



Decolonizing Methodologies

RESEARCH AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Linda Tuhiwai Smith



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- 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.
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- 9 See Mander, J. (1991), 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 Maori Education, Monograph 21, University of Auckland.
- 12 Mander, J. (1991), 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

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 mobilised resistance efforts, engaging in protest and other kinds of direct, 'extraordinary' politics.²

In explaining the emergence in New Zealand of radical Maori organizations, Ranginui Walker writes that they 'were an underground expression of rising political consciousness'.³

In New Zealand the movement for Maori has been contested, debated, developed, refined, prioritized and shaped by radical action. The journey towards a wider movement by Maori has been fraught with political strife and social conflict. It has witnessed the challenges of a younger generation of Maori to the dominant hegemony held by Maori

in the 1960s and 1970s, and the challenges of Maori 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 Maori Education Development Conference (1984), the Maori Economic Development Conference (1985) and Kura Kaupapa Maori (1986). While political protests are still a feature of Maori action, what needs to be seen alongside the protests are the range of initiatives and cultural revitalization projects which have been advanced. For Maori 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* (Maori language) and *tikanga Maori* (Maori cultural customs). These concepts, which are embedded in the Maori language and world view, provided a way of coming together on Maori 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 Maori 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 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, 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. The 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, 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 Maori 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 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 mobilised 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

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 Maori 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 Maori on our own. White people have cut across class barriers to unite on the basis of white hegemony; that is, white domination of the Maori. 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 reestablishing, 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 re-discovered 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 Maori to redress grievances were directed at the Queen of England and there are several examples in the nineteenth century and this century 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 Washington 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. Tent embassies were established by Aborigines in Australia 1972 and by Maori 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 Maori 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,

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 civilising 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 is continuing through the drafting process of the Draft 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 in the end will be the forum who approve the Declaration, its progress through the drafting and consultations is not only highly educative but extremely political, with member states positioning themselves in ways which advance their own image at one level while protecting their own sovereignty at another.

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 politics. 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.

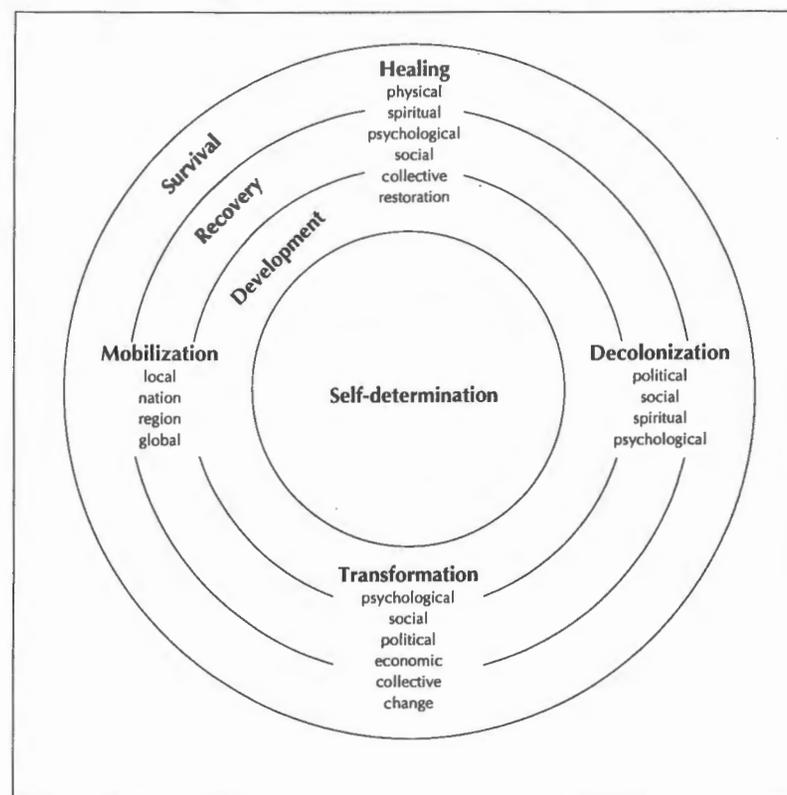
The research agenda is conceptualized here as constituting a programme and set of approaches that are situated within the decolonization politics of the indigenous peoples' movement. The agenda is

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 localised 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 Maori 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.

Four major tides are represented in the chart as: survival, recovery, development, 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.

Figure 6.1 The Indigenous Research Agenda



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 recognise indigenous peoples as the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge 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 Maori communities extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality. In a discussion of what may constitute sound ethical principles for research in Maori communities, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has identified a set of responsibilities which researchers have to Maori 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 Maori practices.²³ These are not prescribed in codes of

conduct for researchers, but tend to be prescribed for Maori 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 kaua e 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 Maori 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.

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.

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), *Maori 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 21 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, *Maori 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', in *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*, ed. Jaimes, p. 101.
- 13 Van der Wall, J. (1992), 'A Warrior Caged; the Continuing Struggle of Leonard Peltier', in *The State of Native America*, ed. Jaimes, Boston, 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*, ed. Jaimes, 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', in *The State of Native America*, ed. Jaimes, 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 Awakotuku, N. and Manatu Maori (1991), *He Tikanga Whakaaro. Research Ethics*

in the Maori Community, Manatu Maori, 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 Maori 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 Archibald, J. (1996), 'Transforming First Nations Research with Respect and Power', in *Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 245-67.

CHAPTER 7

Articulating an Indigenous Research Agenda

Diary notes

1991 Ottawa. [Husband] Graham and I invited as guest delegates to attend the All Chiefs Special Conference on Education, hosted by the Assembly of First Nations, sat with friends from the Squamish delegation, the Pacific links are very strong.

1991 Published journal of Maori women's writings *Te Pua*.

1992 [Sister] Aroha in official delegation to Rio de Janeiro for Earth Summit.

1993 January 1st attended gathering of Ngati Porou for celebration of the International Year for Indigenous Peoples, convened women's meeting.

1993 Whakatane, Mataatua. Gathering of indigenous delegates to discuss cultural and intellectual property rights, organized by Aroha, conference produced the Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

1993 Wollongong, New South Wales, World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education. Attended along with several thousand others, including about two thousand Maori. Conference issued the Coolangatta Statement.

1994 Aroha away overseas involved in discussions on the Convention on Biological Diversity.

1994 Wellington, meeting of Maori health researchers, developed draft declaration on Maori health research.

1994 Academic adviser for Te Wananga o Awanuiarangi, tribal university.

1995 Prepared submission on behalf of Ngati Awa for the Waitangi Tribunal.