribery. On the other hand, Best had to work hard to gain the trust of the learned 'experts' known as *tohunga*. According to Elsdon Craig, his nephew and biographer, there

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were a number of incidents which shed some light on how the people dealt with the researcher. Best was determined to get access to the forms of knowledge held by *tohunga* which were more 'sacred', and at one level he was an opportunist who exploited friendships with chiefs and *tohunga*. In return, it appears that he was treated with respect; his mistakes were forgiven and his intense questioning answered with patience. Some of the things Best experienced are still important today in Māori contexts; for example, the use of spiritual 'chants' known as *karakia* to protect knowledge and to open a discussion about sacred things. Meetings or *hui* were called to discuss collectively relevant issues or concerns. There were also the 'little tests and barriers' that were put before Best (just as Best tested their knowledge). Many of the 'strategies' employed by the people need to be considered within a context. First, this was a context in which Māori, even Tuhoe who had been cut off from much contact with Europeans, no longer had control over their own lives or lands and were dealing with hostile officials. A friend such as Best was an important friend to have in the circumstances. Second, the strong belief was held at the time that the Māori race was dying, or that civilization was occurring so rapidly that the 'traditional' needed to be recorded as rapidly as possible before it became polluted or lost. The exchange of highly sacred forms of knowledge for sheer physical survival seems to be a pragmatic solution to the encroachment of colonization, but it did not occur as a full-scale divulging of things held to be important. Best did give up on some pursuits but put his change of tack down to the lack of importance of the topic, not his failure to discover anything.

Best gained his knowledge from the *tohunga* of Tuhoe, and some from other tribes. He sought the most knowledgeable and most respected *tohunga* who had access to the kind of knowledge he thought would reveal the most profound aspects of primitive culture. Their knowledge existed within a much wider cultural framework which was under attack by the colonial urge to civilize and assimilate Māori. In 1907 *tohunga* were outlawed through the Tohunga Suppression Act which sought to prevent *tohunga* from practising 'quackery'. While Best lives on as an expert, the names of his informants and the rest of their knowledge lie buried in manuscripts and archives.

Organizing Research

Scientific and learned societies were very important for the organization of science in eighteenth-century Europe.[20] This was a new development

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Scientific and learned societies were very important for the organization of science in eighteenth-century Europe.This was a new development

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based on similar systems for the organization of other cultural activities such as salons, gentlemen's clubs and religious orders. The Royal Society of London and the Paris Academy were established in the 1660s as were a few others.[21] They grew partly in resistance to the role universities then played as religious institutions, where science was expected to conform to theological prescriptions. For the most part these earlier models were associated with wealthy patrons and private capital as their source of funding. By the eighteenth century, however, scientific societies had become associated with secular government and received support from government sources.[22] This shift allowed for the systematic exchange and distribution of ideas and for the growth of some form of consensus among a community of scientists. The disciplines, particularly those in the social sciences, were being formed around these consensual groupings of scientists.

In the nineteenth century the scientific drive assumed that there were universal models of human society and human nature, and that societies deemed to be more primitive could contribute to science by showing the most simple, most fundamental systems of social organization. Learned societies were an important part of the way these ideas were organized and then redistributed. Certainly in New Zealand, fellows and members of various societies came, looked, named and then wrote about their own encounters with the flora, fauna and people they met. Societies developed within New Zealand in the latter part of the nineteenth century to further assist these scholarly pursuits. Learned societies exerted some form of ethical control over their members, partly by encouraging the view that they were good scholars with open minds, and mostly by insisting that they should be gentlemen with the 'right conduct'.[23] Access to the status of gentleman and scholar was based on class divisions and wealth. The significance of these societies for Indigenous peoples, however, is that they defined, produced and reproduced 'culture': not just scientific culture, but the culture of knowledge, the culture of elitism, the culture of patriarchy.

Joseph Banks was already a member of the Royal Society when he set forth on Cook's first voyage to the South Pacific in 1769. In fact the Royal Society partially funded the voyage and Banks was wealthy enough to bring four servants in his entourage. This scientific interest in the Pacific began with Roggeveen's voyage, funded by the Dutch West India Company in 1721. These earlier expeditions were driven by several different objectives from the search for a treasure-filled El Dorado and other trade possibilities to scientific interest in, and speculations about, the nature of human beings, exploring in particular

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Rousseau's view of the noble savage. With colonization as a primary objective, in the nineteenth century scientific interest shifted, according to Sorrenson, towards more ethnographic descriptions.[24] Implied in the urgency for describing Indigenous cultures was the sense that these cultures were becoming 'contaminated' by contact with the West and were likely to die out. Literary and learned societies were established alongside other settler activities, and by the 1860s there were a number of such societies functioning in New Zealand. These culminated in 1867 with the passing of legislation establishing the New Zealand Institute and a public museum. This occurred before the establishment of the University of New Zealand. The *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* provided the first scholarly New Zealand journal for the publication of research on Māori.

The Polynesian Society was established in 1892. Percy Smith's initial proposal conforms to the view that central to the scientific endeavour there was the need for a community of scientists, and for a system of communication which allowed for the production of ideas. Smith saw the need for a Society which would allow for 'communication, co-operation and mutual criticism between those interested in studying Polynesian anthropology, ethnology, philology, history, manners and customs of the Oceanic races, and preservation of all that relates to such subjects in a permanent form'.[25] The comparative emphasis was reflected in the membership, with the first patron being the Hawai'ian Queen Lili'iokalani. Two other Hawai'ian women joined and in fact the Hawai'ian women appear to be the only women members when the Polynesian Society was established. There were two Māori men and a Samoan who were also invited to join.

Percy Smith and Elsdon Best exerted considerable influence over the way Māori histories were theorized. Their theories on the origin of Māori can be summarized in two 'orthodoxies' which have become taken for granted despite being challenged and discredited. Percy Smith is regarded as having established the chronology of Māori migration through a method of analysing Māori genealogies and attributing an 'average' lifespan to each generation. Through this 'method', dates and timespans were established and the myth of the 'Great Fleet' entered the way the Māori past has been framed historically and geographically. This 'myth' says that the main group of Māori people arrived in New Zealand in about 1300 AD in a Great Fleet of canoes. Elsdon Best was a supporter of the idea that there were some Māori whose origins were more 'Melanesian' and who, as a people, must have been conquered and assimilated by the more aggressive Māori of Polynesian ancestry.

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This belief reinforced the second major myth, namely the myth of the Moriori. This 'myth' says that there was a more peaceful group of people in New Zealand before the Māori arrived and because Māori were naturally more aggressive they conquered and wiped out the Moriori. The power of these two 'myths' lies partly in the fact that they have shaped the understandings about Māori of generations of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous school children, and partly in that they have also shaped academic discourses on Māori by scholars set on proving or disproving various origin theories. The greater ideological significance of the myths, however, is that they support and give legitimacy to the role of conquest and migration in colonization. By 'demonstrating' that conquest and then migration were integral to Indigenous patterns of settlement it suggested that these were natural and universal processes of human settlement which, under Western modes of colonization, were much more civilized and humane – for which the Indigenous Māori ought to be duly grateful.

Academic research on Māori became oriented to such debates and obsessed with describing various modes of cultural decay. The 'fatal impact' of the West on Indigenous societies generally has been theorized as a phased progression through: (1) initial discovery and contact, (2) population decline, (3) acculturation, (4) assimilation, (5) 'reinvention' as a hybrid, ethnic culture. While the terms may differ across various theoretical paradigms the historical descent into a state of nothingness and hopelessness has tended to persist. Indigenous perspectives also show a phased progression, more likely to be articulated as: (1) contact and invasion, (2) genocide and destruction, (3) resistance and survival (4) recovery as Indigenous peoples. The sense of hope and optimism is a characteristic of contemporary Indigenous politics which is often criticized, by non-Indigenous scholars, because it is viewed as being overly idealistic.

While Western theories and academics were describing, defining and explaining cultural demise, however, Indigenous peoples were having their lands and resources systematically stripped by the state; were becoming ever more marginalized; and were subjected to the layers of colonialism imposed through economic and social policies. This failure of research, and of the academic community, to address the real social issues of Māori was recalled in later times when Indigenous disquiet became more politicized and sophisticated. Very direct confrontations took place between Māori and some academic communities. Such confrontations have also occurred in Australia and other parts of the Indigenous world, resulting in much more active resistances by communities to the presence and activities of researchers.

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Trading the Other

In a recent newspaper headline a New Zealand politician is quoted as saying, in reference to a highly politicized debate on the funding of Māori television, that 'Māori should be paid in blankets'.[26] Apart from providing, yet again, a very good example of the power and persistence of colonial discourses, the comment illustrates the economic underpinnings of cultural imperialism. There is a direct relationship between the expansion of knowledge, the expansion of trade and the expansion of empire. That relationship continues, although in the reframed discourse of globalization it is referred to as the relationship between the expansion of technology/information, the expansion of economic opportunities and the expansion of 'the market'. Although much has been written about the development of trade and the role of traders and trading companies in imperialism, including the role of Indigenous entrepreneurs in the process, the Indigenous world is still coming to grips with the extent to which the 'trade' of human beings, artefacts, curios, art works, specimens and other cultural items has scattered our remains across the globe. The term 'trade' assumes at the very least a two-way transaction between those who sold and those who bought. It further assumes that human beings and other cultural items were commodities or goods and were actually available 'for sale'. For Indigenous peoples those assumptions are not held. From Indigenous perspectives territories, peoples and their possessions were stolen, not traded.[27]

Many Indigenous responses to Western 'trading' practices have generally been framed by the Western juridical system and have had to argue claims on the basis of proven theft, or of outrageously unjust rates of exchange (100 blankets and 50 beads do not buy 100 million hectares of land for the rest of eternity). The more difficult claims have attempted to establish recognition of Indigenous spirituality in Western law. Even when evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of an Indigenous case, there are often statutes of limitation which determine how far back in time a claim can reach, or there are international agreements between states, or some institutions just refuse in principle to consider the possibility that an Indigenous group have a claim at all. The legacy, however, of the fragmentation and alienation of a cultural 'estate' over hundreds of years is that the material connection between people, their place, their languages, their beliefs and their practices has been torn apart.

The real critical question in this discussion relates to the commercial nature of knowledge 'transfer', regardless of what knowledge is collected

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In a recent newspaper headline a New Zealand politician is quoted as saying, in reference to a highly politicized debate on the funding of Māori television, that 'Māori should be paid in blankets'.Apart from providing, yet again, a very good example of the power and persistence of colonial discourses, the comment illustrates the economic underpinnings of cultural imperialism. There is a direct relationship between the expansion of knowledge, the expansion of trade and the expansion of empire. That relationship continues, although in the reframed discourse of globalization it is referred to as the relationship between the expansion of technology/information, the expansion of economic opportunities and the expansion of 'the market'. Although much has been written about the development of trade and the role of traders and trading companies in imperialism, including the role of Indigenous entrepreneurs in the process, the Indigenous world is still coming to grips with the extent to which the 'trade' of human beings, artefacts, curios, art works, specimens and other cultural items has scattered our remains across the globe. The term 'trade' assumes at the very least a two-way transaction between those who sold and those who bought. It further assumes that human beings and other cultural items were commodities or goods and were actually available 'for sale'. For Indigenous peoples those assumptions are not held. From Indigenous perspectives territories, peoples and their possessions were stolen, not traded.

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Many Indigenous responses to Western 'trading' practices have generally been framed by the Western juridical system and have had to argue claims on the basis of proven theft, or of outrageously unjust rates of exchange (100 blankets and 50 beads do not buy 100 million hectares of land for the rest of eternity). The more difficult claims have attempted to establish recognition of Indigenous spirituality in Western law. Even when evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of an Indigenous case, there are often statutes of limitation which determine how far back in time a claim can reach, or there are international agreements between states, or some institutions just refuse in principle to consider the possibility that an Indigenous group have a claim at all. The legacy, however, of the fragmentation and alienation of a cultural 'estate' over hundreds of years is that the material connection between people, their place, their languages, their beliefs and their practices has been torn apart.

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The real critical question in this discussion relates to the commercial nature of knowledge 'transfer', regardless of what knowledge is collected

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or how that knowledge has been collected or is represented. In this sense, the people and their culture, the material and the spiritual, the exotic and the fantastic, became not just the stuff of dreams and imagination, or stereotypes and eroticism, but of the first truly global commercial enterprise: *trading the Other*. This trade had its origins before the Enlightenment, but capitalism and Western culture have transformed earlier trade practices (such as feudal systems of tribute), through the development of native appetites for goods and foreign desires for the strange; the making of labour and consumer markets; the protection of trade routes, markets and practices; and the creation of systems for protecting the power of the rich and maintaining the powerlessness of the poor. Trading the Other is a vast industry based on the positional superiority and advantages gained under imperialism. It is concerned more with ideas, language, knowledge, images, beliefs and fantasies than any other industry. Trading the Other deeply, intimately, defines Western thinking and identity. As a trade, it has no concern for the peoples who originally produced the ideas or images, or with how and why they produced those ways of knowing. It will not, indeed *cannot* return the raw materials from which its products have been made. It no longer has an administrative Head Office with regional offices to which Indigenous peoples can go, queue for hours and register complaints which will not be listened to or acted upon.

In its contemporary formations trading the Other is, for bell hooks in an essay called 'Eating the Other', a 'commodification of otherness', which, she argues, 'has been so successful because it is offered as a new delight, more intense, more satisfying than normal ways of doing and feeling'.[28] hooks also points out how easily and dangerously trading the Other can be incorporated into black politics where communities of resistances are replaced by communities of consumption. Māori academic Graham Smith lists some of the new ways in which Māori Indigenous culture is being prepared for trade in the 'new right' economic framework that dominates the New Zealand scene. These include the commodification of such things as: treaty rights, identity, traditional knowledge, traditional customs, traditional organizations, land titles, fauna and flora.[29] While all of these items previously have been the subject of efforts to remove, control and assimilate, the 'new' attacks are aimed at what remains of the Indigenous estate and are a very sharp reminder of how control over the agenda, the terms of reference, and the processes for settling the unsettled business of Indigenous matters is still held and determined by the colonizing majority. Indigenous peoples who have actively resisted moves to create

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regional free trade areas as part of the global market place are viewed as a major barrier to free trade. Trading the Other is big business. For Indigenous peoples trading ourselves is not on the agenda.

Defining the Indigenous 'Problem'

It might seem curious to link travellers and traders with the more serious endeavours of amateur researchers and scientists. From Indigenous perspectives the finer distinctions between categories of colonizers were not made along the lines of science and the rest. It was more likely to be a distinction between those who were 'friends' and those who were not. One of the sites where different knowledges about Indigenous peoples intersect is in discussions on 'The … *(insert name of Indigenous group)* problem'. This was sometimes expressed as 'The … question'. The 'Indigenous problem' is a recurrent theme in all imperial and colonial attempts to deal with Indigenous peoples. It originates within the wider discourses of racism, sexism and other forms of positioning the Other. Its neatness and simplicity gives the term its power and durability. Framing 'the … problem', mapping it, describing it in all its different manifestations, trying to get rid of it, laying blame for it, talking about it, writing newspaper columns about it, drawing cartoons about it, teaching about it, *researching* it, over and over … how many occasions, polite dinner parties and academic conferences would be bereft of conversation if 'the Indigenous problem' had not been so problematized?

Concern about 'the Indigenous problem' began as an explicitly militaristic or policing concern. The problem was articulated in terms of 'putting down rebellions' or getting rid of recalcitrant rebels. Individual chiefs or leaders who resisted various attempts to control them were labelled as rebels and the 'real problems' and media accounts helped whip up a frenzied hatred of these individuals by white settlers. The level of hatred legitimated attempts to 'hunt them down' or to 'protect the people' from their own leadership. The systematic undermining of the legitimacy of Indigenous leaders was part of the wider strategy for colonization. This strategy has not gone away as contemporary Indigenous activists are also represented in the same ways. Even when leaders used passive resistance and simply withdrew from any participation in white society their actions were regarded as provocative and likely to encourage rebellious thinking. In New Zealand one example of the use of passive resistance in Taranaki in the 1870s by a leader called Te Whiti was interpreted by the government as a challenge

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to European sovereignty and civilization and a sustained war was waged in which Te Whiti and his people did not retaliate. Te Whiti and other leaders were labelled as fanatics and their followers as disillusioned and unthinking followers whose minds had been taken over. Eventually Te Whiti's community at Parihaka was invaded, the leaders were arrested and the community destroyed.[30]

Once Indigenous peoples had been rounded up and put on reserves the 'Indigenous problem' became embedded as a policy discourse which reached out across all aspects of a government's attempt to control the natives. Both 'friends of the natives' and those hostile to Indigenous peoples conceptualized the issues of colonization and European encroachment on Indigenous territories in terms of a problem of the natives. The natives were, according to this view, to blame for not accepting the terms of their colonization. In time social policies – for example, in health and education – were also viewed as remedies for the 'Indigenous problem'. By the 1960s this approach had been theorized repeatedly around notions of cultural deprivation or cultural deficit which laid the blame for Indigenous poverty and marginalization even more securely on the people themselves. The 'Indigenous problem' had by then also become an academic discourse in which research played a crucial role. Many Māori people who grew up in New Zealand in that era believed that we were to blame. Other Indigenous peoples shared the same belief. Problematizing the Indigenous is a Western obsession. The discourse has shifted away from cultural deficit views to cultural diversity views. Even within these views the Indigenous can be perceived as a problem because many are considered 'inauthentic' and too ungrateful. The belief in the 'Indigenous problem' is still present in the Western psyche. It has been portrayed by some writers as a deeply held fear and hatred of the Other.[31]

A continuing legacy of what has come to be taken for granted as a natural link between the term 'Indigenous' (or its substitutes) and 'problem' is that many researchers, even those with the best of intentions, frame their research in ways that assume that the locus of a particular research problem lies with the Indigenous individual or community rather than with other social or structural issues. For example, researchers investigating poor health or educational under-achievement among Indigenous communities often focus on the community as the sole source of the problem and, because this is their focus, obviously fail to analyse or make sense of the wider social, economic and policy contexts in which communities exist. Often their research simply affirms their own beliefs. For Indigenous communities

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Notes

1 For example, Clifford, J. and D. Gregory (1994), *Geographical Imaginations,* Blackwell, Cambridge.
2 hooks, b. (1992), *Black Looks, Race and Representation*, South End Press, Boston, pp. 165–78.
3 Stocking refers to some travellers as 'gentlemen travellers' who had a 'scientific inclination'. Stocking, G. Jr (1987), *Victorian Anthropology,* The Free Press, p. 92.
4 Salmond, A. (1991), *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642–1772,* Viking, Auckland.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
7 This claim is made, for example, by Syd Jackson (1987) in an article for the magazine *Metro,* Vol. 7, No. 73, pp. 190–1, but the claim has been around much longer. I have heard the same claim made in Australia by Aborigine people, by a Sami woman while in New Zealand, in the United States and in Canada by Indian and First Nations people.
8 Beaglehole, J. C. (1962), *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768–1771,* Angus and Robertson, Sydney, p. 3.
9 *Ibid.,* p. 4.
10 Freire, P. (1987), *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
11 Salmond, *Two Worlds*, p. 12.
12 Rowse, A. L. (1989), *The Controversial Colensos*, Dyllansow Truran Cornish Publishing, Redruth.

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13 Captain Gilbert Mair and Major William Mair are two such examples. Both brothers were active in the Land Wars. William was involved in campaigns against Ngati Awa and then acted as an interpreter for Ngati Awa men who were put on trial. Gilbert was an interpreter during the Land Wars and was then made a captain during a campaign against Te Kooti. Gilbert Mair later became very influential in matters relating to Māori land.
14 Thompson, A. S. (1859), *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present, Savage and Civilized*, John Murray, London, p. 81.
15 Gould, Stephen Jay (1981), *The Mismeasure of Man*, Penguin Books, London.
16 Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p. 81.
17 *Ibid.,* p. 81.
18 Craig, E. (1964), *Man of the Mist: A Biography of Elsdon Best,* Reed, Wellington.
19 See also Sisson, J. (1991), *Te Waimana: The Spring of Mana*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin.
20 McClellan, J. E. (1985), *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century*, Columbia Press, New York.
21 See Salmond, *Two Worlds,* pp. 97–100, for a discussion of the Royal Society.
22 McClellan, *Science Reorganized.*
23 *Ibid.,* p. 29.
24 Sorrenson, M. P. K. (1992), *Manifest Destiny: The Polynesian Society over 100 Years,* The Polynesian Society, Auckland.
25 *Ibid.,* p. 24.
26 *Sunday News,* Independent News Auckland, Ltd., 2 February 1997, p. 11. 'No Clouds but Big Storm Blows, Māori Should be Paid in Blankets Fumes Act Leader Richard Prebble', columnist Barry Soper.
27 The word 'stolen' is used quite literally when Indigenous peoples talk about land. Margo Thunderbird: 'They came for our land, for what grew or could be grown on it, for the resources in it, and for our clean air and pure water. They stole these things from us, and in taking they also stole our free ways and the best of our leaders, killed in battle or assassinated.' Cited in W. Rose (1992), 'The Great Pretenders: Further Reflections on Whiteshamanism', in *The State of Native America; Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance,* ed. M. A. Jaimes, pp. 403–22.
28 hooks, *Black Looks*, p. 21.
29 Smith, G. H. (1995), 'New Formations of Colonization', in *The Fiscal Enveloped: Economics, Politics and Colonization,* Moko Productions and The Research Unit for Māori Education, Auckland, pp. 33–9.
30 Riseborough, H. (1989), *Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878–1884,* Allen and Unwin, Wellington.
31 See Mander, J. (1991), *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations,* Sierra Book Club, San Francisco.

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Chapter 5

NOTES FROM DOWN UNDER

The End of One Part, the Beginning of Another

For many people European imperialism is a thing of the past. Many would argue further that the lessons of the past have been learned and that the world is now a different place, one which is much more sympathetic to Indigenous peoples and to other cultures. These notes from 'down under' draw a close to the first part of the book and introduce the second part. They are notes on imperialism as we move into the second decade of the twenty-first century. As this chapter is being written the regime of Gaddafi has fallen in Libya, the United States has signalled that it will withdraw its troops from Iraq, and the developed world's economies are struggling while China rises as the economic power of the new century. At a global level the earth is in crisis, with significant climate challenges that have already had an impact on the low lying atolls in the Pacific Ocean. The developed world has consumed most of the world's resources and created environmental disasters that have long-lasting effects on our natural environment. Access to good food, clean water, clean air and other basic needs of human beings is fast becoming a privilege of the rich and of rich nations. Human rights abuses still abound in a world where the centres of power continue to oppress and enslave peoples and populations.

One of my *iwi* is nestled in the valleys and along the coasts of a mountain range on the eastern coast of New Zealand. The communities which make up the *iwi* live in small, rural settlements or isolated valleys. If the members who live outside the tribal boundaries are included, the *iwi* population numbers over 70,000 people. If we count only those who live within its boundaries we number about 12,000. The beaches are beautiful and uncluttered by tourists. The sea is a source of food. Lands once covered in native bush, then cleared for sheep farming, have now been planted in pine forests while native bush clings to the sharp edges of the ranges. Dotted within each settlement are *marae*, the wooden, carved meeting houses and community venues built by

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extended families. Some of these are over a hundred years old, others more recent. Beside each *marae* is a neatly maintained cemetery which almost always has the signs of a recent burial, of newly piled earth and dying wreaths. The people of this *iwi* have a reputation for being fiercely independent, proud and nationalistic; the women of the *iwi* are seen as being especially assertive and confident, strident according to some accounts. It is an image which is consciously fostered in the way we are socialized. Culturally, in terms of our language, songs and customs, the *iwi* has always been strong. It is an *iwi* of many leaders, of many orators. Many of whom die young.

Unemployment, ill health and poverty underlie what on the surface look like idyllic conditions. Young people are sent away to seek further education and employment. Many people live on welfare benefits. Once in a while, someone dies violently; others simply die of heart disease, cancer, respiratory disease, diabetes, rheumatic fever, suicide, accidents. Many of those who die do so away in the cities and are brought home for burial. In the mid-1980s a cyclone inflicted huge devastation on the region: flood damage, stock damage, land washed out to sea. The cyclone brought a temporary respite in unemployment as work schemes were developed to repair the damage. In the mid-1980s also, a government economic restructuring programme began which took away farm subsidies, privatized state industries and instituted a raft of 'user-pays' policies. This signalled New Zealand's neo-liberal economic experiment, one that resulted in huge redundancies and tore the heart out of the Māori labour force. From time to time police helicopters scan the hillsides for crops of cannabis. In the township that I come from there is a church for every *marae*. In fact, there are more churches than would seem possible in such a small community. While the churches on the *marae* are usually Anglican, the religion brought to Māori by early missionaries, the churches which are on the main street are the churches of the Latter Day Saints, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Assembly of God. For a while there was an underground campaign which resulted in the burning down of several churches. Disillusioned young people try to make sense of their lives while being put through training programmes to prepare for work in communities where no one is employing. Television imports American culture and educates the tastes of the young for labelled clothes and African American rap.

In the town is the local tribal radio station which beams out the news and local music in the tribal dialect of both English and Māori languages. Local *iwi* politics are discussed regularly along with the

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carved meeting houses and community venues built by extended families. Some of these are over a hundred years old, others more recent. Beside each marae is a neatly maintained cemetery which almost always has the signs of a recent burial, of newly piled earth and dying wreaths. The people of this iwi have a reputation for being fiercely independent, proud and nationalistic; the women of the iwi are seen as being especially assertive and confident, strident according to some accounts. It is an image which is consciously fostered in the way we are socialized. Culturally, in terms of our language, songs and customs, the iwi has always been strong. It is an iwi of many leaders, of many orators.
Many of whom die young.

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Unemployment, ill health and poverty underlie what on the surface look like idyllic conditions. Young people are sent away to seek further education and employment. Many people live on welfare benefits. Once in a while, someone dies violently; others simply die of heart disease, cancer, respiratory disease, diabetes, rheumatic fever, suicide, accidents. Many of those who die do so away in the cities and are brought home for burial. In the mid-1980s a cyclone inflicted huge devastation on the region: flood damage, stock damage, land washed out to sea. The cyclone brought a temporary respite in unemployment as work schemes were developed to repair the damage. In the mid-1980s also, a government economic restructuring programme began which took away farm subsidies, privatized state industries and instituted a raft of 'user-pays' policies. This signalled New Zealand's neo-liberal economic experiment, one that resulted in huge redundancies and tore the heart out of the Māori labour force. From time to time police helicopters scan the hillsides for crops of cannabis. In the township that I come from there is a church for every marae. In fact, there are more churches than would seem possible in such a small community. While the churches on the marae are usually Anglican, the religion brought to Māori by early missionaries, the churches which are on the main street are the churches of the Latter Day Saints, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Assembly of God. For a while there was an underground campaign which resulted in the burning down of several churches. Disillusioned young people try to make sense of their lives while being put through training programmes to prepare for work in communities where no one is employing. Television imports American culture and educates the tastes of the young for labelled clothes and African American rap.

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finer details of the most recent rugby games. The *marae* have all been renovated and new ones are being built or contemplated. When gatherings are held, providing food for the visitors is still a major mark of tribal hospitality and wealth. In summer this region is famous for the provision of crayfish and sea eggs and other foods from the sea. Despite unemployment people still work hard, and the young are expected to contribute to the collective needs of their extended families. People are still expected to care for the sick and the elderly. Children's laughter and mischief are still highly valued. Our *iwi* has just signed a Settlement with the Crown that 'settles' most of our historical grievances for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. The process has been long and disruptive. A new governance group have just been elected and will shortly take over the challenge of advancing our cultural and economic aspirations. Forestry, fishing, aquaculture, and ecotourism raise new hopes. Multinational companies talk business with tribal leaders. New missionaries, traders and consultants make their way into the region. Some of our tribal leaders talk economic development, others still talk self-determination. Other tribes have vigorously pursued a corporate ethos and have attempted to turn collective knowledges and resources into corporate asset bases and financial wealth. Most tribes are struggling to take care of themselves. People are still trying to survive.

Is this imperialism? No, we are told, this is post-colonialism. This is globalization. This is economic independence. This is tribal development. This is progress. Others tell us that this is the end of modernism, and therefore the end of imperialism as we have known it. That business is now over, and so are all its associated projects such as decolonization. It is said that people now live in a world which is fragmented with multiple and shifting identities, and that the oppressed and the colonized are so deeply implicated in their own oppressions that they are no more nor less authentic than anyone else.

While the West might be experiencing fragmentation, the process of fragmentation known under its older guise as colonization is well known to Indigenous peoples. We can talk about the fragmentation of lands and cultures. We know what it is like to have our identities regulated by laws and our languages and customs removed from our lives. Fragmentation is not an Indigenous project; it is something we are recovering from. While shifts are occurring in the ways in which we Indigenous peoples put ourselves back together again, the greater project is about recentring Indigenous identities on a larger scale.

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The New Language of Imperialism

While not exactly the generic Indigenous tribe, the tribe I have described above shares many of the conditions which beset other Indigenous communities as we begin the twenty-first century. The economic, cultural and scientific forms of imperialism associated with the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been reformulated. The geography of empire has been redrawn. The North–South divide has become a more meaningful way of distinguishing between what were once referred to as First, Second, Third and Fourth worlds. Territories are called markets, interesting little backwaters are untapped potentials, and tribal variations of culture and language are examples of diversity. Evangelicals and traders still roam its landscape, as fundamentalists and entrepreneurs. Adventurers now hunt the sources of viral diseases, prospectors mine for genetic diversity and pirates raid ecological systems for new wealth, capturing virgin plants and pillaging the odd jungle here and there. Food is packaged up and sold as a Mc-something, ready to go. Television beams in live from America with the latest world news, world murder trials, world icons, world music, world sports, world weather and world shopping. The imperial armies assemble under the authority of the United Nations defending the principles of freedom, democracy and the rights of capital. Dispatches from the war zones are instantly sent across the Internet. Two Russian cosmonauts hurtle around space along with a growing pile of technological space junk. Companies are trying to ship toxic waste into the Pacific, defined in their eyes as 'empty land', unused by the natives who populate its islands.

Some of the categories through which we have understood the world with some certainty have been challenged by the so-called new realities, new social identities, and new power alliances with which we are now confronted. New analyses and a new language mark, and mask, the 'something' that is no longer called imperialism. For Indigenous peoples, one term that has signalled the striking shift in discourse is 'post-colonial'. Naming the world as 'post-colonial' is, from Indigenous perspectives, to name colonialism as finished business. In Bobbi Sykes's cryptic comment post-colonial can only mean one thing: the colonizers have left. There is rather compelling evidence that in fact this has not occurred. And, even when they have left formally, the institutions and legacy of colonialism have remained. Decolonization, once viewed as the formal process of handing over the instruments of government, is now recognized as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power.

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Indigenous peoples too have changed, however: they have regrouped, learned from past experiences, and mobilized strategically around new alliances. The elders, the women and various dissenting voices within Indigenous communities maintain a collective memory and critical conscience of past experiences. Many Indigenous communities are spaces of hope and possibilities, despite the enormous odds aligned against them. Some Indigenous peoples use a new language. Sovereignty and self-determination still dominate the talk but there are terms like 'negotiate', 'reconcile', and 'settle'. Many Indigenous communities, tribes and nations are in dialogue with the states which once attempted by all means possible to get rid of them. Serious intellectual thought is going into considering the possibilities of new arrangements between states and Indigenous peoples. The terms 'Indigenous rights' or 'Indigenous peoples and self-determination' appear from time to time in academic conferences, or even in the talk of major political figures and business leaders. I read novels written by Indigenous writers and can talk with colleagues from other nations who share similar interests. Perhaps it is not all entirely depressing. Then again, perhaps it is.

A new generation of Indigenous elites also walk across the landscape with their cell phones, briefcases and assets. Corporate chiefs and corporate warriors attempt to make deals with the new brokers of power and money. In developing countries these elites still protect the interests of the big Western power blocs. Many such leaders, though totally corrupted and evil, are kept in power by the very states which espouse democracy and human rights. Other Indigenous leaders have become separated from their own Indigenous value system and have been swept up into the games and machinations of a world they only partly understand. Divide and rule still operates as a basic strategy for dealing with Indigenous peoples. It still operates because unfortunately it still works.

Twelve Ways to be Researched (Colonized)

Rapid scientific and technological advances this century place Indigenous peoples and other marginalized and oppressed groups at extreme risk in the next century. The search is still on for the elixir of life, no longer gold this time but DNA, cures for Western diseases, and the other ways of finding enlightenment and meaning. The mix of science, cultural arrogance and political power continues to present a serious threat to Indigenous peoples. As Jerry Mander has argued,

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the unrelenting imperative of corporations and governments to promote technology as a solution to our lives is the same imperative which suppresses and destroys Indigenous alternatives.[1] The most fundamental clash between Western and Indigenous belief systems, in Mander's view, stems from a belief held by Indigenous peoples that the earth is a living entity, Mother Earth.[2] From this belief Indigenous values and practices, social structures and relations are derived, which place Indigenous views in direct opposition to Western values.

The colonizing projects listed below are not new. The projects are all under way in one form or another. Indigenous knowledges, cultures and languages, and the remnants of Indigenous territories, remain as sites of struggle. Attempts by governments and companies to flood territories in order to build hydroelectric dams, to destroy rain forests in order to mine the lands beneath, and to poison the land, the waterways and the air – these projects bring Indigenous groups into direct confrontation with a wide range of Western power blocs that include scientific communities, environmental organizations, local and national governments and their bureaucracies, rich country alliances, multinational corporations and the media.

Embedded within each of these sectional interests are views about knowledge, more specifically about the inherent dominance of Western knowledge. Local or Indigenous knowledges are even more at risk now than ever before. According to Vandana Shiva, 'Over and above rendering local knowledge invisible by declaring it non-existent or illegitimate, the dominant system also makes alternatives disappear by erasing and destroying the reality which they attempt to represent.'[3] According to Aroha Mead, the 'misappropriation of indigenous knowledge' is escalating and is particularly virulent in key areas of research such as the environmental sciences and medicine.[4]

The language of imperialism may have changed, the specific targets of colonization may have shifted and Indigenous groups may be better informed, but imperialism still exists.

1 Having your genealogy and identity (cell-lines) stolen, patented, copied

The 'vampire' project or The Human Genome Diversity Project (HUGO) is the largest and best-known attempt to map the genetic diversity of isolated and threatened Indigenous communities. It is not, however, the only project in town, as there are other examples of

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companies or countries attempting to patent human genetic materials.[5] The US government had also attempted, through its National Institute of Health, to patent an individual of the Hagahai people of Papua New Guinea. For Indigenous peoples the dehumanizing of the theft so that it is classified as 'scientific' knowledge is part of a process which has a long history. Aroha Mead suggests that the scientific community goes to great lengths to 'de-humanize the human-ness of genes' through the process of copying and reproducing synthetic varieties.[6]

2 Having the umbilical cord blood of aborted babies 'farmed'

Most Indigenous peoples regard blood, the placenta and afterbirth as something 'special'. For Māori people it is regarded as 'still active' and highly *tapu*. The afterbirth used to be buried in the land. The Māori term for land and afterbirth are the same word, *whenua*. Hospitals until very recently refused to recognize Māori requests to take the afterbirth away and have it buried. Now that the blood from the cord and the afterbirth have been shown to be useful for treating certain sorts of diseases, there has been a request from some medical professionals in New Zealand to 'farm' (their word) the cord blood from aborted foetuses. While non-Indigenous people will also find that difficult, they are more likely to be persuaded by arguments that the cord blood is useful, and that 'farming' it will not harm anyone as long as the mother gives consent, because they have no other cultural grounds on which to object. Māori do object culturally.

3 Having your cultural institutions and their rituals patented either by a non-Indigenous person or by another Indigenous individual

Strange as this may seem, apparently an attempt was made by a non-Indigenous New Age male to patent the North American Indian sweat lodge ceremony because the Indians were not 'performing it correctly'.[7] The current fashion of patenting anything likely to be desired by others in order to both control and profit from it is placing great pressure on Indigenous communities to protect themselves. Profiting from art and designs is already common, as art can be marketed through the Internet with very limited controls and by mass reproduction on T-shirts, tea towels and other tourist items. It is possible also to buy bottled *kava* 'tea' used in Pacific *kava* or *ava* ceremonies and to purchase various beauty products invented and used by Indigenous peoples.

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4 Scientific and political reconstruction of a previously extinct Indigenous people

With new advances in science and the knowledge being extracted by projects such as the Human Genome Diversity Project, it is now possible to replicate the genetic structure of peoples who no longer exist as long as some tissue sample is available, for example in a corpse or mummified remains. Science can theoretically do that already; politics can ensure that the newly created Indigenous people are socially constructed as well. New Indigenous peoples can be recreated as experimental pure populations to be farmed and exploited much like laboratory rats. Or, they can be invented as land claimants with much more ancient claims to territories. If Western scientists are left to determine such an outcome it is sure to be utterly devastating. As Aroha Mead argued, 'If they die through racism then bring them back in 25 years. The racism will still be there but then science can do anything!'[8]

5 Dying and then coming back to life as a flock of sheep or variety of tomatoes

This is not about spiritual reincarnation but about the capabilities of science and genetic engineering to change or create new species of life.[9] Unlikely, one may think, but already in New Zealand a Scottish company has attempted to breed sheep which have human genetic material in their make-up. The purpose is to produce milk that contains a gene resistant to emphysema. The consequences for humans and animals of eating genetically engineered food have yet to unfold. The immediate benefits for treating illnesses or prolonging human life or growing bigger and redder tomatoes that are resistant to disease are considered adequate as justifications for actions that will have long-term consequences for people.

6 Commodifying Indigenous spirituality

This is not so new – but the spirituality industry will continue to expand as people, particularly those in First World nations, become more uncertain about their identities, rights, privileges and very existence. New Age groups currently appropriate Indigenous spiritual beliefs at will; some claim to be inhabited by Indigenous spirit guides while others merely interpret their 'own' (individualized) dreams as an Indigenous spiritual experience. Writers and poets have also created a mystique

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around their work which, as Wendy Rose has argued, 'aspires to "embody the Indian", in effect "becoming" the "real" Indian'.[10] Despite protestations that spirituality is an experience through which non-Indigenous people aim to help people, it is clearly a profitable experience.

7 Creating virtual culture as authentic culture

For those who can afford it, virtual reality can already substitute for exotic travel and armchair voyeurism. Art collections from museums can now be viewed from anywhere in the world and ancient ruins can be reconstructed and entered by a tourist who never needs to leave home. According to Tasmanian Aborigine Jimmy Everett, 'White people actually "farm" Aboriginal culture … moulding it into static stereotyped images of what is accepted by white Australians as being Aboriginal. Anything that doesn't fit the white criteria is rejected on the presumption that it is not wholly Aboriginal.'[11] 'Scientific' knowledge of peoples can be created for virtual experience and conversations can be designed between ancient warriors and modern-day observers. Cultural differences can be controlled by selecting and pushing buttons. Dehumanization of the Other continues.

8 Feeding consumption, tuberculosis of the marketplace

Whereas the tastes of Indigenous peoples for commodities of trade were once developed literally as tastes for alcohol and sugar, television now provides the medium through which the tastes for American culture are fed in a constant barrage of advertising. Indigenous communities notice it most in the young, whose new heroes have become American sports or rap stars, whose language is peppered with American expressions and whose interactions with adults have become tainted with the social relations of middle-class white America. Consumption and the constant need to possess more and more 'things' become more important for many young people than the collective value systems of their own communities. The danger is that consumption masks economic and political inequalities and numbs people into believing that they are autonomous 'choosers' in a culturally neutral marketplace.

9 Creating sovereign reservations for the elite

Indigenous peoples have argued strenuously for the right to self-determination and the right to establish sovereign nations within

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their tribal territories. These arguments have been mounting against a backdrop of social fragmentation in the West. The city is the dominating metaphor for the apparent breakdown of Western social values, systems and practices. Although now quite established as a term, the idea of the 'urban jungle', evil and pervasive, crime-laden and populated by savages, presents the middle classes with new challenges to what counts as their domain. The very wealthy have always been able to escape, while the middle classes have been able to move out to suburbia or go on holiday from time to time. The middle classes, however, are also shifting more permanently into their own security zones with privatized police forces and self-contained social services. The possibility of disengaging themselves from the Other through the establishment of sovereign reserves is not too far-fetched.

10 Denial of global citizenship

Indigenous peoples have already experienced the denial of their humanity and many Indigenous peoples have struggled for recognition of their citizenship within the states which colonized them. The new global political entities being established under such arrangements as GATT and other regional free market zones make participation within these zones dependent on certain sorts of compliances such as doing away with any protections of local economies and cultures. It costs to belong. To refuse to pay or to pull out will effectively deny nation states and their members citizenship status within the global world order.

11 Exercising terror in the twenty-first century

In the last decade since the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York there has been a war on terrorism that has transformed the everyday lives of millions of people. Hidden within, and perhaps legitimated by the war on terror, have been other terrorisms inflicted on civilian populations and on vulnerable communities. Women and children, the elderly and the young are most at risk from wars between drug cartels, from the paranoia of dictators, from the traffic in human beings. Despite unprecedented global security and surveillance of individuals and communities the explosion of terror as a tool to silence and kill, to traffic in people and drugs, to exploit children and women has seemed boundless. Terror is an old device that has been retooled with technology and a viciousness that is grounded in a lack of humanity and any belief in the human-ness of humanity.

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12 Let them eat cake

Individuals, families, communities, countries and groups of countries can barely feed themselves. We become aware of this when the television news tells us about a drought or a flood. What we fail to see is that the developed world cannot feed itself either – food is produced somewhere else, under conditions we do not wish to know. We eat out of season because we can, we buy because it is there and we consume it with all its additives – somehow assured that someone, somewhere, has regulated to make sure the food is good, authentic, and will not harm us. There is little sympathy for the poor as the rich have their refrigerators filled with food that seems to last forever, its colour unchanged and its smell fresh for days or weeks. The poor can eat cake as far as the rich world is concerned – more so, the poor can eat the cake that must be purchased from the rich. Food dependency, food impoverishment, and the monoculture of food products all contribute to a world that is starving.

The Next Decades

For Māori, the end of night and the beginning of day is an important spiritual time. The first breath of life in a new-born baby, the beginning of a season, the opening of a new meeting house, the start of a new project – all are imbued with both a sense of optimism and a sense of unease. Rituals are performed and people are brought together to make the transition from one state of being to another a peaceful and settled process. If things do not go well it is thought that maybe the rituals were not carried out properly or that important issues were not addressed before the assumption of a new beginning. It is after all very arrogant of humans to assume a beginning, to name it and set its date, when we are such minor beings in the universe, really only the earth's caretakers and not its dictators.

For Indigenous peoples the passage into a new century is really a continuation of a struggle that began five centuries ago. The optimism that prevails is based on the belief that now more than ever before in the last 500 years Indigenous peoples are better able to respond. The following chapter will discuss some of the attempts made by Indigenous peoples to reposition strategically around international alliances in ways which have reinforced a sense of movement towards a positive future. But that is an optimistic view. The pessimistic view is that we are dying and that the legacy of the presence of Indigenous peoples on earth will

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be obliterated. Indigenous peoples are positioned along both ends of that continuum. It is not surprising that in New Zealand the renewed focus on warrior traditions has come at a time when Māori people sense a turning point which could go either forward or backward. For Māori that tradition is to be found in the often-quoted saying of the chief Rewi Maniapoto, *Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake tonu ake*, 'We will fight on for ever and ever.' The context of change, instability and uncertainty faced by post-industrial societies positions Indigenous peoples and Indigenous issues in different sorts of spaces with different possibilities. For many Indigenous leaders these possibilities are hopeful, the spaces are spaces to be claimed. In the process of global changes Indigenous peoples are socially interested activists rather than passive bystanders. Perhaps it is this positioning that offers greater possibility for the survival of Indigenous peoples.

While the language of imperialism and colonialism has changed, the sites of struggle remain. The struggle for the validity of Indigenous knowledges may no longer be over the *recognition* that Indigenous peoples have ways of viewing the world which are unique, but over proving the authenticity of, and control over, our own forms of knowledge. The debates about intellectual and cultural property rights cast the contestation of knowledge in a new frame. The commodification of knowledge as intellectual property, of collective knowledge as public knowledge, and of knowledge as value-added takes the struggle into another set of cultural interpretations. Now Indigenous peoples have to prove that what was used for centuries to heal an illness was something which was 'discovered' and then had a value added to that discovery through some sort of scientific process. The notion of authenticity is critical in this arena because it is often crucial to the arguments mounted by Indigenous peoples in relation to knowledge and culture. Even if the grounds of the debate have shifted, the clash between science and Indigenous knowledge remains constructed around the interests of science. In the new century Indigenous peoples will continue to have to defend and seek to protect Indigenous knowledges and cultures.

At the same time Indigenous peoples offer genuine alternatives to the current dominant form of development. Indigenous peoples have philosophies which connect humans to the environment and to each other, and which generate principles for living a life which is sustainable, respectful and possible. Jerry Mander's chart of distinctive differences between technological and natives peoples poses starkly contrasting world views which have generated starkly different ways of organizing social, political, economic and spiritual life.[12] In quite

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What is more important than what alternatives Indigenous peoples offer the world is what alternatives Indigenous peoples offer each other. The strategies that work for one community may well work for another. The gains made in one context may well be applied usefully in another. The sharing of resources and information may assist groups and communities to collaborate with each other and to protect each other. The development of international protocols and strategic alliances can provide a more sustained critique of the practices of states and corporations. The survival of one community can be celebrated by another. The spiritual, creative and political resources that Indigenous peoples can draw on from each other provide alternatives for each other. Sharing is a good thing to do, it is a very human quality. To be able to share, to have something worth sharing, gives dignity to the giver. To accept a gift and to reciprocate gives dignity to the receiver. To create something new through that process of sharing is to recreate the old, to reconnect relationships and to recreate our humanness.

Notes

1 Mander, J. (1991), *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations,* Sierra Club Books, San Francisco.
2 *Ibid.,* pp. 212–24.
3 Shiva, V. (1993), *Monocultures of the Mind,* Zed Books, London, Third World Network, Malaysia, p. 12.
4 Mead, A. (1994), 'Misappropriation of Indigenous Knowledge: The Next Wave of Colonization', in *Nga Tikanga, Nga Taonga. Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights – The Rights of Indigenous Peoples,* Research Unit for Māori Education, Monograph 23, University of Auckland.

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5 See, for example, *Third World Resurgence,* No. 63 (1995), pp. 9–30.
6 Mead, A. (1995), 'The Integrity of the Human Gene: Genes and Whakapapa', Paper presented to the New Zealand Health Research Council Consensus Development Workshop, Health Research Council, Auckland, New Zealand.
7 Whitt, L. (1995), 'Indigenous Peoples and the Cultural Politics of Knowledge', in *Issues in Native American Cultural Identity,* Peter Lang Publishing, New York, pp. 223–72.
8 Mead, A. (1993), 'Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Tangata Whenua', Paper presented to Women in Science Conference, Wellington, September 1993, reprinted in *Nga Tikanga Nga Taonga: Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples,* Research Unit for Māori Education, Monograph 23, University of Auckland.
9 See Mander, *In the Absence of the Sacred*, pp. 161–77.
10 Rose, W. (1992), 'The Great Pretenders: Further Reflections on Whiteshamanism', in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance,* ed. M. Annette Jaimes, South End Press, Boston, pp. 403–21.
11 Everett, J. (1994), 'Australian Museums: A Role to Play in a Changing Indigenous Environment', in *Issues in the Control of Aboriginal Knowledge,* Research Unit for Māori Education, Monograph 21, University of Auckland.
12 Mander, *In the Absence of the Sacred*, pp. 215–19.

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12 Mander, In the Absence of the Sacred, pp. 215 – 19.

Chapter 6

The Indigenous Peoples' Project

Setting a New Agenda

While the previous chapters have attempted to explain why Indigenous peoples have an abhorrence and distrust of research, the following chapters shift the focus towards the developments that have occurred in the field of research that have been conceptualized and carried out by Indigenous people working as researchers in Indigenous communities. Often because of the reasons outlined in the previous chapters, the burden of history makes the positioning of an Indigenous person as a researcher highly problematic. And yet the Indigenous context has changed dramatically and in some areas there is a huge interest being shown by Indigenous peoples in research, more specifically in particular kinds of research. It is out of these contexts that a field of Indigenous research is being formed. It is a field which privileges Indigenous concerns, Indigenous practices and Indigenous participation as researchers and researched. The following chapters discuss different aspects of Indigenous research.

This chapter sets out the framework of the modern Indigenous peoples' project. This is a project which many of its participants would argue has been defined by over 500 years of contact with the West. In this sense it might also be described as a modernist resistance struggle. For most of the past 500 years the Indigenous peoples' project has had one major priority: *survival.* This has entailed survival from the effects of a sustained war with the colonizers, from the devastation of diseases, from the dislocation from lands and territories, from the oppressions of living under unjust regimes; survival at a sheer basic physical level and as peoples with our own distinctive languages and cultures. Whilst for many Indigenous peoples across the world survival at a basic human level is still the priority concern, the Indigenous peoples' project was reformulated around a much wider platform of concerns following the Second World War and more particularly from the 1960s. Some of these concerns were struggled for through violent revolution or armed

C哈普特 6

原住民計畫

制定新議程

雖然前幾章試圖解釋為什麼原住民對研究感到厭惡和不信任，但接下來的章節將焦點轉移到研究領域發生的發展，這些發展是由原住民在原住民社區擔任研究人員而構思和實施的。通常由於前幾章概述的原因，歷史的負擔使得原住民作為研究人員的定位變得非常成問題。然而，原住民的背景已經發生了巨大變化，在某些領域，原住民對研究表現出了巨大的興趣，更具體地說是對特定類型的研究。正是在這些背景下，一個原住民研究領域正在形成。這是一個優先考慮原住民關注、原住民實踐和原住民作為研究人員和研究參與的領域。以下章節討論了原住民研究的不同方面。

本章闡述了現代原住民計畫的框架。許多參與者認為，這是一個由與西方 500 多年的接觸所定義的項目。從這個意義上說，它也可以被描述為一場現代主義的抵抗鬥爭。在過去 500 年的大部分時間裡，原住民計畫一直有一個主要優先事項：生存。這需要從與殖民者持續戰爭的影響中生存下來，從疾病的破壞中倖存下來，從土地和領土的流離失所中倖存下來，從生活在不公正政權下的壓迫中倖存下來;在純粹的基本身體層面上生存，並作為擁有我們自己獨特語言和文化的民族。雖然對於世界各地的許多原住民來說，基本人類層面的生存仍然是首要關注的問題，但原住民計畫在第二次世界大戰後，尤其是從 1960 年代開始，圍繞著更廣泛的關注平台進行了重新制定。其中一些擔憂是通過暴力革命或武裝來爭取的

resistance, others have been born out of the 'decolonization of the mind' strategies and still others have been nurtured and sustained within the cultural systems of every Indigenous community. The significance of the period and the reformulation of the Indigenous peoples' project that unfolded during this era is that a new agenda for Indigenous activity has been framed that goes beyond the decolonization aspirations of a particular Indigenous community towards the development of global Indigenous strategic alliances. The chapter will discuss two aspects of the Indigenous peoples' project: the social movement of Indigenous peoples which occurred from the 1960s and the development of an agenda or platform of action which has influenced Indigenous research activities.

The Social Movement of Indigenous Peoples

The activities of Indigenous peoples can be understood at one level simply as an Indigenous social movement which started as a movement of people and became a movement of peoples. The movement developed simultaneously out of the survival strategies and cultural systems which have nurtured people, their values and their beliefs within their own communities, reserves, tribes and nations for over 500 years. It is often referred to as cultural revitalization but that term tends to imply that cultures needed rescuing. While that is an element it is not the only one. Depending on the context, different Indigenous writers have explained the movement as one born out of the frustrations of urbanization, out of traditional revivalism, out of the grassroots, or out of the reserves.[1] What is agreed is that generally the movement began out of sight (of the dominant society) before bursting on to the national and international stages. According to Franke Wilmer,

> indigenous peoples use all of the strategies typically associated with social movements and interest groups. Where possible, they participate directly in the political process of national government. Where this is not possible or effective, they have mobilized resistance efforts, engaging in protest and other kinds of direct, 'extraordinary' politics'.[2]

In explaining the emergence in New Zealand of radical Māori organizations, Ranginui Walker writes that they 'were an underground expression of rising political consciousness'.[3]

其中一些問題是通過暴力革命或武裝抵抗來鬥爭的，另一些則源於“思想的非殖民化”戰略，還有一些是在每個土著社區的文化體系中培育和維持的。這一時期的意義和在這個時代展開的原住民計畫的重新制定是，原住民活動的新議程已經制定，超越了特定原住民社區的非殖民化願望，以發展全球原住民戰略聯盟。本章將討論原住民計畫的兩個方面：從 1960 年代開始發生的原住民社會運動以及影響原住民研究活動的議程或行動平台的發展。

原住民的社會運動

原住民的活動在某種程度上可以簡單地理解為原住民社會運動，它最初是人民的運動，後來成為人民的運動。該運動同時發展出生存策略和文化體系，這些策略和文化體系在自己的社區、保護區、部落和國家中培育了人們、他們的價值觀和信仰，已有 500 多年的歷史。它通常被稱為文化復興，但該術語往往暗示文化需要拯救。雖然這是一個元素，但它並不是唯一的因素。根據上下文的不同，不同的原住民作家將這場運動解釋為誕生於城市化的挫折、傳統復興主義、草根或保護區的運動。人們一致認為，一般來說，這場運動是在（主導社會）看不見的地方開始的，然後才進入國家和國際舞台。根據弗蘭克·威爾默的說法，

> 原住民使用通常與社會運動和利益團體相關的所有策略。在可能的情況下，他們直接參與國家政府的政治進程。在這不可能或無效的情況下，他們動員抵抗力量，參與抗議和其他類型的直接、'非同尋常'的政治“。

在解釋新西蘭激進毛利組織的出現時，蘭吉努伊·沃克寫道，它們“是政治意識上升的地下表達”。

In New Zealand the movement for Māori has been contested, debated, developed, refined, prioritized and shaped by radical action. The journey towards a wider movement by Māori has been fraught with political strife and social conflict. It has witnessed the challenges of a younger generation of Māori to the dominant hegemony held by Māori in the 1960s and 1970s, and the challenges of Māori across the multiple sites of education, health, development, government policy and of the non-Indigenous society generally. Some of the signposts which have marked this journey include such activities as the Land March of 1974, Waitangi Day protests from 1971, the occupation of Bastion Point (1978) and of Raglan Golf Course (1978), the disruption of the Springbok Rugby Tour (1981), Te Kohanga Reo (1982), the Māori Education Development Conference (1984), the Māori Economic Development Conference (1985) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (1986). While political protests are still a feature of Māori action, what needs to be seen alongside the protests are the range of initiatives and cultural revitalization projects which have been advanced. For Māori a purposeful dream has been conceptualized partially around key cultural concepts such as *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty), *whanau, hapu, iwi* (extended family, sub-tribal groupings and tribe), *te reo* (Māori language) and *tikanga Māori* (Māori cultural customs). These concepts, which are embedded in the Māori language and world view, provided a way of coming together on Māori terms. What is better known is that the Treaty of Waitangi provided an organizing framework for dialogue with the dominant interests of New Zealand society and of government while education, health, justice and Māori development have provided more defined sites of struggle.

In Australia Aborigines across all states had had a long struggle for recognition as citizens of Australia and for land rights. Resistance is traced back prior to the Second World War. The 1960s saw the taking of direct action across several different states and the Northern Territories. Challenges were made by Aborigine groups for title to lands which were consistently refused by the courts and the state governments. One petition over land rights was made by the Yirrkala people on bark and written in their own language.[4] Substantive citizenship rights at a federal level for all Aborigines, including the right to be counted in the census, were not won until after a national referendum was held in 1967 to change the Australian constitution. Although the referendum was overwhelmingly supportive, it is ironic that white Australians were asked to vote on whether Indigenous Australians could have rights in their own land. The change in the constitution did not in itself radically

在新西蘭，毛利人的運動一直受到激進行動的爭議、辯論、發展、完善、優先和塑造。毛利人邁向更廣泛運動的旅程充滿了政治衝突和社會衝突。它見證了年輕一代毛利人對毛利人在 1960 年代和 1970 年代佔據的主導霸權的挑戰，以及毛利人在教育、衛生、發展、政府政策和非原住民社會等多個領域的挑戰。標誌著這段旅程的一些路標包括 1974 年的土地遊行、1971 年的懷唐伊日抗議活動、佔領堡壘角（1978 年）和拉格倫高爾夫球場（1978 年）、跳羚橄欖球巡迴賽（1981 年）、Te Kohanga Reo（1982 年）、毛利教育發展會議（1984 年）、毛利經濟發展會議（1985 年）和庫拉考帕帕毛利人（1986 年）。雖然政治抗議仍然是毛利行動的一個特徵，但與抗議一起需要看到的是已經推進的一系列舉措和文化振興項目。對於毛利人來說，一個有目的的夢想部分是圍繞關鍵文化概念，例如 tino rangatiratanga（主權）、whanau、hapu、iwi（大家庭、次部落群體和部落）、te reo（毛利語）和 tikanga 毛利語（毛利文化習俗）。這些概念嵌入毛利語和世界觀中，提供了一種以毛利語術語融合在一起的方式。更廣為人知的是，《懷唐伊條約》為與新西蘭社會和政府的主導利益進行對話提供了一個組織框架，而教育、衛生、司法和毛利人發展則提供了更明確的鬥爭場所。

在澳大利亞，所有州的原住民都為獲得澳大利亞公民的承認和土地權進行了長期的鬥爭。抵抗運動可以追溯到第二次世界大戰之前。1960 年代，幾個不同的州和北領地採取了直接行動。原住民團體對土地所有權提出了挑戰，但法院和州政府一直拒絕。一份關於土地權利的請願書是由 Yirrkala 人用樹皮用他們自己的語言寫成的。直到 1967 年舉行全國公投修改澳大利亞憲法後，所有原住民在聯邦層面的實質公民權，包括被計入人口普查的權利，才被贏得。儘管公投獲得了壓倒性的支持，但具有諷刺意味的是，澳洲白人被要求投票決定澳洲原住民是否可以在自己的土地上享有權利。憲法的修改本身並不是根本性的

transform the lives of Aboriginal people.[5] The struggle over land rights after 1967 is similarly signposted with direct action, petitions, a tent embassy in 1972, silent protests during white Australia's celebration of two hundred years of settlement in 1988, and challenges both through the courts and state governments. The Mabo court decision which overturned the doctrine of *terra nullius* has resulted in political retrenchment by a conservative Commonwealth government aimed at containing native title and appeasing the powerful non-Indigenous interests of groups such as the pastoralists and mining companies.

Similar protest actions over land rights, language and cultural rights, human rights and civil rights were taking place literally across the globe, from the very northern reaches of the Sami people in Norway, to Welsh language actions, Basque protests in Spain, to different Indigenous peoples in the Middle East, Africa, North, Central and South America, the Philippines, India, Asia and the Pacific. All these national struggles have their own independent histories but the rising profile of political activities occurring on a world-wide scale did give a renewed impetus to other Indigenous groups. This social movement contains many features which reflect both a huge diversity of interests and objectives, of approaches and ways of working, and a unity of spirit and purpose. While rhetorically the Indigenous movement may be encapsulated within the politics of self-determination it is a much more dynamic and complex movement which incorporates many dimensions, some of which are still unfolding. It involves a revitalization and reformulation of culture and tradition; an increased participation in and articulate rejection of Western institutions; and a focus on strategic relations and alliances with non-Indigenous groups. The movement has developed a shared international language or discourse which enables Indigenous activists to talk to each other across their cultural differences while maintaining and taking their directions from their own communities or nations.

The international social movement of Indigenous peoples is at all levels highly political. It intersects in complex and often contradictory ways with the internal politics of many Indigenous nations. According to Gerald Alfred, 'It has been said that being born Indian is being born into politics. I believe this to be true; because being born a Mohawk of Kahnawake, I do not remember a time free from the impact of political conflict.'[6] For Māori people it was often the Treaty of Waitangi which framed the political talk. Both the cultural institutions which encouraged oral debate and the sense of injustice which fuelled the debates made politics the basis of everyday life. The pressure internally

憲法的修改本身並沒有從根本上改變原住民的生活。1967 年之後的土地權鬥爭同樣以直接行動、請願書、1972 年的帳篷大使館、1988 年澳大利亞白人慶祝定居兩百週年期間的無聲抗議以及通過法院和州政府提出的挑戰為標誌。馬博法院的判決推翻了無主土地的原則，導致保守的聯邦政府進行政治緊縮，旨在遏制原住民所有權並安撫牧民和礦業公司等群體強大的非原住民利益。

類似的抗議行動正在全球各地發生，從挪威薩米人的最北端，到威爾斯語行動，西班牙的巴斯克抗議活動，再到中東、非洲、北美洲、中美洲和南美洲、菲律賓的不同原住民， 印度、亞洲和太平洋地區。所有這些民族鬥爭都有自己獨立的歷史，但世界範圍內發生的政治活動的知名度不斷提高，確實為其他原住民群體帶來了新的動力。這場社會運動包含許多特徵，這些特徵反映了利益和目標、工作方法和方式的巨大多樣性，以及精神和目標的統一。雖然從修辭上講，原住民運動可能被封裝在自決政治中，但它是一場更具活力和復雜性的運動，包含許多維度，其中一些維度仍在展開中。它涉及文化和傳統的振興和重新表述;增加對西方機構的參與和明確拒絕;並專注於與非原住民群體的戰略關係和聯盟。該運動發展了一種共同的國際語言或話語，使原住民活動家能夠跨越他們的文化差異相互交談，同時保持和接受他們自己的社區或國家的指導。

原住民的國際社會運動在各個層面都具有高度政治性。它以複雜且常常相互矛盾的方式與許多原住民民族的內部政治相交。根據傑拉爾德·阿爾弗雷德的說法，“有人說，生為印度人就是生來就進入政壇。我相信這是真的;因為我出生在卡納瓦克的莫霍克人，不記得有一段時間沒有受到政治衝突的影響。」對毛利人來說，往往是《懷唐伊條約》構成了政治談判的框架。鼓勵口頭辯論的文化機構和助長辯論的不公正感使政治成為日常生活的基礎。內部壓力

is frequently manifested through struggles over leadership, over what counts as 'traditional', and over which interests within the community are being privileged by particular deals and settlements.

The strength of the movement is to be found in the examples of how communities have mobilized locally, the grassroots development. It is at the local level that Indigenous cultures and the cultures of resistance have been born and nurtured over generations. Successful initiatives have been developed by communities themselves, using their own ideas and cultural practices. Considerable reserves of confidence and creativity within many communities have generated a wide range of social, educational, health, and artistic initiatives. The cultural and linguistic revitalization movements have tapped into a set of cultural resources that have recentred the roles of Indigenous women, of elders and of groups who had been marginalized through various colonial practices. These groups in the community were often the groups who had retained 'traditional' practices, had been taught by elders, were fluent in the language and had specialized knowledges pertaining to the land, the spiritual belief systems and the customary lore of the community.

While some communities focused primarily on cultural revitalization, others, either as separate organizations or as small groups of individuals, became much more intent on engaging in reorganizing political relations with the state. Challenges have been made by Indigenous communities with varying degrees of success, both through the courts and through the legislature. The constitutional challenges made by Indigenous nations have deeply disturbed the colonial comfort of some states. In the case of Canada, for example, such challenges by First Nations peoples to the constitutional crisis in relation to Quebec forced the issue of Indigenous rights on to the agenda. There have been wide-ranging claims which have challenged the legitimacy of the doctrines upon which colonial states have built their foundations. Australian Aborigines have consistently challenged the doctrine of *terra nullius* or 'empty land' which has been used to deny the advancement of any claims to territory. Other Indigenous peoples have asserted claims based on treaties. Still others have simply asked for an apology. Many of the claims made on the state have been based on the legitimacy, from the perspective of Indigenous peoples, of being the first peoples of the land. To Wilmer, 'The indigenous voice speaks critically to the narrative (some would say myth) of the nation-state – the hierarchical, incorporative, coercive state that exists, in part, to facilitate the process of creating economic surplus on an international scale.'[7]

內部壓力經常表現為領導權、什麼是「傳統」以及社區內的利益因特定協議和和解而享有特權的鬥爭。

該運動的力量在於社區如何在當地動員起來的例子，即基層發展。正是在地方層面，土著文化和抵抗文化已經誕生並培育了幾代人。成功的舉措是由社區自己利用自己的想法和文化實踐制定的。許多社區中相當大的信心和創造力儲備產生了廣泛的社會、教育、健康和藝術倡議。文化和語言振興運動利用了一系列文化資源，重新集中了原住民婦女、老年人和因各種殖民實踐而被邊緣化的群體的角色。社區中的這些群體通常是保留“傳統”習俗、接受長輩教導、語言流利並擁有與土地、精神信仰體系和社區習俗有關的專業知識的群體。

雖然一些社區主要關注文化振興，但其他社區，無論是作為獨立組織還是作為個人小團體，都更熱衷於重組與國家的政治關係。原住民社區透過法院和立法機關提出了不同程度的挑戰，並取得了不同程度的成功。原住民國家提出的憲法挑戰深深擾亂了一些州的殖民舒適度。例如，就加拿大而言，原住民對魁北克憲法危機的此類挑戰迫使原住民權利問題提上議程。有廣泛的主張挑戰了殖民國家建立基礎的學說的合法性。澳大利亞原住民一直質疑“無主之地”或“空地”的學說，該學說被用來否認對領土的任何主張。其他原住民也根據條約提出主張。還有一些人只是要求道歉。從原住民的角度來看，對國家提出的許多主張都是基於作為這片土地上第一批人民的合法性。對威爾默來說，“土著的聲音批判性地講述了民族國家的敍事（有些人會說是神話）——一個等級森嚴的、合併的、強制性的國家，其存在部分是為了促進在國際範圍內創造經濟盈餘的過程。

It can be argued that Indigenous claims on the state were part of a much greater crisis of legitimacy faced by modern nation states in the face of widespread cultural and economic shifts. Indigenous activism assembled around, or was part of, some often uneasy alliances with other marginalized groups in society – white feminists, socialists, communists, anti-racists, church activists and labour unions. In New Zealand protest against the rugby tours to or from South Africa mobilized widespread actions involving anti-racist groups, middle-class organizations and Māori groups. In Australia the Aboriginal land rights and anti-racism struggles were often conflated, although this did not necessarily gain the support of other ethnic minorities for the Aboriginal cause. Alliances with non-Indigenous groups were a significant part in some places of the general politics. These alliances were always regarded by Indigenous groups as problematic, however; in New Zealand, for example, Donna Awatere argued that 'These alliances are necessary because changes cannot occur with the Māori on our own. White people have cut across class barriers to unite on the basis of white hegemony; that is, white domination of the Māori. To overcome this requires a restructuring of the white alliance.'[8] Others argued a more fundamental position that alliances with non-Indigenous organizations and individuals were totally unnecessary. Certainly many Indigenous people whose contacts with whites had been overwhelmingly negative had no trust whatsoever in the activities or intentions of non-Indigenous groups or individuals.

International Mobilization

Frustrations at working within the nation state led some Indigenous communities towards establishing or re-establishing, in some cases, international linkages or relations with other Indigenous communities. Michael Dodson, an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, suggests that for Indigenous peoples, 'It is in our disadvantage and our struggle for the recognition of our rights that we are united.'[9] The process however took time as communities rediscovered themselves and connected nationally, regionally, linguistically and then internationally. Wilmer lists a chronology of the formation of Indigenous organizations which shows a development over 20 years which brought together the different Indigenous groups from the North, the Amazon and Latin America, Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Subsequent Indigenous world conferences have had delegates from all parts of the globe. The international mobilization of

Indigenous peoples has occurred in alliances with many supportive non-Indigenous organizations working in the field of human rights. Publishing networks based in the North have assisted in the distribution of information and funding assistance has been provided to facilitate Indigenous participation at important events.

For Indigenous peoples both international relations (relations between nations) and resistance movements have a history going back both prior to, and after, contact with the West.[10] Under European imperialism Indigenous peoples were positioned within new political formations which ruptured previous relations, strategic alliances, trade routes and ways of communicating with other Indigenous nations. The assertion of European sovereignty over Indigenous peoples effectively shifted the focus of Indigenous international relations to a colonizer/colonized relationship. Hence, in the New Zealand example, efforts by Māori to redress grievances were directed at the Queen of England and there are several examples in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of petitions and delegations to London being sent specifically to the Queen. Similar delegations were sent from Australia, Canada and other colonies of the British Empire. In the United States trips by the representatives and chiefs of various Native American nations, including the delegations from the sovereigns of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, were made to Washing-ton DC to see the President. In the French colonies it was to Paris. The international relations established by Indigenous peoples in this context existed within the boundaries of empire, defined within these boundaries more as domestic matters than as 'international' relations.[11] The close and often intimate relationship that Indigenous peoples presumed to have with sovereigns or heads of state because they had been represented as protectors and 'great fathers and mothers of the natives' was always disappointing. Indigenous peoples invested huge amounts of energy and belief in the notion that appeals to the centre of power would work. Many Indigenous groups developed or had in place already quite sophisticated ways of conducting encounters between themselves and the heads of state or high-ranking dignitaries. The protocols involved were enormously respectful of colonial officials, even those whose status and powers were low. The lack of respect and the ridicule which was often displayed to Indigenous delegations by imperial and colonial powers has never been forgotten by those communities.

The development of international Indigenous relations which began after the Second World War needs to be seen within the context of Indigenous struggles for self-determination which were occurring at

the grassroots level. In New Zealand, Australia and Canada as in the United States, the rise of Indigenous activism paralleled the activism surrounding the civil rights movement, women's liberation, student uprisings and the anti-Vietnam War movement. Rebecca Robins links the 'upsurge of Indian activism' in the United States 'to a more generalized breakdown – manifested in the civil rights and Black liberation movements, student power and anti-war movements, and incipient Chicano rights and women's liberation movements'.[12] In many ways Indigenous protests have been written out of the way this period has been characterized as a significant historical moment for modernity. Indigenous strategies for action were pursued vigorously, however, and international links were made through protest actions and the mounting of various stands and events. In 1972 tent embassies were established by Aborigines in Australia and by Māori in New Zealand. Land and building occupations were also effective strategies for gaining the attention of the world's media and of the authorities. Many of the 'leaders' of protest events were targeted by the police and other surveillance authorities as the 'enemies within'. In New Zealand, policemen who were Māori were used in the front lines to break up the Bastion Point occupation; similar state strategies were used elsewhere. In the United States the case of Leonard Peltier is one used to illustrate the involvement of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the targeting for 'neutralization' of an Indigenous activist.[13]

One of the first post-war initiatives by Indigenous groups in the international arena was mounted by an organization called the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB), which originated in British Columbia in the 1950s under the leadership of Andrew Paull. NAIB sent a delegation to the United Nations.[14] Ties between First Nations communities in Canada and Native American communities in the United States were already closely bound by traditional relationships. Later visits were made by different Indigenous communities from Canada to New Zealand through the efforts of George Manuel, who headed the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada between 1970 and 1976.[15] These small-scale initiatives were followed by the American Indian Movement (AIM), which facilitated a major international meeting involving a wide range of international Indigenous delegations. From this meeting and under the strong leadership of individuals like Russell Means and Jimmy Durham emerged the International Indian Treaty Council in 1974.[16] Almost simultaneously across the border in Canada the National Indian Brotherhood established the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1975. Both these organizations sought

status as non-government representatives to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations.[17]

Whilst new forms of resistance were being nurtured quietly within Indigenous communities in the 1950s, international moves were being undertaken, often involving the support of human rights and other non-government and non-Indigenous organizations. In 1957 the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted Convention 107, 'The Convention of Indigenous Populations' which was one of the first international instruments to recognize Indigenous issues.[18] This convention did not contain all that Indigenous people wanted but was significant in its recognition and use of the term 'Indigenous'. A later initiative in the 1970s was undertaken through the commissioning of a report – known now as the Cobo Report after its chairperson, Martinez Cobo – by the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. As the decade of the 1970s unfolded, various initiatives at the international level were being advanced, often by sympathetic officials and with the support of non-Indigenous groups and non-government organizations already attached to the United Nations.

A key issue in the international debates has focused on the term 'peoples'. It is regarded as crucial by Indigenous activists because it is peoples who are recognized in international law as having the right to self-determination. As argued by Thornberry,

[EXT]The legal discourse on the Indigenous has moved through consideration of the rights of infidels, native sovereignty, the doctrine of terra nullius, 'Christian right', the empty lands doctrine, the paternalistic doctrine of guardianship, and all the incidents of the civilizing mission of the Powers. Indigenous groups entered the twentieth century with hardly a remnant of any former 'subject' status in international law.[19]

So within Indigenous discourses the term 'peoples' has become an important linguistic symbol of our identification as self-determining peoples. According to Michael Dodson, 'By any reasonable definition, Indigenous peoples are unambiguously "peoples". We are united by common territories, cultures, traditions, histories, languages, institutions and beliefs. We share a sense of kinship and identity, a consciousness as distinct peoples and a political will to exist as distinct peoples.'[20] The struggle to be accorded this definition and status was evident through the drafting process of the Declaration for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples' Rights which was developed by the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples. As the member states of the United Nations was the forum that approved the Declaration, its progress

through the drafting and consultations was not only highly educative but extremely political, with member states positioning themselves in ways which advanced their own image at one level while protecting their own sovereignty at another. When the Declaration was signed in 2009, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States refused to sign although subsequently, Australia, Canada and New Zealand have signed and the United States seems resolutely opposed.

An Agenda for Indigenous Research

The social movement of Indigenous peoples unleashed a whole array of activities and bursts of energy. Looking backwards it is possible now to identify themes and sub-projects which have come to engage different groups of Indigenous peoples. It is also possible to discuss the ways in which many of the themes which emerged in the late 1960s have been developed or shaped in the intervening years. These themes constitute an agenda for action. The agenda connects local, regional and global efforts which are moving towards the ideal of a self-determining Indigenous world. It is not clear yet how this world might sit alongside the current situation of nation states. It is not assumed even that nation states will necessarily remain as effective political ways of organizing polities. The rise in influence of different sorts of power blocs which cut across the nation state, such as multinational corporations, regional economic alliances and globally based interest groups, suggests a possible space for Indigenous peoples.

The research agenda is conceptualized here as constituting a programme and set of approaches that are situated within the decolonization politics of the Indigenous peoples' movement. The agenda is focused strategically on the goal of self-determination of Indigenous peoples. Self-determination in a research agenda becomes something more than a political goal. It becomes a goal of social justice which is expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains. It necessarily involves the processes of transformation, of decolonization, of healing and of mobilization as peoples. The processes, approaches and methodologies – while dynamic and open to different influences and possibilities – are critical elements of a strategic research agenda.

Figure 6.1 is a simple representation of an Indigenous research agenda. The chart uses the metaphor of ocean tides. From a Pacific peoples' perspective the sea is a giver of life: it sets time and conveys

movement. Within the greater ebb and flow of the ocean are smaller localized environments which have enabled Pacific peoples to develop enduring relationships to the sea. For Polynesian peoples the significant deity of the sea is Tangaroa. Although there are many directions that can be named, the chart takes the Māori equivalent of the four directions: the northern, the eastern, the southern and the western. The tides represent movement, change, process, life, inward and outward flows of ideas, reflections and actions. The four directions named here – decolonization, healing, transformation and mobilization – represent processes. They are not goals or ends in themselves. They are processes which connect, inform and clarify the tensions between the local, the regional and the global. They are processes which can be incorporated into practices and methodologies.

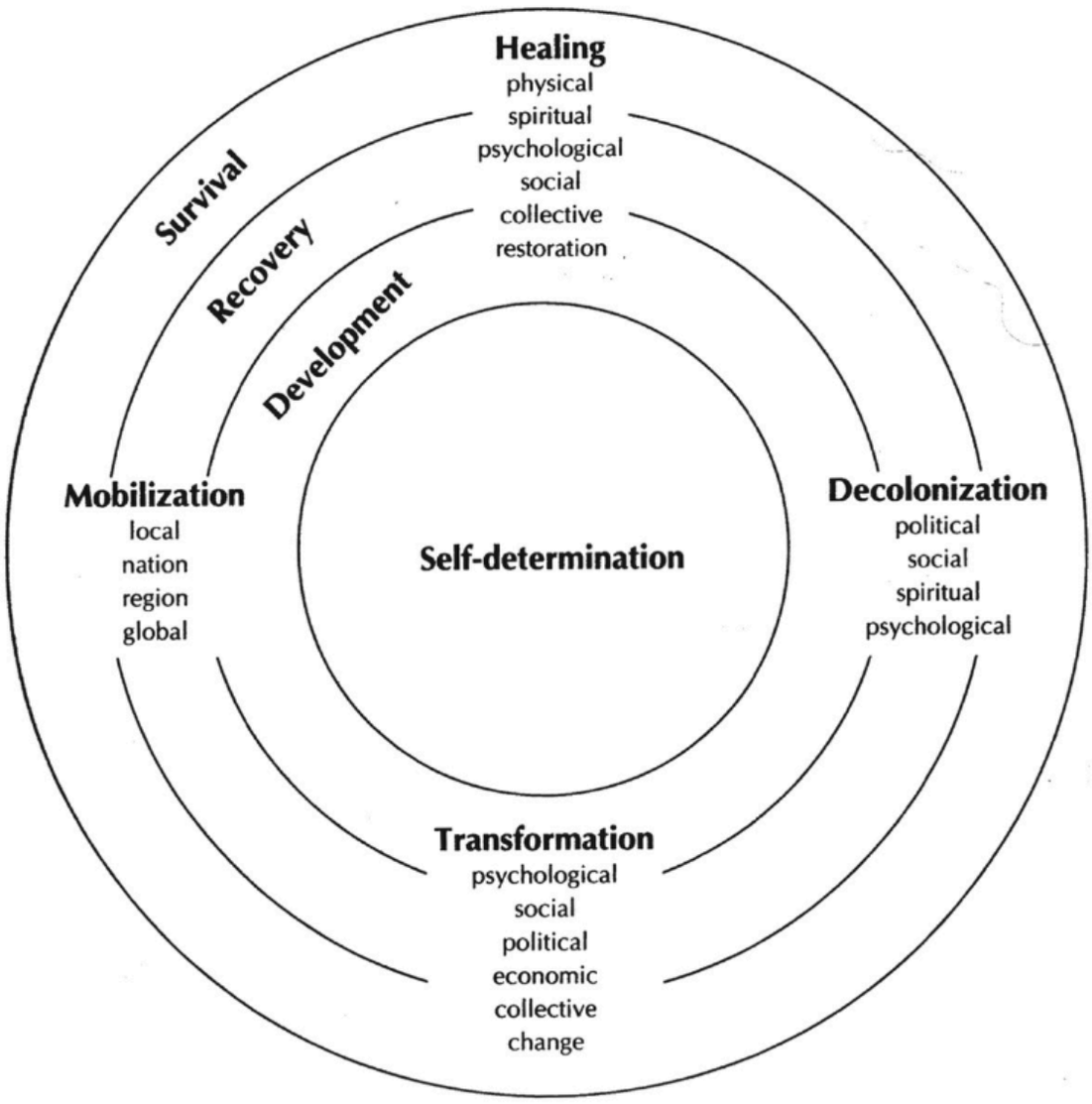

Figure 6.1 The Indigenous Research Agenda.

Four major tides are represented in the chart as survival, recovery, development, and self-determination. They are the conditions and states of being through which Indigenous communities are moving. It is not sequential development – the survival of peoples as physical beings, of languages, of social and spiritual practices, of social relations, and of the arts are all subject to some basic prioritizing. Similarly, the recovery of territories, of Indigenous rights, and histories are also subject to prioritizing and to recognition that Indigenous cultures have changed inexorably. Recovery is a selective process, often responding to immediate crises rather than a planned approach. This is related to the reality that Indigenous peoples are not in control and are subject to a continuing set of external conditions. In reality this means that specific lands and designated areas become a priority because the bulldozers are due to start destruction any day now.

The Indigenous research agenda is broad in its scope and ambitious in its intent. There are some things which make this agenda very different from the research agenda of large scientific organizations or of various national science research programmes. There are other elements, however, which are similar to any research programme which connects research to the 'good' of society. The elements that are different can be found in key words such as healing, decolonization, spiritual, recovery. These terms seem at odds with the research terminology of Western science, much too politically interested rather than neutral and objective. The intentions conveyed by these terms, however, are embedded in various social science research methodologies. The belief, for example, that research will 'benefit mankind' conveys a strong sense of social responsibility. The problem with that particular term, as outlined in previous chapters, is that Indigenous peoples are deeply cynical about the capacity, motives or methodologies of Western research to deliver any benefits to Indigenous peoples whom science has long regarded, indeed has classified, as being 'not human'. Because of such deep cynicism there are expectations by Indigenous communities that researchers will actually 'spell out' in detail the likely benefits of any research.

Ethical Research Protocols

The huge credibility problem the research community faces with Indigenous peoples has also been addressed within an Indigenous agenda. Initially the problem was framed entirely in the negative, with

Indigenous individuals, communities and organizations reacting to research as something done only by white researchers to Indigenous peoples. These reactions positioned Indigenous communities as powerless and research as disempowering. There seemed little space for changing that perception. The nexus of debates rising out of the Indigenous movement, discussions raised by other interested groups in relation to ethical research, and shifts in some social science paradigms (to be discussed in Chapter 9) have created space for negotiating better research relationships. Some scholarly communities of scientists may have well-established ethical guidelines, many have not. Even if such communities have guidelines, the problem to be reiterated again is that it has been taken for granted that Indigenous peoples are the 'natural objects' of research. It is difficult to convey to the non-Indigenous world how deeply this perception of research is held by Indigenous peoples.

Many of the ethical issues have been raised by interested groups in relation to the rapid advances of science and technology and the rapid disappearance of diversity. In the debate about ethics distinctions are drawn between legal requirements and ethical codes of conduct. Indigenous groups argue that legal definitions of ethics are framed in ways which contain the Western sense of the individual and of individualized property – for example, the right of an individual to give his or her own knowledge, or the right to give informed consent. The social 'good' against which ethical standards are determined is based on the same beliefs about the individual and individualized property. Community and Indigenous rights or views in this area are generally not recognized and not respected. Indigenous peoples have attempted through the development of instruments such as treaties, charters and declarations to send clear signals to the world's scientific and research communities that open-cast mining approaches to research (see, take and destroy) are absolutely unacceptable. Debates within the Indigenous world about intellectual and cultural property rights are taking place against the background of rampant prospecting in the biodiversity and pharmaceutical fields. Cultural ethics or Indigenous codes of conduct are being promulgated by different organizations often as a sheer act of survival.

The charter of the Indigenous Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests signed in Penang (1993) includes statements referring to the collective rights of peoples to intellectual and cultural property, participation by Indigenous peoples in the management of projects, promotion of health systems, control over own knowledges, and an insistence that 'all investigations in our territories should be carried

out with our consent and under joint control and guidance (Article 45)'. The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples signed in Whakatane, New Zealand (1993), addresses these issues by declaring that 'indigenous peoples of the world have the right to self-determination and in exercising that right must be recognized as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property. It insists that the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge must be direct indigenous descendants of that knowledge.' The Declaration calls on governments and states 'to develop policies and practices which recognize indigenous peoples as the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that know-ledge and that indigenous peoples have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions'. The Declaration is one of several Indigenous peoples' declarations. Other international Indigenous statements and declarations which aim to protect Indigenous rights and enforce ethical standards include: the Amazon Basin Declaration, the Kari Oca Declaration 1993, the Pan American Health Organization, the Native Pan-American Draft Declaration, the Blue Mountain Declaration, the International Alliance of the Indigenous Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests Charter 1993, and the Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education 1993. There are many other such statements being prepared at local community level.

In the New Zealand context research ethics for Māori communities extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality. In a discussion of what may constitute sound ethical principles for research in Māori communities, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has identified a set of responsibilities which researchers have to Māori people.[21] Her framework is based on the code of conduct for the New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists, which in turn is based on the American Anthropological Association's guidelines.[22] Te Awekotuku sets out fairly basic guidelines aimed at respect for and protection of the 'rights, interests and sensitivities' of the people being studied. There are, however, some culturally specific ideas which are part of what is referred to as Kaupapa Māori practices.[23] These are not prescribed in codes of conduct for researchers, but tend to be prescribed for Māori researchers in cultural terms:

1 Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
2 Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).

3 Titiro, whakarongo … korero (look, listen … speak).
4 Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
5 Kia tupato (be cautious).
6 Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the *mana* of people).
7 kia mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).[24]

These sayings reflect just some of the values that are placed on the way we behave. They are very different from the 'public' image of Māori society as a forum for ritual, oratory and chiefly leaders, but they are the kinds of comments which are used to determine if someone has 'good' qualities as a person. There are several other proverbs and sayings which contain the ideals and aspirations which are worth seeking, as well as the moral messages for those who decide not to conform to the rules of practice.

More recently, Indigenous communities in Australia, Canada and New Zealand have developed useful ethical guidelines for researchers especially in relation to health research. These and other guidelines can now be found on the Internet and on agency websites. These ethical guidelines emphasize critical values that are as much about personal integrity as they are about collective responsibility, and as much about research as they are about education and other forms of engagement. In Indigenous frameworks, relationships matter. Respectful, reciprocal, genuine relationships lie at the heart of community life and community development.

From Indigenous perspectives ethical codes of conduct serve partly the same purpose as the protocols which govern our relationships with each other and with the environment. The term 'respect' is consistently used by Indigenous peoples to underscore the significance of our relationships and humanity. Through respect the place of everyone and everything in the universe is kept in balance and harmony. Respect is a reciprocal, shared, constantly interchanging principle which is expressed through all aspects of social conduct. Haig-Brown and Archibald write that 'to be in harmony with oneself, other members of the animal kingdom, and other elements of nature requires that First Nations people respect the gift of each entity and establish and maintain respectful, reciprocal relations with each'.[25] The denial by the West of humanity to Indigenous peoples, the denial of citizenship and human rights, the denial of the right to self-determination – all these demonstrate palpably the enormous lack of respect which has marked the relations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Research Ethics and Indigenous Peoples 101

It began long before
the Holocaust's scientists
experimented on Jews, Gypsies
and others they hated,
Before their industrial scale genocide
Brought modernity down
And Nuremburg set out a Code

It began long before
Tuskegee
The deliberate infecting of syphilis
Into black men's bodies
To study their "Bad Blood"
Science voyeurs
Watching their method at work
killing their participants
one
by one
by one

It began long before
the Havasupai
Had their DNA taken under one guise
And then used against them under another
Taking from the sick to feed the well
Simply because they believed in their moral right to do so

It began long before
the Portuguese had improved their instruments of navigation
enabling them to sail beyond their imaginations
It began
before Columbus left Spain's harbours
Before Cook set sail for Tahiti
Before slave traders and missionaries crossed the Atlantic and Pacific
Before the great synergy of capitalism, science, nation building and empire
Before the Doctrine of Discovery legitimated and fuelled Europe's
Quest for eternity

It began long before the slaughter, enslavement,
And genocide of Native Peoples
Before their nations, their lands, their bodies,

Before their tattooed heads, their skins, their vaginas,
penises and wombs,
were smashed into millions of fragmented pieces
Before they were disembowelled
Disembodied
Reduced
To collectible artefacts,
Exotic furnishings for the salons and sitting rooms
Of The wealthy

The process of dehumanising,
Of not recognising the human
Of rendering others as beasts of burden
As less than human
As partial humans
As not quite humans
As soul less beings
As savage creatures

The process of conquering the Other
Of wielding them to the will of empires
Is deeply written in the history of Europe
Of Rome and Greece
Of Great Britain
Of Versailles
Of little fiefdoms and all conquering heroes
We read in Europe's history of itself

The separation of flora and fauna,
Of humans from other beings
Of humans from nature
Of mind and body
Of white and black
Of civilised and savage
The positing of a soul, heaven and hell,
of human will, intelligence, morality
Of emotions,
of race
Of gender
Of the being of a human
Of the rights of a human
Of the natural order of things

These were the technologies that
Were present and were honed
in the Colonies
In the Concentration Camps
In the prisons,
On the reserves
In the laboratories
In the institutions of knowledge

These are the tools we teach
And promote
That will inform
And discipline
That will help
And save
That will develop
And advance
The humans that these tools have dehumanised
The stories that these tools have silenced
The relationships that these tools have subverted
The environment that these tools have contaminated

It began in the foment of language and ideas
Incited by power and opportunity
Emboldened by a sense of Godliness
Institutionalised in Church and State
practised on women
On children
On the poor
On other human beings

It was taken with the WORD
And the SWORD
Across oceans,
And continents,
Across mountains
And deserts and rivers
It was present in their gaze as they surveyed
The lands of others
It was present in their bodies as they
Infected villages, cities and civilisations
It was present in their minds

As they built their governments, missions and schools
As they made laws and regulations
As they built prisons and slums
Laboratories and roads.

Their values
Their beliefs
Their norms
Their words
Their feelings
Their touch
Their thoughts
Their fears
Their dreams
Their fantasies

It began there in the essence
Of their humanity.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Notes

1 See, for example, Alfred, G. R. (1995), *Heeding the Voices of our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Nationalism,* Oxford University Press, Toronto; Awatere, D. (1984), *Māori Sovereignty,* Broadsheet, Auckland; Jaimes, M. A., ed. (1992), *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance,* South End Press, Boston; Walker, R. (1990), *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End,* Penguin, Auckland; Wilmer, F. (1993), *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics,* Sage, Newbury Park.
2 Wilmer, *The Indigenous Voice,* p. 135.
3 Walker, *Ka Whawhai,* p. 210.
4 Lippman, L. (1981), *Generations of Resistance: The Aboriginal Struggle for Justice,* Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, p. 49.
5 See, for example, Sykes, R. (1989), *Black Majority,* Hudson Hawthorn, Victoria. Roberta (Bobbi) Sykes was herself an activist during the 1970s, and her book is an analysis of the conditions of Aborigines in the twenty-one years since the changes to the constitution were made. It paints a stark picture across the fields of justice, housing, health, education, employment and human rights.
6 Alfred, *Heeding the Voices,* p. 1.
7 Wilmer, *The Indigenous Voice,* p. 194.

8 Awatere, *Māori Sovereignty,* p. 34.
9 Dodson, M. (1996), *Fourth Report of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission,* Australian Government, Commonwealth of Australia, p. i.
10 Radha Jhappan, C. (1992), 'Global Community? Supranational Strategies of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples', *Journal of Indigenous Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 59–97.
11 Morris, G. T. (1993), 'International Structures and Indigenous Peoples', in *Indigenous Peoples Politics: An Introduction,* eds Marc Sills and G. T. Morris, Fourth World Centre, University of Colorado, pp. 22–45.
12 Robbins, R. (1992), 'Self-Determination and Subordination: The Past, Present and Future of American Indian Government', in *The State of Native America,* p. 101.
13 van der Wall, J. (1992), 'A Warrior Caged; The Continuing Struggle of Leonard Peltier', in *The State of Native America,* pp. 291–310.
14 Sanders, D. E. (1977), *The Formation of the World Council for Indigenous Peoples,* International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs Document 29, Copenhagen, pp. 10–12.
15 *Ibid.,* p. 11.
16 Morris, G. T. (1992), 'International Law and Politics: Towards a Right to Self-Determination for Indigenous Peoples', in *The State of Native America,* p. 76.
17 The International Indian Treaty Council was granted consultative status to ECOSOC in 1977, and the World Council for Indigenous Peoples was granted status in 1979. For further information, see Aga Khan, Sadruddin and Hassan bin Talal (1987), *Indigenous Peoples: A Global Quest for Justice, a Report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues,* Zed Books, London.
18 Morris, 'International Law and Politics', pp. 55–86.
19 Thornberry, P. (1991), *International Law and the Rights of Minorities,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, p. 332.
20 Dodson, M. (1994), 'Voices of the Peoples – Voices of the Earth; Indigenous Peoples – Subjugation or Self-determination?', in *Voices of the Earth,* ed. Leo van der Vlist, International Books, NCIP, Netherlands, pp. 24–5.
21 Te Awekotuku, N. and Manatu Māori (1991), *He Tikanga Whakaaro: Research Ethics in the Māori Community,* Manatu Māori, Wellington.
22 New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists Principles of Professional Responsibility and Ethical Conduct (adopted in 1987 and amended in 1990).
23 See Chapter 9.
24 I have selected these sayings, having heard them used on several occasions as evaluative comments on people. The saying 'Titiro, whakarongo, korero' comes from Te Atarangi, the Māori language programme for

adults. It seems to be a basic code of conduct in a number of situations for researchers. Actually these sorts of sayings are often spoken by the *kuia,* or older women, on a *marae* as they watch, very keenly, what people are doing.

25 Haig-Brown, C. and J. Archibald (1996), 'Transforming First Nations Research with Respect and Power', *Qualitative Studies in Education,* Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 245–67.

Chapter 7

Articulating an Indigenous Research Agenda

As previous chapters have indicated, research is highly institutionalized through disciplines and fields of knowledge, through communities and interest groups of scholars, and through the academy. Research is also an integral part of political structures: governments fund research directly and indirectly through tertiary education, national science organizations, development programmes and policies. Rich nations spend vast amounts of money on research across every imaginable dimension. Poor nations do their best to keep up. Corporations and industries fund their own research and sometimes gather data for governments. These programmes are often global in scope. Non-government organizations and local community groups also carry out research and involve themselves in the resulting analysis and critique. All of these research activities are carried out by people who in some form or another have been trained and socialized into ways of thinking, of defining, and of making sense of the known and unknown. It seems rather difficult to conceive of an articulation of an Indigenous research agenda on such a scale. To imagine self-determination, however, is also to imagine a world in which Indigenous peoples become active participants, and to prepare for the possibilities and challenges that lie ahead.

This chapter reports on the development of Indigenous initiatives in research and discusses some of the ways in which an Indigenous research agenda is currently being articulated. It is striking that for Indigenous peoples there are distinctly different ways of thinking about and naming research. Often projects are not referred to as research although this is a central core of the project activity. In addition to reservations about research outlined in earlier chapters, there is another reason for this reticence. Research is also regarded as the domain of experts who have advanced educational qualifications and access to a specialized language and skills. Communities carrying out what they may regard as a very humble little project are reluctant to name it as research in case it provokes the scorn of 'real' researchers. Furthermore, Indigenous communities as part of the self-determination agenda engage quite

deliberately in naming the world according to an Indigenous world view. What researchers may call methodology, for example, Māori researchers in New Zealand call Kaupapa Māori research or Māori-centred research. This form of naming is about bringing to the centre and privileging Indigenous values, attitudes and practices rather than disguising them within Westernized labels such as 'collaborative research'. Institutions such as the academy and major funding agencies maintain and reinforce the idea that research is a highly specialized skill that by definition is developed and supported at a distance from the community.

There are two distinct pathways through which an Indigenous research agenda is being advanced. The first one is through community action projects, local initiatives and national or tribal research based around claims. The second pathway is through the spaces gained within institutions by Indigenous research centres and study programmes. Although the community-based approach is often said to have greater community control and ownership than it is possible to achieve through the academy, that is not always or necessarily the case. Community-based projects are often conceptualized, funded and directed by researchers who have been trained within a discipline or paradigm, and are often employed by a research organization. Also, university researchers who work within the protection of such notions as academic freedom and academic research can legitimate innovative, cutting-edge approaches that can privilege community-based projects. In other words, the two pathways are not at odds with each other but simply reflect two distinct developments. They intersect and inform each other at a number of different levels.

Community Research

The idea of community is defined or imagined in multiple ways: as physical, political, social, psychological, historical, linguistic, economic, cultural, and spiritual spaces. For colonized peoples many local com-munities have been made through deliberate policies aimed at putting people on reserves that are often out of sight, on the margins. Legislation and other coercive state practices have ensured that people stay within their own community boundaries. Communities have also made themselves, however, despite policies aimed at fragmenting family bonds and separating people from their traditional territories. Indigenous communities have made even their most isolated and

marginal spaces a home place imbued with spiritual significance and Indigenous identity. In North America, the term 'Indian Country' defines one sense of community, a named nation such as the Navaho Nation defines another sense of community, a named reserve defines yet another sense. In Australia the term 'mob' is used to identify and distinguish different levels and organizations of community.

Some writers refer to these multiple layers of belonging as 'nested identities'. Gerald Alfred, for example, conceptualizes Kahnawake identity as including 'localized Kahnawake, national Mohawk, broader Iroquois, and pan-Native'.[1] He says, 'Thus people of Mohawk descent who live in Kahnawake have a multilayered identity which incorporates each one of the "communities" he or she has inherited, and which also includes the broader Native – or the more common "Indian" – identity flowing from their racial affiliation and identification as the indigenous peoples of North America.'[2] In describing Chicano communities in the United States, Irene Blea argues that

> By entering into a discussion of the factors comprising the Chicano community, as a physical, social-historical, and spiritual setting, a clearer definition of the Chicano community emerges. It is futile to attempt to categorize these aspects of the community for they frequently overlap. For example, the spiritual element of Aztlan crosses over into its social-historical aspect because Aztlan is not only a physical region but is also a state of mind, a spiritual belief.[3]

When visiting New Zealand in 1996, African American historian Bernice Reagon Johnson visited a Māori community and, in response to discussions about the significance of land to Māori identity, described her own community as one held together by song rather than by territory. An Aborigine friend also made the comment that 'we sing the land into existence'. For Māori there are several ways of identifying one's Indigenous 'community'. One commonly used way is to introduce yourself by naming the mountain, the river, the tribal ancestor, the tribe and the family. Through this form of introduction you locate yourself in a set of identities which have been framed geographically, politically and genealogically.

Defining community research is as complex as defining community. For example, 'the community' is regarded as being a rather different space, in a research sense, to 'the field'. 'Community' conveys a much more intimate, human and self-defined space, whereas 'field' assumes a space 'out there' where people may or may not be present. What

community research relies upon and validates is that the community itself makes its own definitions. There are many examples of research projects carried out at a local community level. Some projects have been initiated by local people working in local settings, generating local solutions to local problems. Other projects, which have been supported by development agencies, focus on developing self-help initiatives and building skilled communities. Social research at community level is often referred to as community action research or emancipatory research. Both approaches are models which seek to make a positive difference in the conditions or lives of people. Community action research, according to Stringer, 'is a collaborative approach to inquiry or investigation that provides people with the means to take systematic action to resolve specific problems'.[4] These approaches enable not only communities but also Indigenous researchers, who are thus able to work within their own communities. Community action approaches assume that people know and can reflect on their own lives, have questions and priorities of their own, and have skills or sensitivities that can enhance (or undermine) any community-based projects.

There are also communities of interest that do not necessarily occupy the same geographical space in which local community research occurs. Indigenous women are such a community, as are Indigenous rights workers, artists and writers, health workers and researchers. Indigenous communities of interest have formed quite extensive networking and collaborative relationships. They are talking circles of people with similar interests. The community has its own borders and negotiating entry can be every bit as complex as entering a local village. Communities of interest have formed around their own priorities and particularities; they often have their own language or codes; they have their own analysis of self-determination; they may have a strong suspicion of the outsider; some may have formal membership, others may recognize each other through various language and dress codes.

For many Indigenous women, for example, their analyses have emerged from the intersections formed through political engagements with Western feminism and their own Indigenous communities. Writing and talking about the experiences of women within these spaces has developed into a major research priority for Indigenous women, one that connects and grounds a wide range of their concerns at local, nation and global levels. One result is the burgeoning of a distinctive Indigenous women's literature that actively works against Western literary categories.

In all community approaches *process* – that is, methodology and method – is highly important. In many projects the process is far more important than the outcome. Processes are expected to be respectful, to enable people, to heal and to educate. They are expected to lead one small step further towards self-determination. Indigenous community development needs to be informed by community-based research that respects and enhances community processes. This is a significant challenge across the globe in terms of development as so many communities are held hostage to expert research from the West and to models of development that negate local and Indigenous knowledge. In the Māori context there is growing research capacity at the community level and some outstanding models of community-based research institutes that work at the interface of community development.

Iwi *and Indigenous Nation Research*

Iwi is sometimes loosely translated as 'tribe' but is used by Māori people to describe their geopolitical, inter-generational Indigenous institutions and relationships that are connected to place, history and shared cultural protocols. *Iwi* encompasses many different communities. For Māori it is the larger political entity of several smaller groups linked closely by genealogy and shared customary practices. *Iwi* research currently being conducted in New Zealand covers a wide range. Apart from claims being put forward to the Waitangi Tribunal in respect of lands and resources taken unjustly by the government since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, *iwi* research is being conducted in the areas of resource management, economic development, health, education, justice, family and children, flora and fauna, and traditional knowledges. In the case of one *iwi*, Ngati Awa, a Ngati Awa Research Centre was established in 1989 to undertake research to support a claim to the Waitangai Tribunal. The centre has carried out research which has resulted in the repatriation of the carved meeting house Mataatua, reopened in 2011 after over a hundred years of alienation from the *iwi*. After settlement of the claim, the research centre became the Ngati Awa Research and Archives Trust, and continues to supports economic, environmental and social research. The research centre is one activity managed by the *runanga* or governance council. It has employed several young people with academic qualifications as researchers. Ngati Awa has also established a tribal university, Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, which offers a range of qualifications including a doctoral degree, all of

which have a unique Māori knowledge component. Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi attracts students from all over New Zealand and Indigenous students from other countries. Its staff and students make a substantial contribution to development across many *iwi* contexts.

Another *iwi*, Waikato Tainui, has established its own College of Research and Development. The *iwi* has invested significantly in graduate scholarships that will assist students to complete both their studies and a relevant piece of research. This college is now led by a highly respected researcher from the *iwi* and the expectation is that she will lead the diverse range of projects being undertaken to support development. Other *iwi* have relied on the very small pool of Māori with tertiary-level qualifications to conduct the extensive research required to sustain a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal and to undertake broader studies. Research through the claims process has fostered a demand for expertise across diverse fields of knowledge. This has radically invigorated Māori demands for advanced educational qualifications and put the role of institutions under scrutiny.

The process of mounting a treaty claim and preparing it for an eventual 'hearing' requires the collective knowledge, effort and commitment of the people in the various sections of the tribe. There is a great deal at stake in such research: failure to take into account the views and feelings of different *iwi* interests can have huge negative ramifications for the *iwi* once the claim has been heard and a settlement awarded. Any sign that secret deals have been made, or that traditional processes have been overridden, can result in a halt to further work and a schism in the tribe itself. Outsiders often view such contestability as proof that 'infighting' is rampant. Those within tend to interpret such political outcomes as a consequence of being driven by the government agenda for settlement at any cost rather than as a reflection of traditional practices. The processes of consultation, collective meetings, open debate and shared decision making are crucial aspects of tribal research practices.

The Case Study of an Indigenous Research Initiative inside the Academy

Research is a distinguishing characteristic of universities. Universities are committed to the creation of knowledge through research, reflection, scholarship and academic freedom. It is a role, historians of the university have argued, which has been hard won over centuries of development. The curriculum of a university shapes the way knowledge is reproduced as a

curriculum for schools and for society. Intellectuals provide leader-ship for society in relation to knowledge. For Indigenous peoples universities are regarded as rather elite institutions which reproduce themselves through various systems of privilege. Even those universities which are state-funded are considered major bastions of Western elitism. It is not surprising, then, that many Indigenous students find little space for Indigenous perspectives in most academic disciplines and most research approaches. In many examples Indigenous and ethnic studies programmes have struggled to survive in rather hostile environments. Indigenous staff and students, too, have found the institution to be toxic. Haunani Kay Trask describes some turbulent experiences as a Hawai'ian academic attempting to work *as* a Hawai'ian academic in the University of Hawai'i.[5] Unfortunately, her experiences are not unique. The university represents a special sort of struggle and the following small case study outlines one initiative which has managed to survive and actually get stronger.

Research activities are mostly organized around the interests of like-minded people. The development of research groups tends to occur organically within universities. It is part of what is referred to as a research culture, embedded in the day-to-day practices and values of academic life. Most research activities which operate at a group level share an interest in either topics or methodologies. When some research groups develop more formalized arrangements, however, specialized research organizations develop inside the university. In the university system they tend to fall into three types: research units which are situated inside teaching departments; research centres which are situated within schools or faculties; and research institutes which cross faculty and teaching boundaries. The task of becoming any one of these entities is a highly political process.

In the New Zealand university context Indigenous Māori developments have occurred as academic developments, initially through the study of Māori within the discipline of anthropology and in more recent times through the development of Māori academic centres within faculties and departments such as education, medicine, law, commerce, art history and literature. This is somewhat different from other contexts where Indigenous programmes exist more as student services subject to administration constraints and outside the academic domain. There are distinct advantages in being located in the academic structures which relate very directly to knowledge and to the issue of who can teach and carry out research. Māori peoples are comparatively speaking a significant minority Indigenous population, representing about 15 per cent of the total population of New Zealand. Although participation rates by Māori

in universities have been extremely low, where Māori have participated they have been extremely successful as academics. Sir Apirana Ngata, for example, trained at Canterbury University in the 1890s and as a Member of Parliament was one of the better educated members, Māori or non-Māori. Sir Peter Buck trained as a medical anthropologist, taught at Yale University and was a foremost scholar of Pacific Anthropology. Later generations of Māori academics gained their doctoral degrees in Britain or the United States. The academic focus for Māori, then, is small in numbers but strong in a tradition.

Currently there are a number of examples of Indigenous research centres inside universities across the world – in several Australian contexts, in Sweden, Finland and Norway, in Canada, in the United States, in Latin America and in Africa. The Centre for Sami Research at the University of Umea in Sweden has a large historical database of the Sami population that enables demographic and social research. The University of Washington School of Social Work has a large team of native researchers working across the country on healing historical trauma. In Australia there are Indigenous research centres within most institutions, and an exciting new generation of Aborigine and Torres Strait Islands scholars are working there.

Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga is New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence. It was established in 2002 after a competitive bidding process overseen by central government, and is one of only eight centres of research excellence in the country. Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga is committed to a vision of the transformation of society through excellent Māori research. Professor Michael Walker, an internationally acclaimed biological scientist, and I, as a social scientist and educator, became the first joint directors. One unique feature of Nga Pae o te Maramatanga is the sheer breadth of the collaboration between Māori researchers from diverse disciplines and institutions – from the single engineer to the artists, the scientists, social scientists and educationists. One of the first aims of the centre was to produce 500 Māori with PhD qualifications within 5 years. That visionary aim was first suggested by Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith, who led the development of the proposal. His view was that we had to grow the numbers of Māori in higher education in tandem with a simultaneous expansion of early childhood education: we needed to produce a generation of our own Indigenous intellectuals to lead the transformation of our own communities. His aim was heralded as an ambitious target and there seemed general disbelief, especially in the non-Māori community, that such a goal would ever be achieved.

Years of work and development went into achieving a centre of excellence. Overcoming the educational barriers of colonialism – breaking through the glass ceilings discipline by discipline, and institution by institution – has literally taken Māori people decades. Some of our early role models graduated from university in the late nineteenth century. The drive for research capacity began more purposefully in the late 1980s, when political activists called for Māori control of research undertaken in our own communities by outsiders, and advanced arguments for greater self-determination across all dimensions of our lives. Within the host institution of the new centre of research excellence there were already examples of small groups of Māori researchers working together within education, health and Māori Studies. Establishing even small research groups can be challenging in any university institution – but much more so when Indigenous knowledge and research were still viewed by senior academic staff with great scepticism and, in some cases, active hostility.

The centre set out to build an entirely new research infrastructure with intersecting linkages: it would connect Indigenous researchers to each other across disciplines and institutions; communities to researchers; and Indigenous research to Indigenous development. One of the first tasks of the centre was to strengthen research capacity by producing more researchers with doctoral qualifications. The MAI doctoral support programme first designed by Graham Hingangaroa Smith at the University of Auckland was implemented as a national programme. Māori doctoral students who participated in the programme met regularly as a group to discuss shared concerns, critique literature and contest their ideas in a safe environment. National conferences and writing retreats were funded and senior Māori academic staff were brought in as facilitators and mentors. An online journal, the *MAI Review*, was developed for students, and a refereed journal, *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, for researchers. Alongside these initiatives was a national research fund that fostered multi-disciplinary and collaborative research that would lead to positive outcomes for Māori communities. The goal of achieving 500 Māori PhD graduates was achieved, with many students being the first Māori to graduate at that level in their respective disciplines.

Training Indigenous Researchers

What large research institutions and research cultures offer are the programmes, resources, facilities and structures that can, if the conditions

are appropriate, support and train Indigenous researchers. Although our communities have a critical perspective of universities and what they represent, at the same time these same communities want their members to gain Western educations and high-level qualifications. But they do not want this to be achieved at the cost of destroying people's Indigenous identities, their languages, values and practices. What Indigenous students have experienced in universities has been shared by women and other minority group students. For many students it can be an alienating and destructive experience. This is well described by Janice Acoose, who writes about her experiences as a returning student to the University of Saskatchewan:

> Once inside the classroom, even though I had been away from educational institutions for many years, I realized that not much had changed in terms of the ideological character of the teachings or pedagogical strategies. Indeed there were many professors in various disciplines (albeit perhaps unconsciously ignorant or naïve) who attempted both implicitly and explicitly to reinforce notions of white cultural supremacy.[6]

Strategies for surviving the experience while gaining the qualification are employed to varying degrees by Indigenous students. They range from becoming as invisible as possible to becoming as visible as possible. Surviving undergraduate work is the first hurdle for potential research students, as the more systematic mentoring and training of researchers does not normally occur until one reaches graduate level or enters employment as a researcher.

Most Indigenous researchers who work with Indigenous communities or on Indigenous issues are self-taught, having received little curriculum support for areas related to Indigenous concerns. There are, however, a number of academic programmes being established which are directed specifically towards developing research skills. The Centre for Aboriginal Studies at Curtin University in Western Australia offers a masters programme designed for the needs of Indigenous students working with Indigenous communities. Emphasis is placed on developing action research skills through specific research tasks. At the University of Auckland the training of Māori researchers occurs across several faculties including arts, education, law, health sciences, management and science. In education, Auckland's Māori programme has been the forerunner of many of the developments both within this university and across other sites. The programme has developed through a coordinated approach to course work, family and student support, thesis mentoring,

role modelling by senior students, and employment on research projects. Students are expected to develop sophisticated theoretical skills alongside their research speciality interests. While the training of researchers is much more focused than standard course work, the programme is also located in a context in which Māori academic staff and researchers are conducting research on an ongoing basis. The creation of a Māori research culture has been deliberate and students are involved in the discussions and debates around research problems from the time they begin their graduate programme. Training tends to be project-specific, with some students employed part-time or on scholarships as research assistants: through tasks such as literature reviews, data entry, transcribing, data analysis and conducting interviews, they gradually build the capacity to take primary responsibility for a small project. Many students have their own topics, which they are encouraged to think through and prepare as proposals, while others arrive with a community project already in mind. Those students with strong family or community support networks are encouraged to involve their communities in their own projects. Those students who may have grown up in bicultural families are encouraged to use the skills gained in their own contexts. The programme assumes that students bring considerable knowledge and skills with them. By sharing with other students from diverse backgrounds, including other Indigenous students from the Pacific, and participating in a structured programme, they are expected to gain a number of additional skills that will be very useful when they return to their own communities.

For some Indigenous students one of the first issues to be confronted is their own identities as Indigenous and their connected identities to other Indigenous peers. While this may seem unusual, given that they appeared to select an Indigenous programme, it is often more likely that their participation in the programme is related to needs that are not necessarily educational – for example, emotional support or reassurance. Some may need assistance to reconnect with their own communities or to feel safe. Gender and age are two quite critical factors in some Indigenous contexts. For younger students there is a very real constraint on access to knowledge when working with elders. There are also protocols of respect and practices of reciprocity. The relatively simple task of gaining informed consent can take anything from a moment to months and years. Some Indigenous students have had to travel back and forth during the course of a year to gain the trust of an individual elder, and have been surprised that without realizing it they gained all the things they were seeking with much more insight, and that in the process they gained a grandparent or a friend. Asking directly for

consent to interview can also be interpreted as quite rude behaviour in some cultures. Consent is not so much given for a project or specific set of questions, but for a person, for their credibility. Consent indicates trust and the assumption is that the trust will not only be reciprocated but constantly negotiated – a dynamic relationship rather than a static decision. Similarly, Indigenous elders can do wonderful things with an interview. They tell stories, tease, question, think, observe, tell riddles, test and give trick answers. Conversely, they can also expect that an Indigenous researcher will do the same back to them. The quality of the interaction is more important than ticking boxes or answering closed questions. Then again, they can simply reply passively to questions, playing the game required of non-Indigenous research. Usually young Indigenous researchers are used to building and having relationships with elders: the issues tend to be related to the way some research methodologies exclude such extended conversations, especially when these are initiated by the person being interviewed.

Negotiating entry to a community or a home can also be daunting for Indigenous researchers. Formal approaches can require several meetings in which the whole ugly history of research on Indigenous peoples is reiterated, followed by open and frank discussions of the merit and desirability of a project, intersected by other unrelated debates and commentaries, and a conclusion which is highly ambivalent or inconclusive, meaning that the process has to be repeated again. Informal approaches can be just as fraught, with one elder consulting others on one matter, and then the consultation process having to be repeated again on another matter. It is common practice in many Indigenous contexts for elders to be approached as the first point of contact, and as the long-term mentor of an Indigenous researcher. Certain elders are more appropriate and helpful than others – some may pursue their own agendas, while others remain quietly in the background, providing assurance, support and critical or insightful feedback. The dynamics of relationships are by nature hugely complicated. For researchers the skills and reflexivities required to mediate and work with these dynamics are quite sophisticated. Indigenous researchers have to be clear about their intentions. They need to have thought about the larger picture of research and have a critical analysis of their own processes.

Insider/Outsider Research

Many of the issues raised by Indigenous researchers are addressed in the research literature in relation to both insider and outsider research.

Most research methodologies assume that the researcher is an outsider, able to observe without being implicated in the scene. This is related to positivism and notions of objectivity and neutrality. Feminist research and other more critical approaches have made the insider methodology much more acceptable in qualitative research. Indigenous research approaches problematize the insider model in different ways because there are multiple ways of being either an insider or an outsider in Indigenous contexts. The critical issue with insider research is the constant need for reflexivity. At a general level insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships, and the quality and richness of their data and analysis. So too do outsiders, but the major difference is that insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities. For this reason insider researchers need to build particular sorts of research-based support systems and relationships with their communities. They have to be skilled at defining clear research goals and 'lines of relating' which are specific to the project and somewhat different from their own family networks. Insider researchers also need to define closure and have the skills to say 'no' or 'continue'.

How does this work in practice? One of my very first experiences as a researcher was with a community of Māori mothers and children who had formed a Māori 'language nest'. I was part of the same group. I was an insider as a Māori mother and an advocate of the language revitalization movement, and I shared in the activities of fund raising and organizing. Through my different tribal relationships I had close links to some of the mothers and to the woman who was the main organizer. With other women I shared a background in another way, as I had taught some of their older children at the local school. To my academic supervisors I was well and truly an insider in this project. When I began the discussions and negotiations over my research, however, I became much more aware of the things which made me an outsider. I was attending university as a graduate student; I had worked for several years as a teacher and had a professional income; I had a husband; and we owned a car which was second-hand but actually registered. As I became more involved in the project, interviewing the women about their own education stories, and as I visited them in their own homes, these differences became much more marked. What really struck me when I visited the women in their homes as a researcher, having done so on many previous occasions as a mother, were the formal cultural practices which the women observed. An interview with a researcher is formal. I could see immediately that

homes were extra spotless, and I knew from my own background that when visitors are expected considerable energy goes into cleaning and dusting the house. There was also food which I knew had been prepared for my visit. The children were in their pyjamas (the tops matching the bottoms), all bathed and ready for bed at 7.30 pm. I knew and the mothers knew that as a group we were all quite casual about bedtime rituals but on the night of the interview everything was in the kind of order that is organized solely for the benefit of the outsider. Other signs and comments made during the interview reinforced the formalities in which my interview participants were engaging. These were signs of respect, the sorts of things I have seen members of my communities do for strangers and the practices I had been taught to observe myself. They were also barriers constructed to keep the outsider at bay, to prevent the outsider becoming the intruder. I had not understood that before, that there were some practices which the communities had control over as a way of resisting the prying eyes of researchers. Both during the research and at the end I was asked to discuss general matters at our regular meetings, but in these discussions I skirted many confidences: some of these I had been asked to protect; on others I simply decided to keep silent. After the project was completed and I had reported back to them on the finished piece of work, our former relations were restored and have continued as our children have gone on to elementary and secondary schools. I learned many things about research in my own community through those women. I never really did justice to them in the report I eventually wrote as an assignment; I never quite knew how, never possessed the skills or confidence at that time to encapsulate the intricacies of the researcher/researched relations, or my own journey as a novice researcher. But I remember learning more about research and about being a researcher from that small project than I did from any research course, any lecture or any book.

Insider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. It also needs to be humble. It needs to be humble because the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position. The outside 'expert' role has been and continues to be problematic for Indigenous communities. As non-Indigenous experts have claimed considerable acceptability amongst their own colleagues and peers, government officials and society on the basis of their research, Indigenous voices have been silenced or 'Othered' in the process. The role of an 'official insider voice' is also problematic. The comment, 'She or he lives in it therefore they know' certainly validates experience,

but for researchers to assume that their own experience is all that is required is arrogant. One of the difficult risks insider researchers take is to 'test' their own taken-for-granted views about their community. It is a risk because it can unsettle beliefs, values, relationships and the knowledge of different histories. Family-based research, for example, can reveal stories of grave injustice, perpetrated by one section of a family and suffered by another. Research can also lead to discoveries which contradict the image that some idealistic younger researchers hold of elders.

The complexities of an insider research approach can be mediated by building support structures. One of the following chapters gives an example of *whanau* structures used by Māori researchers to ensure that relationships and issues, problems and strategies can be discussed and resolved. Whilst most Indigenous communities have some form of governance organization, it is more useful to work with such an existing governing body to establish a purpose-developed support group which brings together any outside academic or organizational people involved, the community and the researcher/s. In some contexts an elder has been selected or self-selected to act as a guardian of the researcher, mediating the latter's journeys through the community and through the research. Before either of these supports can be established, in most cases, the community representatives have had to be convinced that the research project is worthwhile and in their interests. Some research models do not allow for change – for example, many questionnaires and other 'measures' have already been developed and tested for reliability long before a project has begun. The 'norms', or the groups with which the measures were developed, are nearly always non-Indigenous people. Convincing an Indigenous community to participate in such a study requires a thorough knowledge of the research paradigm and an ability to mount a sophisticated and honest justification. Not all Indigenous communities are averse to such projects; they tend to be persuaded not by the technical design, however, but by the open and 'good' intentions of the researchers. They also expect and appreciate honesty. Spelling out the limitations of a project, the things that are not addressed, is most important. Many community projects require intensive community input. The implications of such input for impoverished communities or communities under stress can be enormous. Every meeting, every activity, every visit to a home requires energy, commitment and protocols of respect. In my own community there are some very descriptive terms which suggest how bothersome and tiring this activity can be! Idealistic ideas about community collaboration and

active participation need to be tempered by realistic assessments of a community's resources and capabilities, even if there is enthusiasm and goodwill. Similarly, the involvement of community resource people also needs to be considered before putting an additional responsibility on individuals already carrying heavy burdens of duty.

Indigenous research focuses and situates the broader Indigenous agenda in the research domain. This domain is dominated by a history, by institutional practices and by particular paradigms and approaches to research held by communities of like-minded scholars. The spaces within the research domain through which Indigenous research can operate are small spaces on a shifting ground. Negotiating and transforming institutional practices and research frameworks is as significant as the carrying out of actual research programmes. This makes Indigenous research a highly political activity, and while that is understood by very experienced non-Indigenous researchers and organizations, it can also be perceived as a threatening activity. The research community has a number of terms which are used to good effect as exclusionary devices to dismiss the challenges made from outside the fold. Research can be judged as 'not rigorous', 'not robust', 'not real', 'not theorized', 'not valid', 'not reliable'. Sound conceptual understandings can falter when the research design is considered flawed. While researchers are trained to conform to the models provided for them, Indigenous researchers have to meet these criteria as well as Indigenous criteria that can judge research 'not useful', 'not Indigenous', 'not friendly', 'not just'. Reconciling such views can be difficult. The Indigenous agenda challenges Indigenous researchers to work across these boundaries. It is a challenge that provides a focus and direction helpful in thinking through the complexities of Indigenous research. At the same time, the process is evolving as researchers working in this field dialogue and collaborate on shared concerns.

I am not your data

I am not your data, nor am I your vote bank,
I am not your project, or any exotic museum object,
I am not the soul waiting to be harvested,
Nor am I the lab where your theories are tested,
I am not your cannon fodder, or the invisible worker,
or your entertainment at India habitat center,
I am not your field, your crowd, your history,
your help, your guilt, medallions of your victory,

I refuse, reject, resist your labels,
your judgments, documents, definitions,
your models, leaders and patrons,
because they deny me my existence, my vision, my space,
your words, maps, figures, indicators,
they all create illusions and put you on pedestal,
from where you look down upon me,
So I draw my own picture, and invent my own grammar,
I make my own tools to fight my own battle,
For me, my people, my world, and my Adivasi self!

Abhay Xaxa
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Notes

1 Alfred, G. R. (1996), *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors,* Oxford University Press, Toronto, p. 18.
2 *Ibid.,* p. 19.
3 Blea, I. I. (1995), *Researching Chicano Communities,* Praeger, Westport, p. 2.
4 Stringer, E. T. (1996), *Action Research: A Handbook for Practitioners,* Sage Books, California, p. 15.
5 Trask, H. (1993), *From a Native Daughter,* Common Courage Press, Maine.
6 Acoose, J. (1995), *Iskwewak – Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses Nor Easy Squaws,* Women's Press, Toronto, p. 30. See also Garrod, A. and C. Larimore, eds (1997), *First Person, First Peoples: Native American College Graduates Tell Their Life Stories,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

Chapter 8

TWENTY-FIVE INDIGENOUS PROJECTS

The implications for Indigenous research which have been derived from the imperatives inside the struggles of the 1970s seem to be clear and straightforward: the survival of peoples, cultures and languages; the struggle to become self-determining, the need to take back control of our destinies. These imperatives have demanded more than rhetoric and acts of defiance. The acts of reclaiming, reformulating and reconstituting Indigenous cultures and languages have required the mounting of an ambitious research programme, one that is very strategic in its purpose and activities and relentless in its pursuit of social justice. Within the programme are a number of very distinct projects. Themes such as cultural survival, self-determination, healing, restoration and social justice are engaging Indigenous researchers and communities in a diverse array of projects. The projects intersect with each other in various ways. They have multiple goals and involve different Indigenous communities of interest. Some projects, for example, have been driven by lawyers and constitutional experts, others by women and health workers, or by social workers and policy analysts. This chapter sets out 25 different projects currently being pursued by Indigenous communities. The projects constitute a very complex research programme. Each one intersects with the agenda for Indigenous research discussed in Chapter 6 in two or three different ways, that is by site/s and by processes. Each project is outlined to give a bare indication of the parameters offered within it and how these may link in with some of the others.

It is not claimed that the projects are entirely Indigenous, or that they have been created by Indigenous researchers. Some approaches have arisen out of social science methodologies, which in turn have arisen out of methodological issues raised by research with various oppressed groups. Some projects invite multi-disciplinary research approaches. Others have arisen more directly out of Indigenous practices. There are two technical points to make here. First, while most projects fall well within what will be recognized as empirical research, not all do.

Some important work is related to theorizing Indigenous issues at the level of ideas, policy analysis and critical debate, and to setting out in writing Indigenous spiritual beliefs and world views. Second, the focus is primarily on social science research projects rather than what may be happening in the natural or physical sciences or technology. There is one technical distinction to clarify. In the chapter I draw on Sandra Harding's very simple distinction between methodology and method, that is, 'A research methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed', while 'A research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence.'[1] Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed, and shapes the analyses. Within an Indigenous framework, methodological debates are ones concerned with the broader politics and strategic goals of Indigenous research. It is at this level that researchers have to clarify and justify their intentions. Methods become the means and procedures through which the central problems of the research are addressed. Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and Indigenous practices. The mix reflects the training of Indigenous researchers, which continues to be within the academy, and the parameters and common sense understandings of research which govern how Indigenous communities and researchers define their activities.

The Projects

The following projects are not ranked or listed in any particular order.

1 Claiming

In a sense colonialism has reduced Indigenous peoples to making claims and assertions about our rights and dues. It is an approach that has a certain noisiness to it. Indigenous peoples, however, have transformed claiming into an interesting and dynamic process. Considerable work and energy have gone into developing the methodologies which relate to 'claiming' and 'reclaiming'. The formal claims process demanded by tribunals, courts and governments has required some Indigenous groups to conduct intensive research projects, resulting in the writing of nation, tribe and family histories. These 'histories' have a focus and purpose; that is, to establish the legitimacy of the claims being asserted

for the rest of time. Because they have been written to support claims to territories and resources, or about past injustices, they have been constructed around selected stories. These claiming histories have also been written for different audiences. One audience is the formal court or tribunal audience, which is mainly non-Indigenous; another is the general non-Indigenous population; and a third is the people themselves. For this last audience the histories are also important teaching histories. They teach both the non-Indigenous audience and the new generations of Indigenous peoples an official account of their collective story. But, importantly, it is a history which has no ending because it assumes that once justice has been done the people will continue their journey. It may be that in time the histories have to be rewritten around other priorities.

2 *Testimonies* (testimonio)

> 'My Name is Rigoberta Menchu, I am twenty-three years old, and this is my testimony.'[2]

Testimonies intersect with claiming because they are a means through which oral evidence is presented to a particular type of audience. There is a formality to testimonies and a notion that truth is being revealed 'under oath'. Indigenous testimonies are a way of talking about an extremely painful event or series of events.[3] The formality of testimony provides a structure within which events can be related and feelings expressed.[4] A testimony is also a form through which the voice of a 'witness' is accorded space and protection. It can be constructed as a monologue and as a public performance. The structure of testimony – its formality, context and sense of immediacy – appeals to many Indigenous participants, particularly elders. It is an approach that translates well to a formal written document. While the listener may ask questions, testimonies structure the responses, silencing certain types of questions and formalizing others. *Testimonio* is more familiar to Latin American contexts as a narrative of collective memory: it has become one of a number of literary methods for making sense of histories, of voices and representation, and of the political narrative of oppression.[5]

3 *Story telling*

Story telling, oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all Indigenous research. Each individual

story is powerful. But the point about the stories is not that they simply tell a story, or tell a story simply. These new stories contribute to a collective story in which every Indigenous person has a place. For many Indigenous writers stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further. The story and the story teller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story. As a research tool, Russell Bishop suggests, story telling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of truth' within which the story teller rather than the researcher retains control.[6] Margaret Kovach argues that stories are connected to knowing, that the story is both method and meaning, and is a central feature of Indigenous research and knowledge methodologies.[7]

Jo-ann Archibald describes story as work that educates the heart, the mind, the body and the spirit. She suggests that stories engage listeners and the story teller in a respectful relationship of reciprocity that creates and sustains oral cultures.[8] Intrinsic in story telling is a focus on dialogue and conversations amongst ourselves as Indigenous peoples, to ourselves and for ourselves. Such approaches fit well with the oral traditions which are still a reality in day-to-day Indigenous lives. Importantly, story telling is also about humour and gossip and creativity. Stories tell of love and sexual encounters, of war and revenge. Their themes tell us about our cultures. Stories employ familiar characters and motifs which can reassure as well as challenge. Familiar characters can be invested with the qualities of an individual or can be used to invoke a set of shared understandings and histories.

4 Celebrating survival – survivance

Celebrating survival is a particular sort of approach. Non-Indigenous research has been intent on documenting the demise and cultural assimilation of Indigenous peoples. Instead it is possible to celebrate survival, or what Gerald Vizenor has called 'survivance' – survival and resistance.[9] Survivance accentuates the degree to which Indigenous peoples and communities have retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity in resisting colonialism. The approach is reflected sometimes in story form, sometimes in popular music and sometimes as an event in which artists and story tellers come together to celebrate collectively a sense of life and diversity and connectedness. Events and accounts which focus on the active resistance are important not just

because they speak to our survival, but because they celebrate our being at an ordinary human level and affirm our identities as Indigenous women and men. Gregory Cajete writes that 'celebrating is a natural outcome of spiritual sharing and it too can take a diversity of forms. It is an individual and communal process that celebrates the mystery of life and the journey that each of us takes. Celebration is a way of spreading the lights around.'[10]

5 Remembering

The remembering of a people relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past, remembering in terms of connecting bodies with place and experience, and, importantly, people's responses to that pain. While collectively Indigenous communities can talk through the history of traumatic events, there are frequent silences and intervals in the stories about what happened after the event. Often there is no collective remembering as communities were systematically ripped apart, children were removed for adoption, and extended families separated across different reserves and national boundaries. In these experiences the obliteration of memory was a deliberate strategy of oppression. The aftermath of such pain was borne by individuals or smaller family units, sometimes unconsciously, or consciously obliterated through alcohol, violence and self-destruction. Communities often turned inward and let their suffering give way to a desire to be dead. Violence and family abuse became entrenched in communities which had no hope. White society did not see and did not care. This form of remembering is painful because it involves remembering not just what colonization was about but what being de-humanized meant for our own cultural practices. Both healing and transformation, after what is referred to as historical trauma, become crucial strategies in any approach that asks a community to remember what they may have decided unconsciously or consciously to forget.

6 Indigenizing and indigenist processes

This project has two dimensions. The first one is similar to that which has occurred in literature, with a centring in consciousness of the landscapes, images, languages, themes, metaphors and stories of the Indigenous world, and the disconnecting of many of the cultural ties between the settler society and its metropolitan homeland. This project involves non-Indigenous

activists and intellectuals. The second aspect is more of an Indigenous project. The term is used more frequently in South and Central America. The term centres a politics of Indigenous identity and Indigenous cultural action. M. Annette Jaimes refers to indigenism as being grounded in the alternative conceptions of world view and value systems: 'These differences provide a basis for a conceptualization of Indigenism that counters the negative connotations of its meanings in Third World countries, where it has become synonymous with the "primitive", or with backwardness among superstitious peoples.'[11] Lester Rigney, an Aborigine researcher working from Flinders University in South Australia, names the approach he takes as indigenist research: it borrows freely from feminist and other critical approaches to research, but privileges Indigenous voices. In the United States, Karina Walters and Jane Simoni have developed an 'indigenist' stress-coping model for addressing the 'soul wound' of historical trauma and contemporary discrimination against Native women.[12]

7 Intervening

Intervening takes action research to mean literally the process of being proactive and of becoming involved as an interested worker for change. Intervention-based projects are usually designed around making structural and cultural changes. Graham Smith describes this approach as a necessary approach when faced with crisis conditions. Smith argues

> firstly, that Māori educational crises continue – this points to a failure of educational policy reforms, research and researchers. Secondly, educational researchers have continued to fail to intervene because of the lack of responsibility and accountability placed on researchers and policy makers. Thirdly much of research has been counter productive to Māori interests, and has merely served the dominant Pakeha group interests, by maintaining the status quo of unequal power distribution.[13]

Intervention is often used against Indigenous communities – for example, as an excuse to invade and occupy territories under the pretence of saving or rescuing an Indigenous community. In 2008 the Australian government intervened in the Northern Territory, ostensibly as an emergency reaction to widespread child abuse. The use of the armed forces on its own citizens in a democratic country is rare, but was justified under the rules of an emergency and was supported by some Aborigine activists. The Indigenous intervening project carries with

it some working principles. For example, the community itself invites the project in and sets out its parameters. The various departments and agencies involved in such a project are also expected to be willing to change themselves in some way – to redirect policy, design new programmes or train staff differently. Intervening is thus directed at changing institutions that deal with Indigenous peoples, and not at changing Indigenous peoples to fit the structures.

8 Revitalizing and regenerating

Indigenous languages, their arts and their cultural practices are in various states of crisis. Many Indigenous languages are officially 'dead', with fewer than a hundred speakers. Others are in the last stages before what is described by linguists as 'language death'. Revitalization initiatives in languages encompass education, broadcasting, publishing and community-based programmes. Margie Hohepa has used the term regeneration rather than revitalization to argue that a language does not die and does not need to be brought to life; rather, the generations of people who speak the language die, and the new generations need to make the language live by speaking it. Indigenous languages are also described as endangered, with various estimates that 3,000 language will be extinct by the end of the twenty-first century.[14] While the Welsh people are not formally part of the Indigenous peoples' movements as described in Chapter 6, their programmes are often studied as examples of Indigenous achievement. In the cases of Māori and Welsh languages, there is a clear singular language. Many places have to battle for the survival of several languages spoken by small populations. In Canada, for example, most of the Indigenous languages could be categorized as being on the verge of extinction. British Columbia has a diverse range of Indigenous languages, all of which require support. Literacy campaigns tend to frame language survival programmes as being of lesser significance than national literacy. Such campaigns are designed around either official languages or one or two dominant languages. The Indigenous language is often regarded as being subversive to national interests and national literacy campaigns, and is actively killed off – a process that Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar have called linguistic genocide.[15]

9 Connecting

The importance of making connections and affirming connectedness has been noted by other minority group researchers. Connectedness

positions individuals in sets of relationships with other people and with the environment. Many Indigenous creation stories link people through genealogy to the land, to stars and other places in the universe, to birds and fish, animals, insects and plants. To be connected is to be whole. The project of connecting is pursued in New South Wales in one form as literally connecting members of families with each other. A link programme has been designed to restore the descendants of 'stolen children', ones forcibly taken from their families and adopted, to their family connections. Forced adoption and dehumanizing child welfare practices were carried out in many Indigenous contexts. Being reconnected to their families and their culture has been a painful journey for many of these children, now adults. Connecting also involves connecting people to their traditional lands through the restoration of specific rituals and practices. In New Zealand one example of this is the practice of burying the afterbirth in the land. The word for afterbirth is the same as the word for land, *whenua*. The practice was prohibited as Māori mothers were forced to have their babies in hospitals rather than at home. Now the policies and hospital practices have changed and Māori parents have reinstituted the practice of taking the afterbirth and burying it in traditional territory. Connecting children to their land and their genealogies through this process is also part of a larger health project designed to encourage young Māori mothers to take better care of themselves and their babies through stronger cultural supports. Connecting is related to issues of identity and place, to spiritual relationships and community well-being.

There are other challenges in relation to the project of connecting. Researchers, policy makers, educators, and social service providers who work with or whose work impacts on Indigenous communities need to have a critical conscience about ensuring that their activities connect in humanizing ways with Indigenous communities. It is a very common experience to hear Indigenous communities outline the multiple ways in which agencies and individuals treat them with disrespect and disregard. Connecting is about establishing good relations.

10 Reading

Critical rereading of Western history and the Indigenous presence in the making of that history, once a school curriculum designed to assimilate Indigenous children, has taken on a different impetus. The new reading programme is motivated partly by a research drive to establish and support claims, but also by a need to understand what

has informed both internal colonialism and new forms of colonization. The genealogy of colonialism is being mapped and used as a way to locate a different sort of origin story: the origins of imperial policies and practices, the origins of the imperial visions, the origins of ideas and values. These origin stories are deconstructed accounts of the West, its history through the eyes of Indigenous and colonized peoples. The rereading of imperial history by post-colonial and cultural studies scholars provides a different, much more critical approach to history than was previously acceptable. It is no longer the single narrative story of important white imperial figures, adventurers and heroes who fought their way through undiscovered lands to establish imperial rule and bring civilization and salvation to 'barbaric savages' who lived in 'utter degradation'.

11 Writing and theory making

Indigenous people are writing and theory making. In Chapter 1 the writing project was named as 'the empire writes back' project. In a localized context, however, writing is employed in a variety of imaginative, critical, and also quite functional ways. Māori author Witi Ihimaera has assembled a five-volume anthology of Māori literature representing, he argues, the 'crossroads … of a literature of a past and a literature of a present and future'.[16] The title of an anthology of Native Women's writings of North America, *Reinventing the Enemy's Language,* gives a sense of the issues being explored through writing.[17] Similar anthologies and works of Indigenous literature are being published around the world by Indigenous writers for Indigenous reading audiences. The boundaries of poetry, plays, song writing, fiction and non-fiction are blurred as Indigenous writers seek to use language in ways that capture the messages, nuances and flavour of Indigenous lives. Native literary and film theorists have also emerged – among them Craig Womack, Robert Warrior and Leonie Pihama – who follow in the critical anti-colonial tradition of Ngugi Wa'Thiong'o and argue for the significance of Indigenous views in Indigenous literature and film.[18] The activity of writing has produced the related activity of publishing. Indigenous publishing companies, language resources and focused academic journals such as *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* or the *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, or *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* are all example of serious engagement with writing. Language revitalization initiatives have created a demand for multi-media language resources for children.

In the Western Isles of Scotland, a Stornaway publishing house called Acair has produced children's comic books in Scottish Gaelic, and cookbooks and other material which support the Gaelic language. Similar small publishing groups are operating across the Indigenous world. Writing workshops and writing courses offered by Indigenous writers like Okanagan scholar Jeannette Armstrong for Indigenous people who want to write are held in many places.[19] The work of authors such as Patricia Grace, Paula Gunn Allen, Louise Erdrich, Witi Ihimaera and Sally Morgan is read by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences. Biographies and autobiographies including those 'which are accounts told to a non-Indigenous person', are sought after by a new reading audience of Indigenous people.

12 Representing

Indigenous communities have struggled since colonization to be able to exercise what is viewed as a fundamental right, that is to represent ourselves. The representing project spans both the notion of representation as a political concept and representation as a form of voice and expression. In the political sense colonialism specifically excluded Indigenous peoples from any form of decision making. States and governments have long made decisions hostile to the interests of Indigenous communities, justifying these by offering the paternalistic view that Indigenous peoples were like children who needed others to protect them and decide what was in their best interests. Paternalism is still present in many forms in the way governments, local bodies and non-government agencies decide on issues which have an impact on Indigenous communities. Being able as a minimum right to voice the views and opinions of Indigenous communities in various decision-making bodies is still a focus of struggle. Even at the minimal level of representation Indigenous communities are often 'thrown in' with all other minorities, as one voice amongst many. The politics of sovereignty and self-determination have been about resisting being thrown in with every other minority group by making claims on the basis of prior rights.

Representation is also a project of Indigenous artists, writers, poets, film makers and others who attempt to express an Indigenous spirit, experience or world view. Representation of Indigenous peoples by Indigenous people is about countering the dominant society's image of Indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems. It is also about proposing solutions to the real-life dilemmas that Indigenous

communities confront, and trying to capture the complexities of being Indigenous. Many of the dilemmas are internalized stress factors in community life, which are neither named nor voiced because they are either taken for granted or hidden by a community. And there is the humour of Alexie Sherman, who wrote *Reservation Blues*. Film makers like Merata Mita have a very clear purpose in their work which locates it firmly within a decolonization framework.

> Not surprisingly, when my obsessive struggle with filmmaking began, it was with the issues that most concerned us as Māori women that I became preoccupied – the issues of injustice, land, te reo Māori [Māori language], the Treaty, and racism. Add to that women and gender issues, and for those who don't know, these are the things that consume us, consume our energy, beset us every moment of our daily lives; they are brutalising, violent, and some of us die because of them.[20]

13 Gendering

Gendering Indigenous debates, whether they are related to the politics of self-determination or the politics of the family, is concerned with issues arising from the relations between Indigenous men and women that have come about through colonialism. Colonization is recognized as having had a destructive effect on Indigenous gender relations that reached out across all spheres of Indigenous society. Family organization, child rearing, political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by a colonial system that positioned its own women as the property of men, with primarily domestic roles. Women across many different Indigenous societies claim an entirely different relationship, one embedded in beliefs about the land and the universe, about the spiritual significance of women, and about the collective endeavours that were required in the organization of society. Indigenous women would argue that their traditional roles included full participation in many aspects of political decision making and marked gender separations which were complementary in order to maintain harmony and stability. Gendering contemporary Indigenous debates – for example, debates about economic development, about domestic violence, HIV/AIDs and war – occurs inside Indigenous communities and – while colonialism is an important topic in other contexts, such as in Western feminist debates – analysis of colonialism is a central tenet of Indigenous feminism. A key challenge within contemporary Indigenous

politics is the restoration to women of what are seen as their traditional roles, rights and responsibilities. Aroha Mead gives an account of a statement delivered by two Māori women to the Twelfth Session (1994) of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, which addressed the way colonialism has influenced Indigenous men and had a detrimental affect on Indigenous gender relations.

> [N]ever before have I witnessed what occurred while the full statement was being read out. Indigenous women sitting within their delegations were visibly moved – some looked around to see who was talking about their pain – some gave victory signals and physical signs of agreement, and many, perhaps even the majority, sat stoically, with tears swelling in their eyes. The words broke through the barriers of language and regionalism. A raw wound was clearly touched.[21]

14 Envisioning

One of the strategies that Indigenous peoples have employed effectively to bind people together politically asks that people imagine a future, that they rise above present-day situations which are generally depressing, dream a new dream and set a new vision. The confidence of knowing that we have survived and can only go forward provides some impetus to a process of envisioning. The power of Indigenous peoples to change their own lives and set new directions, despite their impoverished and oppressed conditions, speaks to the politics of survivance. Gregory Cajete talks about vision making as knowledge making, is one the methodologies for producing Indigenous knowledge through vision quests and dreaming, a reflection of the spirit which is also the mind.

Sometimes the visions which bind people were set a long time ago and have been passed down the generations as poems, songs, stories, proverbs or sayings. Every Indigenous community probably has special sayings, predictions, riddles and proverbs which are debated frequently and raised both informally and formally. Children are socialized into these sayings and pass them down to their own children. The profound statements of Indigenous leaders from the last century and the centuries before are often written in diaries and notebooks, carved into stone, or distributed by T-shirt and poster. Often the original source of the comment has been forgotten but the power of the words remain. They make our spirits soar and give us hope. Indigenous people have borrowed freely from each other and it is not uncommon to find the saying of an Indian chief stuck to the kitchen wall in a Māori home,

or the saying of a Māori chief embroidered into a wall hanging in an Aborigine home. These sayings have acted like resistance codes which can be passed down by word of mouth to the next person, to the next generation.

15 Reframing

Reframing is about taking much greater control over the ways in which Indigenous issues and social problems are discussed and handled. One of the reasons why so many of the social problems which beset Indigenous communities are never solved is that the issues have been framed in a particular way. For example, governments and social agencies have failed to see many Indigenous social problems as being related to any sort of history. They have framed Indigenous issues in the 'Indigenous problem' basket, to be handled in the usual cynical and paternalistic manner. The framing of an issue is about making decisions about its parameters, about what is in the foreground, what is in the background, and what shadings or complexities exist within the frame. The project of reframing is related to defining the problem or issue and determining how best to solve that problem. Many Indigenous activists have argued that such things as mental illness, alcoholism and suicide, for example, are not about psychological and individualized failure but about colonization or lack of collective self-determination. Many community health initiatives address the whole community, its history and its wider context, as part of the problem and part of the solution.

Reframing occurs in other contexts where Indigenous people resist being boxed and labelled according to categories which do not fit. This is particularly pertinent in relation to various development programmes, government and non-government. In the case of Māori, for example, a Māori language initiative for young children from birth to school age – known as Te Kohanga Reo, or Māori language nests – constantly has to explain why it is not a child-care centre but a language and culture initiative for young children. The problem of definition is important in this case because it affects funding, but the constant need to justify difference is experienced by many other communities whose initiatives are about changing things on a holistic basis rather than endorsing the individualized programme emphasis of government models. The need to reframe is about retaining the strengths of a vision and the participation of a whole community.

Reframing occurs also within the way Indigenous people write or engage with theories and accounts of what it means to be Indigenous.

In the politics of Indigenous women, for example, there is continuing resistance to the way Western feminists have attempted to define the issues for Indigenous women and categorize the positions in which Indigenous women should be located. Moves to discuss patriarchy without addressing imperialism and racism are always reframed by Indigenous women, and of course other minority women, as inadequate analyses. Similarly, moves to attack Indigenous culture or Indigenous men 'as a group' are also resisted because for Indigenous women the issues are far more complex and the objective of analysis is always focused on solving problems. In the end Indigenous men and women have to live together in a world in which both genders are under attack.

16 Restoring

Indigenous peoples across the world have disproportionately high rates of imprisonment, suicide and alcoholism. Some Indigenous activists regard these rates as the continuation of a war. Says Bobbi Sykes, 'The main question, which has not been addressed by government, is the legitimacy or otherwise of the assumption that white domination of Aboriginal people is in itself a concept of justice.'[22] For Aborigines the high rates of black deaths in custody eventually provoked the establishment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry in 1987 into a problem which had been hidden for many years. The Aborigine rates of death in custody was said to be higher than the rate in apartheid South Africa. Inside the incarceration rates for Indigenous peoples are similar rates for youth offending and for Indigenous women. In the health arena Indigenous people have high rates of morbidity and mortality. Māori women have one of the highest rates of lung cancer in the world. Māori suicide rates, both male and female, have risen sharply over the last decade, with New Zealand rates amongst the highest in OECD countries. Aborigine rates of illness have frequently been cited as examples of 'Fourth World' rates, which are worse than the rates in developing Third World states, and are made more horrific by the fact that these communities live in nations that have the highest standards of living.

Restoring well-being – spiritually, emotionally, physically and materially – has involved social workers and health workers in a range of initiatives, some of which have been incorporated into mainstream programmes. Restorative justice in Canada, for example, applies concepts of the 'healing circle' and victim restoration which are based on Indigenous processes. These systems have been discussed widely and used to motivate other societies to develop better ways of dealing with offenders and

victims. In New Zealand adoption policies and programmes for dealing with children have similarly coopted Indigenous practices. Restoring is a project which is conceived as a holistic approach to problem solving. It is holistic in terms of the emotional, spiritual and physical nexus, and also in terms of the individual and the collective, the political and the cultural. Restorative programmes are based on a model of healing rather than of punishing. They sometimes employ concepts such as public shaming as a way of provoking individual accountability and collective problem solving. Health programmes addressing basic health issues have begun to seek ways to connect with Indigenous communities through appropriate public health policy and practice models. The failure of public health programmes to improve the health of Indigenous communities significantly has motivated a self-help approach by communities.

17 Returning

This project intersects with that of claiming. It involves the returning of lands, rivers and mountains to their Indigenous owners. It involves the repatriation of artefacts, remains and other cultural materials stolen or removed and taken overseas. Sykes lists the following examples: 'pickled heads, human gloves, scrotum tobacco pouches, dried scalps, pickled foetus, cicatured skins, complete stuffed, mummified children's bodies and women with child'.[23] In New Zealand the current Minister of Māori Affairs, who is a Māori, has set out a plan to return all tattooed Māori heads housed in museums and other collections across the world. They apparently number in the hundreds. In a previous chapter I discussed the house Mataatua, which has now been returned to Ngati Awa and was reopened in 2011 as a magnificent modern meeting house that is set to inspire the realization of development opportunities.

Returning also involves the living. One major tribe in New Zealand has negotiated the return of traditional food-gathering sites which will be marked out for their exclusive use by tribal members. Other programmes have been initiated to repatriate people either through ensuring their membership in official tribal registers or by physically reclaiming them. Adopted children, for example, are encouraged to seek their birth families and return to their original communities.

18 Democratizing and indigenist governance

Although Indigenous communities claim a model of democracy in their traditional ways of decision making, many contemporary Indigenous

organizations were formed through the direct involvement of states and governments. Legislation was used to establish and regulate Indigenous councils and committees, forms of representation and titles to lands. They are colonial constructions that have been taken for granted as authentic Indigenous formations. Needless to say, many councils were created as exclusively male domains while the health and welfare programmes were assigned to the women. Māori lawyer Annette Sykes argues, for example, in relation to a claim being made by Māori women to the Waitangi Tribunal, that

> The essence of the claim is to bring to the forefront of the current Treaty jurisprudence, the need to look at notions of governance in Aotearoa and the exclusionary practices that exist, which inhibit and prevent participation by Māori women in the tribal models for self-determination, that have been erected under New Zealand legislation, and the erosion that this in itself has had on Te Mana Wahine in Te Ao Māori [the *mana* of women in the Māori World].[24]

Democratizing in Indigenous terms is a process of extending participation outwards through reinstating Indigenous principles of collectivity and public debate without necessarily recreating a parliamentary or senatorial style of government. Governance has been a theme for development agencies wishing to transform underdeveloped societies and communities. In this work concepts of 'tribe' are hugely loaded terms that imply backwardness, ignorance, cruelty to women and children. It means that Indigenous nations and communities have to develop twenty-first-century governance approaches that are embedded in an Indigenous value system and geared to meet contemporary social challenges with the best minds and skillsets of the community.

19 Networking

Networking has become an efficient medium for stimulating information flows, educating people quickly about issues and creating extensive international talking circles. Building networks is about building knowledge and data bases which are based on the principles of relation-ships and connections. Relationships are initiated on a face-to-face basis and then maintained over many years, often without any direct contact. People's names are passed on and introductions are used to bring new members into the network. The face-to-face encounter is about checking out an individual's credentials, not just

their political credentials but their personalities and spirit. Networking by Indigenous peoples is a form of resistance. People are expected to position themselves clearly and state their purposes. Establishing trust is an important feature. In many states police surveillance of Indigenous activists and their families is common practice. In some states, such as Guatemala, the disappearance of Indigenous peoples has also been common practice. In these contexts networking is dangerous.

Networking is a way of making contacts between marginalized communities. By definition their marginalization excludes them from participation in the activities of the dominant non-Indigenous society, which controls most forms of communication. The project of networking is about process. Networking is a process which Indigenous peoples have used effectively to build relationships and disseminate knowledge and information.

20 Naming

This project takes its name from Brazilian educator Paulo Freire whose saying, 'name the word, name the world' (which was about literacy programmes), has been applied in the Indigenous context to literally rename the landscape. This means renaming the world using the original Indigenous names. Naming as a project of Māori people can be seen in the struggles over the geographical names of some of New Zealand's mountains and significant sites, which were renamed randomly after British people and places. Many of the Māori names have now been restored. Naming can also be seen in the naming of children. Indigenous names carried histories of people, places and events. As a result of Christian baptism practices, which introduced Christian names and family names, and schooling practices, where teachers shortened names or introduced either generic names or nicknames, many Indigenous communities hid their Indigenous names either by using them only in Indigenous ceremonies or by positioning them as second names. A more recent assertion in Māori naming practices has been to name children again with long ancestral names and to take on new names through life, both of which were once traditional practices. Children quite literally wear their history in their names.

Naming applies to other things as well. It is about retaining as much control over meanings as possible. By 'naming the world' people name their realities. For communities there are realities which can only be found, as self-evident concepts, in the Indigenous language; they can never be captured by another language.

21 Protecting

This project is multi-faceted. It is concerned with protecting peoples, communities, languages, customs and beliefs, art and ideas, natural resources and the things Indigenous peoples produce. The scale of protecting can be as enormous as the Pacific Ocean or the Amazon rainforest, and as small as an infant. It can be as real as land and as abstract as a belief about the spiritual essence of the land. Every Indigenous community is attempting to protect several different things simultaneously. In some areas alliances with non-Indigenous organizations have been beneficial in terms of rallying international support. In other areas a community is trying to protect itself by staying alive or staying off alcohol.

Some countries have identified sacred sites and have designated protected areas. Many of these, unfortunately, become tourist spots. Issues about the protection of Indigenous knowledge have been discussed at various Indigenous conferences, which have produced charters and conventions aimed at signalling to the world at large that Indigenous knowledges ought to be protected. History seems to suggest that many of these calls for international adherence to such charters will be at best highly selective. The need to protect a way of life, a language and the right to make our own history is a deep need linked to the survival of Indigenous peoples.

22 Creating

The project of creating is about transcending the basic survival mode through using a resource or capability that every Indigenous community has retained throughout colonization – the ability to create and be creative. The project of creating is not just about the artistic endeavours of individuals, but about the spirit of creating that Indigenous communities have exercised over thousands of years. Imagination enables people to rise above their own circumstances, to dream new visions and to hold on to old ones. It fosters inventions and discoveries, facilitates simple improvements to people's lives and uplifts our spirits. Creating is not the exclusive domain of the rich, nor of the technologically superior, but of the imaginative. Creating is about channelling collective creativity in order to produce solutions to Indigenous problems. Every Indigenous community has considered and come up with various innovative solutions to problems. That was before colonialism. Throughout the period of colonization Indigenous

peoples survived because of their imaginative spirit, their ability to adapt and to think around a problem.

Indigenous communities also have something to offer the non-Indigenous world. There are many programmes incorporating Indigenous elements, which on that account are viewed on the international scene as 'innovative' and unique. Indigenous peoples' ideas and beliefs about the origins of the world, their explanations of the environment, often embedded in complicated metaphors and mythic tales, are now being sought as the basis for thinking more laterally in current theories about the environment, the earth and the universe.

Communities are the ones who know the answers to their own problems, although their ideas tend to be dismissed when suggested to various agencies and governments. Visits to communities that have developed their own programmes demonstrate both flourishing creativity and the strength of commitment shown when the programme is owned by the community.

23 Negotiating

Negotiating is about thinking and acting strategically. It is about recognizing and working towards long-term goals. Patience is a quality possessed in abundance by Indigenous communities. Patience and negotiation are linked to a very long view of our survival. When one reads of the decisions made by various Indigenous leaders to accept the terms and conditions of colonization, what emerges from those stories is the concern shown by leaders for the long-term survival chances of the collective, of their own people. That was the basis of their courage and, despite the outrage younger generations of Indigenous people might feel about the deals that some leaders accepted, the broader picture across several Indigenous contexts is one of dignity and acceptance of a specific reality. Their negotiations were undertaken quite literally with guns held at their heads, with their people starving and with death all around them.

In today's environment negotiation is still about deal making and it is still about concepts of leadership. Negotiations are also about respect, self-respect and respect for the opposition. Indigenous rules of negotiation usually contain both rituals of respect and protocols for discussion. The protocols and procedures are integral to the actual negotiation; neglect or failure to acknowledge or take such protocols seriously can be read as a lack of commitment to both the process and the outcome. Many Indigenous societies are socialized into some

forms of negotiation because they are part of trading practices or basic communication styles. The contemporary negotiation project is related to self-determination, in that Indigenous nations are negotiating terms for settlements which often mean semi-autonomous government or statutory representation or control over key resources, such as natural resources within their own territories. Negotiation also occurs where small gains are at stake, however, such as when local communities have worked out an agreement with a local government or agency or another local community. The formality of negotiation is important in protecting the sanctity of the agreement which emerges. Indigenous peoples know and understand what it means for agreements to be dishonoured. The continued faith in the process of negotiating is about retaining a faith in the humanity of Indigenous beliefs, values and customary practices.

24 Discovering the beauty of our knowledge

This project is about discovering our own Indigenous knowledge and Western science and technology, and making our knowledge systems work for Indigenous development. There are very few Indigenous scientists who remain closely connected to their own Indigenous communities. Indigenous students across many contexts have struggled with Western science as it has been taught to them in schools. Traditionally, science has been hostile to Indigenous ways of knowing. Science teaching in schools has also been fraught with hostile attitudes towards Indigenous cultures, and the way Indigenous students learn. There are huge debates within the scientific community about the nature of science and how it ought to be taught. This debate is over the notion of constructivism, and concerns the extent to which knowledge is socially constructed or exists 'out there' as a body of knowledge that students simply learn. The development of ethno-science and the application of science to matters that interest Indigenous peoples, such as environmental and resource management or biodiversity, offer some new possibilities for Indigenous people to engage with the sciences they find most relevant. However, the project is as much about rediscovering Indigenous knowledge and its continued relevance to the way we lead our lives. Indigenous knowledge in terms of the environment is well recognized as traditional econological knowledge. Indigenous knowledge extends beyond the environment, however; it has values and principles about human behaviour and ethics, about relationships, about wellness and

leading a good life. Knowledge has beauty and can make the world beautiful if used in a good way.[25]

25 Sharing

The final project discussed here is about sharing knowledge between Indigenous peoples, around networks and across the world of Indigenous peoples. Sharing contains views about knowledge being a collective benefit and knowledge being a form of resistance. Like networking, sharing is a process that is responsive to the marginalized contexts in which Indigenous communities exist. Even in the context of New Zealand – a small country, relatively well-off in terms of televisions and communications – Māori people learn more about the issues that affect them at community gatherings held on *marae* then they do from the mainstream media. These gatherings may be for weddings or funerals, but they are also used as opportunities to keep the community informed about a wide range of things. The face-to-face nature of sharing is supplemented with local newspapers focusing on Indigenous issues and local radio stations specializing in Indigenous news and music. Sharing is also related to the failure of education systems to educate Indigenous people adequately or appropriately. It is important for keeping people informed about issues and events that affect them. It is a form of oral literacy, which connects with the story telling and formal occasions that feature in Indigenous life.

Sharing is a responsibility of research. The technical term for this is the dissemination of results, usually very boring to non-researchers, very technical and very cold. For Indigenous researchers, sharing is about demystifying knowledge and information and speaking in plain terms to the community. Community gatherings provide a very daunting forum in which to speak about research. Oral presentations conform to cultural protocols and expectations. Often the audience may need to be involved emotionally with laughter, deep reflection, sadness, anger, challenges and debate. It is a very skilled speaker who can share openly at this level within the rules of the community.

Summary

The projects touched on in this chapter are not offered as a definitive list of activities in which Indigenous communities are engaged. Since the

book was first published a number of articles and books have identified and applied specific Indigenous methodologies that use Indigenous concepts. Numerous collaborative projects are being undertaken with non-Indigenous researchers and organizations. Many of these research partnerships help to develop a trained workforce through the mentoring and guidance provided by the non-Indigenous researchers. There are also the more typical social science research projects and methodologies that have not been mentioned here. Some of these approaches, for example those in critical ethnography, have been written about and theorized by scholars working in those disciplines. The naming of the projects listed in this chapter was deliberate. I hope the message it gives to communities is that they have issues that matter, and processes and methodologies that can work for them.

Notes

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Chapter 9

Twenty Further Indigenous Projects

In this chapter, I describe a further suite of Indigenous projects. I conceptualize these projects based on trying to understand, deeply and creatively, where I see communities spending their energies and, as well, what I hear community activists, organizations, scholars and researchers identify as significant work. It is a practice of looking beneath the surface, of connecting disconnected fragments, of identifying relationship principles and of not taking, what is defined by non-Indigenous scholars, as the singular truth. It is taking notice of the language and discourse used by Indigenous communities to control their own messages such as protectors not protestors, protocols not meetings. It is trying to identify what people are yearning for while they engage in work that requires intense individual and collective emotional labour and sacrifice. What is the source of this energy and what are the determinants of the flow of energy?

I use the term project because I see the idea as work, as intellectual, creative, spiritual, collective, individual and physical work. They are knowledge projects that stretch across standard disciplines of knowledge and diverse ways of knowing, of epistemologies and ontologies. I also understand the idea of project as disrupting the standard ways such things may be described especially in academic contexts where 'the literature' plays such a defining role in defining existing knowledge and setting new research directions. In Indigenous research, the colonial literature has mostly been absent on the issues that matter, downright wrong or skewed towards colonial agendas. It's like looking for writings about Indigenous women through the lens of male researchers who were looking mostly at Indigenous men. The projects described in the previous chapter are still highly relevant and have played a significant role in decolonizing the way knowledge work can be conceptualized to create spaces for new, Indigenous and critical research to emerge and thrive. I view these new knowledge projects as underpinning multiple streams of activities, inviting multiple disciplinary curiosities and open to significant critical engagement.

When I see, through social media, a former student protecting the majestic mountain Mauna Kea in Hawai'i and being arrested for protesting the proposal to build a large telescope on their mountain, I am not only immensely proud of what our students achieve (although she was a leader long before I was honoured to be her advisor), but I am also very intrigued. When I see pick-up trucks driving through the tourism centre of Waikiki with the flag of the Hawaiian Kingdom in support of the kupuna elders on Mauna Kea, I see something special; such as intergenerational linkages, alliances between urban working-class people, intellectuals and activists. What do these acts say about decolonizing? Similarly, when I see my own communities organize a mass Haka to be live streamed giving support to the water protectors protesting the pipeline at Standing Rock, I am uplifted by the international collaboration that occurs and simultaneously intrigued by the energy, the language and discourse. Mainstream media commentary generally defaults to stereotypical discourses about Indigenous activism and fail miserably to understand and communicate the context, issues and strategies at play. For example, while the media likes to see frontline action, a critically informed audience want to know 'who is in the backroom or the kitchen?', or 'where are the elders or the youth? or 'where are the women or the men?' because the answers to these questions give a deeper sense of the community support the action is receiving, of its internal legitimacy or of the scope of a schism that might be occurring within the community.

The context is not all about protest and political activism, although these activities often attract more media profile. There are multiple kinds of Indigenous work occurring within and across different Indigenous nations and networks. As one example, an *iwi* in New Zealand has the same chinook salmon of the Wintu, a Native American tribe, because the salmon were taken from the Mcleod River in Northern California and released in the rivers of the Ngai Tahi iwi in the South Island of New Zealand in 1901. After the Second World War, a dam built on the Mcleod River and extended in 2004 had degraded the salmon habitat and the Wintu no longer had access to their sacred salmon. The Wintu have since visited their salmon, which now live in the rivers of Aotearoa New Zealand and have a relationship with Ngai Tahu, who they see as guardians of their salmon. Representatives from the tribe visit their salmon and dream of the day when the salmon are repatriated to their river. Another example is of a cultural exchange workshop in my own community, where possums are considered an invasive species, with a delegation of Aboriginal Australian artists wanting to make their

traditional possum cloaks but are not able to as in Australia possums are protected animals. What Indigenous communities have demonstrated for hundreds of years is a refusal to give up, to give up on themselves and on those who have colonized them.

Good research ideas are not just about the big things either. Remembering that one of the largest projects for Indigenous peoples is survival and the revitalization of their entire knowledge systems including languages and reconnecting to their places, artefacts and people, big questions can reside in a myriad of small events and conversations, memories, stories or even a single artefact or moment of insight. The small wonders occur out of sight and hearing or are refused to be seen and heard by researchers. Sometimes they hide in plain sight. A decolonizing lens sometimes helps you see, connect and interpret that small thing in a different way through a different lens. It may be a word, a wrongly identified artifact in a museum, a media report, a throw away comment or an idea that comes to you while watching a bird feed off berries. In this chapter are twenty-five further projects that recognize and open up important knowledge pathways and projects.

1. Loving

It is important to do this work from a place of love. This is more powerful than the impulse to save Indigenous peoples that has driven decades of research and development with Indigenous communities. Loving being Indigenous and having love for Indigenous skin, knowledge, languages, cultures and our broken selves can be challenging as colonizing discourses consistently represent Indigenous peoples in racist, hateful and stereotypical ways that discourage love. The term 'Indigenous', or 'native' or 'Indian', or 'Aborigine' or 'Māori' can be used to signify a stigma and something shameful. It is also difficult to love something wrecked, broken, ugly and unwanted and so it is to love a peoples or a community, a family who have been wrecked, broken and are deemed ugly and undervalued. It can be difficult to defend them when you are from that very same community because you may carry or feel responsible for the emotional and historical trauma that has structured those ideas. Indigenous love, loving your own people and loving the broader set of principles about Indigenous peoples are important in loving yourself, your skin, your very being. Kim Tallbear has talked about loving, falling in love and out of love with a place called Indigenous studies, an academic home place. In a similar way, it is hard

to love ourselves and the safe places we try to create when we simply recreate the master's house but with Indigenous art on the walls.

There is a powerful literature about decolonial love which highlights the importance of love as a counter to colonial violence and hatred of Indigenous peoples, of two-spirit, diverse genders, communities of colour 'and of people who are just plain down and out poor, homeless and sick'. As Green (2017) argues, colonialism as exercised through such strategies as the residential school system was a denial of love and an elimination of the love from Indigenous peoples lives. Decolonial love invokes a wider issue of decolonizing emotions and the categories used by the West to frame emotions and the emotional self as existing as separate from the cognitive and rational self. Ideas of human emotions such as love, anger or jealousy are an element in many Indigenous stories but they have been interpreted or assigned meanings by colonial writers that completely distort the original story. For example, they diminish the agency of the woman and elders, they remove the transformational elements that mediate anger or produce a peaceful outcome, they assign moral judgements of good and bad, they eroticize or censor all sex and they remove all references to the agency of the gods and of nature. Indigenous languages have words that have been translated in English or Spanish or French to mean the same as 'love' but they generally mean something that is never the same. One example is the word 'aroha' in the Māori language and 'aloha' in the Hawai'ian language which in many senses have been reduced rather than translated into meaning 'love'. It is really important that researchers do not project on to others their trauma, their moral judgements or their impulses. The place of love is a critically informed place, a place of reference, a place for framing our reflexivity and for ensuring our humility. It is not a place for sentimentality, for slipperiness of thought or personal aggrandizement.

2. Healing

I have defined healing in Chapter 6 as representing one of the major directions of an Indigenous agenda that is critical to becoming fully self-determining. Healing is also an organizing principle that frames the ways in which Indigenous peoples solve problems. The challenge is not how one applies a bandage to a wound but firstly how one understands that many of our wounds are deep. Eduardo Duran used the term 'soul wound' to try and capture the depth of the wound. Focusing just on the outside, visible aspects of a wound does not address what caused the

wound in the first place or what sustains the wound over time. Healing then is a wholistic way of connecting and addressing intergenerational trauma, systemic trauma, collective grief and loss for land, place, people, language, knowledge and material things. An example of how this works can be found in the way many Indigenous people talk about healing the land to heal the people, or healing our spirits or healing the collective. In some research led by a colleague Leonie Pihama, healing is a more comprehensive approach to trauma informed care. Healing can be found in our languages, cultural customary practices, environment, in water, fire or smoke, in Indigenous food, in the beating of a drum, in our dancing, games, humour and our prayers. It can be provided by our grandparents and our grandchildren, our recognized healers and our health practitioners, our artists and musicians, our community, our mountains and waterways. Some talk of canoe journeys as healing, language workshops as healing, weaving, painting, carving and pottery as healing, preparing food for a feast as healing.

There is a critical pedagogy involved in the practices of healing. The trauma is remembered and lived by individuals and their collectives. It can be masked by many layers of other symptoms. It is full of tricks and distractions. It can survive decades and generations. It hurts everyone. It is not a singular behaviour or emotion, idea or set of words. To confront historical and inter-generational trauma healing strategies have to be multi-faceted. They have to address cultural, spiritual, emotional, social and political dimensions. Many Indigenous communities have developed wholistic models of healing that bring all these aspects into the healing process. Many contemporary Indigenous healing strategies encompass a return to cultural philosophies, values and concepts, to living in relation, to knowing one's story.

3. Abandoning/letting go/walking away

As decolonial and liberation theorists have argued, colonization binds the colonizer and the colonized into a structural asymmetrical power relationship that comes to define all things. Fanon argues that decolonizing from this relationship is necessarily violent; physically, epistemologically and ontologically. N'gugi Wa Thiong'o says decolonizing has to occur in our minds, literature and language. Paulo Freire would suggest that decolonizing involves pedagogical practices and a responsibility for humanizing the oppressor. What do these ideas mean for Indigenous work, Indigenous activism and practices? The gift

that Indigenous peoples offer this theoretical and political conundrum is, at times, a completely incommensurate set of ideas, knowledge and understandings that offer an alternate vision and pathway of what could be possible. The practical challenge for Indigenous societies and individuals is to 'let go' of the idea of the moral, symbolic, discursive and psychological significance of the colonizer that occupies their minds and imaginations in order to let their Indigenous knowledge and values back in. The political experience of decolonization tells us this is almost impossible as the institutions left by the colonizer are self-perpetuating colonial instruments and what Ngugi Wa Thiong'o calls cultural bombs. However at a grassroots level there are numerous examples of programmes and activities that are putting people back in touch with their knowledge and values and recovering their Indigenous consciousness. There are also simple but effective strategies that researchers have used to shift thinking such as calling out deficit framing as a problem or questioning the design and benefit flows of research. These kinds of programmes and strategies may in the long run help communities to let go of the colonizers stranglehold on all things. In some fields of academic study, it is already a reality that Indigenous scholars and students no longer have to perform the ritual and referential practice of deferring to the white scholar expert of Indigenous matters. Perhaps linked to this project is what Audra Simpson (2007) refers to as the politics of refusal by the Mohawk, people of Kahnawake, of the Canadian state and, as well, in their 'everyday encounters' which she argues suggest that 'multiple sovereignties are at work'. She also relates it to her work as a researcher and the way in which her participants refused to answer or engage with her questions. Her example shows how communities exercise the concept of saying 'enough' or we have told you enough and that's it. The refusal is not so much an abandonment or walking away but it does, as Simpson argues, point to the limits of what is possible that are defined by those participants in research.

4. Living in relation

Relational principles are important to many Indigenous philosophies and values and are considered more important than the idea of the humanism. Many cultures have a completely different way of viewing and defining nature, and the role of a human being. Indeed, human beings may not be considered that exceptional. For some cultures, categories such as animate and inanimate do not exist, as a rock or a thing 'can be animated' in the

sense of having a life force or energy through the intervention of an expert knowledge holder. Similarly, mountains, waterways and different features of the land may be seen as living beings that possess their own agency. It is why the Whanganui River was awarded legal personhood in a Treaty Settlement in 2018 as the iwi concerned argued that they and the river were one and the same. Different cultures see relationships between animals and humans as kin-based relationships that govern human behaviour including leadership, housing, marriage, food, and political allegiances. As argued by White, Caldwell and Schaefer (2018:161) in discussing the Menominee's relationship to rice, what is important is not that humans simply live in relation, but that the 'quality of relationships' are able to thrive so that 'humans are motivated to care for rice' and that humans have 'an emotional disposition to take responsibility for rice'. The quality of the relationship therefore has an activating responsibility that humans have to exercise to practice living in relation and that then invokes the principle of reciprocity such as a vibrant harvest. Living in relation is a whole philosophy that cannot be selectively applied or mined for specific approaches. For humans used to living in capitalist, individualistic and competitive societies, to live in relation requires a complete overturn of Western modernist ideas, values and behaviours. By understanding the idea of living in relation to practice of ceremony becomes an ethical protocol that seeks permission, is thankful, seeks balance and promises reciprocity.

5. Positioning

Given the history of unethical and exploitative research on Indigenous peoples, it is important for a researcher to be clear and open about who they are and what they are seeking and to locate themselves in context. This applies to insiders and outsiders, to Indigenous researchers and non-Indigenous researchers. The basic questions to answer are 'Where are you from?' 'What brings you here?' 'What are you bringing with you?' 'What are your intentions?' 'How long do you intend staying?' 'What are the benefits of your research?' 'What capacity are you building in the community?' These questions are as much about you as a human being and as a social and cultural being as they are to you as a theorist, researcher, educator, artist or scientist. The questions may vary according to your experience and the scope of your research. The questions are ones you should have thought through before approaching a community even though your answer may evolve with experience. Positionality is more than being able to say who you are as it is also

about being open about the theories and methods you are using and why they are important to the research. In Indigenous methodologies such as Kaupapa Māori, Graham Smith argues that positionality is part of a researcher's praxis that connects theory, action and reflection.

Why does this matter? Firstly, Indigenous people and communities should not have to guess a researcher's identity or their agenda. There are still examples being told of the use by researchers of subterfuge, treating people as if they are dumb, and outright lying in order to gain access to Indigenous communities and Indigenous knowledge. Unethical research is difficult to regulate and relies mostly on institutions to have policies and procedures for ensuring research meets an ethical standard. Individual researchers and consultants, corporations and amateurs can operate without such regulation. Indigenous people and communities also don't want to guess if a researcher is Indigenous or non-Indigenous either, as it leaves them wondering why the researcher did not declare that upfront. Being open does not mean gushing forth about one's entire life but being matter of fact so that people don't have to guess. Leave it to them to decide if it matters or if they have questions.

6. Replanting/re-scaping

Despite claims that it can, Indigenous knowledge is not ethically responsible for repairing the damage inflicted on environments by capitalism, greed-based policies of exploitation and dumb decisions made by generations of government/state policies. Nevertheless, lands once owned by Indigenous peoples and lands currently under the sovereignty and recognized ownership of Indigenous nations have been damaged by a range of activities from military ordinances, mining, hydroelectricity dams, plantation forestry, quarrying, irrigation schemes, pipelines and the installation of telescopes. At local levels there are many initiatives where Indigenous peoples are trying to restore nature, ecosystems and bio-diversity by replanting native plants and re-scaping the environment so its balance is restored. Indigenous knowledge is often used to link the well-being of one entity such as a certain kind of plant to the well-being of another entity such as a certain kind of shellfish or animal. These ideas help replant and re-nourish ecosystems based on a principle of restoring balance and sustainability at a system level. It is also about bringing plants and animals home to where they once flourished and helping them rediscover their own relationships and interdependencies.

7. *Designing and engineering Indigenous solutions*

Indigenous design where it can be expressed is not only innovative but offers beautiful solutions to often ugly problems. There is ample evidence that Indigenous people were engineers who built complex structures, irrigation and plumbing systems. They were architects and designers, town planners and resource managers. They had their own aesthetic and ideas of beauty. Many societies had their own sense of fashion, elaborate hairstyles, clothing and body art. Creative Indigenous design, which used to be dismissed as 'squiggly lines', comes with stories and stories give meaning and build relationships between people and place. This storying of a landscape or using stories to make connections is a principle of Indigenous creativity. Some Indigenous communities see creativity as a gift from the spirit world that inspires us while other communities see design as the energy that simply flows through their bodies and expressed in their work.

Indigenous world views offer up a wide range of creative solutions to challenges that never get the opportunity to be realized and in many cases are subject to ridicule. There are numerous examples where failure to accept an Indigenous viewpoint has costs governments and companies dearly. One such example involved a section of a major highway in New Zealand where the local community consistently argued that the swampy land through which the proposed highway was going to be built contained their 'taniwha', or spiritual guardian. Their claims were ridiculed in the media, laughed off and dismissed as completely invalid by engineers. The company spent millions building their road through the swamp rather than accept what the community had asked for which was to divert the highway further to the west. The section of the highway concerned remains a constant problem. Resource management issues are one arena where science and Indigenous knowledge clash because of a refusal to accept the knowledge and stories a community has accumulated over hundreds and sometimes thousands of years are dismissed in favour of short-term, short-sighted and expedient decision-making.

8. *Retracing the pathways of despair and trauma*

Whether it's a group of Choctaw women rewalking the Trail of Tears as part of well-being programme, a canoe journey on the Northwest Coast of the United States, a group of Aborigines visiting the British Museum or a protest group walking up to power in various capital cities around

the world, the collective act and practice of retracing the pathways of trauma confronts the past and honours the pain and courage of our ancestors. These strategies have been seen by many Indigenous communities as a way to heal, a way for ancestral memories written into the bones of generations to show the ancestors that their descendants are present and have survived. Protest marches are equally about retracing the pathways of trauma because they are constantly having to take their concerns and voices to the source of colonial power, to the symbols and edifices that power has amassed at the expense of Indigenous peoples. Collective healing involves collective retracing of these pathways of trauma. The retracing of these pathways are physically, spiritually and emotionally challenging, incredibly educative and celebratory. They often involve youth directly in the activity and they reveal in an organic fashion some of the reasons for certain cultural practices. The physical journey may reveal the meanings of a song or a prayer. They are acts of courage and expressions of sovereignty.

9. Refreshing Indigenous collectives

Are Indigenous collectives, organizations, leadership structures and systems of inclusion and participation fit for the future? If we assume that twenty-five to thirty years equates to one generation, many of our Indigenous organizational entities are seriously old and need reviewing and refreshing of their relevance, purpose, vision and structures. Governance systems especially need to be refreshed as they can become almost hereditary systems of power and are quite frankly, old-fashioned, serving ever-decreasing numbers of people. In some examples multiple small governance entities work against an Indigenous nation's unity as the entities have been established to manage discrete resources, or have been set up under specific legislation where they accountable to the law rather than the lore of the nation concerned. In the context of broader cultural revitalization, there are opportunities to reinvigorate older forms of organizing and exercising leadership in communities.

The intergenerational transfer of knowledge and power within Indigenous communities can be notoriously slow from a youth perspective as respecting the wisdom of elders is an important value. There are some novel ways to deal with this such as the recognition and practice that elders are always welcome at the table, bestowing of the title of Emiritus Elder/Chief or similar idea and processes of inclusion and participation of the wisdom, voices and presence of elders in our

affairs. Corporate models of governance are not helpful in addressing this as almost by definition they have a built-in model of redundancy and retirement. More broadly, non-Indigenous governance systems are not the best models of good governance; rather, they are models that work well for extracting wealth from the masses and redistributing it to the few. Similarly challenging are strategies for preparing youth for the unique aspects of working in Indigenous controlled organizations. Mainstream Western institutions cannot provide this training. There are many examples of Indigenous youth leadership training such as canoe journeys, cultural camps and land-based programmes that attempt to do this work.

10. Developing Indigenous economies

Cultural revitalization efforts have created a generation of young Indigenous people who are proud of their identities, who wear the symbols of identity on their skin and in the design of their clothing. Indigenous design is used in branding, and Indigenous words are used by Indigenous small business enterprises and corporations. In some ways, the new business opportunities exists and are governed by capitalism but increasingly Indigenous economic leaders are looking for opportunities to trade again as sovereign nations and assert their cultural ethic and values into their economic models and practices. There are international networks of Indigenous businesses, Indigenous tourism operations and Indigenous business leaders. Strengthening the capacity for Indigenous entrepreneurs to contribute to employment, to bring resources into a community and to develop successful activities within their cultural contexts has many positive aspects. These approaches counter the culture of dependency on welfare and social programmes; they ensure a more ethical development of a resource and unleash exciting Indigenous talents. This happens if the entrepreneurs live in relation to their communities and have a commitment to Indigenous values. Many communities have experienced being 'ripped off' by both outsider and insider operators who are more interested in their own profit. The ideal however is to develop a more authentic space for Indigenous economic practices to be restored and adapted for contemporary circumstances. The test of their success is in the way success is shared and distributed within and across communities. In North America, casino tribes have certainly generated success from their casino operations but that alone does not result in reducing the

negative social indices of a tribe. Many of these tribes have diversified their activities and have invested in significant cultural revitalization initiatives. In New Zealand, there has been a focus on Māori economic development since the 1980s building off the primary industries of farming, forestry and fishing. An Indigenous economy has to be a system of relations, with an ethic of reciprocity and care, and a commitment to a set of values and principles. Building such a system inside nation states that have created extreme disparities and have no shame about homelessness, ill-health, poor life opportunities for Indigenous youth and communities is difficult without simultaneous cultural and a community transformation.

11. Indigenizing consciousness

Colonization and the colonizer's world occupy too much space in our consciousness, our minds, our emotions, our thoughts. Indigenous peoples live in worlds that daily offend and affront their consciousness. Decolonizing our consciousness involves processes for questioning the limits and possibilities of our own awareness, understanding what fills our minds and why, understanding our desires and fears and how they have been shaped, and being honest about the choices we make in terms of our engagements with colonizer. Our consciousness is shaped by the real and material world around us as well as the memories we carry. It is how we hold the contradictions of colonization in a semi-stable position so we can live. It includes much of what might also be known as intuition, of knowing something before it becomes visible, of anticipation and self-protection.

It is not enough to decolonize or to think one can indigenize consciousness simply by changing the language we speak back to our native language. Colonization colonized minds, consciousness, our sense of being and even our language for trying to describe that experience. It disrupted our fundamental senses of what constitutes life. It should be no surprise that colonized peoples are silent on matters as they have been systematically silenced. Native language has been torn from their mouths, and the taxonomies and classification systems by which people make sense have been disrupted or destroyed and been rendered 'senseless' or 'nonsense.' Leslie Marmon Silko writes that the 'only way to get change is not through the courts or – heaven forbid – the politicians, but through a change of human consciousness and through a change of heart'.

12. Instructions for generations in the far future

> In a relational reality, as noted earlier, the ancestors aren't separated from the living by an impermeable barrier between life and death; no linear path from life to death exists. Instead all realities are liminal and affect one another.
>
> (Daniel Heath Justice. p. 126)

Reciting the wise and profound words of ancestors has long been a strategy for remaining connected to the beliefs, values and voices of our past. Their words echo across time and leave us powerful hints of the way they interpreted the world. How many Indigenous students have started their written work with a quote from an Indigenous ancestor as if their words encompass all that the student seeks to say? One way to understand these ancestral sayings has been to regard them as teaching and instructions for the next generation. The words offer different possibilities for the future. They point to ways to survive and thrive. They often articulate a value worth holding on to and living by. They are the voices of our grandparents and the voices of their grandparents. They connect us to their world. Some often-quoted words for Māori include the idea of holding on to the land, resisting for ever and ever, working and succeeding together and more pragmatically using the tools of the Pākeha (settlers) while hanging on to our spirituality. Many of these instructions teach us about values, how to live and how to conduct oneself often in the face of tragedy and loss. As Gregory Cajete has often said, Indigenous knowledge includes such things as vision quests, dreams, prophesies alongside empirical environmental knowledge, the arts, resource management, health, nutrition and politics. Winoa LaDuke put this succinctly with her statement, ' Let us be the ancestors our descendants will thank.'

13. Re-establishing vibrant Indigenous food systems

One of the most fundamental acts of self-determination is to have some control over what we put in our mouths, what we eat. Losing access to Indigenous food systems, not just individual foods, has been a direct consequence taking Indigenous lands and waterways, the diverting of water away from our lands, the interference in the systems that fish and animals need to breed, the destruction of ecosystems, and the appropriation of seeds. The issue is about the system of food and the

values and practices that are embedded in this system: the value of thankfulness and gratitude, the practice of working together, and the knowledge of how food systems can be sustained. Food systems are also environmental systems and the two ideas are linked. Indigenous food sovereignty is an important movement to regain control over our own food and the Indigenous knowledge practices that are an intrinsic part of having a healthy relationship with food. I agree with the sentiment that Indigenous food is medicine. It can bring joyfulness, pleasure, laughter, comfort and good memories.

The other side of this practice is addressing our unhealthy relationship with Western foods and the mode of production that governs how that food ends up in our bodies. Monocultural corporate controlled capitalist food production makes people sick and kills the biodiversity of the regions where food is grown. Where once poor people had rights to harvest food in biodiverse areas monocultural farming has wiped out the plants that people could gather. Monocultural food production at the scale that covers entire regions compromises entire ecosystems including insects, bees, bird and animal life, soil and water quality because they destroy biodiversity and the interdependency of nature. Indigenous systems of food include Indigenous systems of reciprocity and distribution. There were rules about how food was to be shared but the principles of collectivity, reciprocity, balance and of what counted as 'enough' were important mechanisms for ensuring people had food. Technology has not helped save the world from starvation as has been claimed because with technology has come the means to accumulate vast quantities of food and the means to apply intellectual property rights to food for the commercial benefit of those investors in Western countries. A few multinational companies control most of the world's production of grain, where, how and by whom it is grown. The mode of production of the world's food, the supply chains, labour rules, research and development practices are exploitative and unsustainable. It is important, if not urgent, for Indigenous nations and communities to understand and re-establish the links between Indigenous food and food practices and Indigenous sovereignty. Eating too much of the colonizers' food has altered our relationships to food, to the environment and to our well-being.

14. Rejecting the legitimacy of a carceral society

Deaths in custody, the over-representation of Indigenous peoples in prison systems and the disproportionate numbers of Indigenous people

sentenced to correctional facilities are features of colonial systems that have actively waged a war of cultural destruction on Indigenous peoples. The use of forts, jails and even reservations to imprison Indigenous peoples were one of the 'master's tools used to deal with the 'problem' of the natives. The prison industrial complex is a modern and more sophisticated form of reservations where Indigenous and other peoples of colour and minorities are removed from society under the guise of justice and made to exist in a human made hell as punishment. Prisons are increasingly high-technological environments governed by states and multinational corporations which profit from injustice and cruelty. The system supports a wide range of suppliers and contractors who also profit from injustice. It has legitimacy because of the hegemony around ideas of public safety and security, racism and anti-minorities. The scale of the complex either equals or outweighs public health and education systems. For many countries, the pipeline to prison for Indigenous peoples begins with the removal of babies and children from their families and into state care. It is put on speed wheels when young people are then sentenced to youth detention facilities and through the denial of freedom, lack of access to a quality education, good health and strong social and cultural connections are consigned to perpetual social exclusion and marginalization. It will have a negative impact on their entire life affecting their identity, relationships, health, employment, housing and choices.

Many Indigenous cultures had no prisons and no police. They had rules and ways to regulate themselves. They had strategies to remove individuals from the community. They had mediation systems for settling disputes. They had strategies to reintegrate people back into a community. They did this without any concept of a prison. A carceral society is a society is a punitive society that sees its identity as inextricably dependent on the existence and use of prisons to address its social issues. If prisons were removed as an option for addressing crime, what could societies create instead?

15. Reorienting our reference points for knowledge

When I was writing the first edition of *Decolonizing Methodologies*, there was very little literature written by Indigenous scholars from an Indigenous position. What material did exist was hard to find as our library did not purchase such work and the internet was just beginning. The term 'Indigenous knowledge' was considered a nonsense or

contradictory statement like uttering two words that had no right to exist side by side. Identifying as someone who was doing Māori research, as I did back then, invited one professor to look at me in astonishment and ask, 'Māori research? Do Māori people do research? Is that even a possibility?' My early research was based on visiting Indigenous contexts and listening to people and then searching for the glimpse or whisper of Indigenous presence and voice in the literature of white, academic, primarily Anglo-American scholarship. I found authors such as Frantz Fanon not in the classrooms of my university but in the gatherings of activist brothers and sisters who passed the material around until it was well worn and coffee stained. I picked through the work of feminists, Marxists, African American and black scholars in an attempt to bring together ideas that would help critique colonialism and create new space for Indigenous experiences, perspectives and knowledges to blossom and flourish. I searched our library and found fragmented and scattered works across multiple categories displaced from any home in the Dewey system called Indigenous knowledge. Thankfully, times have changed and there is a growth of literature by Indigenous scholars, drawing on Indigenous knowledge and concepts and focusing on Indigenous concerns. Not only are there powerful Indigenous voices in arenas such as Indigenous language revitalization, Indigenous education or Indigenous health but there are also global discussions across Indigenous contexts and amongst Indigenous scholars where non-Indigenous ideas no longer dominate or frame what counts as the issues at hand. In co-editing the *Handbook of Indigenous Education* with my colleague Professor Elizabeth McKinley it was an absolute pleasure to bring together the work of Indigenous scholars from around the world. They represent a small proportion of those working in the field education but their work indicates the body of Indigenous scholarship emerging in some areas. The creation of Indigenous scholarly networks in multiple disciplines, the creation of more Indigenous-focused journals, Indigenous publishing houses such as Theytus Books in Canada and the evolution of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association NAISA into a global association demonstrate the appetite for decolonizing and Indigenous scholarship.

It is time to shift our scholarly orientation to new reference points, new/old genealogies of knowledge, Indigenous intellectuals and theorists and new networks of decolonizing and Indigenous scholars. It is possible in some universities to major in Indigenous studies at first-degree level and to focus on Indigenous research methods and theories at postgraduate level. We are slowly grappling with matters of

style for publishing. Should the 'I' in Indigenous be capitalized? Well, yes. Why do we use the 's' when using the term 'Indigenous Peoples'? It is important to privilege and cite Indigenous scholarship and make positive contributions to Indigenous ideas. It is still desirable to read a wide literature by a range of Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors but the Western academy should no longer occupy the principal position or point of reference and authority on Indigenous subject matters. We should no longer need to plough through two hundred or more years of racist scholarship about Indigenous peoples to help inform our questions and shape our knowledge. We can choose to know that literature from a different intellectual position and bring an Indigenous analysis to what it tells us.

16. Finding and seeking justice for the disappeared, the missing and the murdered

> That young man is a fine young activist. I do hope he is not disappeared with.
>
> (A comment made to me at a gathering in Nicaragua. It brought home to me the stark reality of the words 'disappeared with')

Indigenous peoples are amongst the most vulnerable and targeted groups of people for predatory and corrupt state regimes, criminal organizations and individual psychopaths. They are even more at risk when a corrupt state and its apparatus joins up with criminal gangs and unleashes a war on communities who resist. Every year in many parts of the world people from Indigenous communities go missing, are disappeared with, kidnapped, tortured, murdered or assassinated. By being 'disappeared with', individuals cannot be buried or legally declared dead for decades. Their families, often widows with children, are denied state benefits and are therefore punished and silenced by the perpetrators as a message to others. The children were often born to women activists who were either pregnant when imprisoned or raped and impregnated in prison but given or sold to parents who supported the military regimes. The scale of the problem is huge and the persistence of thousands of families, grandmothers, mothers and relatives in trying to find their missing relatives never ends until they find them. There are groups such as the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina who have spent more than 30 years looking for the children of activists stolen by a military Junta and the Association of Relatives of

Detained-Disappeared in Guatemala looking one of the 45,000 people who disappeared during Guatemala's 37 year civil war. In 2014 in Mexico a group of 43 student teachers from Ayotzinapa Rural Teachers College on a bus vanished after being forced on to police trucks. They have still not been found. Investigative journalist Anabel Hernandez wrote a book called *A Massacre in Mexico*, which implicates the federal police, the army, the state police and a criminal organization.

> In Canada, Indigenous women's groups estimate more than 4,000 women and girls have gone missing or presumed murdered between 1980 and 2012. This includes women and girls who are identified as First Nations, Metis and Inuit. A National Inquiry by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police held in 2014 acknowledged the problem as a form of Canadian genocide rooted in colonialism and colonial ideologies. The report also identifies the inactions and lack of care by provincial police to what happens to aboriginal women as part of the problem. In Canada the issue has received national attention but only because Indigenous activist groups such as the Native Women's Association of Canada have persisted in calling attention to the matter. Art installations, talks, data gathering and direct action have all played a role in profiling the significance of the issue. This project casts further attention on the structural conditions that makes Indigenous people's lives, their bodies, body parts including their wombs, dispensible and disposable. It reinforces the entitlement of colonial regimes to take, to harm and discard an Indigenous person. It erases their names from their bodies, denies their human dignity and punishes their families. The project is also about the work that needs to be undertaken to find those who have been disappeared with or their remains and to seek justice even when justice has never worked in their favour. This work takes courage and needs allies to carry the message up to powerful elites.

17. Refocusing emotional and cultural labour

For Indigenous people everywhere, the sheer emotional labour required to live in colonial contexts is exhausting and stressful. The term emotional labour describes the work involved in suppressing our feelings so as not to upset another person. For Indigenous peoples, emotional labour refers to a number of additional factors. A random stranger at a café asks my colleague, who wears a traditional moko

kauae on her skin, to explain her story and tries to touch her face. The emotional labour involved in that single act is intense, resisting being touched, trying not to show anger and swear in a public place, fending off entitlement, washing away the overwhelming sense of being subject to something negative, and trying to not to disengage from the conversation already underway. An Indigenous student sits in a history tutorial, while her non Indigenous colleagues disrespect her Indigenous tutor and dispute everything the tutor is telling them about the subject matter. The emotional labour involved includes the conflicting loyalties and relationships that are at play, the need to protect and defend someone else from the onslaught of abuse and the need to escape a toxic situation. The only Indigenous person in the room with professional qualifications and experiences in the area being discussed is ignored and talked over until the specific issue relating to an Indigenous community is raised and everyone around the table looks to her to solve their apparent problem. The emotional labour in this situation is about being diminished, erased and silenced until the only speaking slot available to an Indigenous person opens up. Individuals can provide a myriad of examples that illustrate the idea of emotional labour when one is Indigenous. The Indigenous consultant who does not need to be paid for their expertise, the Indigenous professional who has to train her colleagues without any recognition, the Indigenous cultural expert who has to perform ceremonies and is then denied promotion are just some everyday examples of emotional labour that occurs when working as an Indigenous scholar in an academic institution. Some scholars refer to the effect of this labour as racial battle fatigue.

In one week I observed my colleagues being asked randomly, while we were eating lunch, to quickly perform a ceremony for a stranger who walked in to the building looking for 'a Māori', then a media person wants them to comment on the latest racist rant of an irrelevant old white man as they prepare for a class, and a senior colleague from another discipline asks at the last minute for feedback on a piece they have written about Indigenous knowledge for a funding proposal. This is everyday life in the academy where Indigenous people work, and it involves emotional labour and results in stress, anxiety and reluctance to engage in other activities. We teach and mentor younger colleagues and students to identify the emotional costs of being Indigenous and to develop strategies that refocus where they want to put their energies and emotions. It is a major issue as Indigenous people are often motivated to help their own communities but are hindered by the sheer exhaustion of this hidden workload.

18. Listening to, feeling and learning from the land

> The future of humankind lies waiting for those who will come to understand their lives and take up responsibilities to all living things. Who will listen to the trees, the animals and birds, the voices of the places of the Land?
>
> (Vine Deloria, 2003)

> Ko au te awa. Ko te awa ko au – I am the river the river is me.
>
> (Saying of the peoples of the Whanganui River.)

The land and its waters are integral to many Indigenous philosophies and identities. The relationship between land, waters, trees, rocks, animals, birds, fish, insects and other things and humans is deeply embedded in language, stories, values, ethics and social institutions. This is a completely different concept than ascribing human characteristics on to animals and plants. It is not about humanizing the non-human but recognizing the agency of non-human entities for their own characteristics. Jo-Ann Archibald often uses stories of the trickster and transformer to illustrate and teach us about the role these entities have in helping and supporting humans to be human. This project is different from the project of learning to live in relation as it focuses our work on asking what it would mean in a modern context for society to take these ideas seriously by including them as the basis of constitutions, of law and of doing all public and corporate business? How does a modern colonial-based society learn to listen to the land and what are the processes through which the land can have a constitutional voice in decision making?

Recent examples from Aotearoa New Zealand point to legislation where a river and a national park have been awarded legal personhood as the result of a Treaty of Waitangi settlement. The legislation recognizes the Wanganui River Te Awa Tupua as an indivisible and living whole including all its tributaries, streams, lakes and wetlands. The river has all the rights, powers duties and liabilities of a legal person. A human guardian Te Pou Tupua has been appointed to provide the human face and voice for the river. The guardian is represented by two people, one appointed by the Crown/government and one by the Whanganui *iwi*/collectives. Everyone from now on needs to seek the advice and permission of the river to interact with the river. This may involve altering water flow, putting up a new dam, drawing water from the river or altering the flow of its tributaries. Listening to the land is about respecting the agency of the land and the integrity of the environment.

19. Counting what matters and discounting what does not matter

Running through many of the projects is a separate counting project, a project that counts what matters, an Indigenous accounting of what matters, a project that keeps count and that actively discounts what does not matter. This is not simply about running surveys and questionnaires. It is about understanding that numbers exist and have meaning in relation to each other and to social reality. Numbers can represent and speak for the disappeared and the murdered, the absent and denied, the loss and the lost. Numbers can disappear Indigenous peoples so they do not count or so that they count less. Numbers have been used to count blood quantum as a form of cultural assimilation and blood quantum as an identity of 'belonging' to a specific Indigenous group They can tell us about the distance our ancestors have travelled and the distance between what it means to have and to have not. Numbers tell us about colonial privilege and power. Indigenous cultures also counted and have mathematical concepts that helped them count what mattered. Diane M. Nelson's (2015) book, *Who Counts? The Mathematics of Death and Life after Genocide* talks about the power of Maya mathematics as its own unique epistemology of mathematics and Mayan culture and the power of counting the dead in Guatemala after Genocide. She tells a story of the revitalization of Mayan culture including mathematics and the expression of that mathematics while searching for the disappeared and murdered.

Other researchers in quite different contexts are documenting the sick and the dying as they systematically scrutinize what sits within the shadows of official health statistics. They are looking to count what has not been counted such as the ethnicity of those who get denied treatment and using their work to discount what has been counted such as the ethnicity of those who get better access to tertiary or specialist levels of care. Counting matters as a way to collect data but matters more if the social meanings of numbers tell the story of racism and injustice rather than the story of white privilege. In this respect, Māori health researchers and allies have spent several years systematically documenting and counting and delineating the structure of racism in the New Zealand public health system.

What counts matters in new technology through the dominance of algorithms as the authentic representation of the natural and real order of things. Algorithms are numbers and formulae that have been deemed to matter. They use data as if data is innocent, neutral and free of bias. In her book Algorithms of Oppression, Safiya Nobel, who analyses search

engines, argues that negative biases founded in racist discourse and assumptions are embedded in algorithms which lead to exclusion and marginalization of women of colour. Ariadna Matamoros-Fernandez (2017) uses the term 'platformed racism' to analyse the way Indigenous Australian Football League star Adam Goodes was 'entangled' by social media in racist abuse. She argues that the platforms function as tools that 'amplify and manufacture racists discourse' and operate through a loose mode of governance and accountability that can cause harm to communities.

20. Co-producing Indigenous knowledge with science and other Western disciplines

This is an interesting and yet contentious development where science and other disciplines on the one hand work with Indigenous knowledge, such as the work undertaken in the long-established field known as Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), and, on the other hand, where sciences and other disciplines work to support the revitalization of Indigenous knowledge. Both approaches raise concerns about the ethics and methods of working with diverse knowledges. Some disciplines have used their knowledge in this area to exercise what Daryle Rigney (2010) refers to as a 'disproportionate influence on race relations' and on the discourses used by society to talk about Indigenous people so that they perform the colonial role of 'Protector of the Aborigines'. Other drivers such as research assessments and performance measures can also influence engagement with Indigenous knowledge, either as a powerful motivator for non-Indigenous researchers or as a career barrier for Indigenous researchers.

Science and technology studies use the concept of co-production as a way to include diverse forms of knowledge such as clinical and practitioner knowledge, governance or citizen knowledge and, in some areas, although not guaranteed, Indigenous knowledge. The contentious aspects of this approach are fourfold; firstly, the unequal relations of power in which Indigenous knowledge is positioned; secondly, the inherent tendency for traditional disciplines to exploit and appropriate; thirdly, the risk that Western disciplines simply cause mayhem to Indigenous knowledge; and finally, the long-held pattern of disrespect for Indigenous people and communities. Many people in power don't like their Indigenous neighbours; in fact, they have a history of hating them. Co-production in this context is simply another word

for 'consultation' which is another of those 'dirty' words for Indigenous communities.

Working with Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous knowledge holders, using Indigenous and other relevant approaches and methods, and working explicitly to nurture Indigenous knowledge and empower Indigenous communities, can lead to highly productive and creative research relationships. Indigenous methodologies such as storywork are inherently co-produced knowledge even if the researcher removes their own footprint from the story. There are a number of research teams working in collaboration with communities across the world and focusing on diverse subject areas from Indigenous governance to climate change, healing from intergenerational trauma to Indigenous food sovereignty. There are international projects involving newly awakened forms of Indigenous to Indigenous collaborations and multi-Indigenous research teams working on common areas.

Maia's poems

These are the poems of a young woman. Maia is her chosen pseudonym. Maia wrote these poems during her long incarceration. She gives these poems as a koha/gift to the author of this book and to its readers.

Caged Bird

A time to be caged and a time to be numb
Her beauty in songs unheard of by some
A cry of joy? Or purely from pain
She'll wake up and sing again
No doubt of how her voice will be heard
Whether she sings or shouts she is still a caged bird
Sung with volume as days pass her by
But how will she know what is beyond the sky?
Is it to be happy why the caged bird sings?
Unaware of what her life may bring
Or is it a greater power that locks her cage
Someone with fury or someone with rage
…
The joys of the songs of freedom and flying

Are caged in sorrow and belong in dying
Soft warmth of sun, born in mists of rain
Sung herself to sleep to try to hide her pain
…
Now I know why I sang and what pulled me through
I questioned the system but they had not a clue
Coz deep in mai heart it had a beat
The wind blew hard but I got back on mai feet
I can sing through the pain and all that they dealt
I would rather be caged than to have never have felt
Then the cage grew old and fell apart
It gave me a journey – a journey of heart

This poem was written by Maia on listening to Maya Angelou's poem of the same name. Here there is the realization of her resilience in spite of a system that ensured that she would understand confinement well before her first actual experience of incarceration. A recognition that hers was a life characterized by violence and enforced borders and where the state was an intimate other and often a perpetrator of harm (see E. Stanley, 2016).

Chances

Maybe chances were never chanced
And life never breathed me
Maybe everyone gave up on me
And the devil came and claimed me
Maybe failure was inevitable and
The inevitable never failed me
Maybe love hated me and hate
Really loved me
Maybe family were associates
And associates were my family
Maybe the dark seemed to bring me light
And the light brought me under
Maybe captivity captured me
And my life really eluded me

Maybe I can't give up as
That means I'm letting the system win

Maybe time and time again I fail
And fail time and time again

Maybe chances were never chanced
And life never breathed me

Maia

Broken Innocence

Your freedom captured
        Life already edited…
Everyday standards
        Imperfections are inherited…
Forced to do wrong
        This place holds much guilt
No greater testament
        To what the white man built

Set routine, you either do
        Or cry
                Or die
Often look up at the big man
        But only see the sky…

Freedom holds questions of
        Life and dignity…
Slowly reliant on given answers
        To ease our insanity…
Broken innocence
        Systems all up in my face…
Still thoughts of freedom
        Makes my heart pace
My world, my inner worth
        Filled with hidden hate

Freedom they say
        Comes from within
        Yet your whole life
Is wearing dangerously thin

        I conquer my life
                Only to be caged

I wish I could say I am no longer fazed
Petrified and deluded
        Another broken plan
I've come so far
        From no-one giving a damn.

Maia

Untitled

Late night
I'm scared to close my eyes
Or even rest my head
I'm tossing and turning
Up and down my bed
My mind won't calm down
My body feels frenetic
What's going on with me
This is just pathetic
My hand won't stop writing
I just found myself on the floor
I'm sure I just heard the screw
Check the lock on my door
It's so silent out there
Is everybody dreaming?
I thought I heard a bird chirp
Is it no longer evening?
What's the time? 3.28am
And I'm still awake
My mind is slowly giving up all it can take
Could I be dreaming? No
My eyes are open wide
I can't even stop to put my pen and paper aside.
My hand is sore
My back feels broken and bruised
Yet I'm still not sleeping
leaving
Me feeling lost and abused
I'm scared to close my eyes
But now I feel drained
God, I looked out my window and noticed
It just rained

Well I am going to finish whatever this is and close my eyes,
Maybe just maybe my mind will now close
After multiple tries

Maia

Free
I don't have to be under lock and key
To be somewhere I don't want to be
I don't have to be loud to be heard
To feel free
    I am not your caged bird
Cause every time I sing
    I'm not your puppet on a string

Our incarceration

Is it the dark of me
    laid across generations?
Is it the name of me
    passed through complex histories?
Is it the loss of me
    wrought by those with manifest destiny?
Is it the shame of me
    created by their acts of tyranny?
To sit in these confines,
A cell
    Amongst cells,
Within the abject lie
        that being a prisoner is
            the nature of me.

Tracy McIntosh

This poem questions why wāhine Māori are disproportionately incarcerated in the prison system of New Zealand. It asks whether the answer to understanding collective incarceration can be found in responses to colonial, state and popular racist discourses or in the inter-generational transfer of inequalities through dual processes of deprivation and discrimination. It queries the state processes that seek to render whakapapa and cultural links as deviant through removal, dismissal, dislocation and alienation from our resources and distancing from our language, ritual and cultural practices. It interrogates the power

relations and processes of oppression that are part of the neo-colonial project. It illustrates the necessity of knowing why we are where we are. What are the trajectories that lead to lives of privilege or to lives of profound precarity?

Then the dispossessed
Disappear
Behind the wire
Concentrated as one blemished body
Where the truth of that dispossession is
Destroyed
Till only the crim remains

Tracy McIntosh

Chapter 10

Responding to the Imperatives of an Indigenous Agenda

A Case Study of Māori

The following two chapters represent a case study of one Indigenous development, which demonstrates how many of the issues raised in the previous chapters come together. This chapter discusses the beginnings of a different type of involvement in research by Māori. Rather than accept the position either of 'victim' or of 'object', Māori people voiced resistance to research from the late 1960s and began to pose their own research questions. There were three incentives for this shift in approach to research: (1) the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal;[1]; (2) the development of a language revitalization movement known as Te Kohanga Reo; and (3) the spaces opened up in the social sciences by more critical and reflexive approaches to research. This chapter tracks the transition from Māori as the researched to Māori as the researcher. Although this transition has occurred in the last 20 years, it would be wrong to claim either an overall change in attitudes by Māori to research or a steady progression of changes. The intersecting spaces opened up by the development of research for the Waitangi Tribunal, the new enthusiasm shown for Te Kohanga Reo, and the critique of positivist research by feminist and critical theorists created a set of conditions from which culturally sensitive approaches to research were developed, and from which a more sympathetic Māori approach started to emerge.

There are three distinct parts to this chapter. The first part examines the creation of a set of more favourable conditions for research involving Māori. There is a brief discussion of the spaces opened up through feminist and critical critiques of positivism, followed by a consideration of the impact of the Waitangi Tribunal and Te Kohanga Reo on setting the scene for establishing Māori research priorities. The second part of the chapter picks up on issues related to research of Māori and to the ways in which research has been employed and/or represented as 'truth'. In this second part there is also a very brief discussion of alternative

Māori claims about knowledge and research that intersect with the assumption that research extends knowledge. The question that begins the second part asks, 'Whose knowledge has been extended by research?' This then leads into some general issues that relate to Māori views about knowing. The third part of the chapter examines the parameters of 'culturally sensitive research', which is still essentially a Western research model. This part ends with a brief discussion of the limits of the model in relation to non-Indigenous research of Māori.

Western Critiques of Western Research

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Western cultural archive contained within it several traditions of knowledge and rules of practice for engaging in debates over knowledge. These rules enabled systems or methods of self-critique. The notion of research as an objective, value-free and scientific process for observing and making sense of human realities is taken for granted by many social scientists. Philosophers of science refer to this attitude as 'positivism'. Differences in approach to research, however, have been the subject of continuous debate, as those engaged in attempts to understand human society grapple with the problematic nature of social science inquiry. Within the social sciences there have been a number of disputes over method, meanings and what constitutes 'good' research. Method is important because it is regarded as the way in which knowledge is acquired or discovered and as a way in which we can 'know' what is real. Each academic discipline is attached not just to a set of ideas about knowledge, but also to methodologies. Disputes over method occur both within and across disciplines. This is not surprising, considering that all academic disciplines, as defined by the West, are derived from shared philosophical foundations. Some disputes, however, have 'raged' within the scientific world and have contributed to major schisms in theoretical positions.[2] At one level, this debate has been concerned primarily with issues related to methodology and method. These issues focus upon the appropriateness of research design and analysis. Definitions of validity and reliability are of critical importance here as researchers attempt to construct and perfect scientific instruments for observing and explaining human behaviour and the human condition. At a broader level, however, the debate has been concerned with the wider aims and role of research. Social science fields of inquiry are dependent on the way society is viewed, and the body of knowledge which legitimates that viewpoint.

The dispute at this level is over the validity of scientific methods within the positivist paradigm, and whether this is an appropriate paradigm for understanding human society.

It was not really until the 1960s that critical theory took hold as a theory for research, although the death camps of Nazi Germany were seen by critics of positivism as demonstrating the ultimate irrationality of science and of modernity.[3] By the 1960s fundamental questions about knowledge and power were being articulated not just through academic discourse but through social movements such as the civil rights movement, the Anti-Vietnam War movement, the second wave of feminism and widespread student unrest culminating for many observers in the student riots in Paris in 1968. In the 1960s and 1970s other mobilizing social events also took place for Indigenous peoples. Protests over the Treaty of Waitangi, Bastion Point, land marches, tent embassies, sit-ins and petitions were the key events for Māori.[4] These events were reflected in other parts of the Indigenous world. It is at this point that the questions asked by critical theory were also being asked by people on the ground. These people were Indigenous activists rather than Marxists, but were asking similar sorts of questions about the connections between power and research. Such questions were based on a sense of outrage and injustice over the failure of education, democracy and research to deliver social change for people who were oppressed. These questions related to the relationship between knowledge and power, between research and emancipation, and between lived reality and imposed ideals about the Other.

During this period social theory shifted and, in the global arena of scholarship, Marxist theorists challenged the liberal theories of modernization and development which had determined how the imperial world dealt with its former colonies. Gunder Frank and others working in the South American and African contexts re-examined ideas of development and suggested that there was a causal relationship between First World economic policies and Third World underdevelopment. In education, Marxist researchers also drew attention to the structural relationship between society and schooling, with schools viewed as agencies which systematically reproduce social inequalities.[5] The links between imperialism, education and development were drawn by theorists such as Martin Carnoy.[6] These views have been criticized for their heavy emphasis on deterministic models of analysis and denial of culture as a mediating force. The central question of power and emancipation raised by Marxist theorists did connect, however, with the radical aspirations of a number of

Indigenous communities and former colonies that were struggling for self-determination.

The Challenges of Feminist Analyses

The debate over positivism, which emerged from European academic tradition, has been continued in the Anglo-American world by feminist and other radical critiques of the positivist position. While Marxism provided a powerful counter to liberal thought in the first part of the twentieth century,[7] in the latter part of the century the second wave of feminism may have been far more important in its challenge to the epistemological foundations of Western philosophy, academic practice and research. 'Old' philosophical themes about human nature, patriarchal accounts of the past, and rules of practice taken for granted within the academy have been rigorously scrutinized and reformed by feminist theorists working across a wide range of disciplines and from a wide spectrum of philosophical orientations. Each field of study has been subject to a critique from feminist theorists.[8]

One of the more significant challenges to white feminism has come from women variously described as 'women of colour', 'Third World women', 'black women' and 'Indigenous women'. These groups of women challenged the assumptions of the Western/white women's movement that all women shared some universal characteristics and suffered from universal oppressions which could be understood and described by a group of predominantly white, Western-trained women academics. The problems of 'voice' and 'visibility', 'silence' and 'invisibility' became important concerns at a concrete level, as women attended international conferences and attempted to develop international policies related to women's rights, population control, development and justice. For women interested in research and its emancipatory potential, there was considerable work to be done in terms of undoing or deconstructing the dominant paradigms by which most scientific research was bounded, and connecting the research enterprise to feminism and to a social reality with which feminism connects.[9] This has involved critique, the development of new methodologies, and the possibility of alternative ways of knowing or epistemologies.[10]

Part of the feminist critique has addressed the field of critical theory. This critique has two aspects. First, it points to the failure of critical theory to deliver emancipation for oppressed groups.[11] The second aspect highlights the failure of critical theorists who belonged to the

academy of scientists to recognize their own patriarchal practices, which continued to marginalize and silence women academics. This challenge has focused on the notion of reflexivity in research, a process of critical self-awareness, reflexivity and openness to challenge. Feminist scholarship has slowly moved into the academy and, in the area of research in particular, feminist methodologies are widely accepted as having legitimacy as method and as breaking new ground in terms of research and scholarship.

Patti Lather has referred to this new ground research as post-positivism, a term which comes out of poststructuralist and postmodern approaches to knowledge.[12] Lather outlines some of these approaches in Table 10.1, with categories drawn partly from Habermas's categories of prediction, understanding and emancipation, and her own addition of deconstruction.[13] This chart is useful because it sets out the different names by which various critiques of positivist science are known. These 'labels' are frequently used to describe different approaches to non-positivist research. What is significantly absent are the organic and Indigenous approaches to research, which have led to the development of a world Indigenous movement and to major constitutional claims on Western states by Indigenous peoples. Such approaches to research are often regarded as deriving from Freirian approaches, which are seen to be 'Western'. As will be argued later, the possibility that approaches can be generated from very different value systems and world views are denied even within the emancipatory paradigm of 'post-positivism'.

The work being carried out by Western feminists has been countered by the work of black women and other 'women with labels'. In fact, the very labelling of women demonstrates the pluralism within the feminist world, and the multiple directions from which feminist theory has emerged and to which it may be heading. These Other/ed women

Table 10.1 Post-positivist Inquiry

Predict	Understand	Emancipate	Deconstruct
positivism	interpretative naturalistic constructivist phenomenological hermeneutic	critical neoMarxist feminist praxis-oriented educative Freirian participatory action research	poststructural postmodern post-paradigm diaspora

Source: P. Lather, *Getting Smart, Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/in the Postmodern*, Routledge, New York, 1991.

have argued that oppression takes different forms, and that there are interlocking relationships between race, gender and class which make oppression a complex sociological and psychological condition. Many have argued that this condition cannot be understood or analysed by outsiders or people who have not experienced, and who have not been born into, this way of life. Patricia Hill Collins has argued that 'while Black feminist thought may be recorded by others, it is produced by Black women'.[14] Further, she argues that 'Black women possess a unique standpoint on, or perspective of, their experiences … [and] … while living life as Black women may produce certain commonalities of outlook, the diversity of class, region, age, and sexual orientation shaping Black women's lives has resulted in different expressions of these common themes.'[15] This position intersects with Māori attitudes to research, and the writings of African American women in particular have been useful for Māori women in legitimating, with literature, what Māori women have experienced.

The Waitangi Tribunal and Te Kohanga Reo

The significance of the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in New Zealand in 1975, in relation to research, was that it gave a very concrete focus for recovering and/or representing Māori versions of colonial history, and for situating the impact of colonialism in Māori world views and value systems. Struggles over land issues had been ongoing since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Māori chiefs and representatives of the British Crown in 1840 and the consequent process of land alienation was facilitated through the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865.[16] Successive governments and local authorities had imposed a series of laws and regulations, which were designed to alienate Māori land from Māori people.[17] This approach continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s with what has been called a 'use it or lose it' philosophy.[18] The 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act gave limited powers to the Tribunal, which could not hear land claims that went back to 1840. Although most of the land subject to Māori discontent had been taken prior to 1975, a forum through which Māori could legitimately voice concerns was regarded positively.

The Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 broadened the scope of the Tribunal, and it is from this period that *iwi*/tribes started quite seriously to develop their own research programmes.[19] The research priorities were determined by the nature of the claim being made

and driven by the sense of injustice felt by the *iwi* concerned. There were few Māori people skilled in research and many of those available to do the work were unemployed or retired. Other tribal research programmes were reliant on one skilled researcher and many young and enthusiastic trainees, some of whom had been unemployed or on job skills training programmes. Very few had university qualifications. In general these early programmes were carried out with limited funding and with few skilled researchers. This often told when the evidence was finally presented and a number of claims required further substantiation. The first level of research that needed to be done required archival work, familiarity with Land Court records, and oral histories. This was followed by another level of interpretative research, especially over contestable issues such as establishing prior ownership of lands or resources also being claimed by other *iwi* or contested by the Crown. In this process the Crown was not and is not neutral. After 1985 the state moved rapidly into economic reforms and the privatization of state assets. It was the contention of *iwi* that most of the state's assets had been built upon Māori lands. Privatization activities have continued unabated and the Crown's activities in relationship to the Tribunal are to subsume its importance and deal with what is politically acceptable.

Although at one level there was an impetus in terms of bringing cases against the Crown, there was a much broader desire by Māori communities to regain or hold on to Māori language and cultural knowledge. This desire and mood is what Te Kohanga Reo captured, and for which it provided a new and positive focus. While the claims to the Tribunal were being made on the basis of tribal interests, and even these were contested within tribes, the Te Kohanga Reo was built on the more fundamental unit of *whanau* or extended family. Te Kohanga Reo was represented and represented itself as 'the future'. As a national phenomenon, it did not depend on *iwi* structures for its credibility or financial support. Although some Te Kohanga Reo are clearly situated within tribes, their administrative centre is the National Te Kohanga Reo Trust, based in the capital city of Wellington. The two developments, therefore, the Waitangi Tribunal process and Te Kohanga Reo, were operating quite independently of each other and having an impact on communities in very different ways. Te Kohanga Reo, furthermore, discouraged research but encouraged autonomy amongst its individual units. A consequence of such autonomy is that there was space for *whanau* to solve problems for themselves, and this process generated a wide range of activities, one of which was information gathering. It was

also a process that committed parents to thinking far more seriously about education and the relationship between schooling and society.

Research as an Extension of Knowledge – Whose Knowledge?

The critique of positivism by feminist theorists, ethnic minorities and Indigenous peoples has emerged from the experience of people who have been studied, researched, written about, and defined by social scientists. It is from the position of being the researched that Māori, too, have resisted and then challenged social science research. This challenge has confronted both methodological issues and epistemological concerns: that is, both the techniques of research and the presuppositions about knowledge that underlie research. The criticisms raised by Māori people locate the theoretical debates of the wider world within a local New Zealand context.

Research is about satisfying a need to know, and a need to extend the boundaries of existing knowledge through a process of systematic inquiry. Rationality in the Western tradition enabled knowledge to be produced and articulated in a scientific and 'superior' way. As Europeans began to explore and colonize other parts of the world, notions of rationality and conceptualizations of knowledge became the 'convenient tool for dismissing from serious comparison with Western forms of thought those forms of "primitive" thought which were being encountered'.[20] As Salmond has argued, this view has led to 'European evaluations of Māori knowledge … [which] have characteristically been ideological'.[21] For Māori people, European conceptions of knowledge and of research have meant that, while being considered 'primitive', Māori society has provided fertile ground for research. The question of whose knowledge was being extended by research was of little consequence, as early ethnographers, educational researchers and occasional 'travellers' described, explained and recorded their accounts of various aspects of Māori society. Distortions of Māori social reality by ethnocentric researchers overly given to generalizations were initially apparent only to Māori people.[22] While this type of research was validated by 'scientific method' and 'colonial affirmation', it did little to extend the knowledge of Māori people. Instead, it left a foundation of ideologically laden data about Māori society, which has distorted notions of what it means to be Māori.

This in turn has trapped Māori people within a cultural definition which does not connect with either our oral traditions or our lived reality. Māori women, for example, are caught between the written accounts of

white male writers and the assertions of the few Māori women who are contesting those early accounts. For example, Elsdon Best says of his research among the Tuhoe tribe, 'As in most other barbaric lands, we find that women were looked upon here as being inferior to man.'[23] Compare that with what Rangimarie Rose Pere, herself a descendant of Tuhoe Potiki, has to say: 'As a female, I have been exposed to very positive female role models from both my natural parents' descent lines. The most senior men and women … made it quite clear from the legacy they left that men and women, adults and children, work alongside each other and together.'[24] The problem is not simply about redressing the past. Much of what was written about Māori people in the last century and in this century has become part of a body of common knowledge that is taken for granted. Hence the uphill task for Māori women seeking to reconstruct traditional roles is that they are having to challenge existing 'knowledge' which is primarily ideological or false. Consider the following three examples:

> 1 Culturally, the role of women was made clear in the account of their creation. The first woman was formed out of a mound of earth and impregnated by her male creator with a life spirit. From this, woman was regarded as being a passive receptacle for the dominant male spirit.[25]

There are three points which can be made in relation to this account. Firstly, Māori would claim that we were created by a *tipuna*, of 'god-like' status, who also impregnated most other living things on earth with 'life spirits'. The problem lies in the reduction of our creation myths to a story of 'man' and 'woman', like a Judaeo-Christian account of 'Adam and Eve'. The second problem with this interpretation lies with the concept of male and female 'spirits'. Humans as well as plants, animals, stones, carvings and other animate and inanimate objects (according to Western classifications) have a 'life force' or *mauri*. In many oral accounts both male and female 'essences' reside in that life force. While the life force in people and animals may be manifested in physically 'male' or 'female' characteristics, *mauri* is not itself gendered. The third problematic aspect of this quote is the concept of a 'passive receptacle'. There are enough examples in oral histories to demonstrate that women were always considered more than 'passive receptacles'.

> 2 In Māori attitudes towards a woman's place, there was, on the surface, little conflict with the Victorian espousal of a limited domestic sphere.[26]

The difficulties with this quote are its comparative appeal to Victorian attitudes and the concept of a 'limited domestic sphere'. The comparison is a dangerous one in two respects: it reduces and decontextualizes Māori values and practices on one hand (in order to make the comparison), and, secondly, it poses unproblematically the normative 'reality' of notions such as 'woman's place' and 'domestic spheres'.

> 3 [Māori] women suffered a social oppression typical of all societies that reject the fatherhood of God.[27]

The third quotation uses a single almighty generalization to justify a new form of colonialism (fundamentalist Christianity). No sources are acknowledged for this information and, in a sense, none are required, because it is posited as 'common sense'. This has been the danger of ethnocentric research paradigms.

The extracts above were not written by Māori but by people who were informed by the research and material that has been written and recorded by other non-Māori about Māori society. The effect of a process that tends to give greater legitimacy to written sources is that the most accessible material was not written by Māori. Therefore, the potential to reproduce colonizing ideologies and colonizing perspectives is always present. As argued by Merata Mita, however, 'paternalism doesn't work and as soon as we reject it we're the ones seen to be causing the "problem" when in fact the problem is created by whoever is looking through the microscope'.[28]

The Validity of Māori Knowledge

The reassertion of Māori aspirations and cultural practice that came about through Te Kohanga Reo, the Waitangi Tribunal and other forms of Māori activism has demonstrated a will by Māori people to make explicit claims about the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge. This will has been expressed through various educational and community programmes. Government policies on devolution and the retraction of state assets have also stimulated *iwi* to carry out research on their own behalf.[29] In many cases Māori organizations have been reluctant to allow research to be carried out until they have developed a sufficiently strong base.

When Cook arrived here in the eighteenth century, he found a thriving and complex society. Later voyagers and travellers, including

Christian missionaries, were fascinated and heartened that Māori concepts relating to cosmology and spirituality 'were so sophisticated'. Missionaries, for example, were reported to have had little difficulty in talking about spiritual concepts with Māori people.[30] Although later settlers saw little that was civilizing in Māori beliefs or practice, earlier visitors, including many missionaries, were appreciative of the breadth and sophistication of Māori epistemology. Because of the way Māori society was structured, because of its unique world view, and because of its strong oral tradition, knowledge itself was never held to be universally available. Māori society valued knowledge highly, to such an extent that certain types of knowledge were entrusted to only a few members of the *whanau*. Some knowledge was considered to be *tapu* and there were sanctions that ensured that it was protected, used appropriately, and transmitted with accuracy.

Māori have a highly developed story of how knowledge was gained. In one of our first 'research projects', Tane-nui-a-rangi, one of the children of the first parents (the sky father and the earth mother), journeyed to the twelfth 'universe' to gain knowledge.[31] Two points to emphasize in this story are that Tane-nui-a-rangi sought knowledge on behalf of everyone else, and, secondly, the knowledge he gained was differentiated into three separate baskets.[32] These baskets contained different types of knowledge. Knowledge was perceived as being highly specialized, but each aspect was essential to collective well-being. It was also perceived as being hierarchical. There was knowledge that all people needed to carry out their daily activities. It was acquired through observation, practice, and the guidance of *kaumatua*. Stories and proverbs show that sloppiness, laziness and the non-completion of tasks were not tolerated and earned retribution.

The whole process of colonization can be viewed as a stripping away of *mana* (our standing in the eyes of others and therefore in our own eyes), and an undermining of *rangatiratanga* (our ability and right to determine our destinies). Research is an important part of the colonization process because it is concerned with defining legitimate knowledge. In Māori communities today, there is a deep distrust and suspicion of research. This suspicion is not just of non-Indigenous researchers, but of the whole philosophy of research and the different sets of beliefs that underlie the research process. Even in very recent studies, this hostility or negative attitude to research in general has been noted.[33] Research methodology is based on the skill of matching the problem with an 'appropriate' set of investigative strategies. It is concerned with ensuring that information is accessed in such a way as

to guarantee validity and reliability. This requires having a theoretical understanding, either explicitly or implicitly, of the world, the problem, and the method. When studying how to go about doing research, it is very easy to overlook the realm of common sense, the basic beliefs that not only help people identify research problems that are relevant and worthy, but also accompany them throughout the research process. Researchers must go further than simply recognizing personal beliefs and assumptions, and the effect they have when interacting with people.[34] In a cross-cultural context, the questions that need to be asked are ones such as:

- Who defined the research problem?
- For whom is this study worthy and relevant? Who says so?
- What knowledge will the community gain from this study?
- What knowledge will the researcher gain from this study?
- What are some likely positive outcomes from this study?
- What are some possible negative outcomes?
- How can the negative outcomes be eliminated?
- To whom is the researcher accountable?
- What processes are in place to support the research, the researched and the researcher?

Moreover, it is also important to question that most fundamental belief of all, that individual researchers have an inherent right to knowledge and truth. We should not assume that they have been trained well enough to pursue it rigorously, nor to recognize it when they have 'discovered' it. An analysis of research into the lives of Māori people, from a Māori perspective, would seem to indicate that many researchers have not only not found 'truth' or new knowledge; rather, they have missed the point entirely, and, in some cases, drawn conclusions about Māori society from information that has only the most tenuous relationship to how Māori society operates.[35]

The social settings of the non-Indigenous world into which Māori people were compelled to move – such as the school, the health system, the welfare system, the justice system – have at the same time provided researchers with a point of entry into Māori society. Essentially, this has been crisis research, directed at explaining the causes of Māori failure and supposedly solving Māori problems. On the basis of research carried out on the sites of these encounters, researchers sometimes made huge inferential leaps and generalizations about how the rest of Māori society functioned, and which elements of this society were inhibiting

successful development.[36] To return to the story of Tane-nui-a-rangi and the three kinds of knowledge, these gifts were all essential to the survival and well-being of the group. Because knowledge was conceived from the beginning as being highly specialized, it had to be distributed among the members of the group. Individuals with specialist skills held them on behalf of the group. They were also dependent on other members of the group, with other types of knowledge, to carry out the various inter-dependent activities. When a researcher uses individual informants and interviews individuals in a one-to-one context, the resulting information may be a long way from the full picture. The connection of knowledge with *mana* could mean that an informant is not going to reveal too much, is not going to admit lack of knowledge but, conversely, is going to assert influence or a picture of dominance by what is revealed, and is going to give an individual view, from an individualist perspective, of group knowledge and activities. Although many people would argue that, under the influence of the colonial society, much of this tradition has been eroded, there is still a strong belief held by many Māori people that there is a uniquely 'Māori' way of looking at the world and learning. The growth of Te Kohanga Reo would seem to bear this out. The different ways in which knowledge is perceived by Indigenous and non-Indigenous is complicated further by the intersection with imperial power. They are not held to be equally valid or commensurate views of reality, let alone of research.

The colonization of Māori culture has threatened the maintenance of that knowledge and the transmission of knowledge that is 'exclusively' or particularly Māori. The dominance of Western, British culture and the history that underpins the relationship between Indigenous Māori and non-Indigenous Pakeha have made it extremely difficult for Māori forms of knowledge and learning to be accepted as legitimate. By asserting the validity of Māori knowledge, Māori people have reclaimed greater control over the research that is being carried out in the Māori field. 'Traditional' world views provide an historical example of the complexity of Māori beliefs and understandings of the world. They also provide ample examples of Māori efforts to seek knowledge, to organize it and to learn from it. It might be said that this historical knowledge is irrelevant in a contemporary context.[37] But from a Māori perspective, it is only as irrelevant as the thoughts of Western philosophers such as Plato or St Augustine, whose ideas have been of such central importance to Western epistemology. Māori knowledge represents the body of knowledge that, in today's society, can be extended, alongside that of existing Western knowledge.

Negotiating New Relationships with Non-Indigenous Researchers

An illustration of the widespread ethical abuses of research is to be found in the 1988 research scandal which occurred in New Zealand over the treatment, and more especially non-treatment, of cervical cancer at National Women's Hospital in the 1980s. Similar abuses of research have been recorded – the Tuskagee project in the United States, for example, which involved a black male prison population in a project on syphilis. In brief, women with early signs of pre-cancer who were examined at the hospital were assigned to one of two groups without their knowledge or consent. One of those groups received treatment. The research came to be conducted as an ongoing project incorporated into institutional practices, almost as official policy. When two feminist journalists reported the study, it produced a huge national outcry, which eventually became the focus of an official inquiry. The nature of the research under investigation by the inquiry challenged the ethics of researchers in a public and dramatic way.[38] It was a moment in which the dominant non-Indigenous society glimpsed some small part of a wider attitude and system of abuse by researchers with which Indigenous people have been only too familiar.

Although many researchers involved in social science may confidently assert that their research does not endanger lives, many lessons can be learned from such an inquiry. Although most researchers would believe sincerely that they wish to improve the conditions of their research participants, this has not always happened. Research projects are designed and carried out with little recognition accorded to the people who participated – 'the researched'. Indigenous people and other groups in society have frequently been portrayed as the powerless victims of research, which has attributed a variety of deficits or problems to just about everything they do. Years of research have frequently failed to improve the conditions of the people who are researched. This has led many Māori people to believe that researchers are simply intent on taking or 'stealing' knowledge in a non-reciprocal and often under-handed way. The Cartwright Inquiry motivated a more public discussion of research ethics. For Māori the inquiry simply reinforced an attitude of suspicion towards research, although it also provided space to negotiate research with non-Indigenous researchers much more explicitly. Researchers, for example, had to distance themselves from the experimental control research model used by the medical researchers under inquiry.

Research in itself is a powerful intervention, even if carried out at a distance, which has traditionally benefited the researcher, and the

knowledge base of the dominant group in society. When undertaking research, either across cultures or within a minority culture, it is critical that researchers recognize the power dynamic that is embedded in the relationship with their subjects. Researchers are in receipt of privileged information. They may interpret it within an overt theoretical framework, but also in terms of a covert ideological framework. They have the power to distort, to make invisible, to overlook, to exaggerate and to draw conclusions, based not on factual data, but on assumptions, hidden value judgements, and often downright misunderstandings. They have the potential to extend knowledge or to perpetuate ignorance.

Culturally sensitive approaches to research cover a wide range of attempts to take heed of the problems and issues that concern the people involved in the research. For Māori, this has involved efforts by researchers to inform the 'researched' about themselves in a way that respects people. The challenge by Māori (and other groups) to the research community, demanding that they 'keep out' of researching Māori people or Māori issues, has led to several different approaches and strategies for carrying out further research. It did not mean that academics simply took notice of Māori and stopped all research, but that they sought other ways of thinking about their projects and proceeded with far more caution when entering the domain of Māori concerns.[39] There were different ways 'around the problem'. In a previously published paper I listed some of the following strategies which characterize the shifts towards becoming more culturally sensitive.[40] These are:

1 the strategy of avoidance, whereby the researcher avoids dealing with the issues or with Māori;
2 the strategy of 'personal development', whereby the researchers prepare themselves by learning Māori language, attending *hui* and becoming more knowledgeable about Māori concerns;
3 the strategy of consultation with Māori, where efforts are made to seek support and consent;
4 the strategy of 'making space' where research organizations have recognized and attempted to bring more Māori researchers and 'voices' into their own organization.

In addition there is the strategy of partnership, whereby the organization recognizes the need to reflect partnership at governance level and embed it in all its policies and practices.

These strategies have various consequences, positive and negative, for the researchers and the researched. They all involve different ways

of making changes, although the first strategy of avoidance may not be helpful to anyone. In association with other shifts in social science theory and the development of feminist critiques of research, the move towards research that is more ethical, and concerned with outcomes as well as processes, has meant that those who choose to research with Māori people have more opportunities to think more carefully about what this undertaking may mean. This does not necessarily guarantee it, however.

Graham Smith has posited four models by which culturally appropriate research can be undertaken by non-Indigenous researchers.[41] The first model he refers to is the *tiaki* or mentoring model in which authoritative Māori people guide and sponsor the research. The second model Smith refers to is the *whangai* or adoption model.[42] The *whangai* model differs from the *tiaki* model in that the *whangai* researchers are incorporated into the daily life of Māori people, and sustain a lifelong relationship which extends far beyond the realms of research. Smith's third model is a 'power sharing model' where researchers 'seek the assistance of the community to meaningfully support the development of a research enterprise'. The fourth model Smith refers to as the 'empowering outcomes model', which addresses the sorts of questions Māori people want to know and which has beneficial outcomes.

All these models imply a culturally sensitive and empathetic approach, but go beyond that approach to address the issues that are going to make a difference for Māori. Russell Bishop critically discusses some of the problems associated generally with emancipatory research and empowering models of research.[43] As he has argued, espousing an emancipatory model of research has not of itself freed researchers from exercising intellectual arrogance or employing evangelical and paternalistic practices. This applies also to methods that appear to be qualitative or ethnographic. These approaches may sound more sensitive in the field, but often the assumptions behind the research focus and the translation into text can be just as problematic as other forms of research.

Another model of research is subsumed under the label of 'bicultural' or partnership research. Although Smith's four models could also be claimed as bicultural in some form, the latest interpretation of bicultural research involves both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers working on a research project and shaping that project together. Sometimes this involves non-Indigenous researchers taking responsibility for interviewing non-Indigenous participants, and Indigenous researchers interviewing Indigenous participants. In other

projects it involves a more complex structuring of a research programme, its design and methodology. Teariki and Spoonley write that research as a partnership involves working through a process that is inevitably political.[44] They argue that research needs to be carefully negotiated and that the outcomes of research need to be thought through before the research is undertaken.

Setting the Boundaries to Research by Non-Indigenous Researchers

All of the above models assume that Indigenous people are involved in the research in key and often senior roles. With very few trained Indigenous researchers available, one of the roles non-Indigenous researchers have needed to play is as mentors of Indigenous research assistants. Increasingly, however, there have been demands by Indigenous communities for research to be undertaken exclusively by Indigenous researchers. It is thought that Māori people need to take greater control over the questions they want to address, and invest more energy and commitment into the education and empowering of Māori people as researchers. Some organizations, for example, have made it very clear that research is 'off limits'. The best-known of these is the Te Kohanga Reo National Trust. This anti-research stance has applied to all researchers. Other kinds of limits also being set, as more Māori begin to work in the various fields of social science research. For example, many Māori now attend both national and international conferences and have been known to question and challenge the material of New Zealand academics on such occasions.[45] In education, there are increasing numbers of Māori academics, researchers, policy analysts and administrators who keep track of research on Māori, and who disseminate research results very quickly to the wider community. The more radical limits to non-Indigenous research, however, are being set by the developing field of Indigenous Māori research and the increasing numbers of Māori researchers in both the social sciences and physical sciences, and in the area of tribal histories and land claims. The development of new ways of thinking about Indigenous Māori research, and approaches to the way this research should be framed, have emerged in the last decade under the rubric of Kaupapa Māori research.

What I wanted to discuss in this chapter was the shift which occurred between Māori people being viewed as research objects and Māori people becoming our own researchers. This shift, I have argued,

was not simply an evolutionary development. It came about through other changes, some of which occurred within Māori cultural politics, some of which were brought about by state intervention, and some of which occurred through the spaces opened up within the field of social science. I have not addressed individual disciplinary methodologies or methods, but have kept the discussion at a broader level of social science. Clearly there were significant changes in approach, which developed out of ethnographic research and other qualitative methods.

And the warriors came

He spat his words of white resentment
repeated the lies of his parents
About her unworthiness
Her people's laziness
His people's generosity
Her people's ingratitude
His people's patience
Her people's filth
His people's burden
And her daring to act all proud and beautiful
He raised his hands to tear her clothes from her body
To smash her smile
Destroy her beauty
And the woman who was raped became a warrior

And the warriors came
And protected her damaged self

They smiled and talked life and business
To each other around the table,
Animated and authoritative,
Moving from social chit chat to policies and decisions
In command
In control
Until she talked
And they looked away
Swung their chairs
And drummed their pale fingers on the table
until she had finished
And then without missing a beat
They resumed where they had dropped off their previous conversation

As if she had not said a thing
It was like she had not raised her brown voice at all in that white room
But she noticed
And the successful executive became a warrior

And the warriors came
And brought her women ancestors to sing with her

He was just playing sport
Blessed with natural athleticism
This beautiful, brown boy
His instincts on fire
Reading his opponents movements
With easy confidence
He loved excelling
He felt confident
He was winning
His team was winning
He enjoyed the cheers from the sidelines
At first he thought he was mistaken
That he did not hear the words,
Black, or references
To his mother and sisters
But then he saw the red faces
Mouthing the words,
Full of hate,
He heard
And the young sportsman became a warrior

And the warriors came
And educated him

They were messing around
In the playground
Chasing each other
Down the slides and up the ladders
Through the tunnels
In and out
Daring each other to go
higher and faster,
In these early years they only knew
Whanau and other children
Who looked like them

and only little children could play
In the park
But these were big boys
Like adults, smoking and sitting
On the swings
"Fuck off you black little Māoris"
They said
"Go play on your own land"
They said
The children laughed at first,
Not understanding this funny language
And the little children became warriors

And the warriors came
And gave the children love

She came in on Monday night
with her sick baby and a toddler in his buggy
To the Accident and Emergency Department.
The waiting room was full,
Old people, Drunk people, Hurt people.
The receptionist glared at her.
But she sat waiting her turn
Her baby's little body was hot and sweaty, he had stopped crying
Just whimpered.
And she waited
And she waited
Till her baby stopped breathing
And his body went limp.
"You should have come in earlier"
The receptionist snapped
"I couldn't get a ride"
"That's no excuse, you people shouldn't have babies if you can't look after them."
And the young mother became a warrior.

And the warriors came
And wrapped her grief in love
And took her baby with them

He was born to lead
groomed to follow his father's path
Surrounded by elders,

Watching, learning, waiting
But not wanting the
Responsibility to lead
One night out with his mates
Changed all that
They were having
Boisterous fun
Involving alcohol
public property somewhat damaged
Or criminally destroyed according to police
His version of events dismissed
By police
As drunken Māori lies
Taunted and baited
All scared and bewildered
Additional charges for attempted assault on an officer and resisting arrest
First time offending
Cut no ice in this district
What started out as a night
With his mates
Was described by a judge
As the violent behaviour of an animal
and a prison term
And the young leader
Became a warrior

And the warriors came
And prepared him for war

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Notes

1 This was established through the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) to deal with claims by Māori that actions of the Crown from 1975 onwards had been prejudicial to them and had contravened the Treaty of Waitangi. This Act was amended by The Treaty of Waitangi Act (1985) which gave the Tribunal the right to hear cases which went back to 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi – in English and in its Māori version, Te Tiriti o Waitangi – was signed. The Tribunal was expanded from three members under the 1975 Act to several teams of members, who are hearing cases across the country.
2 Adorno, T. W. *et al.* (1976), *The Positivist Dispute in German Sociology,* tran. G. Adey and D. Frisby, Heinemann, London.

3 For a historical summary of critical theory in relation to education, see Blackledge, D. and B. Hunt (1985), *Sociological Interpretations of Education,* Croom Helm, London; Gibson, R. (1986), *Critical Theory and Education,* Hodder and Stoughton, London.
4 See Ranginui Walker's account of these events in Walker, R. (1990), *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End,* Penguin, Auckland.
5 Bowles, S. and H. Gintis (1976), *Schooling in Capitalist America,* Basic Books, United States.
6 Carnoy, M. (1974), *Education as Cultural Imperialism,* D. McKay Co., New York.
7 And is itself inextricably part of the modernist project.
8 Fonow, M. M. and J. A. Cook (1997), *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research,* Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
9 Stanley, L. and S. Wise (1993), *Breaking Out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology,* second edition, Routledge, London.
10 See, for example, Reinharz, S. (1992), *Feminist Methods in Social Research,* Oxford University Press, New York. Reinharz takes the reader through feminist methods for ethnography, survey research, experimental and cross-cultural research, oral histories, case studies and action research.
11 Ellsworth, E. (1989), 'Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy', *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 59, No. 3, pp. 297–324.
12 Lather, P. (1991), *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/in the Postmodern,* Routledge, New York.
13 *Ibid.,* pp. 6–7.
14 Collins, P. H. (1991), 'Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought', in *Beyond Methodology, Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research,* eds M. Fonow and J. A. Cook, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, p. 37.
15 *Ibid.,* p. 37.
16 The Treaty of Waitangi gave pre-emptive right to the Crown to purchase Māori land – that is, before any individuals or companies. This practice ceased under pressure from companies interested in settlement by British settlers.
17 According to Asher and Naulls, 'Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 the Māori tribal estates have declined from almost 27 million hectares to about 1.3 million. And what remains is often in the form of fragmented holdings with a multiplicity of owners, predominantly absentee.' For further background see Asher, G. and D. Naulls (1987), *Māori Land,* New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington, p. 46. Legislation which was used as a device to alienate the land included the Public Works Act 1908, which authorized the taking of European land for railways and roads, with rights of objection and compensation. No notice was required to take Māori land until the Native Land Act 1909, which authorized the Governor General to take Māori lands for railways and roads, with no compensation. See Temm, P. (1990), *The Waitangi*

Tribunal, Random Century, Auckland. There was a series of such acts of legislation which enabled the systematic seizing of land from its owners.

18 *Ibid.,* p. 47.

19 According to Margaret Mutu, for example, her *iwi* (Ngati Kahu) had started talking about doing their own research in the early 1980s but had no funding to help them. Their case had its first hearing in 1987 and in 1995 was still being heard. Personal communication.

20 Egan, K. (1987), 'Literacy and the Oral Foundations of Education', *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 57, No. 4, p. 446.

21 Salmond, A. (1985), 'Māori Epistemologies', in *Reason and Morality,* ed. J. Overing, Tavistock, London, p. 240.

22 Smith G. H. (1986), 'Nga Kete Wananga – Akonga Māori: Māori Teaching and Learning', Māori Studies Department, Auckland College of Education, Auckland.

23 Best, E. (1934), *The Māori as He Was,* Māori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington, p. 93.

24 Pere, R. (1988), 'Te Wheke: Whaia te Maramatanga me te Aroha', in *Women and Education in Aotearoa,* ed. S. Middleton, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, p. 9.

25 Heuer B. (1972), *Māori Women,* The Polynesian Society, A. H. and A. W. Reed, Wellington, p. 55.

26 Fry, R. (1985), *It's Different for Daughters: A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools 1900–1975,* New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, p. 156.

27 Drake, M. (1989), *The New Māori Myth,* Wycliffe Christian Schools, Auckland, p. 20.

28 Mita, M. (1989), 'Merata Mita On … ', *New Zealand Listener,* 14 October, p. 30.

29 Every claim to the Waitangi Tribunal requires substantial amounts of research by Māori. This research includes searching through Native Land Court records, archival research, written accounts of *whakapapa* (genealogies of tribes traced back to ancestors who arrived in Aotearoa by canoe and even further back to the creation of the universe), and the gathering of oral histories. In most cases this requires a team of researchers who have skills in Māori language, can find their way around legal documents, already have a sound historical understanding of the context, have the means to travel, are computer literate and can interpret different sorts of data.

30 In fact some, like Kendall, became very involved in discussions about Māori spirituality. See Binney, J. (1968), *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendal,* Oxford University Press, Auckland.

31 An English language account of one version of this story can be found in Buck, P. (1949), *The Coming of the Māori,* Māori Purposes Fund Board, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., Wellington, pp. 443–72. Buck identifies the 'baskets of knowledge' as *kete uruuru matua* (peace and goodness), *kete uruuru rangi* (prayers and incantations) and *kete uruuru tau* or *tawhite* (war, agriculture, woodwork), p. 449. Another account is to be found in

the manuscript by Te Matorohanga which was translated by Percy Smith as Smith, P. (1913), *The Lore of the Whare Wananga,* Polynesian Society, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, New Zealand.

32 As well as three kinds of knowledge, Tane-nui-a-rangi also collected two *mauri* stones, Te Hukatai and Te Rehutai.

33 Teariki, C. and P. Spoonley (1992), *Te Whakapakari Te Mana Tangata – The Politics and Process of Research for Māori,* Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

34 Which is the point at which some definitions of reflexivity actually stop.

35 Which is the point made by Toby Curtis. Curtis, T. (1983), 'A Māori Viewpoint Related to Research in Education in Māori Education', republished in *The Issue of Research and Māori,* Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland, Auckland.

36 See for example, Beaglehole, E. and P. Beaglehole (1948), *Some Modern Māoris,* New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington.

37 In fact, it is frequently said in letters to the newspapers that Māori knowledge, if such a thing can be said to exist, is irrelevant, heathen, backwards and wrong.

38 See for example, Coney, S. (1988), *The Unfortunate Experiment,* Penguin, Auckland. According to Coney, when this experiment was approved the ethical obligations were still framed by the Helsinki Agreement (1964, 1975, 1983) which developed in response to the clinical trials of Nazi doctors in concentration camps.

39 This is a very positive gloss as there are many anecdotal examples of researchers who just carried on with little regard for Māori concerns.

40 Smith, L. T. (1989), 'On Being Culturally Sensitive: The Art of Gathering and Eating Kina Without Pricking Yourself on the Finger', keynote address to the New Zealand Psychological Society Annual Conference, University of Auckland. Reprinted in *The Issue of Research and Māori,* Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland. A *kina* is a sea urchin, very prickly on the outside and not very attractive on the inside, except to those of us who regard them as a summer delicacy.

41 Smith, G. H. (1992), 'Research Issues Related to Māori Education', in *The Issue of Research and Māori,* Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland, Auckland.

42 Both terms, *tiaki* and *whangai,* define types of relationships which are considered positive and appropriate under certain constraints.

43 Bishop, R. (1994), 'Initiating Empowering Research?', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 175–88.

44 Teariki and Spoonley, *Te Whakapakari.*

45 They will also challenge academics from other countries, especially if it is thought that they have ignored the situation of Indigenous people in their own countries or, worse, misrepresented them.

Chapter 11

Towards Developing Indigenous Methodologies

Kaupapa Māori Research

What happens to research when the researched become the researchers? As mentioned in previous chapters, research of Māori is marked by a history that has shaped the attitudes and feelings Māori people have held towards research. Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories that have dehumanized Māori and in practices that have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture. We have also mentioned the general impact of Western research on Māori attitudes towards theory and academic knowledge – attitudes that have led some Māori at least in the direction of rejecting *all* theory and *all* research. One of the challenges for Māori researchers working in this context has been to retrieve some space – first, some space to convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori; second, to convince the various, fragmented but powerful research communities of the need for greater Māori involvement in research; and third, to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research that take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current approaches. What is now referred to as Kaupapa Māori approaches to research, or simply as Kaupapa Māori research, is an attempt to retrieve that space and to achieve those general aims. This naming of research has provided a focus through which Māori people, as communities of the researched and as new communities of the researchers, have been able to engage in a dialogue about setting new directions for the priorities, policies, and practices of research for, by and with Māori. Similar approaches to engage with research on Indigenous terms have been developed in

other contexts. Indigenist research is a term frequently used to name these approaches.

This chapter begins by discussing the ways in which Kaupapa Māori research has become a way of structuring assumptions, values, concepts, orientations and priorities in research.[1]

Research by Māori

At the outset it needs stating that not all those who write about or talk about Kaupapa Māori are involved in research. Kaupapa Māori has been applied across a wide range of projects and enterprises. Furthermore, not all Māori researchers would regard either themselves, or their research, as fitting within a Kaupapa Māori framework. There are elements within the definitions of Kaupapa Māori which serve the purpose of selecting what counts and what does not count. One can ask, for example, 'Can a Māori researcher who is anti-Māori carry out Kaupapa Māori research?' The answer, based on current definitions, is 'Definitely not.' Another question is less easy to answer: 'Can a non-Indigenous researcher carry out Kaupapa Māori research?' The answer on current definitions is more complex. Perhaps it might read, 'A non-Indigenous, non-Māori person can be involved in Kaupapa Māori research, but not on their own; and if they were involved in such research, they would have ways of positioning themselves as a non-Indigenous person.' Or the more radical rejoinder might be, 'By definition, no: Kaupapa Māori research is Māori research exclusively.' From these two questions and answers, then, it is possible to say something more about what Kaupapa Māori research is, and what it is not.

Kathy Irwin characterizes Kaupapa Māori as research that is 'culturally safe'; that involves the 'mentorship' of elders; that is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research; and that is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori.[2] This statement implies that other forms of research – such as culturally sensitive models – have not been satisfactory at the level of cultural safety. Irwin also grounds her work in 'a paradigm that stems from a Māori worldview'.[3] Russell Bishop writes that Kaupapa Māori 'addresses the prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority which pervade our social, economic and political institutions'.[4] Bishop's model is framed by the discourses related to the Treaty of Waitangi and by the development within education of Māori initiatives that are 'controlled' by Māori. By framing Kaupapa Māori within the Treaty of Waitangi,

Bishop leaves space for the involvement of non-Indigenous researchers in support of Māori research. He argues that non-Indigenous people, generally speaking, have an obligation to support Māori research (as Treaty partners). And, secondly, some non-Indigenous researchers, who have a genuine desire to support the cause of Māori, ought to be included, because they can be useful allies and colleagues in research. The issue of 'control' is linked, in Bishop's argument, with the goal of empowerment: 'In the context of research, empowerment means that Māori people should regain control of investigations into Māori people's lives.'[5] Bishop also argues that Kaupapa Māori research is located within an alternative conception of the world from which solutions and cultural aspirations can be generated. This alternative conception draws on an alternative code. Both Irwin and Bishop argue for the importance of the concept of *whanau* as a supervisory and organizational structure for handling research. Bishop refers to this as a 'research *whanau* of interest'. Irwin refers to a '*whanau* of supervisors'. For both Bishop and Irwin, the *whanau* provides the intersection where research meets Māori, or Māori meets research, on equalizing terms. From these comments it is clear that under the rubric of Kaupapa Māori research different sets of ideas and issues are being claimed as important. Some of these intersect at different points with research as an activity. Some of these features are framed as assumptions, some as practices and methods, and some are related to Māori conceptions of knowledge.

Graham Smith, who has written extensively about Kaupapa Māori initiatives, summarizes these by saying that Kaupapa Māori research:

1. is related to 'being Māori';
2. is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
3. takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
4. is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being'.[6]

Smith locates Kaupapa Māori research within the wider project of Māori struggles for self-determination, and draws from this project a set of elements which, he argues, can be found in all the different projects associated with Kaupapa Māori. The general significance of these principles, however, is that they have evolved from within many of the well-tried practices of Māori as well as being tied to a clear and coherent rationale.[7]

A Local Approach to Critical Theory

Most discussion about Kaupapa Māori is also located in relation to critical theory, in particular to the notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation. The previous chapter, for example, situates Māori research within the anti-positivist debate raised by critical theory. Pihama suggests that,

> intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities. Kaupapa Māori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide *ad hoc* justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori people.[8]

Bishop goes further to suggest that critical approaches to research have in fact 'failed' to address the issues of communities such as Māori, and that the development of alternative approaches by Māori reflects a form of resistance to critical theory. Bishop makes this point in the context of the debate between Ellsworth and Giroux about the failure of critical pedagogy in relation to its emancipatory goals.[9]

Smith, however, argues that Kaupapa Māori is a 'local' theoretical positioning which is the modality through which the emancipatory goal of critical theory, in a specific historical, political and social context, is practised. This 'localizing' of the aims of critical theory is partly an enactment of what critical theory actually 'offered' to oppressed, marginalized and silenced groups. The project of critical theory held out the possibility that, through emancipation, groups such as Māori would take greater control over their own lives and humanity. This necessarily implied that groups would take hold of the project of emancipation and attempt to make it a reality in their own terms. Whilst Western academics may quibble about the success or failure of the emancipatory project, and question the idealism that lies behind it, there is a tendency to be overly 'precious' about 'their' project as a universal recipe that has to be followed 'to the letter' if it is to be effective. Furthermore, this stance assumes that oppression has universal characteristics independent of history, context and agency. At the level of abstraction, this is what has to be argued in a sense, but it can never be so on the ground. There is also a naivety about the real-life 'dirtiness' of political

projects, or what Fanon and other anti-colonial writers would regard as the violence entailed in struggles for freedom. The end result cannot be predetermined. The means to the end involve human agency in ways that are complex and contradictory. The notion of strategic positioning as a deliberate practice is partially an attempt to contain the unevenness and unpredictability, under stress, of people engaged in emancipatory struggles. The broader vision of Kaupapa Māori embraces that sense of strategic positioning, of being able to plan, predict and contain, across a number of sites, the engagement in struggle.

Another dimension of Kaupapa Māori research is to be found clustered around issues of identity. Bishop, Irwin, Pihama and Smith have all argued that being Māori, identifying as Māori and as a Māori researcher, is a critical element of Kaupapa Māori research. Whilst this position is anti-positivist, in that it is also saying that we look at the world through our grounding in Māori world views, most Māori researchers would also argue that being Māori does not preclude us from being systematic, being ethical, being 'scientific' in the way we approach a research problem.[10] This positioning of researchers and the views they bring to research has been well argued in terms of feminist research. Feminist research maintains its focus on issues of gender (not just of women), but has moved away from the idea that only women can carry out feminist research to one that is less essentialist.[11] Kaupapa Māori research, as currently framed, would argue that being Māori is an essential criterion for carrying out Kaupapa Māori research. At the same time, however, some writers suggest that we exercise restraint in becoming too involved in identity politics because of the potential these politics have for paralysing development.[12] This position is based on the specificities of our history and our politics. This does not, however, preclude those who are not Māori from participating in research that has a Kaupapa Māori orientation.[13]

This latter point connects with the concept of *whanau*, as raised earlier, as a way of organizing research. The *whanau* principle is one identified by Smith as an important aspect of Kaupapa Māori approaches. All Māori initiatives have attempted to organize the basic decision making and participation within and around the concept of *whanau*. It is argued that the *whanau*, in pre-colonial times, was the core social unit, rather than the individual. It is also argued that the *whanau* remains as a persistent way of living and organizing the social world. In terms of research, the *whanau* is one of several Māori concepts that have become part of a methodology, a way of organizing a research group, a way of incorporating ethical procedures that report back to

the community, a way of 'giving voice' to the different sections of Māori communities, and a way of debating ideas and issues that impact on the research project. It also has a very pragmatic function, in that the *whanau* is a way of distributing tasks, of incorporating people with particular expertise, and of keeping Māori values central to the project. It would be at this level, for example, that non-Indigenous people can be involved. The *whanau* then can be a very specific modality through which research is shaped and carried out, analysed and disseminated.

Whanau is one of several aspects of Māori philosophy, values and practices which are brought to the centre in Kaupapa Māori research. Tuakana Nepe argues that Kaupapa Māori is derived from very different epistemological and metaphysical foundations and it is these that give Kaupapa Māori its distinctiveness from Western philosophies.[14] In other words, there is more to Kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires for self-determination. We have a different epistemological tradition, one which frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions that we seek. It is larger than the individuals in it and the specific 'moment' in which we are currently living. The significance of Kaupapa Māori for Māori language is tied to the connection between language, knowledge and culture. According to Sir James Henare, one of the architects of Te Kohanga Reo, 'The language is like a cloak which clothes, envelops, and adorns the myriad of one's thoughts. (Ko te reo te kakahu o te whakaaro te huarahi i te ao turoa o te hinengaro).'[15] The revitalization of Māori language has brought with it the revitalization of Māori forms of knowledge and the debates which accompany those knowledge forms.[16] Kaupapa Māori, however, does not mean the same as Māori knowledge and epistemology. The concept of *kaupapa* implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about those ideas and practices. Nepe argues that Kaupapa Māori is a 'conceptualization of Māori knowledge'.[17] It is a way of abstracting that knowledge, reflecting on it, engaging with it, taking it for granted sometimes, making assumptions based upon it, and at times critically engaging in the way it has been and is being constructed.[18] There is the possibility within Kaupapa Māori research to address the different constructions of Māori knowledge. A good example of this is in the development of Māori women's theories about Māori society, which question the accounts of Māori society provided by men, including Māori men, but which still hold to a position that argues that the issues of gender for Māori do not make us the same as white women.[19] The critical theory of Kaupapa Māori also applies, therefore, to Māori ways of thinking, and to Māori

ways of doing things, but it does not deny either the existence or the fundamental legitimacy to Māori people of Māori forms of knowledge. It seeks to understand these forms, however, on their own terms and within the wider framework of Māori values and attitudes, Māori language, and Māori ways of living in the world.

There is another feature of Kaupapa Māori research that is becoming increasingly important as research funding is restructured around government priorities and policies. The state is the largest funding institution for research in New Zealand. The restructuring which occurred after 1994 separated the policy-making functions of government from the allocation of resources for research. The largest amount of money is institutionalized through the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology. Other ministries and government departments still fund research but this research is in the form of 'purchases' of specific reports that fulfil the 'outputs' of the ministry concerned, and that, in many cases, are written over (rewritten) and subjected to government copyright. In this sense the research is not research; it is a purchased product, which becomes owned by the state. It becomes debatable, then, as to whether the purchased product is worth taking seriously outside government. The restructuring of research connects with the wider restructuring of the state in line with neo-liberal economic policies. These have emphasized the importance of government objectives, of competition and contestability, of the separation of policy from funding, of 'outputs' that are 'purchased', and of outcomes.[20] This shift towards neo-liberalism, which has occurred in New Zealand over the last decade, has very profound implications for Māori cultural values and practices.[21] It also has major implications for Māori in terms of its re-inscription of positivist approaches to scientific research.[22]

Kaupapa Māori Research and Positivism

In terms of Kaupapa Māori research, the more important question is related to issues of social justice. The debate about this aspect occurs at several levels. Reconciling market-driven, competitive and entrepreneurial research, which positions New Zealand internationally, with the need for Māori to carry out research that recovers histories, reclaims lands and resources and restores justice, hardly seems possible. This is precisely why the debates around self-determination and the Treaty of Waitangi have been significant. The attempt by Māori

to engage in the activities of the state through the mechanism of the Treaty of Waitangi has won some space in which Māori can argue for different sorts of research priorities. This space, however, is severely limited as it has had to be wrested not only from the state, but also from the community of positivistic scientists whose regard for Māori is not sympathetic. Furthermore, the competitive environment created by economic restructuring makes Kaupapa Māori research a competitor for resources with positivistic research. The problem is not just that positivist science is well established institutionally and theoretically, but that it has a connectedness at a common sense level with the rest of society – which, generally speaking, takes for granted the hegemony of its methods and leadership in the search for knowledge. As far as many people are concerned, research is positivist; it cannot be anything else. Kaupapa Māori is a fledgling approach, occurring within the relatively smaller community of Māori researchers; this in turn exists within a minority culture that continues to be represented within antagonistic colonial discourses. It is a counter-hegemonic approach to Western forms of research and, as such, currently exists on the margins.

Kaupapa Māori research is imbued with a strong anti-positivistic stance. The wider vision of Māori communities, however, is to include within research approaches to Māori all those researchers who are attempting to work with Māori and on topics of importance to Māori. The outer edges of Kaupapa Māori are not necessarily sharply delineated, although there is, at the political level, something 'at stake'. One of the strands of a burgeoning Māori research community is the development of Māori health research. This development provides one interface between the more positivistic medical science approaches to research, particularly epidemiology, and social science approaches such as sociology and policy analysis. The 'failure' of medical research to address the needs of Māori in health parallels the failure of educational research. Recognition of this has shifted some areas of health research towards, first, developing more culturally sensitive research, and, second, employing Kaupapa Māori approaches. These include the involvement of Māori researchers in large studies, and the establishment of Māori health research units and centres that focus on issues of Māori health, are managed and organized by Māori, and employ multi-disciplinary approaches within a Kaupapa Māori framework.[23] Hence large-scale epidemiological survey work and ethnographic, qualitative studies sit alongside each other in the same centre. The connections between the two highlight yet another feature of Kaupapa Māori research. Getting the approach 'right' is the first and major issue; the second issue is employing the most appropriate methods

and people. Sometimes a positivistic research task can be carried out by Māori researchers, but the questions it seeks to answer, the problems it seeks to probe and the data it seeks to gather, have been priorities debated earlier by Māori working in a Kaupapa Māori framework. There are three different points to be emphasized here. First, there are politics attached to research, which most researchers understand; quite simply, positivistic research attracts funding. Second, there are accountabilities and pre-research discussions that have already framed, and to an extent transformed, the approach to research. Third, most of the Māori health research units have developed strong ties with specific Māori communities.[24] These are reflected in the way the centres are constituted and the geographical areas in which they work.

There may be a question as to whether Kaupapa Māori research is its own paradigm. Irwin suggests that it is.[25] Others involved in Kaupapa Māori would be reluctant to engage in such a debate because it sets up comparisons with Western science, which is exactly what Kaupapa Māori is resisting.[26] Kaupapa Māori research is both less than and more than a paradigm.[27] It does set out a field of study that enables a process of selection to occur, and defines what needs to be studied and what questions ought to be asked. It also has a set of assumptions and taken-for-granted values and knowledge, upon which it builds. In this sense it can be fitted into some of the ways a paradigm is defined. It is also, however, more than the sum of those parts. Kaupapa Māori research is a social project; it weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and Western economics and global politics. Kaupapa Māori is concerned with sites and terrains. Each of these is a site of struggle. Each of these sites has also been claimed by others as 'their' turf. They are selected or select themselves precisely because they are sites of struggle and because they have some strategic importance for Māori. We are not at present interested in nuclear physics but we are becoming interested in genetic science.[28] There are sound reasons why we are interested in education, employment, health and history. Each of these domains situates us in crisis. They are more real and more pressing.

How Does Kaupapa Māori Research Proceed?

Kaupapa Māori approaches to research are based on the assumption that research that involves Māori people, as individuals or as communities,

should set out to make a positive difference for the researched. This does not need to be an immediate or direct benefit. The point is that research has to be defined and designed with some ideas about likely short-term or longer-term benefits. Obvious as this may be, it must be remembered that, historically, Indigenous peoples have not seen the positive benefits of research. The research approach also has to address seriously the cultural ground rules of respect, of working with communities, of sharing processes and knowledge. Kaupapa Māori research also incorporates processes such as networking, community consultations and *whanau* research groups, which assist in bringing into focus the research problems that are significant for Māori. In practice all of these elements of the Kaupapa Māori approach are negotiated with communities or groups from 'communities of interest'. It means that researchers have to share their 'control' of research and seek to maximize the participation and the interest of Māori. In many contexts research cannot proceed without the project being discussed by a community or tribal gathering, and supported. There are some tribes whose processes are quite rigorous and well established. One tribe has allocated one day a month for dealing with external relations. Another tribe has a reputation for being rather fierce examiners of research projects. Many communities have a strong sense of what counts as ethical research. Their definition of ethics is not limited to research related to living human subjects but includes research involving the environment, archival research and any research which examines ancestors, either as physical remains (extracting DNA) or using their photographs, diaries or archival records.

One of the factors favouring the development of Kaupapa Māori research was the increasing involvement of young Māori researchers in projects in which they were employed as the minority group researcher. Support systems and mentoring processes that brought these researchers together for development, or for discussing issues, created an ever-expanding group of young people who wanted a career in research but who were having enormous difficulties trying to advocate for Māori within projects that had employed them as token assistants. The support system brought together a group of people from very different research backgrounds. Through these meetings, and informal gatherings, discussions about research-related matters became a natural part of the meeting. Training issues emerged, ethical horror stories, and often very positive experiences were discussed. Some of the difficulties of interviewing elders were debated and problems relating to the writing of research. The bilingual dynamic within which many researchers

were working was also a topic of discussion. Kaupapa Māori became in time an approach to training and supporting young researchers whose academic training had not prepared them for working inside their own communities and within their own value systems and cultural practices.

Setting Strategic Directions

At a conference of Māori health researchers in 1996, I raised the following list of priorities as a basis for discussion:

- determining as Māori our own research needs and priorities;
- defining the ways research should proceed;
- training of Māori researchers;
- discussion of culturally appropriate ethics;
- ongoing development of culturally sympathetic methods;
- continued collaboration with our own diverse *iwi* and communities of interest;
- development and dissemination of literature by Māori on research;
- continued reflection, evaluation and critique of ourselves as a community of Māori researchers;
- extending the boundaries for Māori (and for other Indigenous peoples) of our own fields and disciplines;
- education of the wider research community, including scientific, academic and policy communities; and
- accountabilities to and outcomes for Māori.

The purpose of the list was not a definitive ordering of priorities, but to have people discuss and think about the broader project of Māori research. The participants at the gathering did discuss the priorities and took the list back to their own organizations and communities for further debate. The list encapsulates the wider debate occurring in relation to Māori research. Ten years ago such a debate could not have occurred within a gathering of Māori researchers. There were simply not enough researchers to hold a gathering. Recently, two years after the above list was first introduced, a meeting was held to discuss the strategic plans for Māori health research of a major research funding agency. The priorities raised in this original discussion paper informed much of the discussion. They had been discussed and used by different communities and health organizations to think about their own directions. The items on the list are still important, not just for health

research but for all Māori research. Kaupapa Māori as an approach has provided a space for dialogue by Māori, across disciplines, about research. Māori researchers from the fields of health and medicine, justice and education, history, law, politics, architecture, planning and environmental management, along with tribal- and community-based researchers, can come together and discuss research in ways not always available to other communities. Māori interest in research has made research more interesting. Māori communities can engage in research in exciting ways if they are included in the project.

Discussions about the broader dimensions have been preliminary ventures into the domain of research. It has been like venturing into an alien domain. Māori researchers have sought to understand how and why research has provoked such fear and antagonism on the part of Indigenous peoples generally, and Māori in particular. It has meant an 'Indigenous participant observation' of research, of the culture and politics of research, of how it has been institutionalized and established in the colonies, of how research has been implicated in our own colonization. But it has also been about understanding the ways in which research can provide systematic ways of understanding our own predicaments, of answering our own questions, and of helping us as communities to solve our problems and develop ourselves. Engaging in a discussion about research as an Indigenous issue has been about finding a voice, or a way of voicing concerns, fears, desires, aspirations, needs and questions as they relate to research. When Indigenous peoples become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, and people participate on different terms.

Notes

1 Olssen, M. (1991), 'Producing the Truth about People', in *Growing Up, the Politics of Human Learning,* eds J. Morss and T. Linzey, Longman Paul, Auckland.
2 Irwin, K. (1994), 'Māori Research Methods and Practices', *Sites,* Vol. 28 (Autumn), p. 27.
3 *Ibid.,* p. 28.
4 Bishop, R. (1994), 'Initiating Empowering Research?', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 175.
5 *Ibid.,* p. 176.

6 Smith, G. H. (1990), 'Research Issues Related to Māori Education', Paper presented to NZARE Special Interest Conference, Massey University, reprinted in (1992), *The Issue of Research and Māori,* Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland.
7 In this sense *kaupapa* means 'project' or plan.
8 Pihama, L. (1993), 'Tungia te Ururua, Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu o te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents as First Teachers', MA thesis, University of Auckland, p. 57.
9 This debate began formally with a paper by Ellsworth, E. (1989), 'Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy', *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 59, No. 3, pp. 297–324. Ellsworth questioned many of the basic assumptions of critical pedagogy. This provoked a response by Henri Giroux and the broader issues of the debate are summarized more fully in Lather, P. (1991), *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/in the Postmodern,* Routledge, New York, pp. 43–9.
10 Smith, L. T. (1995), 'Re-centering Kaupapa Māori Research', Paper presented at Te Matawhanui Conference, Māori Studies Department, Massey University.
11 This is not uncontentious, in that some feminist groups would still argue that men, because they are men, cannot possibly articulate a feminist position or carry out feminist research. What I want to signal, however, is that feminist scholarship has moved from its early foundations and as a parallel the same possibility exists for Kaupapa Māori research.
12 For example, Kathy Irwin writes, 'There is still a destructive debate taking place in some quarters over who are "real" and, heaven forbid, "acceptable" Māori women. Precious time is wasted debating amongst ourselves who is and who isn't an "acceptable" Māori.' Irwin, K. (1992), 'Towards Theories of Māori Feminisms', in *Feminist Voices, Womens' Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand,* ed. R. du Plessis, Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 3.
13 Nor does it preclude those who identify as Māori but cannot speak Māori language, those who are Māori but do not know their *whakapapa,* or those who are Māori but have lived away from their *iwi* or *whanau* territories.
14 Nepe, T. (1991), 'E Hao Nei e Tenei Reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna: Kaupapa Māori, an Educational Intervention System', MA thesis, University of Auckland.
15 Cited in Nepe, 'E Hao Nei', p. 15.
16 See Salmond, A. (1985), 'Māori Epistemologies', in *Reason and Morality,* ed. J. Overing, Tavistock, London.
17 Nepe, 'E Hao Nei', p. 15.
18 For example, those involved in Kaupapa Māori projects question attempts to mystify Māori knowledge or to use either identity and knowledge of *whakapapa* or Māori language as a way of excluding other Māori from participation in decision making or other forms of involvement.

19 See, for example, Te Awekotuku, N. (1992), 'He Whiriwhiri Wahine: Framing Women's Studies for Aotearoa', *Te Pua: Journal of Māori Women's Writing*, Vol. 1, pp. 46–58.
20 For a further discussion of these points, see Clark, J. (1995), 'The New Right and Educational Research', *Input,* Vol. 16, pp. 2–8, New Zealand Association for Research in Education, Wellington.
21 For further discussion of this point refer to Smith, G. H. (1993), 'The Commodification of Knowledge and Culture', *Overview,* No. 49 (November), pp. 149–53; and Smith, G. H. (1994), 'Māori Culture for Sale', *Polemic,* Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 149–53.
22 For examples, see the guidelines and policies for the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology and their application forms.
23 Two such units, Te Pumanawa Hauora at Massey University and the Eru Pomare Research Centre at the Wellington Clinical School, are funded by the Health Research Council; another unit exists at the University of Auckland Medical School; and other units operate inside existing centres, such as the Alcohol and Public Health Research Centre at the University of Auckland.
24 These include rural and urban communities and several *iwi* groups.
25 Irwin, 'Māori Research Methods and Practices', p. 27.
26 See, for further discussion, Smith, G. H. (1995), 'Falling Through the Cracks of the Constructivism Debate: the Neglect of the "Māori Crisis" within Science Education', *Access,* 14 (soon to be published by ACCESS, Education Department, University of Auckland).
27 I am using the definition of paradigm by Kuhn, T. (1970), *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* second edition, International Encyclopaedia of Unified Science, Vol. 2, No. 2, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
28 It is not that nuclear physics is not thought to have an impact on our lives – but this prospect is not yet as real for us as the advances currently being made in genetic engineering and the possibility that now exists under GATT for 'our' genetic material to be copied and patented.

Chapter 12

Choosing the Margins

The Role of Research in Indigenous Struggles for Social Justice

A nineteenth-century prophecy by a Māori leader predicted that the struggle of Māori people against colonialism would go on forever and therefore the need to resist will be without end. This may appear to be a message without hope but it has become an exhortation to Māori people that our survival, our humanity, our worldview and language, our imagination and spirit, our very place in the world depends on our capacity to act for ourselves, to speak for ourselves, to engage in the world and the actions of our colonizers, to face them head on. Māori struggles for social justice in New Zealand are messy, noisy, simultaneously celebratory and demoralizing, hopeful and desperate. While there have been incremental gains, they have often been made from the depths of despair, accepted reluctantly as the crumbs of compromise. The demands on scholars and intellectuals in similar contexts have been discussed in the revolutionary texts by writers such as Gramsci and Fanon, in feminist and indigenist literatures, and in research texts. In the research literature the issues are often discussed in terms of the methodologies, ethics, theoretical and discursive representations, emancipatory possibilities and power relations associated with researching marginalized and vulnerable communities, the outsider Other, or within specific populations and communities such as urban youth. Qualitative researchers are trained to 'see things'. Researchers working in the field of social injustice witness or 'see things' that may impact directly on their own relationships, identities, safety and freedom. Speaking for, and speaking out, can land a researcher in considerable trouble; being 'named' as a leftist researcher or native sympathizer is likewise a risk that is carried even in societies that value freedom of speech and of academic discovery. In these conservative times, the role of an Indigenous researcher and indeed of other researchers committed to producing research knowledge that documents social injustice, that

recovers subjugated knowledges, that helps create spaces for the voices of the silenced to be expressed and 'listened to', and that challenges racism, colonialism and oppression is a risky business. This chapter writes from that messy intersection, from the borders of the vast and expanding territory that is the margin, that exists 'outside' the security zone, outside the gated and fortified community. The first part of this chapter revisits Chandra Mohanty's cartography of struggles, as they are faced by Indigenous and marginalized communities.[1] The purpose is to provide a sense of the landscape that researchers negotiate and seek to understand. In this first part the chapter emphasizes the notion of struggle and what it means to live a life in struggle. The second part of the chapter examines some of the implications for Indigenous researchers who work in Indigenous and marginalized communities, communities that are in engaged struggle. These researchers work the borders, betwixt and between institutions and communities, systems of power and systemic injustice, cultures of dominance and cultures in survival mode, politics and theory, theory and practice.

Revisiting the Concept of Struggle

Struggle, as many social activists have attested, is an important tool in the overthrow of oppression and colonialism. Struggle is a dynamic, powerful and important tool that is embedded in what at first glance often seems to be just part of the apparatus of Marxist rhetoric and radical discourse. In its Marxist revolutionary sense the concept of 'struggle' can also be associated with forms of psychological torture and political haranguing as individuals are coerced into losing their memories of a past regime or into informing on their family and friends. In its broader sense struggle is simply what life feels like when people are trying to survive in the margins, to seek freedom and better conditions, to seek social justice. Struggle is a tool of both social activism and theory. It is a tool that has the potential to enable oppressed groups to embrace and mobilize agency, and to turn the consciousness of injustice into strategies for change. Struggle can be mobilized as resistance and as transformation. It can provide the means for working things out 'on the ground', for identifying and solving problems of practice, for identifying strengths and weaknesses, for refining tactics and uncovering deeper challenges. But, struggle can also be a blunt tool. As a blunt tool it has often privileged patriarchy and sexism in Indigenous activist groups, or been used to commit groups to modes of operation that undermine the

very values they espouse and expect of others. As a blunt instrument struggle can also promote actions that simply reinforce hegemony and that have no chance of delivering significant social change.

Paulo Freire's model of change argues that conscientization leads to action or struggle, when people learn to read the word (of injustice) and read the world (of injustice) they will act against injustice. In the Māori context, however, Graham Smith has argued that participation in struggle can and often does come before a raised consciousness. Smith's research has shown that people often participated in struggles more as a solidarity with friends and family, or some other pragmatic motivation, than as a personal commitment to or knowledge about historical oppression, colonialism and the survival of Māori people. Along the way many of those people become more conscious of the politics of struggle in which they are engaged. As he points out, 'Māori experience tends to suggest that these elements, [conscientization, resistance, transformative action], may occur in any order and indeed may occur simultaneously.'[2] Struggle, then, can be viewed as group or collective agency rather than as individual consciousness. The political leaders of struggle need some form of collective consent or mandate to act and to sustain action over time. The story of struggle is also a story about activist leadership and collective consent, and the tension between these two processes (leading and consenting). It is in this area that much revolutionary literature tends to focus on the hegemonic role of intellectuals who occupy the establishment, their power to influence others and decide what counts as legitimate knowledge.

Struggle is also a theoretical tool for understanding agency and social change, for making sense of power relations and for interpreting the tension between academic views of political actions and activist views of the academy. Theorizing the politics, psychology and pedagogy of struggle is the role of activist scholars and the organic intellectuals who work in that intersection between the community and the academy. It often presents itself as a phenomenon that researchers 'see' when they see communities living on the edge and in crisis, when they attempt to interpret or make ethnographic sense of life in the margin, when they attempt to account for behaviours, attitudes and value systems, and when they attempt comparisons with their own communities and social class. People, families, organizations in marginalized communities struggle everyday; it is a way of life that is necessary for survival, and when theorized and mobilized can become a powerful strategy for transformation.

Multiple Layers of Struggle

The Māori struggle for decolonization is multilayered and multidimensional, and has occurred across multiple sites simultaneously. Graham Smith has argued that theorizing this struggle from a Māori framework of Kaupapa Māori has provided important insights about how transformation works and can be made to work for Indigenous communities.[3] Similarly, for Leonie Pihama 'Kaupapa Māori is a transformative power. To think and act in terms of Kaupapa Māori while experiencing colonization is to resist dominance.'[4] In this section I focus more on the conditions that intersect or are external to this transformative process and that, at times, can work for or against change – can destabilize the struggle or present opportunities to be exploited, can provide creative resources or unleash a counter-hegemonic and narrow agenda of change.

I conceptualize five conditions or dimensions that have framed the struggle for decolonization. The first I would define as a critical consciousness, an awakening from the slumber of hegemony, and the realization that action has to occur. The second condition I define as a way of reimagining the world and our position as Māori within the world, drawing upon a different epistemology and unleashing the creative spirit. This condition is what enables an alternative vision; it fuels the dreams of alternative possibilities. The third is concerned with ways in which different ideas, social categories and tendencies intersect: the coming together of disparate ideas, the events, the historical moment. This condition creates opportunities; it provides the moments when tactics can be deployed. The fourth condition I have defined simply as movement or disturbance: the distracting counter-hegemonic movements or tendencies, the competing movements which traverse sites of struggle, the unstable movements that occur when the status quo is disturbed. The fifth is the concept of structure, the underlying code of imperialism, of power relations. This condition is grounded in reproducing material realities and legitimating inequalities and marginality. What I am suggesting, by privileging these layers over others, is that separately, together, and in combination with other ideas, these five dimensions help map the conceptual terrain of struggle. The categorical terms being used are not of the same type and have not been motivated by a particular 'model'. Rather, they reflect the multiple positions, spaces, discourses, languages, histories, textures and world views that are being contested, struggled over, resisted and reformulated by Māori.

In writing a 'cartography' of the struggles facing Third World women, Chandra Mohanty has said that 'the world (is) traversed with intersecting lines'.[5] Along such intersecting lines are ideas, categories or tensions that often connect with each other in different ways. They are not necessarily oppositions or dualisms. They create and are created by conditions that are inherently unstable, arbitrary and uncontrollable. She has also argued that one of the key features of struggle is the 'simultaneity' of oppressions that are fundamental to the experience of social and political marginality. Intersections can be conceptualized not only as intersecting lines but also as spaces that are created at the points where intersecting lines meet. Spaces created by intersecting ideas, tendencies or issues are sites of struggle that offer possibilities for people to resist. Making space within such sites has become a characteristic of many Māori struggles in education, health, research and social justice. What is slightly different between this notion and the idea of struggles 'in the margins' is that, when attached to a political idea such as *rangatiratanga*, often translated as sovereignty or self-determination, all space in New Zealand can be regarded as Māori space. This takes the struggle out of specifically 'Māori contexts' and into the spaces once regarded as the domain of the 'settler' or Pakeha community, such as large institutions like universities where Māori really are a small minority. Rather than see ourselves as existing in the margins as minorities, resistance initiatives have assumed that Aotearoa, New Zealand is 'our place', all of it, and that there is little difference, except in the mind, between, for example, a Te Kohanga Reo where Māori are the majority but the state is there, and a university, where Māori are the minority and the state is there.

Whereas we can conceive of space geographically and politically, it is important to claim those spaces that are still taken for granted as being possessed by the West. Such spaces are intellectual, theoretical and imaginative. One of these is a space called Kaupapa Māori. This concept has emerged from lessons learned through Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori and has been developed as a theory in action by Māori people. Graham Smith has argued for Kaupapa Māori as an intervention into theoretical spaces, particularly within the sphere of education.[6] Kaupapa Māori research refers to Māori struggles to claim research as a space within which Māori can also operate. Given the history of the Western research gaze of Indigenous peoples, it may seem unusual that Māori should take hold of the idea of research and attempt to apply it to our own questions. There are imperatives which have forced that upon us, such as the constant need to prove our own history and to prove the

worth of our language and values. Māori and other Indigenous peoples, however, also have their own questions and curiosities; they have imaginations and ways of knowing that they seek to expand and apply. Searching for solutions is very much part of a struggle to survive; it is represented within our own 'traditions' for example, through creation stories, values and practices. The concept of 'searching' is embedded in our world views. Researching in this sense, then, is not something owned by the West, or by an institution or discipline. Research begins as a social, intellectual and imaginative activity. It has become disciplined and institutionalized with certain approaches empowered over others and accorded a legitimacy, but it begins with human curiosity and a desire to solve problems. It is at its core an activity of hope.

One criticism of educators who have emphasized the emancipatory potential of schooling is that they have often ignored or diminished the role in social agency of such qualities as hope, optimism and the need to strive for utopian goals.

> Some radical educators have, in fact, argued that the notion of hope as the basis of a language of possibility is really nothing more than a 'trick of counter hegemony', and that hope is employed for ideological effect rather than for sound theoretical reasons. In other words hope as a vision of possibility contains no immanent political project and as such has to be sacrificed on the altar of empirical reality.[7]

I have stated previously the sense of noisy optimism that has been a characteristic of Māori politics. Here I will argue for the importance in Māori struggles of the imagination and of the capacity shown by Māori to constantly imagine and reimagine, to create and recreate our world. The capacity of colonized peoples to continue to engage, against all odds, in this imaginative, creative activity was the focus of quite systematic imperial and colonial practices that are encapsulated in the concept of dehumanization. The dehumanizing tendencies within imperial and colonial practices are deeply encoded. These practices serve constantly to deny that colonized people actually have ideas of our own, can create new ideas, and have a rich knowledge base from which to draw.

As I have stated previously, I would not claim that, on its own, imagination is a critical tool or contains within it a political project that is connected inherently to emancipation. What I will argue is that if they are to work, to be effective, political projects must also touch on, appeal to, make space for, and release forces that are creative and imaginative. This point is made in Smith's identification of the significant elements

within Kaupapa Māori. He argues that the Kaupapa has to 'grab people' emotionally; it has to excite them and 'turn them on' to new possibilities.[8] The danger in such forces is that they do not necessarily lead to emancipatory outcomes. They are inherently uncontrollable, which is possibly why this aspect is excluded from decolonization programmes and other attempts at planned resistance. However, there is a point in the politics of decolonization where leaps of imagination are able to connect the disparate, fragmented pieces of a puzzle, ones that have different shadings, different shapes, and different images within them, and say that 'these pieces belong together'. The imagination allows us to strive for goals that transcend material, empirical realities. For colonized peoples this is important because the cycle of colonialism is just that, a cycle with no end point, no emancipation. The material locates us within a world of dehumanizing tendencies, one that is constantly reflected back on us. To imagine a different world is to imagine us as different people in the world. To imagine is to believe in different possibilities, ones that we can create.

Decolonization must offer a language of possibility, a way out of colonialism. The writing of Māori, of other Indigenous peoples and of anti-/post-colonial writers would suggest, quite clearly, that that language of possibility exists within our own alternative, oppositional ways of knowing. Even though these may not be seen to connect with current socio-economic realities, the fact that we adhere to, that we can imagine a connection suggests a resistance to being classified according to the definitions of a dominant group. Furthermore, the language of possibility, a language that can be controlled by those who have possession of it, allows us to make plans, to make strategic choices, to theorize solutions. Imagining a different world, or reimagining the world, is a way into theorizing the reasons why the world we experience is unjust and posing alternatives to such a world from within our own world views.

Implications for Researchers: Choosing the Margins

The metaphor of the margin has been very powerful in the social sciences and humanities for understanding social inequality, oppression, disadvantage and power. It is used alongside other similar concepts such as borders, boundaries, bridges, centre–periphery, and insider–outsider to demarcate people in spatial terms as well as in socio-economic, political and cultural terms. Anthropology uses the

term 'liminal' to capture some of the elements that are lived by people in the margins. Gloria Ladson-Billings uses the term in this way: 'Thus the work of the liminal perspective is to reveal the ways that dominant perspectives distort the realities of the other in an effort to maintain power relations that continue to disadvantage those who are locked out of the mainstream.'[9] Feminists and minority scholars such as African American writers have worked the metaphor of the margin, the hyphen or the border into social theories of oppression and marginalization, and of resistance and possibility.[10] Gloria Anzaldua, for example, writes of the border where she grew up literally as the border between the United States and Mexico and figuratively as the border and intersection between languages, between home and school, between having and not having, and as a site for positive identity formation.[11] African American writer bell hooks wrote of the radical possibility of 'choosing the margins' as a site of belonging as much as a site of struggle and resistance.[12] The critical issue bell hooks and other writers such as Stuart Hall[13] have identified is that meaningful, rich, diverse, interesting lives are lived in the margins; these are not empty spaces occupied by people whose lives don't matter, or people who spend their lives on the margins trying to escape. Many groups who end up there 'choose' the margins, in the sense of creating cultures and identities there: for example, the deaf community, gay and lesbian communities, minority ethnic groups, and Indigenous groups.

There are also researchers, scholars and academics who actively choose the margins, who choose to study people marginalized by society, who themselves have come from the margins or who see their intellectual purpose as being scholars who will work for, with, and alongside communities who occupy the margins of society. If one is interested in society then it is often in the margins that aspects of a society are revealed as microcosms of the larger picture or as examples of a society's underbelly. In a research sense having a commitment to social justice, to changing the conditions and relations that exists in the margins is understood as being 'socially interested' or as having a 'standpoint'. For researchers who come from the communities concerned it may also be understood as 'insider' research. Kaupapa Māori research can be understood in this way as an approach to research that is socially interested, that takes a position – for example, that Māori language, knowledge and culture are valid and legitimate – and has a standpoint from which research is developed, conducted, analysed, interpreted and assessed. Some of these approaches are also referred to as critical research, as social justice research, or as community action research.

There are also specific methodologies that have been developed out of the work these approaches have initiated. Participatory action research, Kaupapa Māori research, oral histories, critical race theory and *testimonio* are just some examples of methodologies that have been created as research tools that work with marginalized communities, that facilitate the expression of marginalized voices, and that attempt to represent the experience of marginalization in genuine and authentic ways. Focusing on researching with marginalized groups foregrounds many of the issues that are faced by researchers working in the face of inequality and social injustice. As leading researchers in the social justice area have already established, it is crucial that researchers working in this critical research tradition pay particular attention to matters that impact on the integrity of research and the researcher, continuously develop their understandings of ethics and community sensibilities, and critically examine their research practices.[14]

A third dimension to researching in the margins is that the researchers who choose to research with and for marginalized communities are often in the margins themselves in their own institutions, disciplines and research communities. It may be that the researchers come from a minority social group or it may be that their interest in and perceived support for marginalized communities unsettles the status quo or questions both implicitly and explicitly dominant approaches to research. Whatever the reasons for this 'occupational hazard', feminist and minority group scholars have amply demonstrated that researching with marginalized groups or about the concerns of such groups can have a significant negative impact on careers, and therefore on the perceived expertise and intellectual authority of the researchers concerned. Māori researchers and academics have also written of the impact of community needs and institutional demands on their work lives and approaches to work and life as a Māori person.[15] While communities may want to work with a Māori researcher, they may be quite unaware of the risks that many academics face when researching in the margins. One example of this is the pressure from the academy to turn research into peer-reviewed publications and expectations from communities that researchers should not be building their careers by researching 'them'. Increasingly, research is viewed as an activity that must be measured and assessed for quality as part of a researcher's performance, and an individual's performance is linked directly to a department's and institution's ranking. Researchers working for social justice are likely to be involved in hours of work that do not lead to a 'quality' academic publication – they may contribute to major social

change, but their research ranking will not reflect their contribution to society.

There are also implications and risks for researchers who work within the 'insider' frame. The known methodological risks are seen from one perspective to be about the potential for bias, lack of distance and lack of objectivity, and from another research perspective to be about the potential to see the trees but not the forest, to underplay the need for rigour and integrity as a researcher and to conflate the research role with an advocacy role. There are other risks, however, in terms of the relationships and accountabilities to be carried by an insider researcher. Unlike those borne by their colleagues, these extra responsibilities can be heavy, not just because of what people might say directly but because of what researchers imagine the community might be saying. It can be difficult because of the magnitude and number of urgent tasks that seem to require action and support. Researchers make strategic decisions to deal with urgent issues while sacrificing the research and ultimately their careers.

Mentoring by other Indigenous scholars who have made their way through the system can provide some support, although these senior scholars are few and far between and are not always the best exemplars themselves of how to balance a life and maintain research while working with communities to make a positive difference. Many of the social issues and challenges that confront marginalized communities will also be part of the biography and social network of an insider Indigenous researcher. Visiting relatives who are sick, looking after grandchildren or someone's teenager, writing submissions, being the breadwinner for more than one household, being in constant mourning, having to 'rush home' to deal with emergencies, and being at the constant call of a community are often a very normal part of life for Indigenous researchers who are also trying to make their way in careers. While every researcher may claim to have similar responsibilities, and at some point to have taken on similar burdens, there is a qualitative difference between the conditions of people living in marginalized communities and those in middle-class suburbia.

Marginalized Populations, Research and Ethics

For researchers working with 'human subjects or participants' the terms 'marginalized and vulnerable peoples' appear in the literature in relation to research ethics. Marginalized populations are often

described as groups who have little access to power – for example, women, ethnic minority groups, gay and lesbian communities, children and youth. Vulnerable populations are also marginalized from power but are considered particularly vulnerable because they have even less individual agency to provide informed consent. Vulnerable groups include prisoners, armed forces personnel, people who are mentally ill, children, some groups with disabilities, and groups who can be and are more likely to be vulnerable to coercion. The significant event that awakened Western sensibilities to research abuses with marginalized and vulnerable populations was the Holocaust and the research undertaken by Nazi doctors on Jewish, Roma (Gypsies) and other groups imprisoned in the death camps. The Nuremberg Code of Ethics emerged from this momentous legacy. According to David Weisstub,

> The Nuremberg Legacy represents almost a mythic chapter in the history of understanding of research ethics…. Nuremberg is a distant collective memory. For most of us Nuremberg emerged as a code and a symbol both in its principles representing the foundations of civilized medical practice and research and in its symbolization of the triumph of the democratic ideal over fascism.[16]

The Nuremberg Code was formed out of the ashes of the Holocaust through the Nuremberg Tribunal, and was an attempt to ensure that the types of research carried out by Nazi scientists would never happen again. The Code gives recognition to the fact that there are likely to be groups of people who are especially vulnerable when it comes to research, and that these groups would also most likely exist in the margins of society. It is also the first acknowledgement that there are some basic moral principles by which researchers must abide.

From an Indigenous perspective the Nuremberg Code came too late; the history of research as exploitation was already embedded in European imperialism in the lead-up to the twentieth century. And for other groups of people such as women, African American males and many Indigenous communities, the existence of the Nuremberg Code has not prevented research abuses from occurring. There have been a series of scandals that have highlighted the ways in which marginalized and vulnerable groups continue to be exposed to unethical research. In New Zealand the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, New Zealand's 'darkest hour' in research, according to Tolich, came about primarily because of the efforts of two feminist investigators, who persisted in their inquiries despite the blocks and barriers that were put in front of them

by institutional and professional systems.[17] It was only after the Cervical Cancer Inquiry that academic institutions in New Zealand were required by legislation (s161 of the Education Act 1989) to institute policies and practices for conducting ethical research with human subjects.

The Nuremberg Code was later followed by the World Medical Association Declaration of Helsinki (1964) and, in the United States, by the Belmont Report (1979). These three documents are referred to as 'landmarks' in establishing a history of ethical research conduct.[18] There is a difference, however, between professional ethics codes of practice, which are essentially self-monitoring and voluntary, and legislated or officially regulated codes of practice. The Nuremberg Code has rarely been used in legal cases.[19] The Helsinki Declaration is a professional voluntary code for medical practitioners who belong to the World Medical Association. The Belmont Report was an official report of the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare. What is known in the United States as The Common Rule is a set of Federal policies adopted by the major US agencies that conduct or fund research with human subjects. In New Zealand there are several legal instruments that cover aspects of ethical research with human subjects, including the Education Act 1989, Human Rights Act 1999, Health and Disability Services Human Rights Code and the Health Information Privacy Code. The Treaty of Waitangi is also incorporated into research and ethics policies and consultation with Māori communities is part of some institutions' requirements when the research involves Māori participants. New Zealand also has a National Ethics Advisory Committee, a National Bioethics Committee and other specialist committees that deal with single issues such as reproductive birth technologies.

Why is this background important when discussing issues that relate to Indigenous peoples? There is one significant reason and three other contextual ones. The significant reason is to establish the case history, in a sense, for why Māori as peoples need to be recognized as a marginalized group. The literature uses the word 'populations' rather than peoples and there is a distinction in international law between these two terms. As a marginalized population Māori are basically just another group or set of individuals and communities. As peoples Māori have claims to self-determination. There is a risk, in fragmenting small groups of Māori into categories of marginalization and vulnerability, of losing sight of the overall picture of Māori as an Indigenous and marginalized people in New Zealand. The risk becomes especially important in discussions around the role of the Treaty of Waitangi in

protecting Māori rights to develop as Māori and also to be treated as equal citizens.

The contextual issues and history are important because research is an international activity conducted across the globe by researchers from different nations, institutions, disciplines and approaches. The norms of research conduct are developed in this environment. Furthermore, legal precedents established in other Western jurisdictions such as the United States, Britain, Canada and Australia have weight in the New Zealand context, especially if the issue is related to Indigenous communities. Finally, science and technology are making rapid advances into areas that challenge existing notions of ethics on a broad scale, and Māori attempts to articulate and gain recognition for a different knowledge and ethical system are in a race against time. In this context being better informed is an important protection.

Ongoing Marginalization of Māori

Recent public discourses on the place of Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi position non-Māori as victims of discrimination because of the perceived 'extra' special rights that Māori have to be 'consulted', to have our language and culture recognized, to have Treaty of Waitangi protections built into legislation and policy frameworks. It would be quite fair to say that Māori have engaged in a long struggle to make such inroads as part of making the Treaty of Waitangi 'real' as the foundational instrument of the nation. Māori have also seen this process as being necessary to fulfil their visions of self-determination and also to fulfil and benefit from the rights of citizenship. It is this last point about citizenship that brings us back to the question of marginalization. In almost every social index Māori are disproportionately represented as disadvantaged, even when statistical analyses control for class factors such as income levels. Furthermore, the long-term systemic nature of disadvantage has constituted patterns of participation by Māori people in society that are different from mainstream Pakeha norms and as a consequence tend to challenge taken-for-granted policies and practices of institutions.

One simple example would be the impact of under-achievement at secondary school on adult second-chance learning and on the average age of Māori in postgraduate education. Māori participation rates in tertiary education are among the highest in the OECD, but the level at which Māori are participating is at a low second-chance level, and is a

direct consequence of the failure of schooling to deliver achievement to Māori. Many Māori students enter tertiary education through bridging programmes; they tend to be older and are more likely to be women; they tend to be part-time students in comparison to non-Māori; and it takes them much longer to complete a degree qualification. Furthermore, they have a disproportionately higher take-up rate for loans and, because they are less likely on completion to move into higher-paying positions, they take longer to repay their loans. In summary, the pattern of participation in society reinforces disadvantage.

Whether one drives through New Zealand literally or drives through New Zealand as a figurative journey to understand social in/equality, Māori communities are on the margins of the economy and society. In the late 1980s New Zealand began a significant neo-liberal programme of structural adjustment, of deregulation and re-regulation of the economy, and major reforms of education, health, and the welfare system.[20] The neo-liberal agenda with its continuous process of reform has had a profound effect on New Zealand society, and after two decades has now produced a generation of young people for whom the neo-liberal ideologies are normal and taken for granted. In education neo-liberalism is marked by a discourse of education as a marketplace, with parents and students as consumers and clients, teachers and schools as self-managing providers of services, and curriculum knowledge as a commodity that can be traded in or traded up for social goodies such as well-being and social status. The reform process redesigned the way schools were administered; it redesigned the role of the principal government agency that was responsible for education. It created a new agency to review and assess school performance; a new curriculum framework; a new qualifications framework, with a new agency to accredit qualifications and institutions; a user-pays system for post-secondary education; and a competitive environment through its funding arrangements. Private providers of post-secondary education and training were until recently able to compete with public institutions for public funding and aspire to attain degree-granting status.

In the neo-liberal concept of the individual, Māori people in the 1980s presented a potential risk to the legitimacy of the new vision because Māori aspirations were deeply located in history, in cultural differences, and in the values of collectivity; even the Māori concept of family or *whanau* seemed threatening. When the neo-liberal agenda was implemented, however, Māori communities were already embarked on their own educational revolution. The forward momentum of Māori development at that time has played a significant role in challenging the

reform agenda to accommodate or at least attempt to make space for Māori aspirations. Jane Kelsey has argued that at times Māori were the only group in New Zealand society actually contesting the reforms in any serious way.[21]

The development of Te Kohanga Reo sparked and continues to inspire the development of a range of Māori initiatives in education that have developed as alternative models within and outside the current system, from early childhood to post-secondary tertiary education. The alternative models include Kura Kaupapa Māori, Māori language immersion schools that developed outside the state and were included as a separate category of education in the Education Amendment Act 1989, and Wananga or tribal degree-granting institutions that were also included as a category of the Act. These alternatives were Māori-initiated institutions based on different conceptions of what education was about. They were community efforts that challenged the taken-for-granted hegemony of schooling and, as argued by Graham Smith, revolutionized Māori thinking by demonstrating that Māori people could free their minds from the colonizer and exercise agency in a purposeful, tactical and constructive way.[22] These educational alternatives did not begin with active state support and even after they were included in legislation there was no supportive infrastructure to assist them. In the case of the Wananga the three institutions took a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal related to capital expenditure. The Tribunal ruled in their favour and two of the Wananga have settled their claim with the Crown; they now have resources to develop their capital infrastructure.

I want to emphasize the point that the Māori development momentum was already in progress when the neo-liberal reform process began. This meant that Māori had a platform for challenging those aspects of the reform process that seemed to threaten Māori development, and a platform for engaging with the process in order to influence change. This is not to say that the reform process was welcoming of Māori participation; in fact, Māori had to make serious demands to be included or to be heard. At times overseas experts were brought in to dismiss Māori concerns or show how those concerns would be addressed by the new structures. Nor can we say that Māori were particularly well organized or mobilized: in fact, the early reforms that privatized the state industries such as forestry created massive Māori unemployment and a high degree of community stress. The significance of the revolutionized thinking created by the development of Te Kohanga Reo was that in the absence of organized resistance there was enough critique to provide a counter-hegemonic possibility and to

have it voiced at every opportunity available. The point is that if Māori had been in disarray, without any alternative models, the reform process would have run a different and probably a more devastating course. As it was, the reform process had a disproportionately negative impact on Māori communities, widening disparities between Māori and non-Māori in educational achievement, health and economic status.

What has become even clearer in the twenty-first century is the way in which policies aimed at Māori continue to resonate and recycle colonizing narratives. The discourse might change subtly – with terms shifting from Māori to *whanau, hapu, iwi*, to urban Māori and *iwi* Māori, and the unit of problem definition switching from tribes to *whanau*, from Māori women to Māori parents, from Māori providers to Māori consultants – but the underlying racialized tensions remain constant. The subtext is that Māori are responsible for their own predicament as a colonized people and citizenship for Māori is a 'privilege' for which we must be eternally grateful. Marginalization is a consequence of colonization and the price for social inclusion is still expected to be the abandonment of being 'Māori'.

The impact of this sustained narrative on Māori is a growing fragmentation within communities, alongside a parallel urgency to redevelop and recentre ourselves around common baseline symbols and aspirations – for example, Mason Durie's three conceptualizations of 'living as Māori, being a citizen of the world, and Māori well-being and good health'.[23] The tension between fragmentation and coming together is an almost impossible situation: in many cases, at our most vulnerable points, fractures occur, families fragment, core relationships between parents and children break down and Māori people become alienated from themselves, from their extended families and communities. It is neither accidental nor genetic that Māori mental health issues have risen dramatically in the last two decades, so that they rank as one of the most important health issues for Māori.

Marginalization as a process as well as a state of affairs impacts at multiple levels and sites. Māori people are marginalized from mainstream New Zealand society. Some Māori people are able to 'choose' the margins by embracing their Māori identities and participating in Māori society and culture. Some Māori are alienated from Māori society. This occurs through a range of mechanisms or social, economic and political processes. It may simply be that geographic distance from their home is a barrier to participation, or that the loss of Māori language and culture is seen as a barrier. Some people, by virtue of being 'institutionalized' or enveloped into a system of care and protection, are removed from their social and

cultural supports. Other groups of Māori – for example, ones who have come together around a special interest – may find themselves excluded or alienated from existing Māori power structures, but still function as Māori. Then there are probably Māori who are alienated from Māori and mainstream society – for example, people who have committed crimes against their own communities may never be welcomed back home; they have in effect been excluded from their own society.

Researchers in the Margins

As stated earlier, researchers who choose to research in the margins are at risk of becoming marginalized themselves in their careers and workplaces. One strategy for overcoming this predicament is to 'embrace' the work and commit to building a career from that place. As writers such as bell hooks and Gloria Anzaldua have argued, the margins are also sites of possibilities that are exciting and 'on the edge'. Cultures are created and reshaped; people who are often seen by the mainstream as dangerous, unruly, disrespectful of the status quo and distrustful of established institutions are also innovative in such conditions; they are able to design their own solutions, they challenge research and society to find the right solutions. Researchers who work in the margins need research strategies that enable them to survive, to do good research, to be active in building community capacities, to maintain their integrity, manage community expectations of them and mediate their different relationships. Kaupapa Māori research developed out of this challenge. As Graham Smith, Leonie Pihama and others who write in this tradition have demonstrated, Kaupapa Māori research encourages Māori researchers to take being Māori as a given, to think critically and address structural relations of power, to build upon cultural values and systems and contribute research back to communities that are transformative.

There are strategies that researchers can employ that will enable them to build strong relationships with different communities. Through experience Māori researchers have also learned skills and principles that work well if practised in sensitive and nuanced ways. These might be as simple as focusing on building good relationships and 'showing one's face' as the first step in a relationship. But they are also about building networks of people who have stronger links into communities, and building community capacities so that people can do the research themselves.

One of the anxieties that researchers may have is that when communities have the power to determine their own research they might not choose a Māori researcher, even if he or she has all the right skills. That is a risk and a challenge. Many communities would want to choose the best researcher available or the researcher from their own community or area. Often their choice is 'brokered' by a funding agency, more precisely a government funding agency who may not know of Māori researchers, or may not exactly prefer a Māori researcher. Experienced community organizations are also learning what they need from researchers, both Māori and non-Māori. In other Indigenous contexts, for example, some tribal nations in North America have protocols for researchers and their tribal structures have specialist research directors who manage all research on their nation. What is possibly very different in Aotearoa New Zealand is the growing capacity of Māori researchers across many different fields and disciplines of study. In the New Zealand context Māori scholars can assemble quite large and multidisciplinary research collaborations; there are a growing number of independent Māori researchers working with communities; and there are funding agencies keen to support Māori research capacity development.

In what he calls a 'sociology of absences', legal sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos calls for an ecology of knowledge/s that enables alternative ways of knowing and scientific knowledge to coexist, and argues that there can be no global social justice without global cognitive justice.[24] At the heart of this engagement in social justice and Indigenous research are questions about knowledge, education, participation and development. There are enduring questions about power relations, about agency and structure, ethics and methodologies. Research is simply one site at which these issues intersect. Research is important because it is the process for knowledge production; it is the way we constantly expand knowledge. Research for social justice expands and improves the conditions for justice; it is an intellectual, cognitive and moral project, often fraught, never complete, but worthwhile.

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Chapter 13

Getting the Story Right, Telling the Story Well

Indigenous Activism, Indigenous Research

There is no easy or natural relationship between activism and research. Although some activists are also researchers, and have to undertake their own research, and researchers may also be activists, the roles are very different. Research and activism exist as different activities, undertaken by different kinds of people employing different tools for different kinds of ends. Certainly, at the most abstract level activists and researchers share some kind of belief that they are acting to improve the world and to make it a better place for human beings. Beauty contestants espouse similar ideals, as do many tyrants and despots. Researchers and activists also inhabit to some degree a problem of discourse: they are reviled in some quarters; held in suspicion in others; respected reluctantly; revered only when they have reached their used-by-date – and are yet regarded as necessary constituents of robust societies. Within many Indigenous communities there is a deep conservatism and an unwillingness to upset the status quo, and in these environments any agents of change – whether educators, researchers or activists – are regarded as suspect. This is not just a feature of Indigenous communities, as former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher disliked sociologists as a collective group of scholars and tried to get rid of them all by attacking their credibility.

The basis of this chapter is to relate the more generic question about why we do what we do either as researchers and/or activists to questions about the potential ways in which Indigenous activists and Indigenous researchers can collaborate to advance Indigenous interests at local, national and international levels. While this chapter addresses the specific relationship between Indigenous research and Indigenous activism, it is not my intention to rule out engagement of activists and researchers with wider non-Indigenous alliances, as indeed such engagements are often unavoidable and are tactically necessary to get

the work done. It is also not my assumption that all Indigenous projects at local, national or international level are supported by all Indigenous peoples around the world. Some projects and some major international initiatives have been worked on collaboratively for decades and do have support in principle from a majority of Indigenous nations. There are also shared discourses, visions and aspirations that resonate across many Indigenous contexts – cultural and linguistic survival, self-determination and the right to remain Indigenous are some examples of the shared discourse that has been the platform for Indigenous activism.

Aligning the Agenda for Indigenous Research and Indigenous Activism

Earlier I set out what I referred to as 'the Indigenous peoples' project' and made some suggestions about how an Indigenous research agenda could be formulated in relation to it. This approach contextualized research in an explicitly decolonizing, political and international framework and attempted to draw the attention of researchers away from their traditionally Western disciplines towards Indigenous visions, aspirations and aims. The twenty-five projects identified some of the body of work in progress by Indigenous researchers. In attempting to bring together these researchers within a research agenda I have been arguing that they needed to make more of an effort to connect with the wider Indigenous peoples' project. I have also suggested that they needed to understand that the institution of research by its nature would alienate them from their own communities and aspirations, and would perpetuate the colonizing structures that many aspired to overcome, and that as a response they needed to be more conscious about decolonizing the academy.

In the last two decades the issues for Indigenous activists and Indigenous researchers have changed dramatically; the world has been and is in the process of being reconfigured in ways that simultaneously impact on Indigenous peoples. These changes require further conversations about how research assists or hinders Indigenous activism, how Indigenous activism can undertake and employ more research in activist arguments, how the two activities of research and activism connect with the visions, aspirations and needs of Indigenous communities, and how these two activities assist communities to live as Indigenous communities that experience cultural sustainability as well as social, economic and political well-being.

Globalization, the Marketplace and Indigenous Peoples

In the twenty-first century Indigenous communities are among those communities that have been excluded from the world – in some cases quite literally excluded to the margins of societies. They represent a portion of peoples whose languages and cultures have been obliterated, assimilated or at best hybridized into some other culture. Today, somewhere around the world Indigenous peoples are meeting in small groups or large gatherings to discuss local and/or global issues. Also meeting and interacting somewhere in the world are 'world leaders' whom we can assume are the leaders of less than a dozen countries. Both sets of gatherings represent something interesting about globalization; the first set brings together descendants of peoples who were for the most part were not expected to survive into the twenty-first century. They are potentially what Boaventura de Souza Santos calls a 'transnational interaction from below, that is, from the victims, the exploited, the excluded and their allies….'[1] The second set of gatherings brings together those who presume to govern and set the world's agenda for peace, for democracy, for market reform, for alleviating poverty, for 'regime change', for dealing with terrorism. Of course, nothing is quite so neat or binary, so on the edges of both gatherings are other kinds of meetings with other combinations of peoples and interests, some of which intersect in complex ways, but mostly the agendas compete with each other for attention and priority.

Neo-liberal economic theory informs one aspect of globalization.[2] It is best known in developing countries through the application of structural adjustment programmes administered by agencies such as the World Bank. Neo-liberal economic theory is also understood in the Indigenous world through such instruments as free trade agreements and the World Trade Organization, because of the implications of these agreements for traditional knowledge. In New Zealand, neo-liberalism has driven two decades of reform. At one level, Māori people had not had any reason to support government economic policies that predated the neo-liberal reform programme, because the impact of decades of government legislation and policies on Māori has been continuing economic marginalization and cultural assimilation. Neo-liberalism, for some Māori, represented a possibility for Māori to engage more proactively in the economy. Other Māori saw more dangers in the reforms, especially in the way competition and individualism were fostered at the expense of collaboration and collective identity. After more than two decades it is certain that for

younger generations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people neo-liberalism is the status quo, the taken-for-granted knowledge that underpins society.

Neo-liberalism has also become the dominant economic theory for how the world should function as a global community. The key site for the economy is the marketplace – in other words the world is a marketplace – and the role, some argue the only role, of states and governments is to ensure the free operations of the marketplace so that commodities can be bought and sold at market prices. Indigenous peoples are situated at an interesting part of the market. They are considered potential market players because they offer unique commodities such as traditional knowledge. But, they are not quite market-ready because their unique commodities have not been made market-ready – that is they have not yet been 'discovered' in the research sense, nor have they been commercialized in terms of intellectual property.

From Indigenous perspectives some of their unique knowledge is on the verge of extinction and ought never to be commercialized, while other aspects of the culture may in fact be commercial but there is no regime for ensuring benefits flow to the communities who created or have possessed such knowledge. The issue of Indigenous knowledge is pivotal for the work of activists and researchers at this moment, because it is the term or concept that currently embodies most of what remains of Indigenous cultures. Traditional Indigenous knowledge is regarded also as a potential avenue for Indigenous communities to enter the marketplace with items to sell, while at the same time it lies at the heart of identities, histories, legacies and responsibilities for generations that have been here before and those to come. Selling that legacy is viewed by many activists as tantamount to destroying the culture.

The topic of biotechnology and the patenting of human life forms is significant because it brings into very sharp focus what the extreme implications of a market economy are about: Indigenous bodies and their cell lines. This seems scarier than the exploitation of images and art forms, but it is part of the same process of commodification of traditional Indigenous knowledge because it literally commodifies our biology in ways that attack the very existence of Indigenous peoples. This is not about all things being equal and that every one's cell lines are up for study – this is about the powerlessness of groups and communities around the world whose bodies are viewed as potential commodities.

Traditional Indigenous Knowledge: The Work of Activists

Over the last twenty years Indigenous activists have played a hugely significant role in educating the community about globalization and neo-liberal economic policies and practices. They have often acted as the critic and conscience of societies, much to the displeasure of governments and powerful business voices. Some Indigenous activists have been accused of treason because they were seen as putting the economy at risk, and more recently others have been accused of terrorism for engaging in political acts against their governments.

Indigenous activists working in the international domain have identified the extent to which many states and governments have been prepared to sacrifice traditional Indigenous knowledge and peoples, treaties, and other historic agreements and understandings to the market economy. Major free trade agreements have been signed in the absence of consultation with the Indigenous communities, or indeed even other communities, about the nature of their undertakings and the implications for the future. Multinational companies have been given transnational freedoms that enable them ultimately to move labour across borders (importing and exporting people for the labour market), to foster an intellectual property regime that has few ethical limits, to shape national laws and values at the expense of national identities, and to develop themselves in competition with governments. In this environment activists have had to cover and document activities that are happening locally, nationally and globally – demonstrating the logic that links global discussions and rhetoric with material and environmental changes in the lives of local Indigenous communities.

One of their battlegrounds in the international arena has been concepts of *traditional knowledge*. This is a shift of tactics in terms of earlier battles over the word 'self-determination', or the struggle to have the 's' recognized in terms of describing Indigenous communities as 'peoples', that marked early activist strategies and writings. The issue is partly about the best term to use in international instruments and documents, but the more significant concern is the existence, protection, ownership, and right to development of Indigenous entities – environments, bodies, stem cell lines, identities, historical and contemporary practices, lores, laws, values and belief systems, knowledge frameworks, ways of thinking and knowing, products and creations, concepts, designs and materials, images and representations, songs and performance, visual arts – and all the other diverse parts of whole living cultures. The activist struggle is to defend, protect, enable

and facilitate the self-determination of Indigenous peoples over themselves in states and in the global arena where they have little power. Activists in this area of international work have to develop arguments that will be heard in a political environment where Indigenous people don't matter, are plain irritating, or are viewed as downright dangerous.

Activism mostly begins at home, locally, with the multitude of issues that beset Indigenous communities. Most of these issues turn out to be international issues, as activists usually discover for themselves when they start talking to others and mobilizing support. Locally grown activism and activism that is supported or 'mandated' by local communities (however they may define themselves) is seen as a badge of legitimacy and evidence of flax roots credibility.[3] Communities have expectations that activists know their needs because they have experienced those needs at a very personal level. Over the years of Indigenous activism, the activist community has developed its own protocols or codes of conduct and networks, for local activists are global activists – they form part of a global network of Indigenous activism.

One of the skills that many front-line Indigenous activists have in abundance is the ability to communicate. Indigenous activists have that added ability of communicating across linguistic, cultural and literacy divides. Another skill they possess is the ability to ignite others, to move them to take action. Other activists, however, do their work behind the scenes, in quite hostile environments where they are either alone or are collectively marginalized with other Indigenous and minority and special interest groups. No one really sees their achievements when they manage to influence the text of an international charter; no one quite understands the significance of their work. Activism takes different forms and one of those forms is the kind of activism that is deeply knowledgeable about the struggle, where it has come from, what is at stake, and what tactics are required now.

Traditional Indigenous Knowledge: The Work of Researchers

While communities and activists assert claims to traditional Indigenous knowledge, the work of researchers has some other dimensions. Remember, for example, that colonial processes such as religion and education actively set out to destroy the existence of Indigenous knowledge or systems for knowing in many ways – whether by beating children at school, isolating the leaders and healers, burning places of significance, or using ridicule and cartoon characters. The attack on

traditional ways of knowing was often carried out in the name of progress and access to literacy, medical health and economic development – all of which tradition was said to impede. The academy played a very significant role in upholding Western intellectual superiority: the disciplines of Western knowledge were used as a platform for dismissing or denying the existence of Indigenous knowledge, a view that still exists in some parts of the academy today. Thus the first task of many researchers is to survive and do exceedingly well in an education system that denies the existence of the knowledge held by their own peoples. They were not necessarily successful in the system in terms of credentials, but were able to decode and demystify the system in order to learn and be educated without being damaged. Indigenous academic researchers have had to perform well if not better than their peers to get through the system and reach its higher levels. In many if not most academic disciplines one's Indigenous identity has to be masked, hidden from view, as a precondition of success. Few have actually succeeded, and very few in the sciences – which highlights another challenge for activists, who cannot easily identify researchers who have both an understanding of the science and the empathy and awareness of the values and knowledge of Indigenous communities to mount powerful counter-arguments in areas such as biotechnology.

In the field of traditional Indigenous knowledge researchers have their own arguments to make, sometimes inside their own heads as they must debate it at a personal psychological level, but most often within the very institutions of knowledge in which they have been trained. One of the most difficult academic arguments for Indigenous scholars to make has been the very existence of Indigenous knowledge as a unique body of world knowledge that has a contribution to make in contemporary disciplines and institutions, let alone for Indigenous peoples themselves. The arguments are not necessarily framed as knowledge questions, as they are more likely to be about political issues of access to institutions, equity and equality of opportunity, physical spaces, designated staff positions and course content. In many cases, even when there are Indigenous academic staff members, the first issues are about surviving in a culturally hostile environment. Many writers such as Vandana Shiva have noted the monoculturalism of Western European institutions of knowledge, and how great a barrier it represents to other possibilities for knowing and understanding the world differently.[4] In his 'sociology of absences', noted earlier, Boaventura de Sousa Santos argues that through the epistemological and social monocultures of Europe there has been a 'gigantic mode of

production of silences, unpronounced abilities and absences' that has had a devastating impact on developing countries. Santos talks about global cognitive justice being an important part of global social justice.[5]

Indigenous academic researchers in the area of traditional knowledge have to work at a philosophical or epistemological (theory of knowledge) level to muster their arguments, as well as at very practical levels such as the provision of support for Indigenous students or the design of a course. In the academic environment they are assessed by their peers through such criteria as publication in international refereed journals of high standing. Yet another challenge is thus to find a suitably revered journal that publishes papers on traditional Indigenous knowledge. The difficulty in identifying such publishing outlets is indicative of the way the academic environment works to legitimate certain kinds of knowledge. Activist academic researchers who understand this challenge have attempted to create forums for Indigenous scholarship and programmes for supporting Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing, but these attempts are for the most part still in the margins.

Field-based science researchers have different challenges as they often work for very large research organizations or companies such as the United States National Institutes of Health or, in New Zealand, the Crown Research Institutes. The imperatives of these organizations are to solve problems and to turn a profit while they do this. Profit for the organization is a major driver of the way they undertake research. In these systems Indigenous researchers often bring capacities to the organization that it needs, such as networks with Indigenous communities and understandings about how communities work, but they also operate in a difficult environment where their culture is seen as potential intellectual property.

Traditional Indigenous Knowledge: Where the Work of Activists and Research Come Together

The NGO sector provides one potential bridge giving activists access to the kinds of research specifically relevant to their needs. Academic researchers and community-based researchers, however, do produce research that activists may find extremely powerful. Academic researchers are trained to provide in-depth analyses and have the freedom to conduct research that is out on the edge of knowledge. Academic researchers – and often these are graduate students – do get to study issues in depth that no one else would probably fund (often

undergoing poverty in order to conduct their studies) and are expected to demonstrate a certain intellectual dedication to their task. The point is that it is often graduate students who are doing substantial original research, and they represent a potential pool of researchers who could work in collaboration with activism. There are some risks in such a collaboration, but they can also be managed or planned for ahead of time.

Community-based researchers offer something quite different because they are so well placed within a community to document what is happening at a local level over long periods of time. They have the advantages and disadvantages of being eye witnesses to events and their aftermath; they lend a different kind of evidentiary authority because of the immediacy of their context. A major problem for both Indigenous researchers and activists is the lack of a good internationally networked clearing house and archives that can locate, coordinate, analyse and disseminate research and evidentiary documentation. There are very good electronic Indigenous networks and some great websites where information can be downloaded, but most information is stored within individual's memories and in specific networks of activists. A large part of the research stories that need to be told are small stories from local communities across time and space, in other words the stories that map devastation across generations and across landscapes, or the stories of transformation and hope that can also be tracked in this way.

A significant point to make here is that not all Indigenous thought about Indigenous knowledge is going to be useful for activists: rather, the very existence of a community that can study and research traditional Indigenous knowledge is something that activism has actually created and must also protect – in other words, it is a measure of the success of activism, but cannot be successful unless the knowledge scholars do the work they have to do to protect, defend, expand, apply and pass knowledge on to others. As an example, in the Māori arena, scholarship in terms of Indigenous knowledge seems to be flourishing especially within Māori institutions, but also across a range of quite diverse areas such as science, health, architecture, education, and visual or performing arts, as well as Māori Studies. Conceptual work and other research in relation to Māori knowledge, or what is known as Matauranga Māori, has been the subject of student dissertations, research programmes and funded science programmes. There are debates about what it is and how it is to be taught and learned. There are Masters level courses in Māori educational institutions of higher learning known as Wananga that focus specifically on Matauranga Māori. This level of activity and

institutionalization is indebted to activism that has stretched back over several decades. The types of activism required over each generation to protect and nurture Indigenous knowledge have varied from direct political action and protests to defend the Māori language, court actions, land occupations and claims to the Waitangi Tribunal through to the implementation of programmes that would nurture the knowledge in public institutions. Traditional Indigenous knowledge is regenerating in spaces created by activism.

Getting the Story Right, Telling the Story Well

Let's now return to the ideas of improving the world, world peace and saving 'mankind'. Most research is produced on the basis that it will contribute to something greater than itself, and that it adds value to society for the future. Most countries that invest heavily in research are investing in developing tools for change or technologies and insights that will take a country into the future. The research ideal of benefiting society is an important ideal. Interestingly it is a very activist notion because it implies that societies will change, that they will be improved and that lives will get better. Research is expected to lead to social transformation. The critical question for Indigenous communities is that research has never really demonstrated that it can benefit communities – because the benefits never reach Indigenous peoples or are used as a ploy or tactic to coerce Indigenous communities into sacrificing their cultural values, leaving their homes, giving up their languages and surrendering control over basic decision making in their own lives.

In other words, research exists within a system of power. What this means for Indigenous researchers as well as Indigenous activists and their communities is that Indigenous work has to 'talk back to' or 'talk up to' power. There are no neutral spaces for the kind of work required to ensure that traditional Indigenous knowledge flourishes; that it remains connected intimately to Indigenous people as a way of thinking, knowing and being; that it is sustained and actually grows over future generations. The title of this chapter is ambiguous for a reason: getting the story right and telling the story well are tasks that Indigenous activists and researchers must both perform. There are few people on the ground and one person must perform many roles – activist, researcher, family member, community leader – plus their day job. The nexus, or coming together, of activism and research occurs at the level of a single individual in many circumstances. An activist

must get the story right as well as tell the story well, and so must a researcher. In a world where Indigenous peoples wielded some political and economic power, activists would be able to call up their 'think tank', with its head office near the other institutions of power, and ask for research on any given topic. Researchers would be trained to provide it in multiple forms. In an ideal world there are some issues that activists and researchers would not ever have to address.

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Notes

1 Dale, Roger and Susan Robertson (2004), 'An Interview with Boaventura de Sousa Santos', *Globalization, Societies and Education*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 147–60.
2 Olssen, Mark (1996), 'Radical Constructivism and Its Failings: Anti-Realism and Individualism', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 275–95.
3 'Flax roots' is a phrase often used for 'grass roots' in New Zealand, where flax has a vast range of soil-stabilizing, ecological and medicinal uses.
4 Shiva, Vandana (1993), *Monocultures of the Mind: Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology*, Zed Books, London.
5 Dale and Robertson, 'An Interview with Boaventura de Sousa Santos'.

REFLECTIONS

I am finishing this third edition in a time of the coronavirus Covid-19. The world is shutting down as the epicentre has moved from China to Europe and as it escalates here in Aotearoa New Zealand. I have been in self-isolation for 14 days, in national emergency for 5 days and am facing four more weeks at least. I reminded my students this morning via video conference that Indigenous peoples have had to survive multiple epidemics as well as the Influenza pandemic in 1918. Contact with Europeans was devastating because we lacked immunity to help us with measles, chicken pox, tuberculosis and flus. Even when public health systems were established, in the early twentieth century in New Zealand, Māori people were initially not included and were left to fend for ourselves. The huge inequities in our public health systems and social services remain and we find ourselves in 2020 relying on the commitment, creativity and values of love from our communities to help us through this difficult time.

How does decolonizing methodologies help us when the world is in crisis? At the very least it tells us that the world of the powerful still doesn't care about us and that we have to practice our own knowledge and values, advocate for the care we are entitled to, be creative in our responses and look after ourselves as communities. It also tells us, as I hope the book conveys that critique is not enough. We have to continue to act, to use our own imaginations, to enhance our own institutions and forge our own pathways. Decolonizing is a practice of hopefulness, a belief that there is a future and a certainty that we have to work to achieve that as it will not be gifted to us soon a plate. Decolonizing methodologies are also practices of sovereignty, of being self-determining at an everyday level. These are not just ideological or idealistic practices but ones that need to be nuanced to our own contexts, that have to be pragmatic in the face of catastrophe and that have to build upon the knowledge we have learned over hundreds of years.

This book has explored the intersection of two powerful worlds, the world of Indigenous peoples and the world of research. They are two important worlds for me: I move within them; in one sense I was born into one and educated into the other. I negotiate the intersection

of these worlds every day. It can be a complicated, challenging and interesting space. When *Decolonizing Methodologies* was first published in 1999, Indigenous activists were engaged with states and governments in the drafting of a proposed United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, commonly known as 'The Draft Declaration'. At the same time the world of research – through its institutions, disciplines and communities – was concerned about educational and economic reforms and grappling with the advent of the internet and other technologies. Today, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is official, albeit signed belatedly by my own country of New Zealand, and research institutions have been so transformed by technology that it is hard to imagine carrying out teaching or research without access to the internet and digital technologies.

Methodology in its simplest definition generally refers to the theory of method, or the approach or technique being taken, or the reasoning for selecting a set of methods. This is a very broad definition as there are discipline-specific ideas about theory, methodology and method. *Decolonizing Methodologies* is concerned not so much with the actual technique of selecting a method but much more with the context in which research problems are conceptualized and designed, and with the implications of research for its participants and their communities. It is also concerned with the institution of research, its claims, its values and practices, and its relationships to power. It has 'talked back to' and 'talked up to' research as an institution of knowledge that is embedded in a global system of imperialism and power. The book has been used to stimulate far-reaching discussions within Indigenous contexts, academic institutions, non-government organizations and other community-based groups about the knowledge claims of disciplines and approaches, about the content of knowledge, about absences, silences and invisibilities of other peoples, about practices and ethics, and about the implications for communities of research.

When the book was first published, the worlds of Indigenous peoples and research intersected only to the extent that Indigenous communities were most often the objects or subjects of study by non-Indigenous researchers. They were not considered agents themselves, as capable of or interested in research, or as having expert knowledge about themselves and their conditions. I wrote *Decolonizing Methodologies* primarily to disrupt relationships between researchers (mostly non-Indigenous) and researched (Indigenous), between a colonizing institution of knowledge and colonized peoples whose own knowledge was subjugated, between academic theories and academic

values, between institutions and communities, and between and within Indigenous communities themselves. I wrote as someone who was engaged in research, who had struggled through the standard, academic research preparation, who had studied 'research methods', taken compulsory statistics, and who had questioned the relevance, politics, ethicality and practice of research. I also taught research approaches to students and supervised their dissertation research. I understood research as a set of ideas, practices and privileges that were embedded in imperial expansionism and colonization and institutionalized in academic disciplines, schools, curricula, universities and power. Along with my colleagues I attempted to develop approaches to research that addressed the stinging criticism being made by my own communities about the unethical, individualistic practice of research that in their view often rewarded researchers for telling half-truths or downright lies, that misrepresented our world, and that gave authority about us to academic researchers. That space was, and remains, a difficult space to navigate.

The audience I imagined for the book would be the Indigenous scholars, students and activists I had been meeting around the world who were engaged in similar struggles to mine, to develop research that was meaningful for my communities, to find an academic voice and identity that sat well with a strong Indigenous identity, to draw together a literature that spoke to the Indigenous condition at local, national and global levels, and to develop ideas and resources that would assist our development as peoples and communities. Perhaps the most-quoted sentence in the book is: 'The word itself, "research", is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary.' It focused the purpose for writing a book about research as it was understood within Indigenous contexts at that time. I still hear statements at meetings and conferences across the world that echo the perception still held by many Indigenous communities that research has been a process that exploits Indigenous peoples, their culture, their knowledge and their resources. In New Zealand the 'dirty' aspect of research is often stated more as a historical feature of our own experience, as many of our communities have become active in research and more Indigenous researchers and institutions bridge the intersection between research and community. Yet in my experience many approaches to research remain insulated against the challenges of either Indigenous research or stronger ethical protocols, and continue to see Indigenous peoples, their values and practices as political hindrances that get in the way of good research.

In 1999, the term 'Indigenous' was also contentious and 'dirty' in some contexts. I wrote from a position of being Indigenous in an English-speaking world, which seemed complicated enough, but the process of translation into other languages and contexts has been instructive. It has revealed the layers of complexity, nuances of language and everyday acts of being Indigenous that make the Indigenous story a profoundly rich global story of human experience. There are many countries where Indigenous is not a term that can be used safely by communities who might wish to call themselves Indigenous. They may be defined by their own state (China, say) as ethnic groups, or as 'tribals' in India, as peasants in Latin America, or as mountain peoples in South Asia. Indeed, I found that some might simply be classed as de-registered 'criminals' (India again). Identifying as 'Indigenous' can be dangerous in some parts of the world; it can be associated with dirtiness, savagery, rebellion and, since 9/11, with terrorism. But the world does change, and some countries have embraced the aspirations of Indigenous sovereignty as they have assumed political power or leverage in their own countries. The message of decolonization issuing from many writers in the field is that the process of decolonizing can be extremely 'messy', often leading to extreme violence; and that in a political sense it can fail miserably, replacing one corrupt elite with its mimics. The intellectual project of decolonizing has to set out ways to proceed through a colonizing world. It needs a radical compassion that reaches out, that seeks collaboration, and that is open to possibilities that can only be imagined as other things fall into place. *Decolonizing Methodologies* is not a method for revolution in a political sense but provokes some revolutionary thinking about the roles that knowledge, knowledge production, knowledge hierarchies and knowledge institutions play in decolonization and social transformation.

Decolonizing Methodologies was written in two distinctive parts. Academic audiences have been mostly engaged by the first part of the book, which shows the imperial legacies of Western knowledge and the ways in which those legacies continue to influence knowledge institutions to the exclusion of Indigenous peoples and their aspirations. Chapters from this section have been reproduced in a number of edited collections of post-colonial studies, ethnic studies, and research methodologies. While I did not write explicitly for non-Indigenous, academic audiences, the book has been reviewed extensively by diverse disciplines, is used widely as a text in academic programmes, and has helped galvanize some research groups into new projects, new collaborations and new relationships. The book has somehow

reached and touched a hugely diverse range of scholars, from different disciplines and linguistic contexts. It has been a catalyst for re-examining curricula, for revising some professional and ethical standards, and for capacity building and community empowerment projects. *Decolonizing Methodologies* located responsibility to change society in both the non-Indigenous and Indigenous worlds, but also sought to promote and support Indigenous communities in their particular struggles.

The second part of the book has appealed more to Indigenous readers, who have used it as a platform to develop their own research and to engage in constructive dialogue with others. These chapters were written to show the possibilities of re-imagining research as an activity that Indigenous researchers could pursue within disciplines and institutions, and within their own communities. One connection that I made in the book was between the Indigenous agenda of self-determination, Indigenous rights and sovereignty, on the one hand, and, on the other, a complementary Indigenous research agenda that was about building capacity and working towards healing, reconciliation and development. At the time Indigenous activists, scholars, educators and development workers were mostly operating in their own silos, pursuing worthy and just aims but not really supporting each other effectively. Subsequent Indigenous scholarship has theorized the vision of self-determination especially around development, and a large body of intellectual and practical work has gone into showing how society and communities can be transforming in ways that are self-empowering, exciting and hopeful. There are always lessons to be learned in the process of decolonizing: it is not enough to hope or desire change. Systemic change requires capability, leadership, support, time, courage, reflexivity, determination and compassion. It is hard work and the outcome often seems a distant vision. Paulo Freire referred to this as praxis, theory, action and reflection; Graham Smith has called it Indigenous transforming praxis.[1]

At the time the book was written there were already examples of Indigenously based research projects and methodologies, of engagements between institutions and Indigenous communities, especially in the field of ethics, and of good practices and collaborations. The discussion of twenty-five projects in Chapter 8 has had the most influence in terms of helping to frame the explosion of Indigenous research that has occurred since *Decolonizing Methodologies* was first published. The projects brought together an emergent body of intellectual work being conducted across the world by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars. It connected isolated researchers with

a community of researchers and helped identify shared concerns and aspirations. This edition adds twenty more projects to consider. The new ones are reflective of the work being done in our communities. The first edition of *Decolonizing Methodologies* hinted at the possibility of Indigenous research methodologies but did not fully explore these. In recent years much more is being published that explicitly focuses on Indigenous research methodologies, Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous practices, and increasingly these studies are written by Indigenous scholars. Within the last twenty years Indigenous studies has become a clear strand of study in higher education, often a subject major, within areas such as American Indian Studies, Aboriginal Studies, First Nation Studies and Māori Studies, and there is a vibrant multidisciplinary literature supporting these programmes. In world forums Indigenous and traditional knowledge and cultural practices are raised as much in relation to biodiversity, climate change, and intellectual property regimes as in relation to human rights. In 2010 in New Zealand the Waitangi Tribunal released one of its most eagerly anticipated reports on the findings of claims related to cultural and intellectual property rights. Often referred to simply as WAI262 after its claim number, the Report 'Ko Aotearoa Tenei' has yet to be fully discussed or adapted into actual policies and regulations, but is a landmark document that will have major implications in New Zealand and further afield.

Decolonizing Methodologies has been read by qualitative and quantitative researchers alike, by social scientists and humanities scholars, by architects, engineers and scientists, by artists and practitioners of various professions. The most unlikely readers may have been the women prisoners who were taught about research by Michelle Fine and her students from the City University of New York (CUNY), and who went on to train guide dogs; or possibly the aboriginal chapter of a motorcycle gang, who emailed me about running a workshop at their convention. I have been invited to talk at some very faraway places, from the Arctic Circle of Greenland and from Norway to the lower Himalayas of India and to northern China, and to academic conferences across the globe. For Indigenous and academic colleagues and students, many of the ideas raised in the book seem to have resonated with their own circumstances despite its obvious location in the Anglo-American tradition of colonialism, education and political culture. They have adapted these ideas or used them in different ways to explain and develop their own frameworks. It has given some 'permission' to speak out and to speak for their communities and their experiences. Once

ideas go out in the world, people make of them what they will, and an author has little control. I hope that people have found the book useful in a good way.

Some non-Indigenous people have commented on how angry I must have been to write such a book, and I have usually replied by saying that I wrote the book with passion and from a place of love rather than in anger. Of course, the 'angry Native woman' is a racist motif frequently used to silence us. We need our own tools as well as newly designed tools to help us thrive intellectually, spiritually, physically and collectively. This book presents some tools old, new, or refreshed that help us in our knowledge work, that help us retain and enhance our intellectual sovereignty.

The book does not write against knowledge or research, but for new ways of knowing and discovering, and new ways to think about research with Indigenous peoples. Its challenges are intentional and possibly still desperate because of the crises and marginality that still partly characterize the lives of most Indigenous peoples. The book affirms the importance of research and links it to advancing and developing Indigenous aspirations. The last two chapters of the book draw some attention to what it means for a researcher to choose this kind of research, and what it means to link research to activist scholarship. Chapter 11 was written as part of a research project with Fiona Cram and other colleagues: we took our research ideas out to communities for critique and then consequently revised our ideas based on the critical feedback we all received. Chapter 12 has been previously published but draws together the work of Indigenous activists and Indigenous researchers, and shows how different contributions can support each other and enhance an Indigenous agenda for transformation.

Note

1 See Freire, P. (1986), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Continuum, New York, p. 36; Smith, G. H. (2004), 'Mai I te Maramatanga ki te Putanga mai o te Tahuritanga: from Concientization to Transformation', *Educational Perspective. Journal of the College of Education University of Hawai'I Manoa*, pp. 46–52.

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