Knowledge

Makers

Artist's Statement

My thinking behind the Knowledge Makers design was drawn from a few ideas I read in the Indigenous Storywork article. Archibald (2008) discusses the design of baskets: "I use the basket as one metaphor for learning about stories and storytelling." (p.2). When discussing Holism Archibald explains it "symbolizes wholeness, completeness, and ultimate wellness. The never-ending circle also forms concentric circles to show both synergistic influence of and our responsibility toward the generations of ancestry, the generation of today, and the generation to come" (p.11). My design works off of these two images showing that the Knowledge Makers program is working from the many generations of Indigenous knowledge that came before us and is weaving towards a future generation of Indigenous researchers - Levi Glass

Archibald, J. A. (2008). An Indigenous storywork methodology. Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples, and issues, 371-393

Now, our youth are trying to understand our responsibilities to that circle. The seventh-generation knows the atrocities that have happened in the last 500 years. It's now time to start working together, it's time for healing. We know everything, the pain, and suffering, our minds are becoming straight again. We can heal because we know the history.

—Elder Mike Arnouse
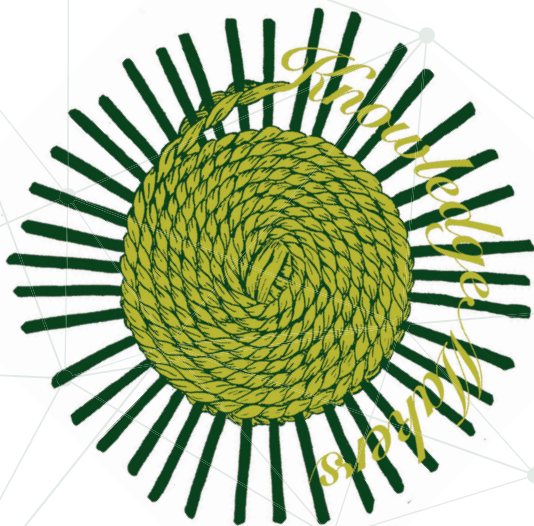
Knowledge Makers 2021
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THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY

"

We need to bring the metaphysical back. Because if we look at problems, in my field of psychology, they're seen as biological or experiential, primarily. And most indigenous cultures, it is biological, experiential, and metaphysical... and you can't leave the spiritual component out of it. And I think that western culture for some reason separates that.

~ *Rod McCormick*

"

FOREWORD

The symbol for Knowledge Makers is of a pine needle basket being made – an Indigenous skill, particular to Secwépemc Nation, with each piece adding strength and creating the whole; each distinct yet significant. This edition of the Knowledge Makers journal shows what is possible when we bring different baskets and different weaving to our table. This edition of Knowledge Makers is international and spans across the Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) to Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. As many of you know 2020 was a distinct year, and like many other things our hopes of coming together in person were impacted by COVID-19. Our authors showed amazing strength and patience as this edition of Knowledge Makers was bought together amongst international turmoil. We thank you for every unique strand you wove so that you could gift the beginning of your baskets to this cause. Knowledge Makers is an interdisciplinary research mentoring initiative based at Thompson Rivers University that supports Indigenous undergraduate students to become researchers. Normally, the selected students participate in creating online portfolios and a two-day workshop exploring Indigenous research. They prepare research action plans and produce papers for the Knowledge Makers publication. A gathering is held with the university, community, and loved ones in attendance to share the moment when the Knowledge Makers, as first-generation Indigenous researchers, receive their first copy of their first publication. However, COVID-19 meant not only did last year's celebration go digital, but this editions in person workshops also occurred in the digital realm. Despite this, we still we feel honoured to be in each other's company, and so inspired as we shared our stories across a digital space and the ocean. Since its inception five years ago Knowledge Makers has had over 60 participants from over 30 nations, of whom two have been National Scholarships winners (SSHRC), one has received a SSHRC research grant ($50,000), fifteen have been research assistants, six have received Graduate Research Scholarships, four have continued to Masters, one has completed an International Internship, two have gone onto Post-Baccalaureate Studies, one was awarded an Undergraduate Research Experience Award Grant (TRU), and two have presented at international conferences. What began as an undergraduate initiative now includes three Knowledge Makers Circles – undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral. It is a remarkable journey each year to go from receiving student applications, to selection, e-portfolios, workshop, and publication. This year we see even more articles drawing on published research by Indigenous researchers and importantly we begin to see the weaving patterns that we share.
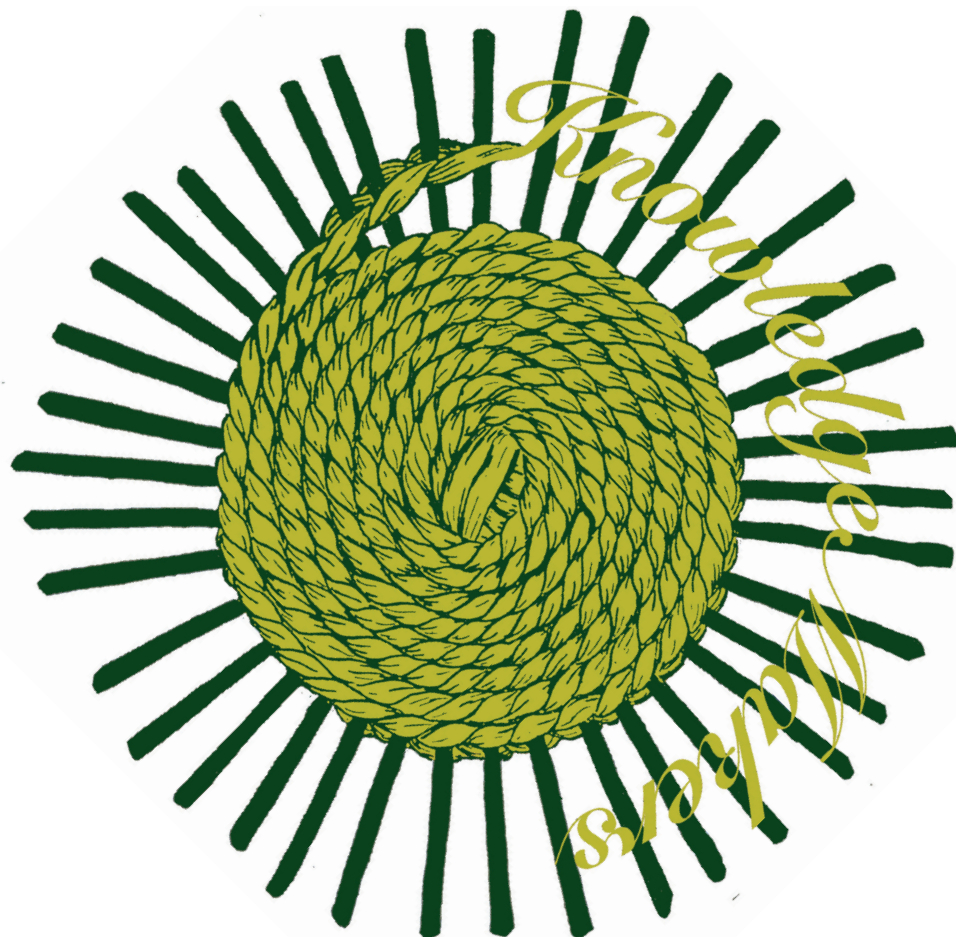
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thompson Rivers University campuses are on the traditional lands of the Tk'emlups te Secwépemc (Kamloops campus) and the T'exelc (Williams Lake campus) within Secwépemc'ulucw, the traditional and unceded territory of the Secwépemc. The region TRU serves also extends into the territories of the Stat'imc, Nlaka'pamux, Tsilh'qotin, Nuxalk, Dakelh, and Métis communities. We recognize that this territory has been a place of research, teaching, and learning since time immemorial.

~

Kukwstsétselp

Will Garrett-Petts

Professor and Associate Vice-President,
Research & Graduate Studies
Thompson Rivers University

MAKING KNOWLEDGE AND INDIGENIZING RESEARCH AT TRU

The Knowledge Makers program began with the aim of closing achievement gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous learners. A little over six years ago, TRU's Director of Research and Graduate Studies completed an analysis of our Undergraduate Research Experience Program (UREAP)—a capstone, paid research experience available to students across campus. Despite the fact that Indigenous students represent approximately 10% of TRU's enrolment, he found that, over a five-year period, on average only 2% of the UREAP awards were going to Indigenous undergraduates. Knowledge Makers was created as a response, with the ambition of advancing equitable research experiences for *all* students.

In consultation with Research and Graduate Studies, Drs. Airini and Naepi, the co-founders of Knowledge Makers, wisely advocated for more than a cosmetic change to the existing program; they proposed instead a complete re-thinking of undergraduate research training, arguing that, in the spirit of Indigenization, we needed to reframe conventional research practices, moving the locus of attention from individual and disciplinary knowledge production to an Indigenous-led learning community approach.

Instead of the mentor/mentee model informing the UREAP, Knowledge Makers took up the project of Indigenous advancement, intentionally developing young researchers by welcoming them into a community of Indigenous scholars, and introducing them as a cohort to multiple worldviews, ancestral knowledge, Indigenous research methods and cultural protocols, and a special appreciation for the impact of research practices and outcomes on the communities we serve. This collaborative effort is supported by university leaders, Elders, faculty, staff, and community members, who contribute to this non-credit, four-month annual program.

The results have been nothing short of stunning. Most graduates of the Knowledge Makers program speak of the experience as "empowering" and "transformational"; and the program has been recognized nationally and internationally, with awards and endorsements from the Society for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education and Mitacs (a national, not-for-profit organization that has designed and delivered research and training programs in Canada for 20 years).

Today, Knowledge Makers is widely regarded as a significant response to the TRC's Calls to Action—and a complement to TRU's Coyote Project (a pan-university commitment to improving Indigenous student success), to Ombaashi (an international and national network for mentoring Indigenous researchers), and to the All My Relations Research Centre (which brings together "regional, national and international Indigenous researchers to work in partnership with Indigenous communities to identify, research, advance and build capacity and capability in Indigenous community wellness").

The contributors to this year's *Knowledge Makers Journal* are participating in a legacy-building journey, one that has moved TRU's understanding of research and research training from a deficit model (addressing achievement gaps) to a pedagogical model of celebration, mutual respect, equity and Indigenous advancement.

"It's a way of life that can't be categorized, our people are one mind one body one spirit, that's what a nation should be made up of. We carry all of this knowledge in our bodies, we cannot separate them, this is what a nation should be made of.

~ *Elder Mike Arnouse*

Tina Matthew

Simpcw First Nation (People of the Rivers)
Executive Director in the Office of Indigenous Education
Thompson Rivers University

NÉK̓ELC (CHANGE/TRANSFORMATION)

Territorial Acknowledgment

Thompson Rivers University campuses are on the traditional lands of the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (Kamloops campus) and the T'exelc (Williams Lake campus) within Secwépemc'ulucw, the traditional and unceded territory of the Secwépemc. The region TRU serves also extends into the territories of the St'át'imc, Nlaka'pamux, Nuxalk, Tšilhqot'in, Dakelh, and Syilx nation.

Weyt-kp xwexwéytep Tina Matthew ren skwekwst te Simpcw re st7é7kwen. My kí7ce (mom) is Geri Matthew from Neskonlith and her mom is Mary Allen from Neskonlith, and her dad is Joe Sampson from Adams Lake Indian Band. My qé7tse (dad) is Ron Matthew from Simpcw and his mom is Delores Jules from Skeetchestn, and his dad is Wilfred Matthew from Simpcw First Nation. I would like to thank Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc for allowing us in their beautiful territory and acknowledge our elders, leaders, and those who have gone on to the spirit world. I would like to say kukwstsétsemc for the teachings and support that have brought us all here, to this place.

It is an honour to be asked to share some words and thoughts to introduce this year's Knowledge Makers (KM) journal. First, I would like to thank all of the students for their time, dedication and effort in sharing their research that are included in this book. I am grateful for Dr. Airini and Dr. Will Garrett Petts for starting this important project and for Dr. Rod Mcormick, Director of All My Relations Indigenous research center and Sandra Bandura KM Associate Director

for continuing this important work. I have been very fortunate to have worked with this amazing team and many others who are committed to supporting Indigenous undergraduate students. I look forward to many more stories in the years to come. I am also extremely grateful for TRU Chancellor Nathan Matthew for creating such a strong foundation in Indigenization and encouraging Indigenous academics and scholars to step up and take our places at the front of classrooms, and in leadership positions at TRU.

It is very fitting for Knowledge Makers to have a traditional Secwepemc pine needle basket to represent the work being carried out with this journal. Pine needles can be collected all year around, and when you collect the needles you always honour Mother Earth for her gifts with an offering. This reciprocity between humans and the land is like knowledge; it is shared freely amongst elders, community members, and youth. We are here at this university to learn and share our knowledge with our families, our communities and with each other and in this way, we become stronger together. We all have gifts to share with one another and people arrive in our lives when we are ready to receive the specific teachings, they have for us. The pine needle baskets contain hundreds of stories and teachings and are interwoven together to make us a strong unified voice for Indigenous people.

As 2021 comes to a close, I reflect on how Covid impacted our communities but we all persevered, and did the best that we could under the circumstances. I reflect on

the isolation, fear, and losses from Covid and how so many elders, community members and youth were affected. I reflect our transition to online classes and the many challenges Indigenous students and faculty had, as well as limited access to internet and technology for some communities. I am also thinking about the disastrous effects the new Omicron variant is having on the world now.

I reflect on the 215 graves of the children across the river at Tk'emlups te Secwepemc Kamloops Indian Residential School this summer, extreme heat and fires this summer, the floods, homeless families, and the need to rebuild our communities. The biggest thing that I notice is that people reach out to one another other for support, connection, and caring. To see so many people come together, in so many different ways is incredibly inspiring.

Garry Gottfriedson the Secwepemc Cultural Advisor in the office of Indigenous Education recently shared a Secwepemc word with us: "**Nékelc**" which means to transform or change ourselves, our communities, and our university. As many universities across Canada are implementing the Truth & Reconciliation 94 Calls to Action, UNDRIP,

and embedding Indigenization at every level of the institution, this gives me hope. Many non-Indigenous people are asking questions, becoming allies, and willing to reflect, and act on Indigenization to forge a new path forward together with Indigenous people.

The Office of Indigenous Education is pleased to work with Ombaashi and All My Relations on the Knowledge Makers journal and also the Universities Canada Global Skills Opportunity for future travel opportunities for TRU Indigenous students, hosting Indigenous students & faculty from across the globe, and also offering online Indigenous focused workshops with our international partners.

We are indeed in a time of change and transformation, and I look forward to the many challenges and adventures Seklép our Creator, trickster and teacher has in store for us in this upcoming year. One thing I do know for sure is that we cannot do this work alone and that we all need each other for support and guidance to move Indigenization forward in a good and meaningful way.

Kukwstsétsemc!

AWAKEN

Elder
Doreen Kenoras
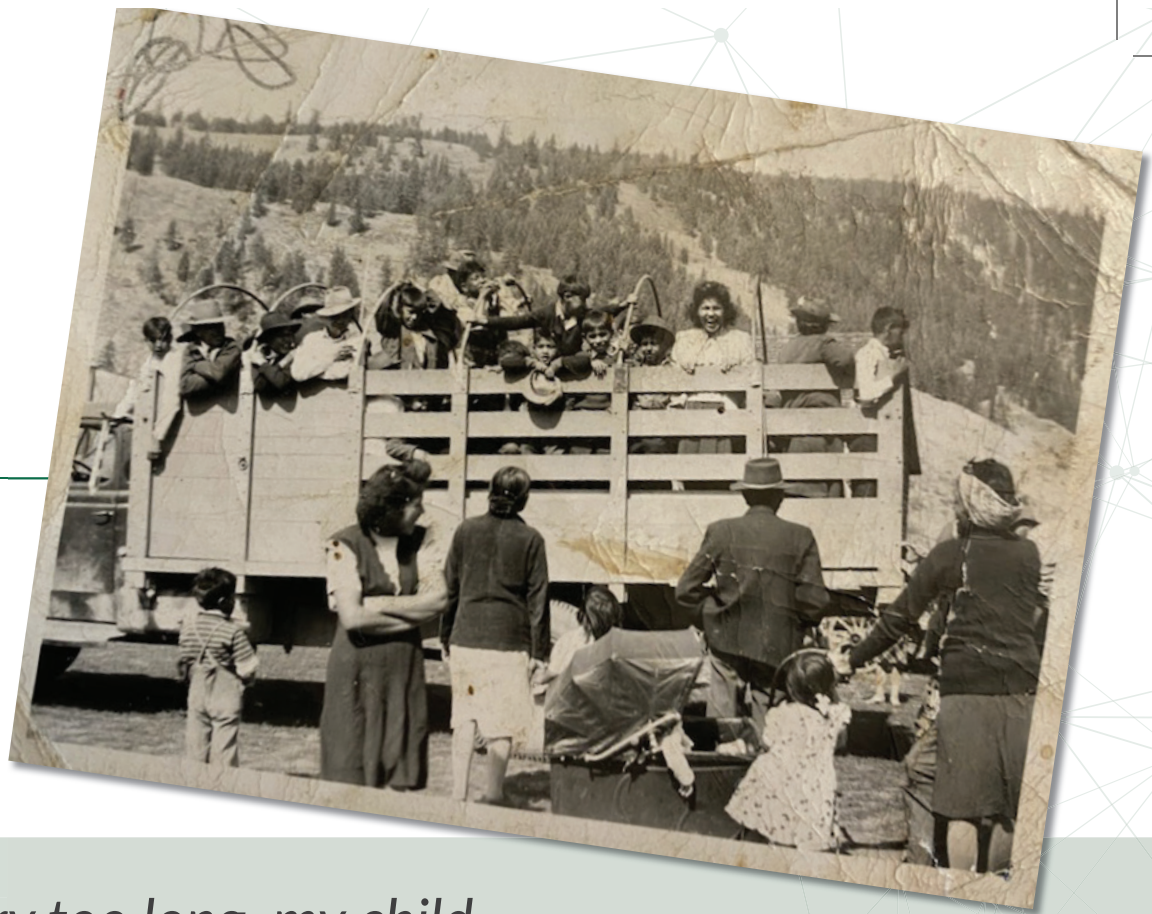
I heard you cry too long, my child

Awake...

For you are my witness
Longed waited for
Of untold stories of
Parallel grief

Come...
Let's join
Is echoed throughout

For now...
As one
We will be heard

For justice
To ease
Our unrested souls

Photo (1944): The cattle truck was used to gather and transported to the KIRS. This picture captures Doreen's elder sister, Irene Billy. (women holding young girls hand is Doreen's mother, Catherine, she holds the hand of Doreen's other sister, Sadie) Eight years later, Doreen remembers riding the same truck being taken away from her parents.

" I hope this song will continue to be a part of Knowledge Makers throughout the years. A song future researchers can take with them after the closing ceremony where they are handed their first Knowledge Makers journal and as they give their first copy of their journal to someone close to them who has helped or inspired them throughout their academic journey, the song will be heard. "

~ *Sandra Bandura*

National Truth and Reconciliation Day, Johnny Bandura and Mrs. Canada. Sept. 2021, Kamloops, BC.
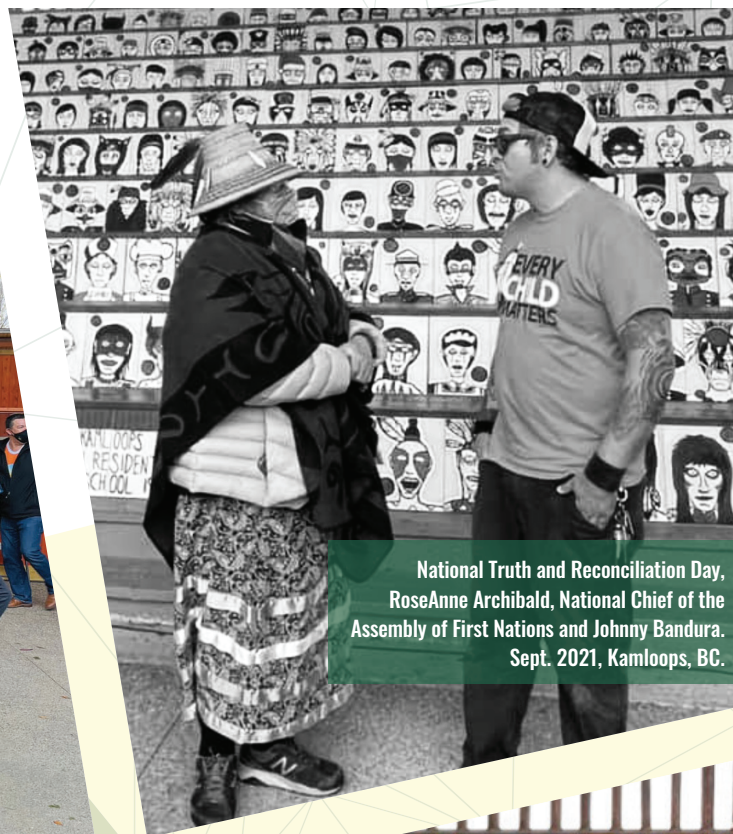
National Truth and Reconciliation Day, RoseAnne Archibald, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations and Johnny Bandura. Sept. 2021, Kamloops, BC.

National Truth and Reconciliation Day, Honourable Murray Rankin, Minister of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation and Johnny Bandura. Sept. 2021, Kamloops, BC.

THE 215

Johnny Bandura. Sept. 2021, Edmonton, AB.

My name is Johnny Bandura. On my mother's side, my grandparents were second generational European Settlers with ancestors coming from Poland, Germany, Scotland, and Ireland. On my father's side, my grandfather was 5th or 6th generation Chinese settler and my grandmother was one of the last members of Qayqayt First Nations. Although, I am Indigenous; I was not born into my culture or traditional ways of my ancestors, that lived on the banks of the Fraser River. My grandmother never talked about her Indigenous background. I don't believe the KIRS successfully "killed the Indian" in my grandmother but it did silence and shame her.

Our family was left in the dark about our history but several of us wear that ancestry every day. We were connected to our lost Indigenous family by racism. My grandmother might not have been able to stand in her Indignity. But she raised a family that could. When I was about ten; my father started reconnecting with his culture, ceremony and traditions; although, his teachers were not from our traditional territory—they guided him and embraced our family with open arms. They were not "Coast Salish" but we were accepted into their community. And I am grateful to them. My dad became a pipe carrier, sundancer and sweat lodge keeper in the Lakota way. He brought culture and ceremony into our home; Sundays we would sweat and in the summer we sundanced and had vision quests in huge ceremonies in South Dakota and Montana. My father was alone in search for his spiritual connection. But about same time, my aunt started to revive the "extinct" Qayqayt First Nation; which she successfully did in the late 90's becoming the first member of Qayqayt in almost half a century.

I attended childcare/daycamp programs on the grounds of KIRS. As children, my brothers, sister and I had no idea of the horrors that occurred there. No one talked about. But we all felt something there. Negative energy. A heaviness. Maybe a warning from unknown family members that had once lived in the cold and sterile building. A building where children lived but was more like prison than a home. My sister and I were both scared in the building. But we did not know the children that attended the school had been stolen, abused, unloved and brainwashed to hate their Indigenous blood. We did not know, by not claiming her Qayqayt identity, my grandmother protected her children. Which in turn, protected me.

I still cannot wrap my head around the destruction to families; how is it not recognized as a crime. Not only causing harm to Indigenous people but society, families are the foundational elements of our communities.

As a husband and father, I have a duty to my lost ancestors and the future generations to share what I have learned and experienced. I painted 215 portraits to find step into my role and duty in the Canada's attempt to reconcile.

For now, I will continue to create art. Art for settlers so maybe they can understand and feel the true cost of our country. Art for my Indigenous "cousins" across the world that are still unravelling the harm of colonization. So, they do not not forget of our power, knowledge and understanding. We know how to live on our land and the colonizers have a lot to learn. But right now, we are still working to remind our settlers our lives have value.

~ Johnny Bandura

"The children were stolen. The land was stolen. Reconciliation is when the land is returned to the people."

-Johnny B.

Orange Shirt Day Event, 215 portraits at the Thompson Rivers University Campus Activity Centre.
Sept. 2021, Kamloops, BC.
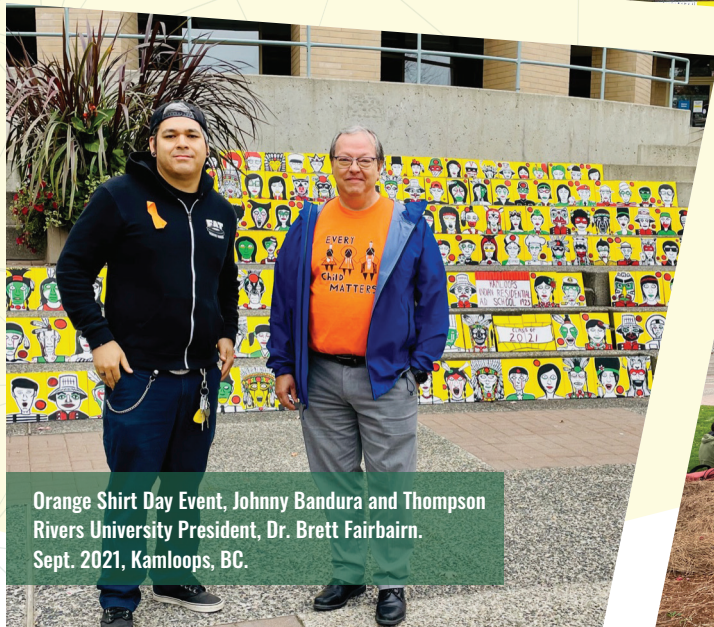
Orange Shirt Day Event, Johnny Bandura and Thompson Rivers University President, Dr. Brett Fairbairn.
Sept. 2021, Kamloops, BC.

Orange Shirt Day Event, 215 portraits at the Thompson Rivers University Campus Activity Centre.
Sept. 2021, Kamloops, BC.

Nā Te Mihinga Komene

Māori

University of Auckland ~ Master of Arts

Rere arorangi nei taku manu i te kōtihi o Pirongia-te-aroaro-o-Kahu, e hārō nei i runga ake o Waipā, o Pūrekireki-wīwī; te tumu herenga waka i tū ai te waka whakarei o Tainui i Kāwhia Moana. Tēnei te tau nei o Apakura, o Hikairo e mihi atu nei. Karanga mai rā koutou o te iwi Secwepemc i tō koutou tūrangawaewae o Kukwstsétsemc, nā tēnei kaupapa a koutou, tātou ngā iwi taketake o te ao i karahuihui ai, i tūhonohono ai, tēnā rā tātou katoa!"

KUA TĀMIA TE REO MĀORI E NGĀ HANGARAU WHAKAWHITI KŌRERO?

Kupu Takamua

Hei tā Tā Tīmoti Kāretu (n.d.) i roto i ngā tau, "E ora ai te reo, me kōrero" me taku whakaae mārika atu ki tēnā whakaōhiti āna, hoi, ka hāngai hoki tēnei peha ki ngā hangarau whakawhiti kōrero? Me aha kē hoki mēnā e aukatingia ana te reo Māori e ngā hangarau tahiko ka whakamahia e te hunga reo Māori, pērā i te Pukamata me te Huitopa? Ka ahatia tātou ki te kore ngā rawa ā-ipurangi e mārama ana, e aro ana ki te hua o te reo Māori, i te mea, he reo mātāmuri kē?

I tēnei tuhinga, ka whakaahuangia e au ngā tāmitanga o te reo Māori kāore i tino kōrerotia i ngā wāhi tūmatawhānui, engari, he mahi auau hoki o ia rā, o ia wā i ētehi hangarau whakawhiti kōrero matua. Ka tohua e au te korenga o ngā reo mātāmuri hei kōwhiringa whakawhiti kōrero ki ngā pūhara pae pāhopori. Ā, ka whakamārama hoki i ētehi āhuatanga tahiko aunoa e whakatakē ana i te reo Māori, hoi, ka noho kē ērā haepapa i ngā kamupene me ā rātou ake kaihanga pūmanawa. Mutu ana, ka tiritiria ētehi rautaki, urupare anō hoki hei tautoko i te hunga reo Māori ki te whaka-haere i ngētehi kawenga kia taurite ai te mana o te reo Māori i ērā o ngā reo tōkau o te ao.

Hei wherawhera i te tāhū o te kaupapa (Soria mā, 2016), "[minority languages] are bound to resort to major languages when living their digital lives, and this has dramatic consequences on the prestige of minority languages: perception of their marginal role and limited applicability is reinforced, and their attractiveness is diminished".

Ngā āhuatanga āpuru i te reo Māori ki ngā hangarau whakawhiti kōrero

Ki te riro te mana whakahaere o ngā hangarau tahiko i te kaitāmi, ā, kei a ia hoki te mana ki te whakaae, ki te whakarerekē rānei i te mātau-ranga, ko tōna otinga atu, he utauta tāmitanga anō te hangarau tahiko (Kamira, 2003). Ko te mea rerekē i tēnei momo tāmitanga, he kino ake te huna o ngā mahi. Inā te nui o ngā rōpū, ngā kamupene, ngā kāwanatanga, ngā aha rānei e whai wāhi ai ki te ao hangarau tahiko, ā, he uaua rawa atu ki te tautohu atu ko wai rā e taka ana i te mana o tētehi atu. Waihoki, he māmā noa iho ki te panoni i tō tuakiritanga me te whoatu ingoa kē hei huna i a koe anō. Hei tā Papa, 'Ko ngā āhuatanga kei muri kē i te awe kāpara o te mata o te rorohiko', (Indigenous 100, 2020).

Hei āpiti atu, ki te kore te kaihanga pap-atono e paku whakamānawa atu ki te reo taketake o iwi kē, pēnei i te reo Māori, he tāmi tonu tōna otinga atu. Koianei tāku e aro nei i tēnei wāhanga, arā, ko te whakaahua i ngā take auau o ia rā e kitea ana i ngā hangarau whakawhiti kōrero kia tohua atu tēnei mahi āpuru i te reo Māori o nāianei. Ko te kaupapa

ia, kia whakamārama atu ki whea kitea ai te tāmitanga o te reo Māori i ngā pae pāhopori, i ngā pūnaha hangarau tahiko anō hoki. He pei te āhuatanga o ngēnei tauira kia whakahokia te tangata ki te tuhi kōrero ki te reo Ingarihi kē, arā, ki tētehi reo mātāmua kē, kaua ki te tētehi reo mātāmuri. Ko tā Keegan (2014), ki te kore te reo mātāmuri e whai wāhi ai ki te ao hangarau, he whakaū i te taumata mātāmuri o taua reo, ā, ka panaia ki ngā roherohenga o tua, ki reira whakangaro atu rā.

He raruraru nui tēnei e whakaatu ana ki te ao, ehakē te reo Māori i te reo whai pānga i te ao e noho nei tātou, i te āpōpō, ā, he reo nō ukiuki kē. E ora ai te reo me hiahia ā tātou mokopuna ki tō tātou reo, ao i te pō, pō i te ao. Me rapu ara tātou ki te hāpai tonu i te tukuihotanga o te reo.

Tēnā, hei whakaahua atu i ēnei tū raru-raru, i tīkina ētehi hangarau whakawhiti kōrero e kaha whakamahia ana e te hunga kōrero Māori hei whakatauira atu i te tāmitanga o te reo Māori me te pana o aua hangarau kia mātāmua ko te reo Ingarihi.

Ko tā Tīhau āpuru i te reo Māori

Ko te reo Māori hei waka mō ngōku nei whakaaro. Ko tētehi o aua momo waka hei whakaputa i ngōku whakaaro, ko te pae pāhopori, ā, ko te pae pāhopori matua mōku hei whakatairanga i te reo Māori ki te ao whānui, ko Tīhau. E rua pea ngā take matua e pēnei ana. Ko tētehi nā, ko te whānuitanga, ko te hōrapa o te reo Māori mā tēnei pae mō

te kore utu hei whakanui i ngā kupu reo Māori hou, i ngā rauemi reo Māori, i ngā hōtaka reo Māori hou, i ngā aha, i ngā aha. Ko tētehi atu, ko te tūhonohono i ngā tāngata e kaha ana ki te hāpai i te reo Māori ahakoa ko wai, ahakoa nō whea. Arā noa atu ngā tāngata kua tūtakina e au mō tō mātou aroha ki te reo Māori te take.

Nō te tau 2012 i whakangungua mātou, ngā kaimahi Māori o Tātai Aho Rau, e ngētehi rautaki pae pāhopori mō te whakatairanga i ā mātou mahi mā Twitter. I whakaarohia kia whoatu he ingoa Māori ki ngā hangarau tahiko hou i taua wā, nā reira, i tapā a Twitter ki te ingoa Tīhau. He kupu hoki te tīhau i te waiata o *Te Aumangea* nā Te Makarini Temara, ā, e hāngai pū ana te mahi ketekete a ngā manu ki te ingoa ake o Twitter. Nō taua wā hoki i tīma-taria e au te kohikohi kupu hangarau tahiko hou ki tētehi kuputaka ripa kaute Kūkara (Komene, n.d.). He kuputaka hei āwhina i ngā kaiako kei ngā kura Māori o te motu. Ka tahi, kia whai kupu Māori rātou mō ngā hangarau, taupānga, rawa tahiko hou; ka rua kia ū tonu ai rātou ki ngā kawenga o aua kura, arā, kia kōrero Māori anahe. Nā, kua toka taua ingoa Tīhau ināianei.

Kia honoa ō kōrero mā te Tīhau, me hanga e koe tētehi tohumarau hei kawe i tō kaupapa. Nā, nō te waru tau pea ki muri, i whakaarohia e māua ko tōku hoamahi ko #TeReo te tohumarau hei tūhonohono i ngā take mō te reo Māori. Itiiti noa mātou e whakamahi ana i te tohumarau rā i te

Which languages do you speak?

You'll be able to see Tweets, people, and trends in any languages you choose.

English	☐	Malay - Melayu	☐
Amharic - አማርኛ	☐	Malayalam - മലയാളം	☐
Arabic - العربية	☐	Marathi - मराठी	☐
Armenian - հայերեն	☐	Nepali - नेपाली	☐
		Norwegian - norsk	☐

tīmatanga, ā, he tauhou hoki te nuinga o ngā tāngata ki te tuku kōrero mā Tīhau i taua wā rā. Nāwai, nāwai, i whakaputa tīhau a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, i a Te Karere, i a Stacey Morrison, i te hunga rongonui i te ao reo Māori, ā, ka whakamanahia ai te tohumarau i reira. Koia tētehi āhuatanga whakahaumanu i te reo Māori. Me hōrapa te whakamahi kia toka ai te kupu hou, te rauemi, waihoki, te pae pāhopori hou i te hunga kōrero Māori. Hei tā Poutu (2015, wh.407), 'Tēnei te whakahau, kia 'whaka-cool-ngia' te reo'.

Tēnā, i roto i ngā tau kua hori atu nei, kua tokomaha ake ngā tāngata e tīhau ana ki te reo Māori ināianei. Inā te tokomaha nō whenua kē, nō iwi kē, arā, ehakē i te toto Māori e tino tautoko ana i te reo Māori. Me kī rā, kua pārāweranui. Nā runga i tērā, kua pōhēhētia e whērā hoki ana te titiro o ngā tāngata o tēnei kamupene ki te reo Māori, tērā pōhēhē tērā!

Ka taka ki tētehi rangi, ka kitea ki te taupānga Tīhau tētehi pānui e pātai ana, "He aha ō reo ā-waha?" Ka rewa te ngākau me te whakaaro ka whērātia me te reo Māori. Auare ake! Kāorekau he paku kōwhiringa reo Māori. Inā kē te maha o ngērā atu o ngā reo, puta i te ao, hoi anō rā, e ngaro ana te reo Māori i te rārangi kōwhiri reo. Me pēwhea kē hoki te whakarauora i te reo mā te pae pāhopori nei ki te kore te kamupene ake e whakaputa āhuahira ana kia whērā? Ahakoa te nui o ngā tāngata i tuku tīhau tōtika atu ki te kamupene kia whakaritea mai e rātou tētehi kōwhiringa reo Māori, kāore tētehi i urupare mai.

Whakaahua 1 He kapomata tēnei pānui i puta i te taupānga Tīhau

He tāmitanga tēnei āhuatanga, i te mea, ki te kore te reo Māori e whakamanatia ana e ngā hangarau o nāianei, pērā i te pae pāhori, he pai kē pea kia whakamoea taua reo. E ora ai te reo Māori, e whaitake ai hoki me hōrapa ōna āheinga puta i ngā wāhi katoa, i ngā hangarau whakawhiti kōrero katoa (Whaanga mā., 2017, wh. 10).

Te whakakake i ngā karere reo Māori i Pukamata hei reo kē

"Poor digital representation of minority languages further prevents their usability on digital media and devices" (Soria mā., 2016, wh. 3256).

Ko te Pukamata tētehi atu hangarau whakawhiti kōrero e kaha whakamahia ana e ngā tāngata reo Māori hei pae pāhopori matua, puta i te ao. Koia tonu te kōwhiringa matua mā ngā pakeke, neke atu; kaua ko ngā pae whērā i a Atapaki, i a Tikitoke, i a Tīhau rānei. He mahi anō tā ia momo pae pāhopori, engari, ko te Pukamata he huarahi matua e kōwhiringia ana ki te tuku i ngā pānui marae, ki te whakatōpū i ngā tāngata ki tētehi kaupapa kotahi, ki te whakatairanga i ngā taiopenga o te hapori, o te motu whānui. He māmā te mahi hei whakarite kaupapa, ā, he māmā hoki mō te hunga kaiuru ki te tirotiro i ngā whakaahua, te mātaki ataata poto, te noho ki te whakarongo ki ngā kaikōrero o ngā kaupapa mataora.

Ahakoa kua whakaputaina kētia tētehi āheinga whakawhitinga reo kia utaina tētehi mata reo Māori ki Pukamata, kāore i whakaae-tia e te kamupene ake o Facebook kia whērā, ā, puta i ngā reo taketake o te ao. Ko te hua kē i tēnei momo karo, he rītaha noa anō, he tāmitanga anō, he pōhēhē anō he reo kē e tuku atu ana, kaua ko te reo Māori.

Whakaahua 2 He kapomata tēnei pānui i puta i te taupānga Pukamata me te pōhēhē aunoa nei ko te reo Urdu kē te reo e pānuitia ana (nō te 2 o Hepetema, 2020)

Ko tētehi āhuatanga kūware katoa ki ahau i ngā pae pāhopori, ko te whakakake i te reo Māori hei reo kē. Pēnei i te whakaahua o runga ake nei, he pōhēhē nō te hōputu Pukamata, ko te reo Urdu te reo Māori. Ka whērā hoki i Tīhau, arā, te whakakake i te reo Māori. Kāore i paku whakaarohia te reo ake o te karere, inamata, kua hē hoki te whakapākehātanga o ngā kōrero. He rerekē rawa atu te reo Urdu i te reo Māori. Kāorekau he hononga rite kotahi.

Ko te putanga kē ki te tūmatawhānui, ehakē te reo Māori i te reo mātāmua, i te reo whaitake, nā reira, ka āhua hangarite nei ngā oropuare ki te reo Urdu, mō tēnei o ngā karere, ka whakapākehātia ānō nei he reo Urdu. Tērā pōhēhē anō tērā! Tōna 61 miriona tāngata e kōrero Urdu ana hei arero tūpuna. E 50,000 mano anahe ngā tāngata e kaumātua
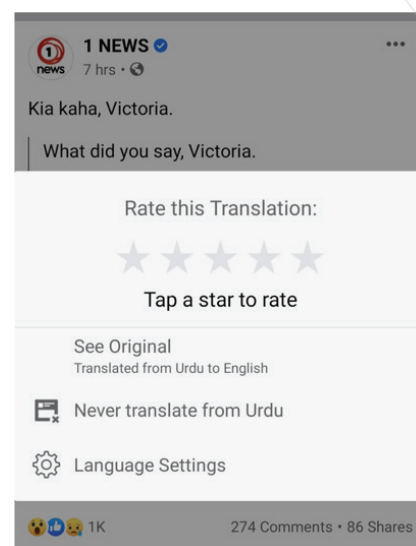
mai ana i te reo Māori. Ki te pēnei te kaupare o ngā taupānga pae pāhopori, ka horomia tātou te hunga kōrero Māori.

Whakaahua 3 He kapomata o tētehi pānui i panonitia e Pukamata (2020, Hepetema 27)
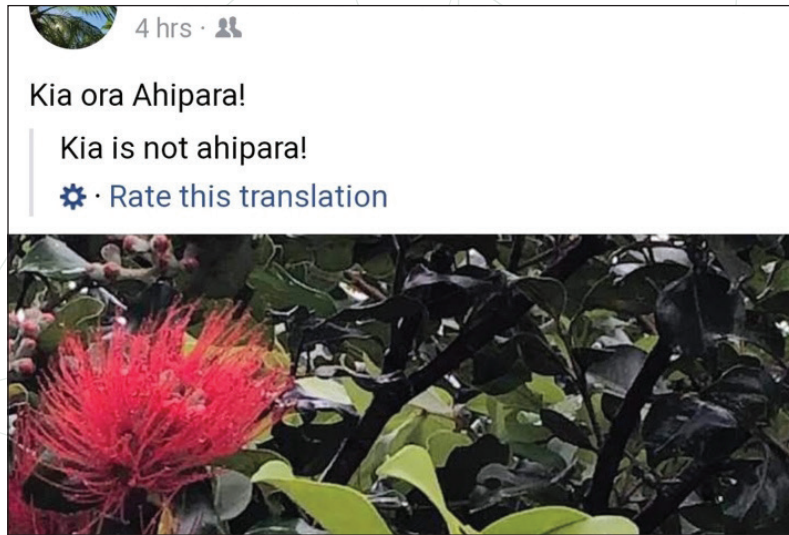
I tēnei tauira, ahakoa te māmā o te kōrero, 'Kia ora Ahipara!' ka rāwekehia tonuhia ngā kupu kia hē rawa atu. Ka kitea atu ngēnei tūmomo pēhitanga i te reo Māori, ka puku te rae i runga i te mōhio, kāore he paku aroha o ngā kaiwhakahaere matua o ngēnei momo kamupene nei ki te reo Māori, otirā, ki ngā reo mātāmuri katoa. "The problem now, in the age of platforms, is that you have platforms that are absolutely monetising, prioritising, deprioritising, and managing all kinds of content. They are all in the media publishing business", (Institute of AI, 2020). Kia mahara ake, nā te tangata tonu te hōputu o Pukamata i waihanga, nā reira, mā te tangata tonu hei whakatika atu.

He mata reo mātāmua anahe tō te Huitopa (Zoom)

Nō te tīmatanga o te rāhui i te pae mataara tuawhā mō te KOWHEORI-19 i te Māehe, 2020, i whakawāteangia e te kamupene o Huitopa kia whakahohe-aunoa te hui ataata mō ngā kura .school.nz, ngā whare wānanga me ngā pākihi o Aotearoa mō te kore utu. Inā te tini me te mano e whakamahi ana i te Huitopa hei wāhi whakawhiti kōrero i ngā herenga o te wā, tamariki mai, kaumātua atu. E rima ngā reo mātāmua o Aotearoa, ko te reo Pākehā, reo Māori, Gagana Hāmoa, Hinirini me te reo o Haina ki te Raki (Stats NZ, 2020). Ki Huitopa, ko ngā reo Ingarihi me Haina anahe ngā reo e

taea ana hei mata reo. Hāunga i ngā ingoa o ngā kaiuru ki te hui, kāorekau he kōwhiringa ki te whakarerekē i ngā kupu o te mata Huitopa. He āhuatanga pākati anō tēnā e whakaatu ana ki te tangata, ehakē te reo mātāmua o tōku ake whenua i te reo e whakaaetia ana. He pana anō tēnā ki te kōrero i te reo Pākehā.

Hei whakatauira atu, i te hui ngātahi mātou mō te kaupapa Mahuru Māori e arahina ana e Parāone Gloyne. I te hiahia a Parāone ki te whakarerekē i ngā tautuhinga o te mata, kia kitea te katoa e ia. Nā tana ū ki te kaupapa, arā, kia kaua e kōrero Pākehā, i patopato mai tētehi i tana hiahia ki te kupu Māori mō 'settings'. I whai huarahi a Parāone kia kaua ia i taka i tana kaupapa, hoi, mēnā he kōwhiringa kē ki te panoni i te mata o Huitopa, ka kore ngēnei pākati e whakahōhā mai i te hunga reo Māori, pēnei i a mātou o Mahuru Māori. "Since everyday life makes an increasing extensive use of digital devices that involve language use, the usability of a language over digital devices is a sign for that language of being modern, relevant to current lifestyles and capable of facing the needs of the XXI century," tā Soria mā (2016).

Koinei te tāmitanga o te reo Māori me ngōna pānga kino katoa i tēnei ao tahiko, i ia rā. Me uaua ka mōhio te nuinga o ngā tāngata ki tēnei tū āhuatanga i ā tātou hangarau whakawhiti kōrero, kāpātaua he tangata Māori, he tangata kōrero Māori, he tangata ingoa Māori hoki. I te takanga o ngā rautau, he reo taketake i ngā whenua katoa kua tata te korehāhā, kua whakangū i ngā aupēhitanga o te patu iwi, o te tāmitanga, o te whakawhenumi tikanga anō hoki. I ngēnei tau, mō te whakakake o tētehi reo i tētehi atu, kāore i tua atu i te aupēhitanga o te tukanga whakaaotanga (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2012). Nei nā kē te raruraru e auau te puta mai i ngā hangarau whakawhiti reo i kōrerohia nei. Kia toitū te reo Māori, me tākirikiri i ngā tauwharewharenga o te ngākau o ā tātou whakatupuranga, nā reira, me wātea ngā āheinga reo Māori ki ngā pae pāhopori katoa. Mā konā e nui haere ai ngā hapori reo Māori ā-tahiko nei.

Te Taunga o te Mauri Ora o te Reo Māori

Ka toko ake te whakaaro mō tētehi ao e wawatatia ana, ā, koia tērā ko te taunga o te mauri ora o te reo Māori (Pohatu, 2011). He ao kāorekau he tāmitanga, he mautohe rānei,

ā, he reo Māori ō ngā tāngata katoa e noho ana ki Aotearoa nei, me kī rā, ko Aotearoa Taurikura (Indigenous 100, 2020). Me pēwhea e whakatata ai tēnei pae tawhiti i te ao hangarau tahiko? I tīkina atu ngā kupu akiaki a Buolamwini (TED, 2017) hei whakaraupapa mai i ētehi rautaki.

"Are we creating full-spectrum teams with diverse individuals who can check each other's blind spots?" (TED, 2017, 6:33-6:40). Ki te titiro tātou ki te hunga e whakaputa ana i ngā rawa tahiko, i ngā hangarau tahiko, i ngā pae pāhopori hei hangarau whakawhiti kōrero mō te tangata, ko te nuinga nō tāwāhi kē, ā, e whakapae ana pea, ko te reo Pākehā te reo mātāmua. Ko te hanganga hangarau e whakaawetia ana tātou katoa, huri āmio i te ao, ko te reo Ingarihi, ā, kua nui ake te horomitanga o ngā reo mātāmuri (Evas, 2014). Nā reira, ki te whānui ake i te momo tāngata kia kanorau te āhua o ngā tīma waihanga rawa tahiko, ka whānui ake ngā āhuahira me ngā āheinga o ngā hangarau. He tika hoki tā Buolamwini kōrero kia mātua whakauru i ngā tāngata nō wāhi kē, he pūkenga kē, he pūmanawa kē, engari, he aronga kotahi tō te katoa, arā, ki te kaupapa kotahi. Mō tēnei tuhinga, ko te reo Māori tērā. Nā Smith (1989) te kōrero mō te whakarauora i te reo Māori, "It's the one subject matter where you can get most Māori agreeing that the Māori language is important and we love our language".

Hei tā Buolamwini hoki, kei a tātou te tikanga ki te whakataurite ai i te mana o tēnā iwi, o tēnā whenua ināianei. Me whakapā atu tātou ki ngā kaihanga i roto i ngā kamupene ki te whakamātau i ā rātou hangarau, kia whai wāhi ai ngā momo tāngata katoa. Ka mutu, me āta whakaaro mō te awenga pāpori o te hangarau e whakawhanaketia ana e tātou. E ai ki a Kamira (2020), ehakē te Māori i te kaiwhakahoahoa, i te kaihanga o ngā hangarau whakawhiti kōrero, he kaihoko kē te nuinga o tātou. Ki te kore tātou e whakakanohi i a tātou ki ngā tēpu o ngā poari hei whakatau kaupapa matua, ka noho kūware tonu, ā, haere ake nei.

Te tapā ingoa kotahi me ngā pūnaha rorohiko

E eke ai ō tātou wawata, mā tātou anō tātou hei oi. Mā tātou kē ngā kaupapa hei kōkiri pēnei i ngā mātua e whakahaumanu ana i ngā tikanga o nehe mō te tapa i ā rātou tamariki, arā, kia whai ingoa kotahi anahe ngā tamariki. He ara anō i whāia ina patopato ngā ingoa ki ngā pukatono ā-tuihono.

Hei tā Seed-Pihama (2019):

Living a decolonized reality means wearing our names with pride and once again naming our world for ourselves... Calling our names back is directly linked to our reconnection with nature, our spiritual beliefs, our ceremonies, our history, and our places of importance. (wh. 117)

Ko te mate kē, hei ngā wā ka whakakī i ngā pepa nā te kāwanatanga, kāore ngā pūhara tahiko aunoa e whakaae ana kia kotahi anahe te ingoa tuatahi, arā, me whakakī i te pouaka 'Ingoa Whānau' hoki. Koianei tētehi atu āhuatanga hei tirotiro ake mā tātou, hei whakamōhio atu ki ngā tari kāwanatanga me te kī, me whakarerekē rātou i ā rātou pūnaha kia whakaaetia te ingoa tuatahi anahe, otirā, kia kuhu hoki ai ā tātou tikanga ki ngēnei tū hangarau tahiko. Nā reira, i pātai atu ahau ki tētehi o ngōku hoa kia mōhio atu he aha tāna i whāia kia ū tonu. Ko tā W. Te Whaiti (kōrerorero, Hepetema 23, 2020):

Kua waia haere mātau ki taua momo heoi anō, ka tīkoro tonu ngā whatu o te tokorua Ko Taarewa-i-te-rangi te ingoa o te mātaamua, ... ko Te Koomuri Aroha tōna taina, ... Mō ngā pūnaha rorohiko katoa ko 'Rangi', ko 'Aroha' ō rāua ingoa 'whānau' hei karo i ngā uauatanga ka puta mō wai kē atu rānei i te korenga o tētahi ingoa whānau. Kāore e kawe haere i tētahi reta, i ā rāua puka uruwhenua rānei, ko ahau kē te taunakitanga ktk. Otirā, he wā ōna kua riro mā rāua kē e whakamārama. Kua whai kaha rāua, ā, e mārama ana rāua ki te kūare o te tangata i ētahi wā. Kei te mārama pai hoki rāua ki ngā take nā reira i puta te whakatau kia tapaina rāua ki te ingoa kotahi, koinā te mea nui ki au nā te mea ka puta te kaha me te māia i tērā māramatanga, ā, kāore rāua e horokukū ki te whakaako i te tangata kāore i te mārama.

He tino tauira e whakatuwhera ana i ngā kūaha ki ngā whānau me pēwhea tā tātou whakatō i te kaha, i ngēnei whakaaro ki roto i te whakatupuranga, ahu ake.

Te hanga anō i tō tātou whare reo Māori

I te ataata mō tō Foucault ariā mō te mana māori nei, ka kīia, "By becoming aware of the many ways in which we are subjected to power, we can be a little more autonomous..." (Leiden University - Faculty of Humanities, 2017, 9:36-9:42). Nei kē te whakahoahoa me pēwhea e hanga anō ai i tō tātou whare reo Māori, arā, ko te whakarerekē i te aroā o hirikapo kua roa nei e purupuru ana i a tātou. Mā te panoni whakaaro, ka panoni hoki te mana. He aha rā hoki ngā rautaki, ngā rauhanga, ngā urupare hei tautāwhi i a tātou kia taurite ai te mana o te reo Māori i ō ngā reo mātāmua ā-ao i ngā hangarau tahiko?

Kia tīmataria ki ngā wāhi e māmā noa iho ai te whakatika, pērā i ngā reta aunoa, 'Dear Te'.

MISS MAIA re-opens November 5th!

Kia ora Te!

We made it to Aotearoa safe and sound, and managed to pull off - moving countries during a pandemic and hard lock down in Melbourne, finding alternatives to services and businesses that were closed, all while *trying* to home school, pack MISS MAIA orders and finish up in our jobs!

E whia kē nei ngā wā kua tukuna mai tētehi reta e tīmata pēnei ana? E 20 pea ngōku tau te wā tuatahi i tukuna mai tētehi reta pēnei me te kōtore whererei. He aha rā te mate o te tuhi i te ingoa katoa kia tika i te tuatahi? Ki ahau nei, koinei ngā āhuatanga o ngā kamupene e kore e paku aro atuana ki te mana o te ingoa, ka mutu, o ngā ingoa Māori. Ā, kāore te pūrere aunoa e whakaae ana ki ngā ingoa whai kupu rua, kupu toru rānei. Nā, me he ingoa reo mātāmua e noho hē ana i ngā pūrere aunoa, kāore e kore, ka mātua whakatika atu te tuhinga i mua i te tuku ki te kiritaki. Me tono hoki ngā tāngata nā rātou ngā pūnaha i whakarite ki te whakatika atu. Nā Evas (2014) tēnei take i whakakōpaki:

But where informal use once meant speaking, it now often means writing. We used to chat with friends and family in person. Now we talk online via email, instant messaging and social media. The online services and software needed to make this happen are generally supplied by default in the majority language, especially in the case of

English. That means that it takes extra effort to communicate in the minority language, which only adds to its vulnerability. (wh. 2)

Tēnā, he aha kē māku hei whakatika i te kaimahi nāna ngā reta i tuku ki te marea? Ko te painga, māna ko te āhuatanga kōrori hoki o tēnei momo tauira, he kaihoko Māori te tangata nāna te pākihi nei, ā, he hoa hoki ia nōku. He māmā noa mōku te whakamōhio atu ki a ia mō te hapa i puta aunoa mai me taku pātai atu kia whakamārama mai ia i te tukanga hei whakatika atu. Ko tā T. Gardner (īmēra, Oketopa 14, 2020):

The program I use for my e newsletters is Campaign Monitor, they are an Australian-based product. What I had to do was add 'custom fields' to override the standard 'full name' personalisation field that my email recipient rule defaults to. I then had to update some code in my email newsletter to ensure it picks up the new custom field for your defined first name. I love your research e hoa and think it raises a lot of valid points on culture and inclusivity when it comes to digital communications... I'm really stoked you bought this to my attention because it helps me to maintain my personalisation and positive experiences for customers of MISS MAIA.

Ko ētehi hua i ahu mai i tēnei take, ka tahi ko te mārama he aha rā e hapa ai ngā ingoa takitini tuatahi i tētehi reta aunoa; ka rua ko te tau o ngā kōrero i waenga i te kaihoko me te kiritaki i tutuki ai te raruraru, ā, i tū tonu ai te mana o tēnā, o tēnā. Ahakoa he take moroiti noa tēnei, he take e pāngia ana e te tokonui tāngata. Mēnā rā e mōhio ana te katoa ki tēnei āhuatanga māmā noa iho te whakatika, kua kore ngēnei raruraru ā-waehere e puta i ngā papatono rorohiko katoa.

He hapa auau te puta i ngā tīkiti rerenga

Ko tētehi hapa i kitea whānuitia, ko te hē mai o ngā ingoa mau āputa, pēnei i tōku ingoa tuatahi, pērā i ngā ingoa Māori katoa e tīmata ana ki te kupu 'Te'. Ka hoko tīkiti rerenga mā Araraurangi Aotearoa (Air New Zealand), ā, ka tāngia mai, ka whakakotahingia ngā kupu

e rua hei kupu kotahi, ā, ka whakariki hoki i te pūmatua kia 'Temihinga' tōna rite. E rua ngā hapa ka puta mai i tēnei āhuatanga. Tuatahi ia, he hē te āhua o tōku ingoa. Tuarua, ina haere ahau ki tāwāhi, me mataara ahau mō te tūpono ka kore e whakaaengia taku tomo atu ki whenua kē, i te mea, kua rerekē te tuhi o tōku ingoa ki runga tīkiti rerenga i tērā o taku uruwhenua. Kua pēnā kē ngētehi tāngata kake wakarererangi ki Ūropi, ki Amerika hoki.

Ki ahau nei, he mea tātāmi hoki tēnei i te reo Māori. Ko tāku e rongo nei, tokoiti noa iho ngā tāngata e whai ingoa Māori ana, ā, hei aha mā rātou ngā ingoa rā. He mea patu wairua te kite atu i te pato hē mai o tōku ingoa, ahakoa e whia kē nei ngā tau kua pahemo atu. He kino hoki te huatau, ā, ahakoa e taea ana, he mea karo tā te kamupene ki te whakatika i ngēnei tū hapa, ka kīia ai, ko te 'Diffusion of Responsibility'. Nā wai i hē, kātahi ka hē kē rawa atu.

Nō nā tata nei, i tuku pokanoa ahau i tētehi pātai mā Tīhau ki aku apataki ki te rapu āwhina, ā, kia mōhio hoki te pēwheatanga mō te whakatika i tēnei momo hapa. Ko tētehi tino painga o te pae pāhopori Tīhau, ko te whatunga tāngata ki ngā kaupapa e ngākaunuitia ana, ā, he hunga mākohakoha hoki ō ake whatunga tāngata ki te whakautu pātai. Ki te āpiti hoki koe i ngā ingoa Tīhau o ētehi atu, ka whakamōhiotia rātou, ā, kei a rātou te tikanga ki te whakautu i tō pātai, kāore rānei. Pau mai katoa ngā whakautu a tēnā, a tēnā, ka mutu a ngā mātanga hangarau tahiko puta i te ao!

Pēnei au, he hapa māmā noa te whakatika atu, ā, he mea ketuketu noa tāku i te mata o te whenua. Nāwai rā ka rere katoa mai ngā whakautu me ngā raruraru puta i ngā ingoa katoa ahakoa te reo, ahakoa te whenua. Me he tohuhono, he āputa, he tohutō, he pakini hoki i tō ingoa, he raru tēnā mā ngā mīhini tuku tīkiti. Kei te pūmanawa tuku tīkiti kē te raruraru nui, puta i te ao. Ko tētehi o ngā tino kaiwhakautu, ko @thatjohn he kairīpoata, he kairangahau hoki e ngākaunui ana ki ngā take o te rāngai wakarererangi. He nui āna whakamahukitanga mai mō te āhua o tēnei tū hapa, ā, i te mutunga iho, ko tāna:

Kātahi anō a Araraurangi Aotearoa ka waitohu i te kirimana ki te kamupene ā-ao, ki a Sabre (Saunders, 2020). Kei a rātou kē te mana whakahaere o ngā tini pūnaha tuku tīkiti rerenga, noho hōtēra, kake pahi, ngā mahi

Air New Zealand ✈️ ✓
@FlyAirNZ

Replying to @ranginui @temihinga and 2 others

Kia ora, what a great question! Unfortunately, Airline tickets do not allow for spaces, macrons or hyphens in ticket name fields. So all customers that have any of these in their name, won't be able to include them in their ticket name. Hope that helps clarify! 😊 ^DS

12:31 PM · Oct 24, 2020 · Conversocial

Vincent O'Malley
@vomalley

Replying to @temihinga

He tika tāu. Being told you don't have a valid name is not a good message to send. Maybe @NZHumanRights could encourage companies to be more culturally responsive when it comes to ingoa/names and webforms.

6:49 PM · Oct 24, 2020 · Twitter Web App

John Walton 🏳️‍🌈 🇪🇺
@thatjohn

Replying to @LaurieFleming @stevebiddle and 6 others

I actually think that, for once, the political side of this is not the problem — it's kludgy airline and provider IT systems that aren't up to date.

See also: airline systems not permitting gender markers that aren't M or F despite there being an ICAO standard on that.

9:16 PM · Oct 24, 2020 · Twitter Web App

karori haere i te ao. Me kī rā, he kamupene e whia piriona te wāriu tāra tēnei. Nō ngā tau 1960 i te wā i hono ai a American Airlines me IBM, i te wā i whakarite ai i te pūnaha tuatahi i here ai te waehere mō te kōkuhu ingoa ki tētehi pātengi raraunga, ā, mohoa noa nei. Kaua hoki ko ngā ingoa anahe e raru ana, ko te tohu ira tangata hoki. Kua here tonutia e tātou katoa te tohu i te M mō te tāne, i te F mō te wahine. Kāorekau he paku kōwhiringa mō ngērā atu momo ira e kōrerotia ana i ngēnei wā nei.

Tēnā, ki te whakaaro ake nō wai te hē? I taua wā rā, ko te nuinga o ngā kaihanga pūmanawa he tāne, he Pākehā, he arotahi noa ki tētehi ao Pākehā hoki. Kāore pea he mātanga kōrero Māori i te rāngai hangarau tahiko i ngā kamupene matua i Amerika, ā, he whāiti rawa te titiro o aua momo tāngata. Ka huri te 50-60 tau, he ture e whakamana ana i te reo Māori, i te reo rotarota, i te noho mai o ngā manene ki Aotearoa, ā, kua kanorau ake ngā mōhiotanga o tēnā ahurea, o tēnā reo, me kī, kua whakawhāiti te ao i te kaha whakawhitiwhiti o te hokohoko i waenga i ia whenua.

Pērā rawa o te nui o tēnei hapa puta i te ao, ka kore pea e kapi ki te tangata kotahi nei. Me mahi pētihana pea ki te kāwanatanga, ki ngā huinga ohaoha o te ao hoki. Māna, e rite ana ahau ki te whawhai mō ngā reo taketake ahakoa taku takitahi?

Whakaahua 5 He kapomata o taku tīkiti rerenga (2020, Hepetema 18)

Me rapu huarahi koe ki te kōrero tōtika atu ki te kamupene i te tuatahi mō te whakatika i ngā hapa ka puta i ā rātou kōrero. Koia rā te ara māmā i te tuatahi, engari, he mahi ka kawea i runga i te ngākau māhaki. Ki te kore e whakahoki kōrero mai ki a koe, me ngana ki te rapu tangata e honohono ana ki a rātou, pērā i tētehi kanohi o te poari whakahaere. Ka hinga i tērā ara, me tuku pea i tētehi karere ki te marea, pēnei i te Tīhau. Koia rā kē pea te huarahi tuatahi, māmā hoki. He nui hoki ngā rōpū puta i te ao e hanga rauemi rautaki ana hei ārahi i te hunga me pēwhea e whai

mana ai ngā reo taketake, ngā reo mātāmuri hoki i te ao tahiko, pērā i te ohu o The Digital Language Diversity Project (Soria mā, 2016):

Creation of content will increase the digital representation of these languages, and allow them to be first-class citizens of the language data economy, thus creating the necessary conditions for software developers to advance in the provision of state-of-the-art products and services allowing use of regional and minority languages on digital devices. It will also help to raise the profile of these languages decisively, especially in the eyes of the young generation, tomorrow's speakers. (wh. 3259)

I runga i ngēnei whakaaro me te kaupapa o tēnei tuhinga, i toko ake te whakaaro kia whakatakoto i ētehi kupu whakahau ki te hunga e waihanga pūmanawa ana ki Aotearoa nei. Nāku anō ngēnei i whakaaro, ā, kāore e kore he anga anō e hangarite nei ana:

1. Me whakamānawa i ngā mātāpono o Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
2. Me mahi ngātahi ki te mana whenua, ki ngā Māori hoki o tō kamupene kia whai wāhi ai te mātauranga Māori me te ahurea Māori ki ngā putanga katoa.
3. Me ako te kamupene katoa i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga.
4. Me whakarite tahua hei utu i ngā kaiwhakamāori, ngā kaihuawaere Māori, ngā mahi whakangungu i ō kaimahi me ngā tūranga mō ngā kaimahi Māori, pērā i ētahi pou ārahi.
5. Me whakatakoto rautaki hei tutuki i ngēnei mahi, ā, kia kōkiri hoki i ngā whāinga o te kamupene ki taumata kē.
6. Me whakamahi i ngā rauemi me ngā pūmanawa pai e tautāwhi ana i te reo Māori, pērā i te papapātuhi SwiftKey.

Me tūhonohono atu ki ētehi atu rōpū kua roa nei e wero ana i ngā kamupene, ngā kaupapa here, ngā mahi whakatoihara tāngata. Mā te takitini kē e whai kaha ai koe. Ki te tokonui te Māori me ngā tāngata kōrero Māori e whai tūranga ana ki te waihanga pūmanawa, taupānga, rawa matihiko, aha atu, aha atu, ka ora rawa atu te reo, waihoki, ngā reo taketake o te ao. E kīia ai, 'He iti hoki te mokoroa nāna i kakati te kahikatea' (Mead, 2004).

Boarding pass

Checked in

Updated just now

Ms Temihinga Komene

Flight | Seat
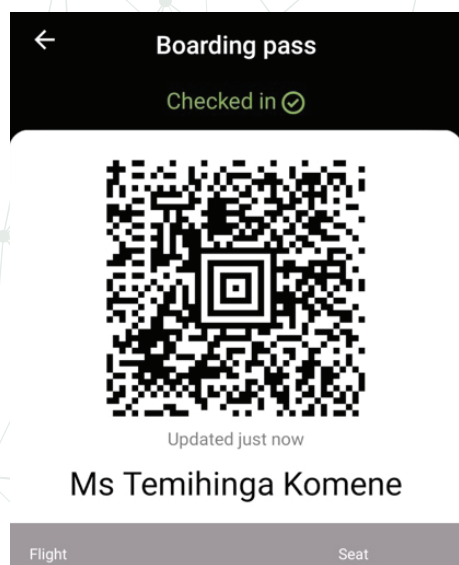
Kupu Takamuri

Kua whakaahua ahau i te tāmia o te reo Māori e ngā hangarau whakawhiti reo, whērā i ngā pae pāhopori Tīhau, Pukamata, Huitopa hoki. I kitea atu, ehakē i te mea me nui rawa ngā mahi āpuru i te reo Māori kia kīia ai he mahi whakahāwea ā-tahiko kei te haere, engari ia, ko ngā mahi o ia rā, o ia wā kē ngā āhuatanga me ōhiti atu. Me kī rā, he tāmitanga konihi tēnei momo mate, ā, me whakapeto ngoi ki te whakakore i ēnei āhuatanga, ka tika. E tika ana tā Galla (2018) e mea nei:

We can take advantage of the digital affordances that are made available to us, but we should never compromise and adjust our language to fit technology; we must adjust and adapt the technology to fit our language goals and needs. (wh.427)

I kōrerohia e ahau mō ētehi huarahi māmā hei whakatikatika atu i ngēnei tū tāmitanga, whērā i ngā reta aunoa 'Dear Te' me taku tirohanga hei kiritaki; i ngā rautaki hei whakataurite ai i te mana o te reo mātāmuri i tērā o te reo mātāmua; tae atu ki te tapā ingoa kotahi me ngā pūnaha rorohiko. Nā, i whakaoti atu ki ētehi kupu whakahau ki te hunga e waihanga pūmanawa hei ārahi i a rātou ki te aro ki te reo mātāmua o Aotearoa nei, arā, ki te reo Māori.

Hei kupu whakamutunga māku, me akiaki i ā tātou rangatahi ki te whai i ngā tohu mātai rorohiko me ngā mahi i te ao hangarau matihiko. Kei reira te nuinga o ngā mahi o te āpōpō, ā, mā reira rawa e ora ai te reo. Me whakatō ngā kākano ināianei kia tupu mai ngā uru kahikatea o anamata kia kitea e te mātātahi he painga nui tō te reo (Indigenous 100, 2020).

He Kuputaka

āhuahira	features
awenga pāpori	social impact
hangarau whakawhiti kōrero	communication technologies
Huitopa	Zoom
kaihanga papatono	programmer
kaitāmi	coloniser
kīwhaiaro	profile
reo mātāmua	dominant/majority language
reo mātāmuri	minority language
rītaha noa	unconscious bias
tahiko	digital
Tīhau	Twitter
tukanga whakaaotanga	globalisation
whakahohe-aunoa	auto-enabled

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The Knowledge Makers program taught me that there is so much power in the stories we tell as indigenous bodies.

~ **Chelsea Naepi**

Emily Toews

Michif/Métis
Thompson Rivers University
Bachelor of Education

I acknowledge that I am simply a long-time visitor on the land of the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc territory that is situated within the unceded traditional lands of the Secwépemc Nation. With this acknowledgement, I want to recognize that I respect the people of this land, and the land itself, for allowing me to share my work. I will continue to be respectful to this community, and always be grateful that I am allowed to be a student of knowledge on this land. I have felt welcomed by the community, and I will continue to honour the gifts that this beautiful community holds. By acknowledging this, it shows support for the sovereignty and rights of all Indigenous people, and is a step toward the integration of Truth & Reconciliation. I would like to acknowledge my ancestors for giving me the courage to use my voice. I want to give a special thank you to Sandra Bandura, who has been my "go-to" support system for anything Knowledge Makers related. She puts a lot of hard work into the process of creating these journals and deserves recognition. Also, Roxane Letterlough for bringing necessary topics to light through Education.

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE LOSS & REVITALIZATION IN CANADA

Introduction

Taanishii! Emily Toews *dishinihkaashoon. Michif niiya. Weyt-k!* Emily Toews *ren skwekst.* Hello, my name is Emily Toews, and I am Métis. *Ma famii* originally stems from the Red River settlement in Manitoba. I now reside on the land of the Secwépemc located in the North Shuswap region. I care immensely for language and without it I'd be lost. My ancestors spoke Michif, the mix of Cree and French. I am learning this language to bring it back into my own life and my children's lives. I will not allow them to not have the chance to learn and appreciate it from a young age. I was once ashamed of my language and my heritage, which is not a proud statement for me. But, through oppression, I was melded to believe that it was a hinderance. That stops with me. It stops because I stand up to oppression and I advocate for reconciliation. That is why I feel that this topic needs to be touched on more.

Language loss and revitalization is an issue that is seen in many parts of the world, but I will be focusing specifically on the Indigenous groups in Canada. There will be many topics that I touch on in this paper, including the *Indian Act* (and other policies), intergenerational trauma, the *Truth & Reconciliation Commission*, and residential schools. Each of these I believe deserves its own research paper. For this paper, I am focusing on language loss and the revitalization of Indigenous languages in Canada.

Language is a gift that has allowed humans to communicate, build relationships and learn skills for thousands of years. Even animals have their own ways of communicating through sounds, movement and intuition. It is a gift that our ancestors pass down to us through songs, oral stories, lessons and games. It is arguably one of the most important threads

of culture and identity. Byram (2006) highlights the strong link between language and a sense of belonging. This makes language essential to feeling belonging and sense of community.

The Indigenous peoples in Canada have had their languages negatively impacted by forced assimilation, appropriation and oppression (Davis, 2017). "Racist ideologies motivated harsh assimilationist policies, including a horrific system of residential schools aiming to destroy Indigenous cultures and languages" (Davis, 2017, p. 62). Through government policies and residential schools, over 150,000 Indigenous children were affected by language loss and ultimately cultural and identity loss. The effects of trauma associated with language loss, among other harsh realities, did not stop with the ones who attended residential schools. The trauma is passed onto future generations of children in a cycle that continues to inflict damage on more than to those who have lived through the darkness of that time.

What is being done to counter the effects of the trauma? Looking to the future, what must we do to make sure the revitalization of Indigenous language can thrive once again?

In 2008, the Canadian Government started by acknowledging the harm done by residential schools by issuing a formal apology, they stated:

Indian Residential Schools separated over 150,000 Aboriginal children from their families and communities. In the 1870's, the federal government, partly in order to meet its obligation to educate Aboriginal children, began to play a role in the development and administration of these schools. Two primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture. These objectives were based on the assumption Aboriginal cultures and spiritual beliefs were inferior and unequal. Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, "to kill the Indian in the child". Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country. (Statement of Apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools, 2008)

The government apologized but Indigenous people need more than an apology; they need to make changes and directly address harms done, continue to be done, to Indigenous people. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) provides a starting point for reconciliation and specifically for Indigenous languages to be re-established in Canada. The framework provided by the TRC gives us a path forward and shares the truth of what happened to Indigenous people. This is beneficial for all of Canada and gives hope for the future of Indigenous languages in Canada.

As a teacher candidate in the Bachelor of Education program at Thompson Rivers University (TRU), and as an Indigenous woman, it is my personal goal to respectfully incorporate Indigenous language, culture and knowledge into the lessons I develop. My dream is to have a classroom that has students immersed in language every day. I'd like them to be able to introduce themselves in the traditional territory's language and also in at least one other Indigenous language. I'm partial to Michif because *Michif niiya* (I am Michif), and because there is such a large population of Métis people in Canada – Over 580,000. I will model my respect and celebration for this gift of language that so many of us had taken away. Bringing back oral storytelling and learning through sociocultural influences, aspects of culture that were stolen and the words our ancestors once spoke with strength and wisdom will support the future generations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth. The importance of these tools for communication will, I hope, spark their own respect and pride in themselves and support them in finding their identity.

How is a language lost?

The loss of a language is essentially when a language is at risk of dying or when it is no longer transmitted to younger generations (Prodanovic, 2013). This can happen for many reasons. The native speakers of a language can see implications with changes in demographic patterns (Ó Riagáin, 2002, p. 7). This loss is also connected with increases in mortality rate of native speakers of a language, in conjunction with low or declining fertility rate, which can cause an overall decrease in the number of speakers. Regarding Canadian Indigenous speakers, this was not the case. Cultural genocide, language assimilation, government

policies and residential schools played the largest part in the desolation of Indigenous language (TRC, 2015). The Canadian government was one of the biggest contributors to Indigenous language loss in Canada, if not the biggest, through policies and regulations that affected Indigenous culture and language.

The Canadian government participated in cultural genocide against the Indigenous people of Canada. "Cultural genocide can be defined as the effective destruction of a people by systematically or systemically (intentionally or unintentionally in order to achieve other goals) destroying, eroding, or undermining the integrity of the culture and system of values that defines a people and gives them life" (Kingston, 2015, p. 4-5; Tinker, 1993, p. 6). They forced Indigenous peoples to have their children taken out of their homes and be assimilated into colonial culture. Through policies like residential schools and the *Indian Act*, the government was successful in "killing the Indian in the child" as former PM Steven Harper said it in his formal apology. The *Indian Act* was introduced in 1876 and gave authority to the Department of Indian Affairs to interfere with the governing of bands (Government of Canada, 2017). The government believed that Indigenous people could not govern themselves until they were "integrated" into Canadian society (Government of Canada, 2017). The *Indian Act* is a legislation to completely assimilate Indigenous people, and take away their rights to make any political decisions (Prodanovic, 2013). Taking away their rights brought more division between Indigenous people and the government of Canada. The Indigenous people were oppressed by the Canadian society, and thus began to lose their languages.

The language loss started with the creation of Canada but was accelerated when residential schools were introduced. "Civilizing" the Indigenous communities meant removing Indigenous children from their homes and communities, to attend Christian church run schools where they would be educated into Euro-Canadian culture (Miller, 2012). These schools taught the children how to speak, read and write in English. The children were "forbidden to speak their native languages and forced to give up their spiritual beliefs" (Ross, Dion, Cantinotti, Collin-Vézina & Paquette 2015, p. 185). Many of the children suffered abuse and would be scolded when they did anything that was "wrong". The lasting effects of the trauma that these children experienced have created problems for the attendees of the schools; furthermore, trauma has been passed on for generations.

What Are the Effects of Language Loss?

Language loss creates communication barriers, mental trauma, and loss of both culture and identity. Language barriers have been seen in cases of school survivors like Margaret-Olemaun Pokiak-Fenton, who speaks of her experience in her story *Fatty Legs* (2010). She highlights her struggle with coming back to her home after attending residential school and barely speaking her own language (p.133). She lost parts of her culture, such as liking the taste of her traditional foods (p.125-126). She mentions a powerful point, "The outsiders had locked my tongue with the spell of their "education" (p 115). She didn't feel like herself anymore and mentions that she didn't feel worthy of her Inuit name, Olemaun (p.123). The outsiders broke her spirit. "I no longer belonged to my own family" (p. 127). Olemaun's story is only one of the thousands of stories of survivors. The pain from these traumas contributes to what we see happening through generations of offspring of these survivors; the trauma is being passed down. I feel as teachers, we need to continuously be reminded of the struggle's students face with intergenerational trauma. It is

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>
> - Emily Toews

an important part of teaching to be sensitive to and understand the fact that these students may see and feel topics differently. I will continue to learn and grow, and facilitate a comfortable classroom where students feel safe to allow their emotions to come through when they feel like it. I think when students feel a sense of belonging, are they able to open up to not only learn, but understand fully. Students need to feel that the figurative pieces that have been lost are supported. I will try to facilitate this every day in lessons and build healthy relationships.

The trauma and loss experienced by the survivors of residential schools have trickled down to create intergenerational trauma for their descendants (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2009, p. 6). "There is now considerable evidence that the effects of trauma experiences are often transmitted across generations, affecting the children and grandchildren of those that were initially victimized." (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2009, p. 6). Most Indigenous communities pass on information through experience and sociocultural education. The First Peoples Principles of Learning highlight that "Learning is holistic, reflexive, reflective, experiential, and relational (focused on connectedness, on reciprocal relationships, and a sense of place)" and "that education is not separate from the rest of life, and relationships are vital" (Chrona, 2014). To me, this shows that teaching the next generations what you know, includes everything that you know. Children learn from watching parents and community members. They learn through relationships and learned behaviour. Teaching children who have experienced intergenerational trauma their language and cultural heritage can counter the effects of intergenerational trauma and lessen their likelihood of carrying on the trauma.

The effects of lost language causes gaps in identity that I have experienced personally. The reclamation of language back into my own life is a journey that is still unravelling for me. I can never put my thoughts into rational sentences. So, I chose to share a poem I wrote, that shines light my feelings. I find I am able to articulate in a figurative way more easily than a literal way.

The sounds that echo softly in
the back of my mind,
Are only fragments of what I dream I will find.
Laughter of children and adults alike,
Dancing and singing well into the night.
Can these fragments mean something more?
My head and heart are longing to soar.
How can I long for something unknown?
Something I never knew as my own.
I started to listen closer to the sounds,
All the stars aligned when I acknowl-
edged what was found.
It seems that the sounds and
the words that I long for,
Are ingrained in my soul, deep down to my core.
I never thought I had the right to
call those sounds my own,
For some odd reason, I always felt alone.
It's not fair or right that I didn't have a say,
When through oppression and hate,
my words were stolen that day.
With hate and oppression
grows fear and distrust,
But no more will we allow it; we'll
fight to get back what is lost.
I have been robbed of culture and of love,
So easily lost, and not to be thought of.
But I won't allow that now,
the pain to take over,
I will fight for what is mine,
bring back the order.
Maybe those fragments of what is heard,
Are my ancestors standing up
with pride for their words?
I feel the energy radiate right through me,
It rocks my body as if I'm at sea.
The feeling is like a dance that
I'm learning as I go,
The more words I learn connects me more so.
What I'm doing is right, this is what I know,
I know because I can feel my heart glow.
And so, if the power can begin
with just one little word,
Imagine what can happen when
we gather the herd.
More and more speakers together and growing,
Supporting one another breaks
down our unknowing.
As I get lost in the faint rattle
of words while I roam,
I will know that it's my culture call-
ing my spirit back to its home.

It was a conscious decision not to title this poem, to symbolize that "I don't have the words to title it". Maybe one day, I will be able to write a new poem that I feel is appropriate to be titled.

What is Being Done?

Changes are being made to bring back Indigenous language speakers, and many resources are being developed, such as First Voices and Learn Michif, which are apps that allow you to have Indigenous language accessible as long as you have the internet. Such resources are a benefit for the general public's knowledge and for future education. There are also policy changes occurring in school boards, universities, all the way up to the federal government. Change is occurring, and education is essential. It is important for healing to take place for these initiatives, policies, resources, reconciliation tokens to really mean anything at all. There is nothing that can be done to take back the past, we can only change what we do in the future.

The Government of Canada, various Indigenous groups, and many universities are doing their part in revitalization. As stated earlier, the former Prime Minister gave an apology to the survivors of residential schools. This was a start. The *Indigenous Language Act was* developed to support the reclamation and revitalization of Indigenous languages in Canada (Government of Canada, 2019). *The Indian* Act includes initiatives to support the rights of Indigenous peoples: acknowledging and respecting Indigenous languages; declaring that federal documents may be translated into Indigenous languages; promoting public awareness of the richness and diversity of Indigenous languages; undertaking and funding research that supports Indigenous languages; providing culturally appropriate service; and including that , the Office of Commissioner of Indigenous Languages "must submit to the Minister an annual report on, the use and vitality of Indigenous languages in Canada" (Parliament of Canada, 2019) and "the adequacy of funding provided by the Government of Canada for initiatives related to Indigenous languages" (Parliament of Canada, 2019).

The *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* includes 94 'Calls to Action'; five of which are specific to language and culture; and an additional 7 specific to education (TRC, 2015). Carrying out these 'Calls to Action' is a step towards healing for a lot of survivors of residential schools and their families. The TRC makes it clear that education is required to answer the calls to actions and there have been many educational spaces that have made changes in response to the calls.

Many universities in Canada are on board with revitalization efforts. Many have started language programs, language certification, and degree programs. In British Columbia, the University of Victoria and TRU have Indigenous programs. The University of Victoria website shares information about the language revitalization programs saying they "[S]eek to support communities to retain and revive their own language. While we offer on-campus Indigenous Education courses, we also offer our programs directly within individual language communities" (University of Victoria, 2020). The option of providing programs within the community highlights their interest in exploring new ways of learning. In Kamloops, on the unceded territory of the Secwepemc, TRU offers many options for learning language and encourages all of its students to participate in cultural activities and language classes. The facilitators at TRU are advocates for building Indigenous culture, no matter your background (TRU, 2021). Having the support of Canadian educators, including thoughtful

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>
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consideration of the Indigenous content shared in schools, is something we need for reconciliation efforts to be successful.

Supporting future teachers' understanding of *why* the integration of Indigenous knowledge, language and culture is being taught, is necessary. Jo-Anne Chrona, an educator with over 20 years' experience and advocate for the integration of Indigenous knowledge, demonstrates a way to provide understanding to educators and is involved in curriculum and resource building (Chrona, 2014). In 2021, I was lucky to have her as a guest speaker in one of my classes. She told us about a story that stuck with me and clarified why Indigenous knowledge integration is so important for Canadian students. The following is my memory of a significant conversation from that class.

A colleague asked Jo-Anne, "Why are we mandating the inclusion of Indigenous content and perspectives in the BC curriculum, but not the perspectives and knowledge of all the other cultural heritages represented by my students?"

Jo-Anne thought for a while and asked him to think about the places that the student's families came from. "Think about those countries. Are the languages of those places still being spoken there? Is the knowledge of those places still being taught and learned in the schools there? Is the literature, whether it's oral or written, or visual literature still growing and thriving in those places?"

He answered "Yes."

She continued, "Canada is the only place in the world where these Indigenous cultures and knowledge grow from. If we do not teach it here, then it will not be taught or learned anywhere else on the planet".

Her words emphasized the importance of education in reconciliation. If we do not integrate Indigenous languages every day in our lessons, then how are we fostering the revitalization of language in our students? If we as educators do not teach language in schools, then students may not have a chance to learn it anywhere else. I am a student of my own language but even though I am learning myself, I will pass on what I know to the students.

From my own experience, I can see that a goal of TRU's Bachelor of Education program is to support Indigenous and Non-Indigenous teachers in understanding and incorporating Indigenous knowledge into future lessons. I am encouraged by the progress being made, which is why I highlight those in this paper. As a future teacher, my goal is to integrate as much Indigenous language into my lessons as possible.

What Can We Do to Educate?

First, we need more Indigenous teachers; they can provide a different perspective of education. I was never a strong student throughout my school days. When I first decided to go into Education, it was for my own benefit. I wanted to feel accomplished, a feeling I had not had before. I felt that the decision to

> "My dream is to have a classroom that has students immersed in language every day. I'd like them to be able to introduce themselves in the traditional territory's language and also in at least one other Indigenous language." "Our language is something that Canada tried to steal from Indigenous people. Language is part of our identity and runs deeper than sound alone."
>
> - Emily Toews

become a teacher was partially an "I'll show you" to my past teachers. I like to think of them there scratching their heads saying, "Is this the same Emily?" Of course, in some ways yes, it is, but I have grown. Based on their remarks while I was in their classes, they never could have imagined seeing me where I am today. Clearly, I did not feel supported by my teachers. And like many of my peers, I did not know who I was at that age, or where I fit in. I will speak more about my struggles of being "in between" in my last entry to this journal. But I think that many students can relate to the feelings I had while in school. Not sure of my identity; I did not feel the strength of my culture. With all of that unknowing going on in my head, being able to concentrate on academics was not a priority. The loss of identity and culture that I spoke of previously, could be one of the impacts on the success rate of Indigenous students. I truly believe why I am destined to be an educator is that I understand having those types of experiences.

Indigenous people and content in the classroom, from students, teachers, to community members, will benefit all students. For example, by bringing Elders into the classrooms and immersing ourselves in as much language and culture as possible, educators can incorporate Indigenous knowledge into many lessons. There are other ways to bring in Indigenous content. There are language and cultural apps and sites that help us learn. '*First Voices*' is a "web-based tool and service designed to support Indigenous people engaged in language archiving, language teaching and culture revitalization." (First Peoples' Cultural Council, 2020). '*Learn Michif*' is designed to provide Métis and Non-Métis people, "content to help people connect with their past and with their future as Métis people" (Animikii, 2021). The Canadian Government also has a great site that allows access to many other Indigenous languages; including Abenaki, Oneida, Cree, Gwich'in, Innu, Inukitut, Mi'gmaq, and Ojibwe, and many others (Government of Canada, 2020). With these resources, we can begin to bring back resting languages.

To ensure Indigenous students achieve their academic goals, the education system should be developing curriculum and have available resources to support Indigenous students, but also always be aware of the necessity to build strong relationships with them. Having helpful resources for teachers to understand the Indigenous principles and culture can assist them in incorporating culture into their lessons. Teachers must be able to move beyond western/colonial approaches to learning. Allowing children to learn through movement, stories, plays and hands-on exploration are ways that Indigenous communities have taught and learned for generations. Asking an Elder to come into the classroom to explain the topics that the class has been working on, or share their priceless knowledge, allows better retention of information. It has never been more important to bring this way of learning and teaching back into education.

When we speak of language revitalization, I believe that learning language through sociocultural strategies, rather than simply reading about it or listening to a non-speaker, can help students more easily learn the language's phonetics. Lev Vygotsky proposed a theory of sociocultural development (Woolfolk, Winne, & Perry, 2020). This theory essentially "emphasizes the role in development of cooperative dialogues between children and more knowledgeable members of society; children learn the culture of their community (ways of thinking and behaving) through these interactions" (Woolfolk, Winne, & Perry, 2020). The University of Victoria's program on language revitalisation uses sociocultural strategies by giving students the option in to learn the language in community. It is possible to reclaim the languages that were once lost.

Conclusion

We are only beginning to revitalize the lost languages of Indigenous people across Canada. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has given all levels of institutions the steps required to move forward. It needs to be integrated it into every possible aspect of life. Language is the voice of a people, and is worth saving. The 2016 census data shows that there are increases in Indigenous language speakers; over 250,000 people "reported that they could speak an Aboriginal Language" (Anderson, 2018). This is an increase of 8% over 20 years (Anderson, 2018). It is good to see an increase and we

must continue to change policies and build education programs. The languages we wish to recover are priceless pieces of our history and culture.

Our language is something that Canada tried to steal from Indigenous people. Language is part of our identity and runs deeper than sound alone. The TRC's Calls to Action #14-I states, "Aboriginal languages are a fundamental and valuable element of Canadian culture and society, and there is an urgency to preserve them" (TRC, 2015, p.2). The Canadian Government needs to pay for what it tried to destroy. We need more funding, more Indigenous language courses. No Indigenous person should say that they never had the chance to learn their language. We need to make sure that all Indigenous people know that our languages and culture have been impacted by assimilation, oppression and hate.

Our languages are not something I am willing to let a government or anyone else take away from us. The authenticity of the learning process has been halted for now, but if these languages are reborn, then we can only hope that in the future they will be learned authentically once again. While working on this paper, a song came on called 'Human' by the *Twin Flames*. The lyrics aligned to the research I have been doing for this paper, and I needed to hear them:

Our elder's say
We were given our languages from the animals
From the trees
Yet we cut them down
Many things have been taken from our people
Yet we are still here
Our languages, are not lost
But simply resting
Waiting to be reawakened

I dream of the reawakening of our language creating a snowball effect so that along the way we pick up other lost knowledge contributing to the rebuilding of our culture and identity. As an educator, I support my students in reclaiming what was lost. And for myself, I will continue growing and learning, picking up pieces to foster my own culture and acquisition of language and knowledge. I hope that as I go through the process myself, I will be able to lead and encourage students to reclaim and celebrate what is theirs.

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To me, Indigenous research is ensuring that our ways of knowing, being and doing are maintained. It is also ensuring that our voices as Indigenous peoples from around the world are prioritised.

~ **Lindsay McCabe**
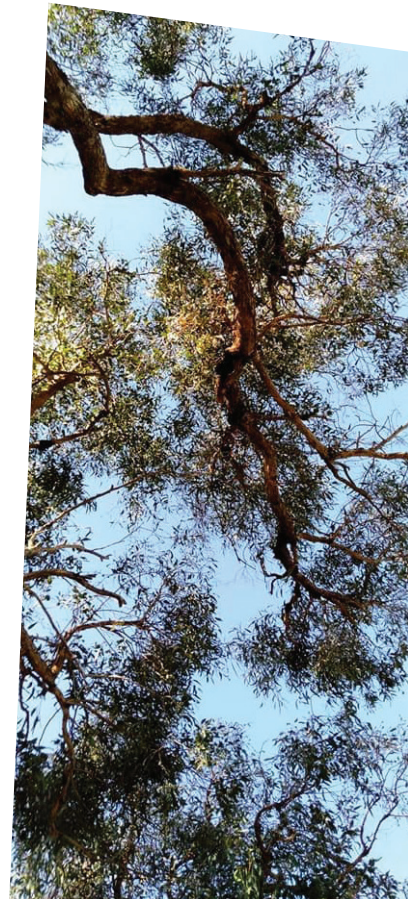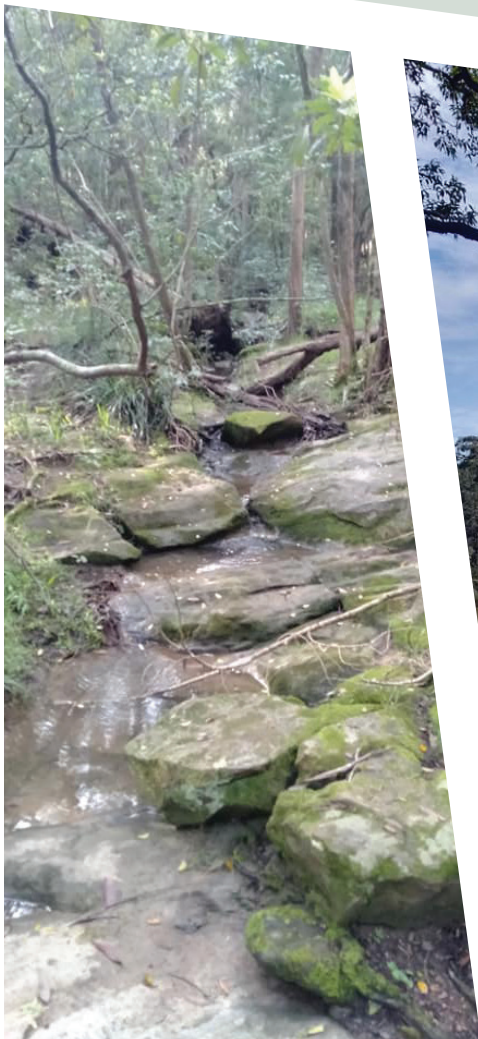
Jana Chouinard

Onion Lake Cree Nation
*Thompson Rivers University
Faculty of Law*

I am grateful to receive my education on the unceded territory of Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc ne Secwepemcúĺecw—the traditional lands of the Secwepemc Peoples.

OVER 20 YEARS OF GLADUE: WHAT WE STILL HAVEN'T LEARNED FROM THE IMPORTANCE OF STORY IN SENTENCING INDIGENOUS OFFENDERS

"Forty years ago, on my first day of law, I was sitting in a discussion circle with classmates and we were asking ourselves why we were in law. Some talked about wanting to make lots of money. Some wanted to change the world. And some wanted to be famous as trial lawyers or counsel in some other capacity. But for me, I only wanted to understand—I wanted to understand why I did not know the laws of my people. I wanted to know why Canada did not know the laws of my people too. I wanted to know why a federal law passed by the Government of Canada could define my people and that we could not define ourselves. I wanted to know why I could not speak the language of my grandmother or know the history and the traditions of my people—the Anishnabe. I wanted to know why my grandmother, along with many others, believed by not teaching me those things she was somehow saving my life." (Sinclair, 2017, p. 69).

In his convocation address to the graduating class of 2017, Senator Murray Sinclair started his speech as he does every public speech: with recognition of the survivors, children, and grandchildren of Indian Residential Schools. All too often it is forgotten how common this experience was for Indigenous[1] Canadians, and the extent that it has touched nearly every Indigenous Canadian's life today. That history is becoming more and more known, and yet the effects are still to be discovered or recognized. Even though Indigenous Peoples in Canada represent 4.9% of the overall population (Statistics Canada, 2017), the overrepresentation of Indigenous adults in both provincial and federal prisons is continuing to rise. Over the last 10 years, there has been an approximate 10% increase in the Indigenous population in both federal and provincial institutions (Canada, Department of Justice, 2019). In 2016/2017, Indigenous adults admitted into provincial or territorial corrections "was about 7 times higher than their representation in the Canadian population" (Canada, Department of Justice, 2018). When regarding these statistics, it becomes easier to understand why Indigenous People share the same question that Murray Sinclair had on his first day of law school. What happened to Indigenous Peoples' stories?

Intuitively, stories always exist. It is a qualifier to explain every-day activities that heightens our responses and appreciation for what has happened, and what will happen next. Not often do we think about this process. For example, if someone shows up for an important meeting with a dishevelled appearance, it is likely overlooked if a compelling explanation is provided. The car broke down and they ran the rest of the way to the meeting. This level of explanation softens our responses. The

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1   Throughout this paper I will use the term "Indigenous" to refer to the First Peoples of Canada rather than "Aboriginal" or "Indian." Instances where "Aboriginal" is used in its place is due to wording of legislation or direct case citations.

story is important. It qualifies the outcome and perception of how individuals choose to move forward. Senator Sinclair highlights this issue, and how the stories of Indigenous Peoples have not been told to the most important individuals—our families. Speaking about stories provides a qualifying validation, and more importantly, invites others to participate in solution discussions. For certain, the individual whose story is being told ought to be willingly present and free from coercion to have truly progressive discussion.

Before the court of law in criminal matters, stories are beginning to be told. The 1995 amendment of the *Criminal Code* came into force in 1996 and included a charge to judges to consider all available sanctions other than imprisonment when sentencing Indigenous offenders (Criminal Code, 1985, s 718.2). In R v Gladue the Supreme Court of Canada [SCC] recognized Indigenous overrepresentation in the criminal justice system and explored the application of s 718.2(e) (R v Gladue, 1999). In a unanimous decision for the court, Cory and Iacobucci JJ called the enactment "a watershed, marking the first codification and significant reform of sentencing principles in the history of Canadian criminal law" (R v Gladue, 1999, para. 39). It has allowed for a blending of Indigenous ways of being with the criminal justice system. This exploration of storytelling of an offender's circumstances highlights Indigenous belief in the importance of story. It calls upon the approach to relationships, and how community members understand one another. To have a meaningful impact on an offender's rehabilitation, it is necessary to understand how they came to be in their particular situation. Does it stem from a series of bad choices, or is it their very first offence? How closely should the courts approach a pan-Indigenous approach when considering the alternative remedies?

Case law in Canada has also acknowledged that overrepresentation has not decreased since the amendments to s 718 came into effect in 1996 (see e.g. R v Gladue, 1999; R v Ipeelee, 2012; R v Kakekagamick, 2006; and R c Proctor, 2019). The amendment was specific in its applicability to Indigenous Peoples by the deliberate inclusion of the phrase "with particular attention to Aboriginal offenders." At the time, the Minister of Justice

clarified that "[t]he reason we referred specifically there to aboriginal persons is that they are sadly overrepresented in the prison populations of Canada" (House of Commons, Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs, 1994, at 62:15). Despite the remedial purpose of the provision, it is also acknowledged that sentencing is not the only means of addressing this alarming issue (R v Ipeelee, 2012, para. 69). Further research has determined that since the 1996 enactment, the only decrease in incarceration rates are for Caucasian peoples (Repila, 2018, p 7). There is a gap here that must be addressed. Courts have shown deference for offenders who admit their guilt at an early stage (see R v Gladue, 1999, para. 7, contra. R v Kakekagamick, 2006, para. 73). However, one must be attuned to the difficulties that face wrongful convictions and false guilty pleas.

Wrongful convictions are serious matters that deprive innocent people of their lives and liberties. It is astonishing that "Indigenous people are over-represented among the wrongfully convicted in respect to their percentage in the population" (Roach, 2015, p. 223). The issue was famously explored in the 1989 Royal Commission into the prosecution of Donald Marshall Jr., an Indigenous man who was falsely convicted of murder. The purpose of the inquiry was for the Commissioners to propose recommendations for changes in Nova Scotia to prevent such cases of wrongful conviction in the future (Nova Scotia, Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall, Jr., Prosecution, 1989). However, it was determined that "[t]he criminal justice system failed Donald Marshall, Jr. at virtually every turn from his arrest and wrongful conviction for murder in 1971 up to, and even beyond, his acquittal by the Court of Appeal in 1983" (p. 1).

One of the recommendations arising from the Commission was that Indigenous communities be adequately funded and equipped with services and programs such as Native Criminal Courts (p. 17). Somehow this is still a current argument in advocacy for Indigenous communities today. Given the high-profile attention that Marshall Jr. received, lawyer academics have also provided their own recommendations. Amanda Carling, a Metis Lawyer from Winnipeg, suggests that codifying a "plea amicus" under s 606 of the *Criminal Code*. This amicus would be responsible for investigating Indigenous and non-Indigenous

accused who are considered to be at-risk for false guilty pleas, and would be appointed to "assist the Court in the inquiry necessitated by subsection 1.1" which establishes conditions for accepting guilty pleas (Carling, 2017, p. 4). What this recommendation does not take into consideration is the applicability to youth who rather fall within the sentencing provisions of s 38(2)(d) of the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* (Youth Criminal Justice Act, 2002). It is notable that in order for these proposed legislative changes to have the largest effect, we must also consider Youth populations—especially since Indigenous youth populations in prisons are substantially higher than Indigenous admission into adult penal facilities (Heo, 2019, p. 4). Although this is a significant area that requires attention, this paper will focus on adult Indigenous offenders. We will explore these ideas by: i) acknowledging the importance story, ii) discussing the establishment of Gladue factors, iii) engaging in a deeper exploration of restorative justice, and ending with iv) recommendations for action.

Story: Not just an Indigenous thing

European history has been carried forward through time, preserved in ancient texts, artwork, architecture, and fables. There is little complexity in accessing Ancient Egyptian and European documents of history, amongst many others. A simple Google search is often all that you will need to learn about the Library of Alexandria, the Renaissance, and the French Revolution, to name a few. However, the "uncivilized" history of Indigenous populations in North America, deemed so by colonizers because of its lack of written language documentation, failed to make colonial history. For many years Indigenous Peoples were silenced and their stories were considered folklore (see e.g. de Sousa Santos, 2007).

In the Interior of British Columbia, some of these stories were preserved by James A. Teit, an anthropologist who was in the area in the late 1800s. His records are often the only credible source of history that Interior Indigenous populations rely upon for proving their existence in their colonized societies. In this way, it is important to acknowledge that it is with assistance of meaningful colonial relations that Indigenous Peoples have been able to survive the indemnity of proving their

existence. As a result, Indigenous Peoples in Canada are now situated where they are able to utilize scientific analysis to confirm the truths in their parables. This idea was explored in the tale of "Story of Coyote and Salmon" (Ignace & Ignace, 2017, p. 36) where the authors later coupled the truth of the story with archeological evidence (p. 39). By engaging with stable carbon isotope analysis, discoveries of human remains from approximately 8,340 and 5,000 years ago illustrate reliance on protein sources (p. 39). In the earlier remains, the young male was found to rely predominately off a meat diet rather than marine protein. In the latter case, the diet was 37-38 per cent (+/- 10 per cent) marine protein (p. 39). This analysis sheds light and colonial "proof" of the truth of the Coyote and Salmon story. Somehow, we are still in a place where the stories require scientific justification to be accepted as truths.

Indigenous peoples of Canada have had their own justice system that has predated the current Canadian judiciary. These practices were inherited by the ancestors that had passed before them. In some cases, their rules have been engraved in the landscapes around us. With geological information confirming the dates of such artifacts as pictographs (p. 81 image 3.2 and p. 295 image 8.21), Indigenous peoples can indeed defeat the *terra nullius* argument and assert that they had sophisticated societies and judicial systems in place prior to contact. This was encouraged by the late George Manuel as step 1[2] in the path to decolonization (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017, p. 259). However, adopting this step would undermine the entire legal system that has been thrust upon Indigenous Canadians since first contact. There are serious implications associated with denouncing this doctrine. It is indeed an important step towards nation-to-nation relations, yet the Canadian federal government is not yet ready to go there. Somehow the colonial pride of the Canadian judiciary

2   "The first step is easy and has been advocated by both the RCAP and the TRC: Formally denounce the racist doctrine of discovery and terra nullius as justification for settler presence on our lands, as well as any other doctrines, laws or policies that would allow you to address us on any other basis than nation to nation."

still revels in its acquired history from the British Commonwealth. There is great emphasis and value placed on common law precedent, where some of these laws were established in a country not of our own. It is time that Indigenous stories and laws be afforded equal value in the Canadian judiciary.

Along with laws and traditions, Canada has adopted the rules of court that originate from the British common law. Like these rules that govern behaviour in court, Indigenous Peoples also have rules and traditions that govern their behaviours. Many of these traditions are still practiced to this day, and often go unnoticed even by those practicing them. For example, when speaking it is customary to introduce your family and where you are from at the beginning of your statements prior to saying your own name. This story telling is important. It provides information that demands acknowledgement of the historical and cultural background, but also serves as a reminder that individuals are not as important as where they come from and which nation they belong to. Much has taken place before their time that assisted in developing their own respective story. The story allows them to recognize enemies, allies, and relatives. It also allows for identification of family members and understanding what each person's role in their community is based on their gifts, attributes, and leadership skills.

Long before Jamie Tanis Gladue stabbed and killed her common-law husband (R v Gladue, 1999), our judiciary has been relying on the narrative that brought the issue in question before the courts. Indeed, most judgements begin with the facts and an objective view of what happened. This approach is widely adopted around the globe, and in some instances, the outcome of a case is immediately revealed based on how the judge introduces the issue.[3] We thrive on knowing the people behind the cases before us as paramount to coming to a fair and just conclusion. This is an integral part of the justice system in Canada. Indeed, legal facta, memoranda and decisions begin with reiteration of the facts at bar. It is merely a tool of colonial genocide that until 1996 it was not legislated that Indigenous peoples' stories were to be included in criminal proceedings. Archaic as it may seem, prior to this it was not deemed to be an error in process for counsel or a judge to not consider the history of an Indigenous person brought before a court of law in a criminal matter. Jamie Tanis Gladue changed that.

Establishing Gladue factors

The legislation was codified in 1995 and came into force in 1996 as a newly created section of the *Criminal Code*. This codification outlined that when imposing sentencing, the judge must also consider "all available sanctions, other than imprisonment, that are reasonable in the circumstances and consistent with the harm done to victims or to the community should be considered for all offenders, with particular attention to the circumstances of Aboriginal offenders" (Criminal Code, 1985, s. 718.2) This codification has had a rocky history in Canadian courts. In Gladue the court offers a non-exhaustive list of factors that are to be considered as applicable when inquiring about an Indigenous persons' history (R v Gladue, 1999, para. 67). The court broke down a framework for judges to follow to determine what "circumstances of Aboriginal offenders" (Criminal Code, 1985, s 718.2(e)) means, and posed it as a two-prong approach:

(A) The unique systemic or background factors which may have played a part in bringing the particular aboriginal offender before the courts; and

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3   See *Eves v Eves*, [1975] EWCA Civ 3, reported at [1975] 1 WLR 1338 at para 1: "I will call her Janet because she has four surnames already." See also *Miller v Jackson*, [1977] EWCA Civ 6, [1977] QB 966 at para 1: "In summertime village cricket is the delight of everyone. Nearly every village has its own cricket field where the young men play and the old men watch. In the village of Lintz in County Durham they have their own ground, where they have played these last seventy years. They tend to it well. The wicket areas is well rolled and mown. The outfield is kept short. It has a good club-house for the players and seats for the onlookers. The village team play there on Saturdays and Sundays. They belong to a league, competing with the neighbouring villages. On other evenings after work they practise while the light lasts. Yet now after these 70 years a Judge of the High Court has ordered that they must not play there anymore, lie has issued an injunction to stop them."

(B) The types of sentencing procedures and sanctions which may be appropriate in the circumstances for the offender because of his or her particular aboriginal heritage or connection.

This approach has been the topic of contention since its establishment. For Indigenous offenders, these pre-sentencing reports (known as Gladue Reports) can mean a lot to the development and understanding of their life stories—often stories that have never been heard before by even the closest of relatives and friends.

Even though it has been twenty years since Gladue, the overrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples in prison continues to increase at an alarming rate (Canada, Department of Justice, 2019). Reasons for this are plentiful, including the lack of experienced or knowledgeable Report Writers, ongoing systemic disadvantage, funding, and the disagreement as to which side of the aisle is responsible for commissioning the reports (CBC News, 2018). Along with this comes the preposterous assumption that offenders who seek shelter under Gladue due to their Indigenous heritage are rewarded with the evasion of jail time (see R v Ipeelee, 2012, para. 70; also R v Kakekagamick, 2006, para. 34). This is simply not the case. Further, courts have also coined this assumption as "a race-based discount on sentencing" (R v Ipeelee, 2012, para. 70). While these comments are usually reserved for back-room and elevator discussion, concern was raised publicly in the House of Commons during the debates pertaining to the proposed 1996 amendment. A Bloc Québécois MP considered this implementation to result in "horror" since it would result in Indigenous offenders "not be[ing] liable to imprisonment like any other citizen" (House of Commons Debates, 1994, at 5876).

In developing a deeper understanding of s 718.2(e), one must appreciate that community justice initiatives do not equate to a lesser form of punishment. Cory and Iacobucci JJ noted that when restorative justice is "combined with probationary conditions it may in some circumstances impose a greater burden on the offender than a custodial sentence" (R v Gladue, 1997, para. 72). Judges have found themselves in the position where they are required to correct ill-informed counsel in their submissions regarding perception of the legislation. LaForme JA, an Indigenous former Judge for the Ontario Court of Appeal, stated that it "is not a mitigating factor on sentencing simply to be an Aboriginal offender, as the Crown erroneously asserts in its factum" (R v Kakekagamick, 2006, para. 34). He went on to further denounce the assertion that being an Aboriginal offender counts as a "get out of jail free" card (para. 34). Six years later, Lebel J for the SCC contends that both academic commentary and jurisprudence has failed thus far due to "fundamental misunderstanding of the operation of s 718.2(e) of the *Criminal Code*" (R v Ipeelee, 2012, para. 64). The debate that Lebel J found himself stuck between was indeed that of academic commentary and jurisprudence until the decision in R v Ipeelee. While acknowledging that sentencing is not the only way to address Indigenous overrepresentation (para. 69), Lebel J asserted that denying the stories that Gladue reveals would "violate the fundamental principle of sentencing—that the sentence must be proportionate to the gravity of the offence *and the degree of responsibility of the offender*" [emphasis in original] (para. 73).

What was monumental about Ipeelee was that it established that Gladue factors apply in serious offences. It essentially closed the conversation on whether there would be any situation where Gladue considerations were not applicable, noting that "application of the Gladue principles is required in every case involving an Aboriginal offender, including breach of an LTSO [long term supervision order], and a failure to do so constitutes and error justifying appellate intervention" (para. 87). When a case is before the courts that has not produced a Gladue Report, the judges are empowered to order the report and reserve judgement until it is delivered (see e.g. R v Kakekagamick, 2006, para. 62). There are many examples where Gladue Reports have revealed situations out of the offender's control, and even failures of the criminal justice system. For Mr. Ladue in Ipeelee, the criminal justice system's bureaucratic error resulted in him being "sent to a facility that placed him in harm's way" (R v Ipeelee, 2012, para. 155) and that the "CSC [Correctional Service of Canada]

must bear some degree of responsibility for Mr. Ladue's breach" (para. 156). The Crown's appeal against Mr. Ladue failed based on this error. There is no reason why this result should be shocking. The rearticulating of Gladue in Ipeelee is a reaffirmation of the understanding of the historical traumas that Indigenous Peoples face in Canada. The SCC's recognition of this illustrates their willingness to assist in mitigating the overrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples in the criminal justice system.

Perhaps this is a trick question: what is the point? The courts have mulled over what constitutes a community, what factors ought to be included, and who qualifies to be applicable under this section of legislation. What this criticism fails to take into consideration is the very thing that it is trying to defend: the story of the individual. The Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls [MMIWG] exposed cases where women were denied Gladue Reports due to physical appearance. One woman reported that she "didn't look Ingenious, and that before [she] could get a Gladue Report, [she] needed to have to prove [her] Indigenous heritage" (Canada, National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 641) This is absurd when you read the provision. It applies to all offenders, with the caveat of particular attention to Indigenous offenders. There is no rule stating that there is a blood quantum or physical threshold that one must meet to qualify as being Indigenous. The MMIWG Report further uncovered that Indigenous women have negatively affected by Gladue Reports when the report is subsequently used against them when determining security classification while incarcerated (p. 642). Women (and undoubtedly men) report that receiving a higher security classification often results in limited access to mental health and cultural programming.

In his 2017/18 annual report, the Office of the Correctional Investigator stated that Indigenous offenders are also disproportionately represented in self-injurious behaviour, where "they accounted for 48.3% of all self-injurious incidents" (Canada, The Correctional Investigator, 2018, pp. 62). The sword and shield of Gladue Reports raises the question of whether they *actually* assist Indigenous Peoples when the very system that is supposed to protect them is causing more harm. This begs the question of whether the current criminal justice system in Canada will ever be adequately equipped to meet the rehabilitative demands of Indigenous offenders without perpetuating further discrimination. These statistics are astonishing and the individuals who suffer as a result are some of the most marginalized people in this country: Indigenous Peoples.

Understanding Restorative Justice and circles

Another way of reducing the number of people in the criminal justice system is to adequately implement alternatives to resolving conflict and harm. Countries such as Australia and New Zealand have adopted Restorative Justice, which deploys Indigenous values in a structured process that operates from a trauma-informed lens. A requirement of participating in Restorative Justice is for the wrongdoer to admit their guilt and to the desire to repair harm to the victim and their community (United Nations, Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006, p. 6). These programs not only have had an impact for those personally involved, but also play a role in reducing the number of files in the criminal justice system. They can take place in many forms, including victim-offender mediation, community and family group conferencing, circle sentencing, and Indigenous and customary justice forums (p. 6). The success of these programs and the increasing awareness of restorative justice options has extended its reach far beyond Indigenous communities.

When the SCC established the two-prong approach in Gladue¸ it leads us to wonder if these were the types of programs that Iacobucci and Cory JJ had in mind. Was it to be the scripted, formal restorative justice circles facilitated by community volunteers, or was it Indigenous and customary justice forums established by each respective community? In approaching this idea, it is important not to paint all Indigenous Canadians with the same brush stroke, suggesting that their approaches to justice are all the same. This is not the case. What works in Northern Manitoba may not work for the West Coast, or the East Coast

for that matter. The SCC acknowledged these intricacies and highlighted in Gladue that "the current concepts of sentencing are inappropriate because they have frequently not responded to the needs, experiences, and perspectives of aboriginal people or aboriginal communities" (R v Gladue, 1999, para. 73). What still hasn't happened over twenty years later, is the dedicated investment in developing these programs that would have a meaningful impact on reducing recidivism of Indigenous offenders.

Some Restorative Justice practices have evolved to include a greater level of Indigenous influence in the conduct of the process. One of the best examples of this is Circle Keeping, which differs from the scripted conferencing model by including a talking piece, discussion and agreement on circle values, participant-generated guidelines of conduct, increased effort in "story telling" rather than issue addressing, and the inclusion of the facilitator as a participant in the circle (Pranis, 2015, p. 16). The underlying issue that these new processes still do not account for is the necessary element of guilt. It does not address the systemic racism that has led to many Indigenous people being falsely imprisoned. These community programs are not yet equipped with the resources or support to approach cases of controversy where guilt is not admitted. This would be the next step in allowing truly restorative practices and allowing Indigenous communities to adequately participate in the sentencing process.

Calls for reform

To best suit the theme of this paper, it is fitting that the resolution to sentencing disfunction is to shift focus to the story-telling aspect of the procedure rather than figuring out which program or service will change the lives of the offenders in question. The intent of this is quite primitive—the notion that humans know when they are doing a bad thing. Many offenders are aware of their behaviour, yet they are not empowered to decide for themselves what restorative methods will best suit their needs. Perhaps rather than thrusting the closest and most readily available option upon them, we could empower the offender to aid in deciding what would work best for their rehabilitation,

if that is what they choose. This is not as far removed as you would think. Galiatsatos JCQ noted in *Proctor* that the offender took it upon himself to write a detailed action plan for his own wellness moving forward, of which "none of those steps were symbolic, fanciful or unrealistic" (R c Proctor, 2019, para. 155).

Other international jurisdictions have engaged in addressing the same overrepresentation of Indigenous populations and have taken different approaches to addressing the issue. Some jurisdictions in Australia have also included legislative amendments. However, their approach differs from that of Canadian legislation in that their support for Indigenous offenders is offered upon arrest rather than conviction (Crimes Act 1914, 2018, s. 23H). It calls for an "interview friend" to be present when Indigenous or Torres Strait Islanders are being interviewed by law enforcement (s. 23H2(c)). The differentiating effect of this is that it can mitigate racial discrimination and intimidation at an earlier stage than the legislation does in Canada. Much like restorative justice movement in Canada, the Commission on Law Reform in Australia has also determined that moving towards "trauma-informed" practice may assist in achieving a greater understanding of the systemic disadvantages and overrepresentation of Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australian prisons (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2017, p. 80). Australian Indigenous population is slightly less than Canada's at 3%, but comparable in that Indigenous Peoples represent 25% of the overall incarcerated population (Jeffries & Stenning, 2014, p. 458). Similar to the factors in Gladue¸ Australian jurisprudence acknowledges and highlights the historical disadvantages of their Indigenous Peoples and requires courts to "take into account the special problems experienced by Aboriginals living in reserves" (Neal v The Queen, 1982, para. 8).

In answering the need to address systemic disadvantages of Indigenous Peoples, the Australian courts have adopted their own quasi-Gladue considerations in R v Stanley Edward Fernando (1992). The 8-principles have guided Indigenous sentencing ever since (paras. 9-12). Although these factors generate very similar results as the two-prong Gladue approach, the reliance on Gladue was struck

down as persuasive case law in Bugmy v The Queen (2013) due to differing legislative statutes (para. 36). What is interesting is that the approach established in Australia brings truth to the concern that former MP Pierrette Venne had voiced in the House of Commons debate (House of Commons Debates, 1994, at 5876): that taking an offender's Indigenous heritage into consideration during sentencing "would cease to involve individualised justice" (Bugmy v The Queen, 2013, para. 36). Critics in Australia were quick to denounce this interpretation, suggesting that doing so would "embrace the full complexity of post-colonial Indigenous experience in sentencing to promote individualised justice" (Anthony et al., 2015, p. 67). However, other research on the topic has revealed that understanding and considering an offender's spiritual beliefs at sentencing "will often result in a rehabilitative focus, better calculated to reduce the prospects of recidivism" (Anthony, 2012, p. 38). Despite these similarities, one major differing factor is that Australian jurisprudence has taken traditional forms of corporal punishment into consideration at sentencing (see Munda v Western Canada, 2013, para. 127), whereas Canada has not.

With the British Columbia provincial government recently endorsing (see Bill 41 – 2019: Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, 2019) the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) (United Nations, Human Rights Council, 2008) a logical argument can be made for Gladue Reports to be included in these rights as the stories that tell the history of offender's circumstances. Article 13[4] of UNDRIP protects the right for Indigenous Peoples to protect, transmit and develop their histories through methods such as story.

4   Article 13: "1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. 2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also ensure that Indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means."

Taking this step would demand that attention be paid to the importance of Gladue stories. If this were to be done, it would become more difficult for Corrections to use the reports for security classifications, since it would then be similar to segregation by race and potentially subject to a s 7 *Charter* violation (Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982). It would create a full-circle argument to what the SCC in Gladue specifically avoided in terms of *Charter* claims (R v Gladue, 1999, paras. 86, 88). In this light, Gladue stories would be considered a right that is constitutionally protected for Indigenous peoples and remedy could be sought under s 24(1) for violating this right. Further, this solves the issue of deciding who will pay for the report when offenders fail to qualify for Legal Aid Services.

Conclusion

With the recent twenty-year anniversary of Gladue, it is integral that we consider what has been accomplished and what still must be addressed when sentencing Indigenous offenders in Canada. The incarceration rates for Indigenous Peoples are getting worse. The baby steps that have been taken so far should not stunt the outlook for progress. The enactment of BC legislation recognizing the rights of Indigenous Peoples is monumental in restoring government-to-government relations in British Columbia. To achieve this, we must uphold the stories of Indigenous Peoples and acknowledge their histories. The "Story of Porcupine" (Ignace & Ignace, 2017, p. 496) from Secwepemcúl'ecw[5] describes how porcupine traveled through treacherous terrain to deliver a message of peace and willingness to work together to achieve harmony between two feuding communities. After sharing their respective wisdoms, the communities were able to come together, and their knowledges became joint law. We need to listen to the stories of Indigenous Peoples so that Indigenous laws and colonial laws to work together and create solutions for Indigenous offenders in our corrections system.

5   The traditional lands of the Secwépemc People in the Interior of British Columbia.

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As a guest on this land of Aotearoa, I acknowledge that the research I have collated for this journal has been consciously chosen and conducted on Maori indigenous land that was never ceded by The Crown. As a non-indignous person to this land, I acknowledge and recognise that I myself benefit from the dispossesion and subjugation of Maori. I always am very privileged and honoured to be abe to use this land to help fight against settler-colonialsim, whether it's in academia or within the community and am always aware of my positionality.

THE LEGAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: HOW LANGUAGE, SPATIAL ORGANISATION AND BLACK EXCEPTIONALISM OPENS DIALOGUE TO PRISON ABOLISHMENT

"As an undergraduate student at The University of Auckland Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland, sharing my personal writing has always been a challenging journey to walk through as articulation through the English written language has been difficult, especially in the realm of academia. Using the tongue of the coloniser loses the essence of the thoughts I wish to truly express. Therefore, being in this written space Knowledge Makers has created for Indigenous peoples like myself has been nothing but a privilege and an honour. I wish to acknowledge the positionality I will be expressing my ideas from. Being a descendant of the Fijian (Ba), Niuean (Tamakautoga) and Tongan (Vaini) diaspora, I am fully aware that I will never authentically encapsulate the ontological, physical, and epistemic violence African Americans have to endure on an individual and institutional level. The totality of such violence can only truly be understood through one's lived experiences."

2020 was a year of collective confrontation towards many issues domestically and internationally. It had placed many of us in uncomfortable situations and made us rethink how we navigate in this social reality. The emergence of the Coronavirus pandemic disrupted the social, economic, cultural, and political landscape for almost all nations across the world. In the United States the unjust, inhumane death of George Floyd sparked the resurgence of the Black Lives Matter movement. George's death was a true reflection of the social organisation and foundation of the country that is built off white supremacy. Those critical enough such as I, to understand the event that unfolded, knew that it was more than just police brutality. His death was a catalyst in the continuous fight against all forms of racism and white supremacy that had been going on since the very birth of the nation. Here all the way on the other side of the globe in Aotearoa, New Zealand, we had witnessed everything unfolding in the States, the ongoing mass protests, the burning down of police stations, to the collective action many Black communities initiated. The African community based in Tāmaki Makaurau organized a "Stand in Solidarity" where we could show our support and love for the African American community.

Over the past decades, collectivism and solidarity are two crucial factors that have helped the progression of successful social movement towards justice and equality. Partaking in the march for us here in Aotearoa was a collective

obligation we owed to them, the very least we could all have done. The unfolding of the Black Lives Matters movement forced me to re-think how my own individual actions and behaviour could be actively anti-racist. The points of discussions I will be exploring have been very crucial towards this journey of mine and how I understand the organization of settler colonial states such as The United States.

There is an anti-Black apparatus within the legal/justice system that has led to the mass incarceration of and high rates of state brutality against Black and Indigenous people. The mechanisms of incarceration in the USA, a predatory state in the throes of late capitalism, strictly protect the interests and safety of the white civil society. In her profound article, 'Against Innocence' (2018), prison abolitionist and Black studies scholar Jackie Wang critically examines how "innocence" and "safety" are perceived in the context of the legal/justice system and how it perpetuates racial structural violence. In this paper, I will be examining how the dominant discourse around "innocence" should be understood only in relation to the white liberal definition of who is deserving enough of this innocence. I will also be discussing how assimilation through class mobility for Black and Indigenous people is a tactic of deflecting the connotations of guilt associated with their *race*. Exploring the politics of safety in the context of white spatial organizations within the urban landscape and how Black people are perceived in it will be my next point of discussion. I will conclude with a discussion of the possibility of a society without such a harmful and problematic colonial institution. It can be very difficult to imagine a society without an institution that has been part of our social reality for as long as the modern-day world can remember. However, it is a necessary dialogue that we all must engage in, as it not only reinforces racial tendencies towards certain marginalised communities but locks up people for crimes that can be preventable if society had more proactive resources and institutions that were not built on the foundation of white supremacy and institutional racism.

Innocence in a white civil society

Black and Indigenous bodies live in the world but exist outside of white civil society. The legal system in the USA fuels this structurally impossible position for a Black or Indigenous body. The disproportionate representation of incarceration and state brutality against Black and Indigenous peoples perpetuate whose interests and safety the white civil state is trying to protect. The foundation of this system is inherently racist, as it exploits the notion of "innocence" as a tool for state violence. The legal/ justice system is purposely engineered as an instrument of racial oppression. It is a well-arranged system used over-zealously that has successfully created disproportionate ramifications on Black and Indigenous people. Fanon's landmark text, *Wretched of the Earth* lays out the logic of the Manichaean dualistic logic. It manifests itself in the presumption that in a civil society there exists a separation between the coloniser and the colonised, where white signifies purity and innocence while black represents guilt, violence and evil (Fanon, 2001). The notion of guilt is a threat to white civil society and anything that falls outside of this paradigm automatically becomes something that needs to be suppressed by being put into incarceration. According to Wang (2018), Innocence, however, is just code for non-threatening to white civil society' Black and Indigenous bodies are more proximate to guilt than the white body. For a Black and Indigenous body to surpass this colonial narrative and reach the state of innocence and grievance, they must be in a genuine state of victimhood. If the necessary precondition of innocence is not met by the Black or Indigenous person, their lives and circumstances do not become recognised or grievable to the state. The case of Isaiah Simmons, a Black youth who died in a juvenile facility after being restrained by five counsellors for three hours did not meet the precondition of innocence, as he was framed as an offender before his death. The media coverage of his situation emphasised his criminal status, implying that he was in some way deserving of his death. In another case, Trayvon Martin was a 17-year-old Black youth who was brutally murdered by a volunteer neighbourhood watchman where the cause was the consequence. Although the two cases involved both Black youths, Martin's death caused more of a public outcry.

Martin's actions prior to his death portrayed 'authentic victimhood, passivity, moral purity, and the position of a whitewashed position (Wang, 2018).

The dominant discourse of innocence being used as the foundation to address Black violence is an appeal to white civil society. This framework re-entrenches a logic that concretes the relationship between criminality and Blackness. The legal/justice system is a constituent to the process of racial violence as it is perpetuated through the disproportionate representation of Black incarceration and brutality. The experience of Black social and physical death in this white civil society grows from coded discourses of criminality and other forces of state violence which Wang (2018) conceptualises through carceral apparatus (the matrix of police and prison guards). The notion of innocence is problematic as it only recognises the explicit individualised acts of racial violence, treating each instance as an isolated issue, and obscuring the fact the legal system is the primary perpetrator of upholding the very values of white supremacy.

Black exceptionalism

'Black exceptionalism' is grounded in the idea that the USA has disassociated itself from its horrific history. This is an act of the Black body's hopelessly misguided pursuit of liberation from centuries of racial oppression by upward class mobility. The structural racial violence the legal/justice system perpetuates forces Black people to ascend to this idea of whiteness where there is an attempt to disassociate themselves from the connotations of guilt and criminality. There is a crucial paradox that Wolfson (2019) helps identify by justifying the violent racial oppression Black people. By embracing the achievements of high-profile exceptional Black individuals (Barack Obama, Clarence, Beyoncé and Mike Tyson), Black exceptionalism ironically amplifies the mystification of the systematic physical, ontological, and epistemological violence all Black people face. Wolfson (2019) argues this failure of racial and class liberation for Black people is inexorable within a necropolitical nation, as the legal/justice system is primarily built on white supremacy and exploitation of Black people. Necropolitics, for Black people,

is the subjugation of the administration of who holds the power to administer life and death. Black exceptionalism is a necropolitical tool of oppression as it establishes Black 'social death' of Black people, the vital condition to modern day slavery, and that the only true liberation under the capitalist system, is either their suicide or the continuous oppression of their people.

Whiteness within the spatial organisation

Wang (2018) argues the social conditions of the urban landscape should be understood in relation to the politics of safety and how this socially constructed organisation affects *race*. After the civil rights movement, the USA experienced a major racial incorporation process where the demographic of Black people was now integrating themselves in spaces previously occupied by whites only (Anderson, 2015). However, the element of segregation between the two races is still evident, with most public spaces being dominated by the normalisation of white presence. This normalisation of white spaces is a reflection of this civil society. For the Black body, it is essential to navigate the white space as a condition of their existence (Anderson,2015).

Unfortunately, the Black and Indigenous body compromises the safety of these established "white" spaces as their bodies encapsulate feelings that are synonymous with putative danger, rage, crime, and poverty, and can become threatening to this white civil society (Wang, 2018). Their existence lies outside white civil society and must be contained or suppressed by the state in the form of incarceration. Jackson & Meiners (2011) state that public institutions and spaces like prisons and ghettos are seen by the white liberal imagination as untouchable and unrecognizable "alternate universes." These spaces are non-existent in the minds of the white liberal, which cannot physically comprehend the lived experiences of the Black and Indigenous peoples occupying them. These non-white spaces hinder Black and Indigenous bodies from freely occupying white spaces without any stigma of guilt and violence. The conditions

within the spatial organisation are vital to the understanding of how racial violence is perceived. Wang goes on to argue the space white bodies navigate in, must consistently be *cleansed*. "The visibility of poor Black bodies and marginalized groups of people induces anxiety, so these bodies must be contained, controlled and removed" (Wang, 2018, p.4). The innocent death of Trayvon Martin happened to take place in a gated neighborhood. The type of selective griev-ance and remorse in reaction to his death is "problematic", as the politics of innocence manifest such physical violence comprehen-sible only if the individual can see themselves being in that position. If the Black body lacks moral authority, they are inclined to offend themselves on the premise that their *race* is 'inferior and faces few sanctions. Therefore, the possession of moral authority is a crucial component, as without it navigation within these white spaces with no social standing creates feelings of vulnerability and uncer-tainty. It is in these white spaces that the Black person encounters interpersonal, epi-sodic racial moments or as many would term it, the "nigger moment".

Safe space

There is a manipulative element to the proce-dure of politics of safety and innocence that occurs within personal interactions when white radicals engage in the use of "safe space" language. The white body exploits the use of this language to gain power within the politics of the spatial environment. This is under the pretense that it will validate their feelings of unsafety. The cognitive dissonance white people experience while simultaneously observing Black bodies within their vicin-ity, may lead to them feeling they have the obligation to put Black people in a position of criminality by verbal manipulation. Then saying "I don't feel safe" automatically frames and premeditated the unsettling dynamic of the space upheld by the white body. Center-ing this saying on a personal and emotional basis obscures the racial element behind this saying and it causes obstruction for critical anti-racial responses. The implicit element to this type of "safe" language is in itself prob-lematic, as it frames Black people being the

immediate threat to the white liberal worl-dview. "The invocation of personal security and safety presses on our affective and emo-tional registers and can thus be manipulated to justify everything from racial profiling to war" (Wang, 2018, p. 8). The entitlement and the privilege of the white person using safe space language automatically place them in a position of vulnerability and innocence. When white people embody their victimization with the use of this language, we need to critically acknowledge that the underlying intention of this tactical maneuver of framing innocence could also be to perpetuate their usage of power without it being questioned by the state police. Wang reminds us that we have to examine the various power struggles that interplay in conflicts and how and why white people co-opt this safe space language that is supposedly meant to respond to internally oppressive dynamics only to be used for racial domination (Wang, 2018).

Wang also argues that the removal of all factors risk and danger just reconsti-tutes the status quo because it upholds the power of white supremacy and militancy in the USA and undermines the politics of safety so that it is virtually impossible to act out anything that involves risk based on the claims of compromising one's' safety. In the light of a Black revolutionist liberation, taking risks is fundamental to achieving all rights for all Black people. Unfortunately, due to the organisation of the legal/justice system, Black and Indigenous people cannot partake in risky actions due to the necropo-litical framework of the system and how their bodies are more proximate to state brutality and incarceration. This reiterates that from the incoherence of Black social and physical death, America generates the administration of white life (Wilderson, 2003). The con-cept of safety, like innocence, appeals to the white liberal worldview only and there is a co-constitutive correlation between safety and violence (Wang,2018). It is so necessary to acknowledge that structural racial vio-lence is the silent underlying foundation of white security in the USA. The delusion of safety requires domination and control over those who jeopardize the white civil society. This is very problematic for the Black and

Indigenous body as they are an exclusion to society and are deemed to be the very threat, which makes them primary targets for brutality and incarceration. White people are an extension of the white supremacist police state and they take it upon themselves to police Black lives, with the case of Trayvon Martin being a prime example. White civil society has allowed these false narratives of Black and Indigenous people to be entrenched within their ideologies of how they perceive these Others. It is hard to identify the explicit violence the notion of safety perpetuates because the very system in the USA is based on white supremacy and has the power to legitimise this violence. It is near impossible for the Black and Indigenous person to challenge a legal/justice system that was built on the continuous oppression of their own people. Wang reminds us that such violence is submerged in a complex web of institutions, power structures, and economic relations that reinforce the normalisation, legalization, and the preservation of this racial violence.

Imagining a punitive free world

The racially disparate incidence of the USA's massive punitive structure, which has been built-up over centuries, when observed in its historical and present context has been patently unjust and racist towards Black and Indigenous peoples. It is an institution that is entrenched within settler colonial states. However, many continue to question and challenge its morality and ethics. More than two million people, disproportionately representing and affecting racially oppressed peoples, are placed in prisons where there is a higher risk of developing diseases, exposure to police and inmate violence, and exclusion from technological advancements (Davis, 2003). Humans being agents of transformative change, we need to ask ourselves if locking up people is actually an effective and ethical approach to solving high incarceration rates.

The Regan presidency and its "tough on crime" approach to the high surge of crime in the streets only lead to certain imprisonment and longer sentences for even minor offences. This approach sought to keep the streets and communities free of crime and safe, but truly only was used to sustain this 'white liberal' worldview. It not only was a failed attempt to tackle crime rates, but its outcome only caused a higher prison population, ultimately locking up more Black and marginalised individuals. Sociologist C. Wright Mills based his research and publications around the idea that one's personal issues must be understood in the wider societal context. So, in the context of the legal justice system in the US, should these high representations of racially oppressed communities in prisons be looked at not in isolation of the individual's actions but examined through the culprit that is outside of prisons, white supremacy and institutional racism. But wouldn't this compromise the safety of this 'white liberal' worldview? Of course, it will undermine their politics of safety, but it is necessary to address this issue if we are wanting to move forward into a true egalitarian society that moves away from racial violence and tendencies that are harmful and dangerous to Black and marginalised communities. Prisons are only doing one thing effectively, locking up Black and marginalised bodies based on an inherently racist understanding of what it means to be 'innocent' or not. The societal issues that cause these people to be locked up initially are not being addressed. It is crucial to understand that such racist justice systems that we have taken for granted in our social reality need to be addressed. Taking on new, innovative terrains of justice is crucial to creating and

> "Black and Indigenous bodies live in the world but exist outside of white civil society. The legal system in the USA fuels this structurally impossible position for a Black or Indigenous body."
>
> - Milika Swann

clearing the negative connotations placed onto Black and Indigenous communities and can be a major factor in dismantling and destroying white supremacy and the disproportionate representations of Black and marginalised communities.

Conclusion

All points discussed have explored new ways to understand the fabrication of the social reality that we experience. The legal/justice system and the dominant discourse around 'innocence' is inherently racist towards Black and Indigenous people. All justice institutions in The United States are built to intentionally control and remove those who fall out of the white liberal worldview. These structures of the legal/justice system and how we perceive innocence and punishment has been considered so "natural" and entrenched within society that its very existence has become almost immune to questioning. The iconic political activist Angela Davis speaks on this, "Although government, corporations and the dominant media try to represent racism as an unfortunate aberration of the past that has been relegated to the graveyard of U.S history, it continues to profoundly influence contemporary structures, attitudes, and behaviors" (Davis, 2003 p. 23-24).

In this paper, I have discussed how inherently racist the word 'innocence' is in the context of the US legal justice system. The 'white liberal worldview' has utilised and co-opted the word as a tool for colonial state violence. I then explored the notion of whiteness within the spatial organisation and how the incorporation of white and Black public spaces is problematic to the white liberal. It compromises the safety of the white liberals' worldview and their politics of safety. The point that follows my previous discussion is the act of class assimilation. The Black body knows they cannot escape their Blackness and so find progression in society through class mobility. The attempt to disassociate themselves from their own Blackness can be highly problematic as it not only brings a false hope of liberation to one's self but further obscures institutional racism and other forms of violence. I have

also highlighted how the white liberal using safe space language automatically assumes that the immediate threat comes from that of the Black body. The utilization of safe space language upholds white supremacy and militancy in the USA. My final point of discussion opens up the dialogue of imagining a world without the inherently racist legal justice system. Understanding the interconnectedness between the use of language, spatial organization, and Black exceptionalism can create critical discussions towards decolonization of white social reality.

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I acknowledge the Traditional Owners and Custodians of the land upon which these words were written, the land which gives me strength and sustenance, the land of the Jagera people. I respect Elders past, present and emerging, and honour their wisdom and knowledge, as well as their strength in the continuing fight for country and for humanity. Sovereignty was never ceded here. Always was and always will be Aboriginal land.

MAYBE ONE DAY OUR TAMARIKI WILL BE BORN FREE: A PAPER ON MĀORI OVERIMPRISONMENT

Glossary

Aotearoa – *New Zealand*
Iwi – *Tribe*
Kaupapa Māori – *Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori principles, Māori ideology*
Māoritanga – *Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, Māori way of life*
Mātauranga Māori – *Māori knowledge, wisdom, understanding*
Mokopuna – *grandchildren, descendants*
Muka – *Prepared flax fibre*
Pākehā – *New Zealander, usually of European descent*
Pepeha – *Proclamation of genealogical affiliation*
Tamariki – *Children*
Te ao Māori – *The Māori worldview*
Tika – *To be correct, true, right, just, fair*
Tīpuna – *Ancestors*
Tūrangawaewae – *Place where one has the right to stand, place where one has rights of belonging through kinship and whakapapa*
Wahine – *woman, female*
Wāhine – *women (plural form of wahine)*
Wairua – *Spirit*
Whakapapa – *Genealogy*
Whakataukī – *Proverb, significant saying*

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my grandmother, Pere Tuhoro and my late grandfather, Katene Tuhoro. Thank you for seeing me, thank you for hearing me and thank you for planting enough seeds to allow me to find my way back to who I have always been. I carry your strength, determination and courage with me, and with that I continue this journey for our people, for all people. It is never too late.

An introduction

This paper is a journey, a paper to support others like me so they feel they are not alone. This paper is a place where those on the cusp of fighting for the rights of Indigenous Peoples everywhere can find inspiration and strength. I will explain the place I come from, not physically, as that is not yet possible for me, but emotionally, spiritually and intellectually. I will highlight an intentional lack of cohesion, demonstrating a struggle between te ao Māori and a Western worldview, between academic language and that of my soul and spirit. My journey takes place in the criminal justice system. This paper will present separate lineages, all threaded together by whakapapa.

My writing will contain intentional disruption and attempts to make room for sense-sensing, instead of sense-making (Ahenakew, 2016). To some, it will not make sense at all and this signals that this paper is not intended for you at this time. This paper will move through my whakapapa of Indigenous Research Methodologies, the whakapapa of my ideas, the whakapapa of Māori overimprisonment, the whakapapa of Māori criminalisation and the whakapapa of Indigenous criminology. Together, these lineages create the whakapapa of my journey, and shape what I now claim as my tūrangawaewae, my place to stand academically, a place to speak from.

The change required to truly advance Māori and Indigenous interests in this space is far more radical than has been acknowledged in mainstream criminology and requires personal and societal transformation to build a foundation for greater change. That radical change will start with the presentation and formatting of this paper. I will intentionally resist the use of some APA conventions and traditional formatting in an attempt to organise this paper in a way which flows best and feels tika. This paper will include concepts discussed by Ahenakew (2016), such as writing in a way which makes the invisible noticeably absent, resisting the temptation for certainty and totality, embracing a poetic orientation and redirecting reading from the rational to the metaphorical mind. These concepts invite the reader to use other senses throughout the reading process (Ahenakew, 2016).

My intention is not for conclusions in this paper to provide answers beyond my own journey. Instead, I highlight my journey and conclude that there is not yet a solution to some of the problems I discuss and contend that before we can begin to reach conclusions about the way forward, we must first examine ourselves. We must engage in a process of self-transformation and find our voices not only as Indigenous scholars, but also as Indigenous Peoples and as allies. Further than this, the issue requires the examination of those that came before us. The relevant whakapapa must be explored, as while it is important to reflect on our own behaviour and feelings as individuals, "self-awareness doesn't begin with self" (Tapiata, 2018, p. 21). We must examine the actions and experiences of our ancestors, both from Aotearoa and the West, and examine the environment they have created for all of us. Only then, once we know where we come from, will we know the way forward.

My introduction

*In te ao Māori, whakapapa is
the basis of everything.
Inā kei te mōhio koe ko wai koe, i anga mai koe
i hea, kei te mōhio koe, kei te anga atu ki hea*

*If you know who you are and where you are
from then you will know where you are going*

Many Māori academics will begin a paper with their pepeha. This will introduce them, their family, their community, their lands, mountains and waterways that are significant to them. It places them within a wider network and allows for connections to be made with others in the collective. Unfortunately, I cannot start this paper with my pepeha. This has been the hardest part of engaging in postgraduate studies as an Indigenous student—formulating a study plan and a research topic, not knowing where I come from and to which community I am responsible. Truly feeling a legitimate claim to any particular pepeha is difficult and COVID-19 has made travelling home to discover the pepeha which most ignites my wairua, next to impossible. Living in Australia, I have never been a part of the Māori community, either as a whole, or in its smaller entities.

During a Knowledge Maker workshop, we were asked to think about the Indigenous Knowledge that had been gifted to us by our families.

Indigenous knowledge is all but absent in my family. It took many pauses, the holding back of many tears, but through my intense emotions, I was able to utter something to the effect of…

I am disconnected from my culture and community. My journey for knowledge has been more of an uncovering than a gifting, more spiritual in that I have sought knowledge from my tīpuna. It is as though they have left baskets of knowledge for me to find at exactly the right time, in exactly the right way. They have left a stringline for me to follow, to continue to uncover knowledge as it is meant for me.

Other Knowledge Makers have used this beautiful quote to describe their feeling of disconnection.

"I am homesick for a place I am not sure even exists – one where my heart is full, my body loved, and my soul understood" (Aird, 2017, 70).

Spoken word poet Steve Davis-Tana (2017) captures the raw emotion of disconnection in these excerpts of her poem around the importance of whakapapa…

Their lands called to me but sometimes I let it go to voicemail,
I do not belong there, but I
want to belong there,
I did not grow up there and my cousins did,
And I was always just the city kid trying to
claim a place where my face is strange…

In Māori culture, your pepeha is your story,
your mountain, your river, your home,
But what happens when home
feels hollow in your throat,
Tastes like blood that is not your own,
This place is not mine, I am urbanised,
Where streetlamps grow from fingertips, high rise buildings for thighs,
Hair woven into motorways, this place…
I cannot trace my ancestor's footsteps,
So I will I have to make my own
and take them with me,
Build this home wherever I go,
make peace with the streets,
When people ask me nō hea
koe? Where are you from?
I will remember where I am and
where my people came from

To those of you who ask what I have lost, you will never know. To those of you who understand, let us walk home hand in hand, wherever home is now. My introduction feels incomplete without a pepeha which pays tribute to landmarks which ground me, shape me and surround me. For now, I leave my pepeha lacking completeness, knowing enough to be proud of the fact that I whakapapa to greatness, and that one day I will be able to truly express this.

Ko Sarah Tuhoro tōku ingoa
E noho ana ahau ki Brisbane, Australia
Ko Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata ōku iwi

My name is Sarah Tuhoro
I live in Brisbane, Australia
Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata are my tribes

Finding my voice

Finding my voice throughout this process of pursuing Indigenous scholarship has been incredibly difficult. I am well versed in the expectations of the academy and have used this to ensure high achievement in my academic endeavours. What I am not so well practiced in, is using my own voice, a voice my tīpuna might recognise, to speak from my soul, from an Indigenous worldview, without it being tainted by the Eurocentric norms ingrained in me by my education. This paper is my first attempt to raise my fist to the academy and all those who may argue that the writings contained within this journal are unscientific, uncivilised and unworthy. I will choose literature as a means of standing on the shoulders of others who have paved the path toward the reclamation of Indigenous Knowledge, highlighting its value and worth in contemporary society. This paper will not claim to be objective, instead containing both emotions and subjectivity, interwoven with an academic style of writing. Moving between these two communication styles will be a reflection of finding my voice and will demonstrate the challenge many of us face on our journey towards shedding the straitjacket the academy has placed us in, as we come into our own as Indigenous scholars.

My Indigenous Research Methodologies whakapapa

My biggest fear about engaging in Indigenous scholarship was that it would not be transformative enough and that I did not know enough about my culture to make a significant contribution to the Māori community. I feared this after engaging with literature around reclaiming scholarship and critical Indigenous research methodologies. I learned of the importance of research ethics, particularly in the Indigenous

space, and I learned that it must be transformative, have purpose, and also the potential to create change (Brayboy et al., 2012). I learned from Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, the teacher who has inspired me most, that the time for research to be conducted 'about us without us' has passed, and that now is the time to conduct research *for* and *with* Māori (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012). Linda addressed my concerns that my first piece of research was not going to be transformative enough, explaining to me that my Masters thesis did not have to change the world. Linda explained that sometimes the first step towards being transformative is just in transforming yourself (Personal communication, 17 November, 2020). So, as you read this, understand that I am mid-transformation. The disconnect between writing styles is intentional and to make this paper completely cohesive would require me to know that which I have not yet learned, or to be inauthentic and continue to prioritise academic language.

As an aspiring Indigenous scholar, my assumption was that my work should be built on the backbone of the Māori knowledge makers and academics that have come before me, those that have shaped mātauranga Māori and what is now known as Kaupapa Māori Theory and Kaupapa Māori Research. While this is true, I have learned that I must acknowledge that my ideas are shaped by both Māori and Western influences. Trained in Western academia, my ideas and theoretical understandings have very much been shaped and influenced by both Māori and Western theorists. Teaiwa

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>
> – Sarah Tuhoro

(2014) explains that in a world where education is seen as a process of 'whitening' for Indigenous communities, it is expected that we should place emphasis on the Indigenous influences above others that shape us. While my Indigenous intellectual ancestors are owed great acknowledgement, Teaiwa (2014) explains that through acknowledging the true whakapapa of our ideas, Western academic influences can be critically mobilised to assist in understanding and deconstructing whiteness itself. I do not wish to be shaped solely by these Western influences; but it is critical to locate myself within a theoretical whakapapa which pays tribute to those influences whose extraordinary political, intellectual and academic activism helped to shape the field (Teaiwa, 2014). From this, I can develop as an 'organic intellectual', one who can serve my community as a mouthpiece and change agent—one who has the skills to be competent in academia as is currently required, but with the tools to work for change (Teaiwa, 2014).

The whakapapa of my ideas

I am a Correctional Officer in a Queensland prison. This is not a statement that I have ever felt comfortable making in an Indigenous space. I am aware that this occupation places me in a position of having power over vulnerable and marginalised populations and situates me as a willing participant within a system that maintains oppression. My occupation has been a source of intense internal conflict, particularly since undergoing a process of cultural reclamation and reconnection. This process has seen me engage critically with criminological literature, and pursuing a dream of Indigenous scholarship has seen me view my actions and employment through a very different lens. I began to question whether remaining in my job was a case of total hypocrisy, or whether Corrective Services requires more people like me who think critically about the ways in which they interact with those in custody, their language choices and the way they employ and exercise power over others every day. I have spent a considerable amount of time reflecting upon both the former and the latter. I have not yet concluded whether it is best to stay or leave while I finish the last

portion of my studies; however, what I have concluded is that the changes I am able to make on the ground as a small part of this wider system are minimal.

It was always my intention to leave the criminal justice system behind me, using my Masters degree as an opportunity to escape its grasp. Again, I sought advice from Linda and expressed my distaste and complete frustration with this system during one of our conversations last semester. I explained that I no longer wanted to work for a broken system. Linda's reply was simply that every system is broken, and in that moment, I realised I was naïve for believing that any other system was going to be less fraught with struggle. The criminal justice system thrives on a punitive and authoritative approach. Prisons operate in such a way which requires the use of coercive control (McIntosh, 2017) and I have seen this become the reality for those who are incarcerated. The system is built in a way which has required me to disconnect from empathy and from my humanity as a means of survival. I have listened to the rhetoric surrounding Indigenous imprisonment for years, the discourses which support ideologies around Indigenous Peoples as violent, inferior, unintelligent, drunks, drug addicts and born into a legacy of crime. To read statistics of Indigenous incarceration in government reports is astounding, however, to work within prison walls and see these statistics as a reality is extremely confronting. I began to reflect on how Indigenous over-imprisonment has become the norm and one so easily accepted and justified by my colleagues, and even subconsciously by myself at some points in time. Unpacking the issue of Indigenous overimprisonment has become a cause I am extremely passionate about, particularly as it pertains to Māori in Aotearoa, and this will form the basis of this paper.

The whakapapa of Māori overimprisonment

In the New Zealand national anthem, the fourth line in English exclaims "god defend our free land". Research demonstrates however, that freedom is not a privilege enjoyed by the Māori community (Department of Corrections, 2007; Elers & Elers, 2018; Jackson,

1988). When I talk about freedom, I don't just refer to freedom from incarceration, but freedom from all things which stem from systemic and institutionalised racism, discrimination and marginalisation. These concepts all weave together to form the injustice that is Māori overimprisonment. Within the New Zealand criminal justice system, Māori are disproportionately represented in all aspects. According to the Department of Corrections (2007), Māori comprise only 15 percent of the general population, yet account for 51 percent of all imprisonments, with 60 percent of the female prison population identifying as Māori. The literature over the past two decades demonstrates the connection between various Indigenous populations and high levels of incarceration (Blagg, 2016; Cuneen, 2006; Wood & Griffiths, 2000). Cunneen (2006) conceptualises contemporary Indigenous experiences within criminal justice systems as "historical and structural conditions of colonisation, social and economic marginalisation and racism" (p. 344).

The most difficult question when unpacking an issue is the question of where to begin. The most important thing I have learned upon reconnecting with my own culture is the significance of whakapapa. Initially I thought that whakapapa related only to people and family lines, however now I understand that you can trace the whakapapa of anything—ideas, thoughts, problems, anything. Everything is interconnected and everything is relational. I have traced the whakapapa of Māori imprisonment in New Zealand much further than I had ever previously considered and I watched its story unfold before me. The history of mass imprisonment can be traced back to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), as the Crown secured the settler state, transferring most land into Pākehā ownership and establishing a government where only male landowners were afforded voting rights (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). During this time there was major conflict, and direct violence and incarceration were the primary means used to halt Indigenous resistance (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). These tactics were employed to such an extent that the *Suppression of Rebellion Act* (1863) was enforced to criminalise the act of challenging

or contesting oppressive new laws, allowing settlers to incarcerate Māori without the right to a fair trial (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). Moana Jackson (2017) has often talked about Māori overimprisonment and argues that these conditions not only allowed Pākehā to define Māori as 'Other,' but also as an uncivilised race who required intensive state punishment and discipline. These colonial ideologies gained momentum and have created long-standing negative representations of Māori, which have been used to justify Māori overimprisonment in contemporary society. Systemic criminalisation by the state has created deep and harmful generational issues, embedded in practices which continually see Māori targeted by the criminal justice system (Stanley, 2016).

The whakapapa of Māori criminalisation

Criminalisation is at the heart of Māori overimprisonment and is the very thing which allows the maintenance and acceptance of overincarceration. Colonial thought and institutional racism feed Māori criminalisation. The issue of overrepresentation of Māori in custody is indicative of underlying and long-standing institutional and structural discrimination (Stavenhagen, 2006). Blagg (2016) argues that the existence of institutional racism is generally denied by those who employ it, and systemic bias against Māori within the criminal justice system has been identified by the United Nations as existing at all levels (United Nations, 2014). Racism has evolved over time, and modern racism is now deployed with subtlety, enabling social acceptance (Tuffin, 2008). There is a significant body of literature which has documented oppressive discourse which renders Māori rights as illegitimate and there are continual deliberate strategies employed to criminalise Māori (Elers & Elers, 2018). An example of this is the criminalisation of Ngāi Tūhoe and Māori rights activist Tame Iti, which led to his imprisonment and the criminalisation of not only the iwi, but an entire people (Elers & Elers, 2018). This process saw an increase in surveillance of Ngāi Tūhoe leading up to the 2007 Terror Raids in Rūātoki. Their main target, Tame Iti, was also a staunch Māori rights activist. Through the raids and the charges laid, the entire group is now experiencing the stigma of association with terrorism, even after the withdrawal of any terrorism related charges (Elers & Elers, 2018). This process allowed the construction of the Indigenous terror-subject as a threat to state sovereignty, ensuring the justification of Māori dehumanisation and Māori rights violations (Elers & Elers, 2018). This is one story of one man, and one iwi, but it is a story familiar to the many who fall victim to the state's criminalisation strategies.

The whakapapa of Indigenous Criminology

For changes to be made within this system which are tika, we must first understand the problem and its true whakapapa. There has been little effort to understand Indigenous over-presentation as a biproduct of colonial enterprise; and mainstream Australasian criminology is adept at silencing Indigenous experiences in the construction of knowledge relating to crime (Tauri, 2018). As recently as 2014, Don Weatherburn claimed that Western science can provide all there is to know about crime, demonstrating the culturally imperialistic attitudes still present within contemporary criminological research (Tauri, 2018). Weatherburn (2014) identified that efforts to address the underlying causes of Indigenous overimprisonment have not been successful and Tauri (2018) argues that the time for Western methods attempting to solve Māori overimprisonment is over. Contemporary criminological research does not yet allow space for anti-colonial modes of thought and resolution and as such, the only way forward in terms of truly addressing Māori overimprisonment, is a shift towards Indigenous research methods and Indigenous criminology as a means of understanding the issue (Tauri, 2005).

Webb (2018) argues that current criminological approaches place emphasis on individualistic modes of analysis with a concentration on offender deficits. Webb (2018) also contends that the state's conceptualisation of crime is limited and seeks to ignore the historical processes and policies which disproportionately impact Indigenous Peoples by maintaining wider economic and social inequalities as the main precipitating factors of crime. Any interventions which have been implemented by the state under a guise of cultural responsiveness

have emphasised punishment and containment, rather than allowing Indigenous self-determination in relation to justice (Webb, 2018). Tauri and Webb (2012) provide a critical analysis of ways in which criminology and policy formulations of culture, shape the government's response to Māori overimprisonment. Highlighted is the way in which policy has shifted from attributing Māori offending to cultural loss and loss of cultural identity, to policy which places emphasis on socio-economic and institutional issues instead of acknowledging colonisation and dispossession as the catalyst for Māori overimprisonment (Tauri & Webb, 2012).

I now invite you to pause with a poem written by a wahine Māori currently in prison.

The then dispossessed
Disappear
Behind the wire
Concentrated as one blemished body
Where the truth of that dispossession is
Destroyed
Till only the crim remains

Tracey McIntosh (2018) utilises poems such as these to give voice to Māori, and in particular wāhine Māori who are incarcerated. She explains that those in custody are often spoken about, but rarely spoken to (McIntosh, 2017). While she is not so idealistic that she imagines an abrupt end to prisons tomorrow, Tracey pushes us to try and envision a world without prisons at all (McIntosh, 2017). This very act itself demonstrates the struggle and inability to imagine a world existing without punishment and containment as the sole means of attempting to address a range of systemic issues which whakapapa back to first contact. The carceral logic of society currently restricts and suppresses our ability to think beyond prisons and prevents us from transformative change (McIntosh, 2018). This transformative change, which could see the end of the legacy of imprisonment for our mokopuna, begins with adjusting our gaze to one which condemns the production and reproduction of victims and perpetrators, one where social harm is diminished, and one that does not normalise the present as the map for our future (McIntosh, 2018).

My Tūrangawaewae

I wish I had the answer to the question of 'where to now?' I wish I knew enough and was seasoned enough in both academia and Māori culture to have all the answers and a clear path forward. The reality is that I do not, and the conclusions reached in this paper birth more questions than they answer. I often think about how my colleagues would react to this. Indigenous activists in Queensland prisons are not welcomed openly and there is a great divide and disconnect between people who essentially want the same thing, to stop seeing the same faces coming through the system time and time again. This topic is controversial; however, as Professor Roderick McCormick stated in a Knowledge Markers workshop recently, "we're not doing our job if we're not writing about controversial things" (Personal communication, January 22, 2021). It is a lot for someone like me to acknowledge that I don't have a perfectly articulated plan, and to admit that I don't yet know where this path will lead. I just try to remind myself of people like Don Weatherburn and accept that those who claim to know all the answers have caused Indigenous Peoples great harm and pain.

What this process has allowed however, is the opportunity to claim my tūrangawaewae. Your tūrangawaewae is your place to stand, a place of belonging through whakapapa and a place from which to speak. Physically, I cannot claim my tūrangawaewae, as I am required to know far more about my own whakapapa, and much (currently impossible) journeying would be needed for me to find my place to stand, that place you feel most connected. However, what I can proudly claim now is a tūrangawaewae that is metaphorical in nature, a place from which I can speak as an Indigenous scholar. Acknowledging that I can never be all knowing, and that I am in no place to claim expertise in mātauranga Māori is part of my tūrangawaewae. While whakapapa may be my birthright, there are certain aspects of the Māori world that I am still yet to learn and things which I have not yet earned the right to discuss. Prior to this paper, I imagined commencing a doctorate next year, wondering how I could possibly learn and encompass all the aspects of te ao Māori required to ensure authenticity. After one particular conversation with Dr

Sereana Naepi (Personal communication, 22 February 2021) I realised that authenticity is not claiming to be all that you wish to be, it is speaking your truth, from the place you stand currently. I realised that my academic ancestors have built their work upon decades of blood, sweat and tears and to claim that my place to stand is right next to them, utilising their theories and language after six months in Indigenous studies is naïve and premature. My tūrangawaewae looks like homecoming. It looks like the Indigenous and Māori academics and criminologists that have come before me, carving out a place in the world which I can, for the moment, call home. It is also built upon the foundation of my ideas; these being shaped by many European and Māori influences across my lifetime. This is the place I speak from.

I want to leave you with another beautiful whakataukī that I feel has great significance. He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

What is the most important thing in the world? It is people, it is people, it is people.

This whakataukī refers not to just some people, but all people. This whakataukī answers the underlying question I posed to myself at the beginning of this paper as to whether I stay in conflict, or whether I go. It is an answer I did not have at the start of this paper, another piece of the puzzle my tīpuna allowed me to find. In te ao Māori, we are not a group of individuals, but part of the collective. We are like muka, made of many strands. Each strand is beautiful in its own right, but when woven together it forms something much stronger and more powerful (Tapiata, 2018).

Moana Jackson (in Berghan, 2020, 26:03) offers some advice for those of us navigating the world of working for the Crown in a career fraught with frustration and difficulties:

We are not alone in that struggle. Wherever we stand in that struggle, we are not alone. We stand in the light, not the shadows. We stand in the light of our ancestors who fought different struggles and our obligation is to wage the particular struggles that now confront us, in the hope that our mokopuna will have different struggles.

My individual discomfort is not what is important here, *people* are, and existing in a painful and uncomfortable part of the journey *is* the journey. I will exist in discomfort, whether that be as a Correctional Officer or an Indigenous scholar, knowing that the DNA of my tīpuna flows through me. While my battles are very different than theirs were, I cannot walk away from this battlefield. I am a warrior and my presence is needed.

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Picture: Ko Te Maika tōku whenua taurikura. This photo is taken from Te Maika, our place of paradise situated at the mouth of the Kāwhia harbour, on the west coast of the North Island, in Aotearoa. On the left in the distance is Karioi Maunga, and on the right, Pirongia. This vista reminds me of who I am and where I come from.

The Knowledge Makers programme taught me that what we think, matters; what we are researching and reclaiming is needed and has value; and what we say, has a place and is accepted. I am humbled by the stories, generosity, leadership and guidance of our Aunties, all the workshop presenters and advisors, and my peers of Knowledge Makers. He mihi kau ake hoki ki a Whaea Linda, kōrua tahi ko Krista i tō kōrua taunaki mai i ahau. Kei ngā iho pūmanawa, kei ngā ringa tōhau nui, ka nui rā ngā mihi ki a koutou katoa.

~ **Nā Te Mihinga Komene**

Lindsay McCabe
palawa - Aboriginal
University of Sydney ~ PhD

I respectfully acknowledge that I live and study on unceded, sovereign Dharug country. Dharug mob have cared for this place since time immemorial, and continue to care for country and culture.

CORONERSHIP IN THE COLONY: USING A CRITICAL DECOLONISING LENS TO UNDERSTAND THE CORONIAL SYSTEM IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Acknowledgement

I acknowledge all of the Knowledge Makers who have come before me, and those who have created this space for us to share and learn. It is so important that we continue to fill academia with our voices, perspectives, and knowledges.

Location

Location is a fundamental aspect within Indigenous research methodologies (Absolon & Willett, 2005). By locating ourselves, we resist colonial models of research, and signal to the community that our research is being performed in the hope of making things better. Location is much more than naming your mob – it is about locating yourself within particular political, environmental, and linguistic contexts, as well as country (Absolon & Willett, 2005). It is about saying *the only voice I represent is my own and this is where I place myself.* (Absolon & Willett, 2005)

I am a palawa luna, an Aboriginal woman whose roots lie in lutruwita/south-east Tasmania, Australia. My mother and grandma are palawa women, and our lineage flows down from my great-grandfather, all the way to Pleenperrenner of Cape Portland. My grandpa is an Arrernte man from Ntaria, Alice Springs, stolen from his mother and sent across the country to grow up with a white family in Newcastle, a beachside town that is a long, long way from desert country. On my father's side, I am of Irish descent, another colonised peoples who suffered dispossession and violence. It is these histories, and the histories of my ancestors, that intertwine to make me who I am today. I have grown up strong in the knowledge of my Aboriginality, and the strength, resilience and responsibility inherent in being an Aboriginal person, yet I do not know my language, nor do I have an intimate knowledge of my culture. These things have been taken from me, as they have from almost every Indigenous person, through the systematic, systemic, and ongoing structures of colonisation. Today, I live on the unceded lands of the Dharug people, and I pay my deepest respects to the people that continue to care for this land, and have done since time immemorial.

By way of context, I would like to take a moment to briefly explain why this research is important to me. In my undergraduate degree, one of my classes had a week examining issues around autopsy and consent. The reading for that week discussed objections by next of kin to autopsy procedures being carried out on the deceased. It went on to describe how mostly the objections of next of kin are respected, yet for Indigenous Australians this is often not the case. That is where the information stopped, and I quickly realised that there is a dearth of Australian research in this space. No one seemed to be asking the questions, and so I decided to.

Introduction

My research is focused on the unexplored experiences of Aboriginal families who have had some interaction with the coronial system in New South Wales (NSW). In Australia, the coronial system investigates reportable deaths, such as deaths in custody. I say *Aboriginal families* to include the people of the many nations and language groups living, working and surviving in the colony of NSW, and so as not to exclude those who come from First Nations outside of NSW but who call it home. There is very little research that specifically seeks to understand or draw attention to the experiences of bereaved families who have had contact with the coronial system in NSW, and even less so regarding the experiences of Aboriginal families. Without research into the ways in which Aboriginal families experience the coronial system, we have no real way of gauging its effectiveness for these families in NSW, and therefore are ill-equipped to design and implement best-practice policies and practices. This research differs from existing research concerning Aboriginal experiences of the coronial system, which tends to focus on deaths in custody, instead mapping how Aboriginal people in New South Wales experience the coronial system across all categories of reportable death. This is done using a decolonising lens, critically interrogating the coronial system as an apparatus of State violence (Grande, 2018), a tool that is wielded to (re)create particular narratives about Aboriginal lives.

This article will begin with an overview of the role of the coronial system and inquest in the colonised state of Australia, followed by a brief discussion of my understanding of what it means to me to do this research from within a decolonising paradigm. The final part of this article will be a reflection on what it is like to actually do this kind of research as an Aboriginal person.

The Coronial System/The Inquest

Across Australia, all coronial jurisdictions require investigation into reportable deaths, and legislative tools allow the Coroner to make recommendations in order to prevent similar deaths from occurring in the future.

A reportable death is one where the person died a violent or unnatural death, a sudden or suspicious death, or as a result of, or absence of, medical treatment, for example if the person died during surgery, or alternatively had not received medical treatment at all in the six months preceding the death (*s6 Coroners Act 2009* (NSW). There are also some instances that require the Coroner to hold an inquest, which is a public hearing held in the Coroners Court. Deaths that occur in State custody, such as those in police or corrective services custody, and deaths in out-of-home 'care'[1], require an inquest. The most common inquests are those concerning death after medical treatment, suicides, and deaths in custody (Bourke, 2014, p. 41). Given that Aboriginal people in Australia are overrepresented in almost every category of reportable death (Carpenter & Tait, 2009, p. 29), it is very likely that our communities are also in disproportionate contact with the coronial system.

It is crucial to note that coronial investigations and inquests do not occur in a vacuum. Contemporary Australia has a history of invasion, dispossession, and genocide (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Tatz 1999; Moses, 2000). The colonial processes of 'domination, subjugation and genocide' continue to dominate and control Aboriginal people in Australia, ensuring the political sovereignty of the colonial State (Watson, 1996, pp. 108-10). From this, there exists a particular history (and present) concerning police-Indigenous relations in Australia. From the 'centralised, coercive and paramilitary' structure of colonial police forces (Cunneen, 2001, p. 53), to the continued criminalisation of Aboriginal resistance (Cunneen, 2001; Dorsett & Elsworthy, 2020), police have rarely inspired any semblance of justice for Aboriginal people in Australia. There have been more deaths in custody of Indigenous Australians since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (Johnston, 1991) than at any time preceding it (Briggs, 2016), and we continue to be the most incarcerated people on earth (Anthony & Baldry, 2017). It is this fraught relationship

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1   I say 'care', as very little care is actually given to those children and vulnerable persons living in out-of-home arrangements.

that is at play when an Aboriginal person dies a reportable death. Police officers attend every death scene, determine whether the death is suspicious, and are tasked with gathering all relevant information for the Coroner (Carpenter, Tait, Quadrelli & Thompson, 2016, p. 699). It is police officers who are required to engage with grieving and often traumatised families (Carpenter et al., 2016, p. 699), and it is also police officers who are responsible for identifying Indigenous status (Carpenter, Tait, Quadrelli & Drayton, 2015, p.115). And this all occurs before the inquest even begins, which is typically years after the death has occurred, and is all part of the coronial system.

How do I understand the coronial inquest?

Using a critical decolonising paradigm, I understand the coronial system to be yet another cog in the machinery that is the colonised State. The coronial inquest reveals a great deal about the relationship between the settler-colonial State and Aboriginal people, a State still very much concerned with the theft of land and resources. The inquest is future-oriented, nobly concerned with the prevention of future deaths, less so concerned with the bereavement and grief of the present, and certainly not with the past, the foundational history of settler-colonial violence (Razack, 2011). That this violence is foundational does not mean it is over - it continues in the present day, 'staged as goodness' via the inquest (Razack, 2011 p. 353).

With very rare exceptions[2], the coronial inquest examines an individual death. This in itself is problematic, as this individualised approach amounts to

'a wilful denial of the pattern of violent responses to Indigenous peoples. To bring the violence into view requires attention to what collectively happens to Indigenous people...' (Razack, 2015, p. 68)

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2   Late last year, NSW Deputy State Coroner Harriet Grahame released a number of recommendations following the inquest which examined the deaths of six young people who died during or just after attending music festivals in NSW between December 2017 and January 2019.

In other words, were the State to look at the deaths of Aboriginal people in this country collectively, the pattern of colonial violence would be obvious; we are dying in custody, in hospitals, and in State 'care' at disproportionate rates (Evershed, Allam & Wahlquist, 2020). This reluctance to identify this pattern of colonial violence allows the coronial inquest to function as a structure of colonial governance, maintaining the settler-colonial State as the benevolent protector of the racialized Other, masking the ongoing violence of colonisation (Razack, 2015).

Doing Research as an Indigenous Researcher

So why is this research important, to me and to my community? As mentioned above, preliminary research indicates that Aboriginal families are in disproportionate contact with the coronial system, due to being overrepresented in categories of reportable deaths. These families' experiences matter. It is important to me to use my privileged position as a PhD candidate to shine a light on these experiences, to force not only the academy but the system to take notice, so that together we can make change. Indeed, what is Indigenist research (Rigney, 1999) if it is not political, if it doesn't seek to make change by privileging the voices of the Indigenous community? Relying on Lester-Irabinna Rigney's (1999) framework for Indigenist research, I understand there are three fundamental principles.

First, resistance must be a key imperative of Indigenist research. While this is perhaps not immediately obvious in my research, there is a strong desire, a key imperative to resist the narratives produced by the coronial system about Aboriginal lives. I will use my research to 'uncover and protest the continuing forms of oppression' (Rigney, 1999, p. 116) perpetuated in this space, such as the invisible overrepresentation of our mob in this system, the very real issue of police investigating police, and the use of coronial findings as a vehicle for State narratives that see us as abject, beyond care (Razack 2015).

The second principle is that of political integrity: 'Indigenist research is undertaken by Indigenous Australians' (Rigney, 1999, p. 117). At the heart of the fight for liberation

from oppression must be strong Indigenous voices. And there is – the work of activists like Vanessa Turnbull-Roberts, Jam Graham-Blair, Celeste Liddle, Hayden Moon, Bruce Shillingsworth, Teela Reid, Amy McQuire, and many many more are testament to that. But the coronial system is what *I* know, and it is this cog in the machinery that is the colonised State that I can start to break down, the little part that I can play in the political struggle of our communities (Rigney, 1999, p. 117).

The final principle in Rigney's (1999) Indigenist framework is the privileging of Indigenous voices. The most important element of my research, for me, is to provide a space to privilege and prioritise the experiences of those Aboriginal families who, through tragedy, have been forced to interact with yet another system in the colonial state. It is these interrelated, fundamental principles that are the cornerstones of my research.

I sometimes question, though, whether my research could be considered 'decolonising'. Certainly, when I started this journey, I was keen to use decolonising methodologies in my work. Instead of interviews, I will use yarning (Geia, Hayes & Usher, 2013; Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010), and instead of focus groups, yarning circles (Godinho, 2019). But this is something I am struggling with: in particular, the need to justify the way that we have done things for millennia in order to satisfy the academy, whether it be the Human Research Ethics Committee, fellow researchers, or peer reviewers of so-called 'mainstream' journals. How much of our ways of knowing and doing must be theorised by ourselves and others before they are seen as valid outside of our communities? And does that matter, when we know what is the truth? However, for some Indigenous academics decolonisation begins with exactly this – Recognising and challenging the assumption that there is only one way of knowing, being and doing in the colonised state of Australia (Sherwood, 2009). In this view, a decolonising approach acknowledges that 'colonial assumptions of white superiority' (Sherwood, 2009, p. 24) have facilitated the problematisation of Aboriginality in Australia, and elsewhere, and so any decolonising approach in this view must strive for the balancing of truth and history (Sherwood, 2009, p. 25).

So then, using the research methodologies that are important to me is one way of challenging these western-centric assumptions. Indeed, the key to a decolonising approach might lie in my ability to use my research to 'speak truth to power' (Reyes Cruz, 2012, p. 146). Using strategies of resistance in daily practice (Reyes Cruz, 2012, p. 141) could be understood as a way to decolonise the space that I am in, and the spaces around me. Datta (2018, p. 19) argues that it is through our research that we 'speak up for our rights and justice against oppression.' In doing this, we prioritise positive outcomes for our communities, moving away from research that seeks to 'further colonial control' (Datta, 2018, p. 10). Is this decolonising, then? For Datta (2018, p. 2);

'decolonisation is a continuous process of anti-colonial struggle that honours Indigenous approaches to knowing the world, recognising Indigenous land, Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous sovereignty – Including sovereignty over the decolonisation process. I argue that decolonisation is an on-going process of becoming, unlearning, and relearning.'

This idea of the 'decolonisation process' is an important one. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 101) posits that decolonisation 'is now recognised as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power'; a reclamation of everything we have lost. Decolonisation then is not, and cannot be, an end in itself – It is a process by which we will get where we need to (Smith, 1999, p. 120; Datta, 2018). It cannot and must not be 'grafted on to pre-existing frameworks', even if those frameworks are 'critical' and 'anti-racist' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3). For instance, while it is important to embed Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing into education systems, it is inappropriate and antithetical to do so when those same education systems espouse a worldview that holds the myth of the benevolent settler at the heart of its colonising narrative. You cannot transpose a decolonising approach onto systems of oppression – this is just another form of settler appropriation (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3). Indeed, 'decolonisation is not a metonym for social justice' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 21). It is not about

reparations. The process of decolonisation must end in the 'repatriation of Indigenous land and life' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 21).

All of these approaches are pieces of the same picture, I feel. We absolutely must challenge assumptions that our ways of knowing, being and doing are not valid. There must be an unequivocal truth-telling so that the honest history of Australia can be told (Sherwood, 2009). To do this, we as Indigenous researchers must continue to 'speak truth to power' (Reyes Cruz, 2012, p. 146), to ensure that our communities' voices and needs are prioritised (Datta, 2018). We must continue to learn from those that came before us, so that we might have the honour of teaching those who come after us. This process will be a long one. But we cannot allow this process to be subsumed by the colonisers, staged as settler-goodness (Razack, 2015).

So, perhaps it *is* possible for my research to be considered within a decolonising framework, provided I recognise the multi-faceted nature of this. My methodologies will assert to the academy and to the colony that there is more than one way of knowing and doing, and I am speaking *my* truth when I insist on doing my research in a way that appropriate for me and my community. It is in laying the foundations of my research with Rigney's (1999) interrelated principles of Indigenist research that I privilege Indigenous voices and experiences, prioritising positive outcomes for my community. But it is also continuing the struggle for repatriation, for true and honest recognition as sovereign peoples. It is continuing this fight both inside and outside of academia; in the streets as well as in university halls.

A Final Note

This kind of research is not easy. Much of my day is spent reading the intimate details of the deaths of Aboriginal people, many of whom were murdered by State officials, such as police and corrections officers. These people who have died could have been my mother, my aunty, my brother, my uncle, my son. I feel the heavy weight of these deaths, a physical pressure on my chest that is sometimes hard to bear. Imagine then what that feels like for the families and communities who knew the person who has died, who loved them and were loved by them.

I also feel a tremendous amount of responsibility. It is the work of my ancestors, grandparents and parents that has created this space for me to be able to be at university, and it is my responsibility to use this opportunity to create a space for others in the community to speak their truth. I feel a responsibility to ensure that the voices of those who interact with the coronial system are heard; to empower and support the community to speak their truth. From within academia, I can agitate for change to try to ensure proper, transparent processes preceding and during inquest and investigations. To anyone who reads this who is at the beginning of their journey in academia – stay strong. Remember where you come from, and why what you are doing is important to you. Hold your head high and find strength in your ancestors, your family, and your community. Your work is important.

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THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY

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It is important to acknowledge that this paper has be researched and shared upon the traditional and unceded territory of the Secwepemc Nation, within Secwepemcul'ecw. As we share knowledge, learning and research within Thompson Rivers University, I recognize and honour that this territory has always been and will always remain a place of knowledge, learning and research.

COLONIZATION, CHILD WELFARE AND FAMILIES OF TURTLE ISLAND AND WHANAU OF AOTEAROA

Introduction

As a Sauleaux women disconnected from her culture and family, I have committed my life to radically alter the child welfare system to uplift rather than oppress Indigenous children and their families across Turtle Island. There is and always have been beauty, strength and love within Indigenous families, both on Turtle Island and Aotearoa, yet these families remain oppressed due to the ongoing project of colonialism; child welfare practices are among the most detrimental instruments of oppression (Cram, Gulliver, Ota, & Wilson, 2015; Hyslop, 2017; Hick & Stokes, 2017). This research shall take the opportunity to understand and compare child welfare policy in Aotearoa and British Columbia (BC) so that I may implement meaningful change for the families I serve.

In BC, *The Child, Family, and Community Service Act* (*CFCSA*) is the legislation that guides child welfare practices within BC, including Delegated Aboriginal Agencies (DAA). DAA's are the result of agreements between Indigenous communities and the Province of BC to address the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care and to return child welfare responsibilities to Indigenous communities. Colonial definitions of Indigeneity have created a system of confusion and of 'passing the buck' between colonial government structures. As child welfare within BC is a provincially legislated service, this causes a disconnect when talking about Indigenous child welfare, as some communities or individuals fall under federal jurisdiction. There is no national child welfare standard and as bureaucracy gets in the way, children and families suffer (NCCAH, 2017).

In Aotearoa, child welfare is the responsibility of the *Oranga Tamariki- Ministry for Children*. Similar to BC, Aotearoa is experiencing the colonization of their Indigenous people and their children are overrepresented in child welfare systems (Cram et al., 2015). The Maori word for family is whanau and it includes extended family members as part of a child's kinship group, in which roles and responsibilities of certain members are defined due to genealogy. Groups of whanau make up hapu, or sub-tribes, and these combine to create iwi, or a tribe. Tribes relate to a common ancestor and knowing about one's hapu and iwi is essential to Maori identity. Importantly, the word Whangai translates to "feeding another that is not your body" and is a concept that is similar to a foster family (Keddell, 2016, p. 513). In Maori culture, this is an important aspect of identifying family broadly, as it is inclusive of many definitions and places emphasis on a child's well-being by allowing caregivers from the entire community (Keddell, 2016).

Child Welfare: Pre-Contact and Post-Contact

Child welfare policy seeks to address child maltreatment to ensure the safety of all children. Child maltreatment includes varying forms of child abuse, including physical, emotional, sexual, and neglect; neglect is one of the most common reasons children come into contact with child welfare agencies (Hick & Stokes, 2017). While there is little written about Indigenous child welfare practices in BC before colonization, it is vital to acknowledge what is known. Indigenous people of Turtle Island for generations had their own "traditional systems of culture, law, and knowledge that ensured effective protection of children for thousands of years" (NCCAH, 2017). These systems ensured a child remained within their family, even if a parent could not care for them. Indigenous people naturally placed immeasurable value on the care of their children. Children were placed at the centre of the community and utilizing kinship care was essential to support those most vulnerable (NCCAH, 2017). Children were seen as gifts from the Creator, and this encouraged and enabled participation from everyone within the community.

Prior to colonization, the Maori people also had family relationships that placed children at the centre of the community. This way of child rearing is challenged as colonization decimate language, culture, land and increases acts of racism and systemic inequalities. Contemporary child welfare policy is where Maori families are most negatively affected and overrepresented. Arguably, this overrepresentation can be explained through colonialism, but neo-liberal ideologies and an imposition of western ideology of family play a role (Hick & Stoke, 2017; Blackstock, 2011).

The *CFCSA* is the legislation that guides the Ministry of Child and Family Development (MCFD) as well as DAA's in BC (Government of Canada, 2018). DAA's have been organized in response to the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care and they are attempting to create a path towards reconciliation (R.C.Y, 2017). However, as the *CFCSA* is legislation implemented by the government, the very presence of it is colonial. Family is not defined within the *CFCSA*, so the meaning is often implied. This is troubling, as families are the entire reason why child welfare systems are in place.

In Aotearoa, early child welfare legislation was introduced in 1925, and emphasized care of children outside of their family home. Until the 1960s, rates of children in care steadily rose and contact with child welfare resulted in removal and long-term government care arrangements, usually synonymous with family poverty. After the 1970s, there was an increased focus on child maltreatment cases and the number of children in care jumped, with Maori children overrepresented. In the 1980s, influence from international research weighed heavily on policies regarding permanency and planning and in 1983, the *Matua Whangai Program* was established to address the high numbers of Maori children in care and emphasize the importance of connection to culture and family (Hyslop, 2017; Fernandez & Atwool, 2013). This program did not do enough to curb the high numbers. As a result, a Ministerial Advisory Committee on Maori perspective was established, and a

> "Child welfare work has become passive and often perpetuates more harm than safety and it's time for a complete overhaul of the legislations in both BC and Aotearoa."
>
> - Tia Stanley

1988 report lead the way for the *Children, Young Persons, and their Families Act (CYP and F Act*) of 1989 to be introduced as legislation (New Zealand, 2019). The focus of this legislation was to protect the best interests of the child while maintaining family preservation (Fernandez & Atwool, 2013). The Act was amended first in 1994, and since 2011 there have been open inquiries into the policy, leading to reports such as the Green Paper and the White Paper (Hyslop, 2017; Fernandez & Atwool, 2013; New Zealand Government, 2019).

Colonization

Child welfare policies guide the state as it responds to child safety concerns within families. These policies are agreed upon truths and values, expressing prevailing and current economic and social ideology (Hartman, 1995). When talking about child welfare in BC or Aotearoa, we are talking about colonization. Child welfare systems attempt to protect children from maltreatment and enable the state to intervene with families (Keddell & Davie, 2018). In Aotearoa, child protection has been related to Indigeneity, as Maori children have persistent and high rates of child protection exposure and involvement. This overrepresentation can further be likened to socio-economic factors, such as poverty and social isolation (Cram et al., 2015). In BC, we see a similar story, where poverty is almost synonymous to child maltreatment and neglect.

Studies into Indigenous populations of both BC and Aotearoa have found these children are at an increased risk of maltreatment due to the social factors related to and caused by colonization (Cram et al., 2015; Hyslop, 2017). This makes Indigenous children's experience with child welfare agencies unique, as the systems in place to protect them are also oppressing them. Child welfare policy development is often responsive and reactive, acting upon the moral panic of society (Joy & Beddoe, 2019). This ideological stance creates a pendulum swing in policy, where child protection is prioritized over family preservation and has "resulted in shifts to a more individualised approach which privileges personal responsibility and psychological dysfunction over structural accounts of cycles of poverty and historical trauma" (Joy & Beddoe, 2019, p. 492). Neo-liberal and colonial ideology guide the BC and Aotearoa governments, and we have seen a swift decline in social services and a sharp increase in the demand for those same services (Hyslop, 2017).

Many experts in this area articulate that the biggest issue surrounding the adequacy of these agencies is funding, or a lack of funding. Very little is spent on family supports that help parents keep their children at home, however, there is no funding cap on child removal and apprehension (Blackstock, 2009; de Leeuw, 2014). The Representative for Children and Youth in British Columbia (RCY) (2017) found that the funding models continue to be discriminatory and unsuitable, causing more children to come into care rather than the other way around; these funding models leave DAA's understaffed and unable to provide basic services they are legislated to provide, and this directly affects the adequacy of these agencies, thus disrupting service to children and families. An employee of one these DAA's shared that the current funding model is backwards, as they are funded based on how many children are their care, yet the ultimate goal is to keep children out of care (RCY, 2017). It seems the government is only motivated to fund agencies that keep children in care, even though it is understood that keeping children with their families is the essential first step towards reconciliation.

While past child welfare practices have led to a surplus of Indigenous children in care, there are structural factors to consider. Too many children are removed from homes where neglect is seen as the cause, but too often poverty is likened to neglect (Trocme, Knoke, & Blackstock, 2004). The structural factors associated with poverty such as inadequate housing, unemployment, food insecurity, lone parent homes, lack of social supports and substance misuse may lead to neglect in these situations. Neglect may be seen as the main cause of BC's overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care; however, the structural risks of the household and caregiver must be understood as to prevent removal on the basis of poverty. Addressing systemic oppression and structural risks that are associated with high child removal rates is essential (Blackstock, 2010; Sinha, Ellenbogen & Trocme, 2013).

Neo-Liberalism

Child welfare policy is best understood in relation to colonization and neo-liberal ideology (Hyslop, 2017). Neo-liberal policies break down welfare states by depleting social services and emphasizing privatization and capitalism. Neo-liberal constructs are designed to employ policies that are cost effective, rather than humanistic (Hick & Stokes, 2017). As well, social inequality is deepened by neo-liberal policies which have had an adverse impact on social workers and the people they serve, as current neo-liberal polices do not serve families (Hyslop, 2017; Keddell & Davie, 2018).

The *CFCSA* and the *Oranga Tamariki Act* have undergone amendments, yet there are still high numbers of Indigenous children overrepresented in both child welfare systems. Changes brought to these acts were in response to the problems faced by systems under unbearable stress and unrealistic demands: "protect children, empower families and serve the needs of children and young people in care in timely and cost-effective ways, while experiencing rapidly escalating work-load without commensurate increases in staffing and funding" (Hyslop 2017, p.1808). In neo-liberal states, the bottom line is to cut costs and the most vulnerable in society are undermined. As governments tried to minimize their responsibility to families in contact with child welfare, they place more accountability on families.

In Aotearoa, family empowerment translated to increased family responsibility, in particular extended families of Maori children, as pressure increased to care for their own kin at a time of economic pressure and minimal social services (Hyslop, 2017). In BC, neo-liberal state polices paint a similar picture, with structural factors often the reason why families come into contact with child protection systems. One study on child welfare in BC found that often protection concerns were not based on immediate risk of child maltreatment but rather structural factors, including poverty and social isolation, that impact a family's ability to provide holistic care for their children (Cram et al., 2015).

Neo-liberal models of child welfare favour an individualistic model that emphasize intrusive investigations and individual failings, while brushing over structural inequalities (Keddell, 2015). In the early 1980s, the *CYP and F Act* placed responsibility on the family and community, or the whanau and hapu, to provide care for their children. Unfortunately, responsibility was placed upon the whanau but no additional financial support was given (Hyslop, 2017). In BC, *Bill 26* was proposed to the Government of British Columbia. According to MCFD (2018), the amendments will "allow the Ministry to work together with Indigenous Communities" not through jurisdiction, but by changing the way these communities collaborate with MCFD. Many concerns were brought to MCFD's attention regarding Indigenous child welfare, including the need for early and frequent involvement of Indigenous communities, lack of supports to keep Indigenous children at home or in their community, and greater communication between MCFD and Indigenous communities if a child enters government care (Government of British Columbia, 2018). The BC government reflected similar promises made in Aotearoa, where responsibility was given back to Indigenous families and communities, but no additional support was provided.

Neo-liberal ideology has become the guide for child welfare policies, with an emphasis on cost cutting and overzealous protection responses. This translates into practice models that are detached from its services users, with a focus on risk factors as they pertain to individual families, rather than looking at the larger issue of structural and "socio-economic struggles of impoverished families" (Hyslop, 2017, p. 1803). This is not to say that a policy making in child welfare is an easy or simple task; politicians have the unenviable job of containing moral panic, responding to citizens demands and protecting the vulnerable. Policy makers have to choose between protecting children and protecting family unity, and there is little evidence in either the *CFCSA* or the *Oranga Tamariki Act* to show harmony between these two ideologies.

Understanding the delicate nuances of social processes is difficult work and child welfare policy continues to point out the "elephant in the child protection room" which is the structural inequality for those in contact

with child welfare agencies (Hyslop, 2017, p.1802). Hyslop (2017) expresses that if the state believes individuals are at fault for their inequalities and unwilling to respond to government intervention, it is easier and more cost-effective to remove children and place them with another family than to protect them. Rather than address the root causes of inequalities, these policies remove, or rescue, children, leaving their parents behind. This practice becomes a moral dilemma asking the question, "is it ethically desirable to focus on rescuing children and leaving their parents behind in a society riven by inequalities?" (Hyslop, 2017, p. 1805).

The prevention of child maltreatment has been the focus of children and family ministries for decades, where governments are tasked with addressing the complex and wicked problem that is child maltreatment (Keddell & Davie, 2018). The demand for child welfare services continues to rise at a time where social services are cut or underfunded. In BC and Aotearoa, high rates of child death due to maltreatment presents a dire time for children and families and it is clear that child protection work needs more funding and support (Keddell, 2015). While both BC and Aotearoa have high numbers of Indigenous children in care, Aotearoa has been the leader in acknowledging and including policies that recognize the unique and important needs of Indigenous families. Emphasis has been placed on placement with extended kin as a way to foster and maintain connection to family and culture (Fernandez & Atwool, 2013).

Power and Control

Oppression is about power and control; anti-oppressive work challenges these structures of power and control, and social work is unique as a profession as it is in the code of ethics to challenge oppressive polices that affect service users. This becomes increasingly difficult when the oppressors are the ones defining and funding child welfare work (Hick & Stokes, 2017). Furthermore, until structural factors are addressed, there will be no substantial drop in numbers of Indigenous children in contact with child welfare. Neo-liberal polices privilege a very few in

society and oppress many others. As the *CFCSA* and the *Oranga Tamariki Act* are both legislations implemented by the government, their very presence is colonial. The idea that the state can set forth legislation that outlines its role in the family, especially concerning a child needing protection, is both colonial and oppressive. That is not to say that child welfare standards are not necessary in some instances, but the nature of their design and implication is colonial. Importantly, it does not take into account the pre-contact child welfare practices that many Indigenous people had in place in order to keep their children safe and supported (Hick & Stoke, 2017). In BC, family is not defined with the *CFCSA*, so meaning is implied. If "family" is not defined, then the preferred environment is left up to the person interpreting the *CFCSA*, and this leaves no room for the diversity of families in today's society and creates potential for judgments to be made about families that do not fall under the confines of colonial ideology (Government of British Columbia, 2019). Importantly, any definition of family within the *CFCSA* must leave room for families that have not yet been defined. While family is defined in the *Oranga Tamariki Act* as an individual or group related to the child or children, including extended family, the same issue of colonial oppression is present (New Zealand Government, 2019). While this definition does a better job at creating space for diversity of families, the Maori people need to be able to organize and implement their own child welfare polices before any such policy can be anti-oppressive. Hartman (1995) says that one of the most oppressive things that a government can do to its citizens is provide definitions for them. This creates a deserving and undeserving definition of family, where families who fit within the confines of a state-imposed definition will be supported, and families that are difficult to define may be deemed undeserving and therefore unsupported (Hartman, 1995). If the work continues to be done *on* them, rather than *with* them, oppression from colonial states will persist. Furthermore, another oppressive act of child welfare legislation is the removal of children from their families when structural factors are likened

to neglect. There seems to be a reluctance on the part of government to address and acknowledge the correlation between child protection removal and families living in poverty (Hick & Stokes, 2017). There is some dialogue on the hesitancy to discuss the correlation between poverty and child removals as there is fear of embedding a stigma that the only types of families that abuse their children are families that are experiencing poverty. Not talking about these links is just as dangerous as talking about them, as preventing the conversation around the correlations makes invisible the structural factors at play in child protection cases (Keddell, Davie & Barson, 2019). Research both in BC and Aotearoa has pointed to the root causes of the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care as being the ongoing colonial practices of both settler nations alongside the structural inequalities that may be preventing Indigenous families from creating safety and holistic care for their children (Keddell & Davie, 2018; Keddell, 2015). Child welfare workers cannot tackle these issues of inequality alone. Therefore, a universal response is needed to target poverty, with governments and social service sectors working together to create a minimum standard of living for all and to create equity for our most vulnerable populations (Keddel, 2015).

Issues of inequality that are plaguing our society today cannot be solved by social work alone and we may find answers in politics. This is reasonable and important, as neo-liberal politics and economic responses have caused the decline in social services (Hick & Stokes, 2017). As current child welfare policies favour a system that seeks to identify dangerous and abusive parents, they do little to address some of the root causes of child maltreatment. Hyslop (2017) states what is needed: "a more equitable distribution of income, adequate housing, equality of access to health, education and community-centred universal social services" (p.1811). Child welfare policies must address structural and social inequalities in order to be anti-oppressive and social workers must feel empowered to speak up against policies that do not support their service users, as too often the status quo is rewarded. As well, there is a consensus among

social work not to bite the hand that feeds you. These two factors contribute to a lack of moral courage that is so desperately needed in social work (Blackstock, 2011).

Strength and Weaknesses

As oppressive as the *CFCSA* or the *Oranga Tamariki Act* may seem, there are strengths found within each. Unfortunate as it is, there is a need for child welfare policies to protect vulnerable children. Changes made in 2017 to the Aotearoa child welfare legislation showcase intent to support Maori children and families (Mcquillan, 2017; New Zealand Government, 2019). Inclusion of Maori language is evident throughout the document and the act itself is a Maori name. As well, *section 7AA*, outlines specific duties of social workers to ensure that te Tiriti o Waitangi is acknowledged, understood and upheld. This is the first time this treaty has been put into words within child welfare policy. Moreover, there is an emphasis placed upon extended kin care as part of a Maori child's care plan; the Maori terms for family, community and ancestors, whanau, hapu and iwi, are specifically used throughout the document (New Zealand Government, 2019; Mcquillan, 2017). While amendments to the *Oranga Tamariki Act* seem effective on paper, they have done little to curb the number of Maori children in care from 2014 to 2019 ("Oranga Tamariki Stats", 2019).

The *CFCSA* also contained amended language to be less colonial in nature, but the diversity of First Nations, Metis and Inuit people prevent specific languages and terms to be used as it would not be realistic to include every community's word for family. What is seen in the *CFCSA* is use of the word Indigenous broadly and use of specific nations' names when appropriate (Government of British Columbia, 2019). Language is very powerful and as small as these changes seem, they are an important first step towards reconciliation for Indigenous people by their colonial governments. As has been outlined earlier, there is no definition for "family" in the *CFCSA*, nor is there a definition for "neglect" (Government of British Columbia, 2019). This leaves room for interpretation and implication for harm. Indigenous world views are at odds with colonial ideologies. If social workers applying policy to their practice are not familiar with Indigenous

world views, they may impose their own concept of family (Hick & Stoke, 2017; Blackstock, 2011). As well, with no definition for neglect, structural factors and inequality may be misinterpreted by child protection workers as neglect (Gilbert et al., 2012).

Furthermore, the focus on child safety and protection in both acts is detrimental to Indigenous families as it causes the family structure to be challenged and dismantled. In the *CFCSA*, the emphasis is on child removal when necessary, and the importance of the family is glossed over. Using terms such as "entitled to" means that the policy does support family permanency; however, it is up to the social workers to ensure that this policy in enacted at practice level. The *Oranga Tamariki Act* does a better job of ensuring that permanency to family and culture is upheld for children. Actual language is included that speaks to the importance of both family and extended family members to become involved with children who are in harm's way (Government of British Columbia, 2019; New Zealand Government, 2019).

While both policies acknowledge the high numbers of Indigenous children in care, there is little decline in these numbers and little evidence that the current polices do much to mitigate contact with child protection agencies (Gilbert et al., 2012). This is not to say that the policies are inherently bad, yet they reveal a child welfare service sector that is plagued by system failings including high caseloads, underfunding, staff shortages, turnover, and burnout.

Structural factors, oppressive polices and an overburdened service sector all play a role in the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care (Cram et al., 2015). The practice of child welfare seems to be at odds with its policies, as the focus has shifted from keeping children and families safe to the "policing of professionals" and practices that favour the use of checklists and assessments rather than actual mitigating risk of harm against children (Joy & Bleddoe, 2019, p. 493).

Recommendations and Reconciliation

When talking about the future of Indigenous child welfare, we must talk about reconciliation. In 2015, the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* released 94 Calls to Action which call upon all levels of colonial government on Turtle Island to implement meaningful change for Indigenous people across the country. Equity-based approaches to Indigenous child welfare are suggested in these Calls, which acknowledge the historical impact of colonialism present today (Hicks & Stokes, 2017). The fourth call to action under the 'Legacy' section implores the federal government to create a national standard of Indigenous child welfare and to "affirm the right of Aboriginal governments to establish and maintain their own child-welfare agencies" (TRC, 2015, p. 1). While we have seen an increase in DAA's in BC, they are still expected to practice under the *CFCSA* (R.C.Y, 2017). While this is step towards reconciliation, until Indigenous communities are empowered and supported in regaining control over their child welfare policies and practices, the oppression of colonial governments will persist. As Aotearoa has a similar experience of colonialism, the TRC's Calls to Action are relevant and applicable for Maori families. Language in the *Oranga Tamariki Act* attempts to recognize and promote Maori self-determination and the intentional nature of Maori language was seen as a way to minimize structural racism. Additionally, the intent was to place emphasis upon the whanau as an integral part of children's well-being and put the government on the hook for ensuring connection to family and community. However, these policies are in opposition to the neo-liberal political forces at play in Aotearoa, and whanau are often blamed rather than empowered during instances of child protection concerns (Keddell, 2016).

> "Reconciliation means not having to say sorry again; we need to be on the side of history that finally makes meaningful change to Indigenous child welfare."
>
> - Tia Stanley

In BC, there is one Indigenous community that has had complete control over its child and family services since 1980. Splatsin Stsmamlt Services has their own child welfare legislation, the *By-law for the Care of Our Indian child: Spallumcheen Indian Band By-law #3 – 1980*). The entire focus of this By-law is to ensure children stay with their families and within community. This is the best evidence of a framework that works for Indigenous children and families (Spallumcheen Indian Band, 1980). Splatsin was able to enact their concept of family and outline legislation that has been accepted by their colonial government. This is what reconciliation looks like. Their framework for child welfare can be applied broadly across Turtle Island and could be successful in Aotearoa. There is evidence of family centred work being done in Aotearoa, which demonstrates a moral commitment towards family preservation over removal. Children are able to return home after time spent in out of home care and long-term effects of removal are considered when making protection judgements. This is where initial and long-term risk are both assessed and the family responsibility, children's rights and safety all hold equal value and ensures self-determination of Maori families (Keddell, 2016). The Aotearoa Government and the Ministry for Children must keep moving forward and an emphasis on family preservation must stay at the centre of their work (Hyslop, 1804). The most obvious recommendation is the full implementation of the TRC's 94 Calls to Actions, as its purpose was to expose intergenerational trauma and how past historical injustices are affecting Indigenous children today (TRC, 2015). We must adopt a child centred approach that includes connection to family and culture as part of the planning as it is known that children do best when they can stay with family and within their community (Sinha, Ellenbogen & Trocme, 2013; R.C.Y, 2017). Again, this is not to say that child protection is not necessary at times, but emphasis needs to be placed upon family unity as part of a child's wellbeing. Splatsin is a good indicator of what beauty that can happen when Indigenous communities are given the control back to govern their own

child welfare practices. A generalized model could be taken from the Splatsin By-law and applied to other Indigenous communities.

Financial support and respect from colonial governments must be a factor in empowerment, as the paternalistic and destructive nature of colonialism has left many communities dependent on these governments (Blackstock, 2011). In returning responsibility for child welfare to Indigenous communities, it is important to acknowledge what is known about pre-contact cultural practices in order to build a culturally appropriate foundation of post-colonial child welfare policies. All members of a Maori community were seen as engaging in vital relationships with the community's children. Children both belonged to and were the responsibility of the entire community. Birth parents were not the only caregivers responsible with extended family and kin active during a child's upbringing (Ware, 2014).

If traditional approaches to child welfare are supported, I am certain we will see a drop of Indigenous children placed in out of home care. As well, this traditional way of knowing and being is family centred and child safety focussed and "privileges the voices" of service users (Ware, 2014, p. 13). Both the TRC Calls to Actions and traditional knowledge can set the foundation for child welfare work to be successfully returned to Indigenous communities in BC and Aotearoa.

Conclusion

Despite the ongoing project of colonialism, Indigenous communities have continued to show resiliency and strength as they demand control over their own child welfare practices. The intent of this research was to share and understand why child welfare is in the state it is, and to show how current policies are not doing enough to support families. Cindy Blackstock (2011) said reconciliation means not having to say sorry again; we need to be on the side of history that finally makes meaningful change to Indigenous child welfare. Ongoing acknowledgement and attention must be paid to structural inequalities so that the child protection service may be unburdened. A shift in child welfare could be towards services that support and engage with families in a

preventative manner so that social workers can utilize their skills and knowledge in a child welfare system that favours early and ongoing support for families, rather than removing children. Child welfare work has become passive and often perpetuates more harm than safety and it's time for a complete overhaul of the legislations in both BC and Aotearoa. As an Indigenous woman and social worker, I will take the knowledge gained from this research to forge my way onto the path of reconciliation. This is not change that will occur overnight nor will it be easy, but it is a path I will walk for the rest of my life and I know that this is the work I meant to do. I will do it so my children will not know the pain and harm my ancestors endured. I will do it for all our children.

All My Relations.

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LOOKING BACK: THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF KNOWLEDGE MAKERS

The Knowledge Makers (KM) Program has crossed the Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) to Australia and Aotearoa (New Zealand), thanks to a Universities Canada's grant. The program, started in 2015, was created to build capacity for Indigenous research. "The Knowledge Makers program shows what is possible when an Indigenous approach is used to mentor Indigenous undergraduate students and offers promising practices for increasing Indigenous researchers and research, such as drawing on the knowledge of Indigenous ancestors, valuing Indigenous research methodologies, using a strengths-based approach, performing research as a type of service, and committing to legacy." (Naepi, 2019, p. 52) It is a benchmark that can measure reconciliation efforts designed to address the calls to action by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (2015). It truly honours, recognizes and guides Indigenous knowledge, research and voices.

Always centering on relationships and lifting others, this program has brought the voice of over 80 Indigenous students into the world of academia. Its success can be traced to the founders, Dr. Airini and Dr. Sereana Naepi. By intentionally focusing on undergraduate students, they built capacity and assisted students in their academic journey (Naepi, 2019). KM students are supported while they venture into the world of research. This program not only produces a publication and supports students' writing skills; it also guides Indigenous students through surviving post-secondary school.

Drs. Naepi and Airini provided KM a strong foundation which allowed the program to expand. This journal reached across the Pacific to bring in students from Aotearoa (New Zealand) and Australia. Indigenous voices from across the world using the tools of colonization (like English) to unite our knowledge, truth and voices. As we move forward, we will look back and honor our past. We would like to thank, Jennifer Edwards, Wynona Edwards, Emily Toews, Tia Stanley, Marie Sandy, Tenessa Gagnon, Gabriel Archie, Lex Edwards, ThunderSky, Maria Collins and Janna Wale for sharing their thoughts about the Knowledge Makers program.

Introduction

The first four years of Knowledge Makers, Dr. Sereana Naepi and Dr. Airini were responsible for KM, not only for creating the program and ensuring there was a publication, but also for creating a safe, powerful, Indigenous writing and researching space. They created "a research initiative that is in service to Indigenous peoples and communities." (Naepi, 2019, p. 58) When Sereana returned home to Aotearoa and Airini joined the University of Saskatchewan as Provost, the All My Relations Research Centre (AMR) had to ensure this valuable program continued. Given this immense responsibility, Alexis Edwards and Sandra Bandura from AMR touched base with KM alumni, reviewed past KM journals to explore the journey of Knowledge Makers first five years. This paper looks back at the program, in order, to know how to move forward.

Touching Base with KM Alumni

A questionnaire was conducted through our Knowledge Makers website. The purpose was to connect with alumni and learn what the participants thought of Knowledge Makers and the impact (if any) it has had on their academic

lives. It sought to understand the relationship between a student and the research, and the impact of the research on the student.

The recipients of the invitation to participate in the survey were Indigenous university students who have participated in Knowledge Makers, thus having done research and published research. Each Knowledge Maker alumn was contacted via email and invited to participate. However, due to the limited reachability in an email used by most invitees when they were students, only fifteen Indigenous Knowledge Makers participated in the survey. However, their range in academic backgrounds, age, and gender provided a wide enough spectrum to facilitate the study. Participants were asked questions regarding their experience during Knowledge Makers, their intention on continuing to pursue research, their accomplishments since KM, and their reflections on their overall KM experience.

Nearly half of Knowledge Makers have since graduated with a degree, while the others are still in pursuit. Degrees being earned and sought after by Indigenous researchers represented a wide range of study. Some of the most common ones include Arts, Science, Education, Tourism, and Social Work. Most Knowledge Makers have pursued research since attending the program. Topics include: Indigenous language loss in Canada, Indigenous representation, racial inequality, and indigenization. A few participants have published in other journals, some with multiple publications, while others have publications in progress at the time of the survey.

> "As we gather evidence for theories, we can form our own ideas and contribute to developing knowledge and as Knowledge Makers, our research becomes a means to understand issues and increase public awareness."
>
> - Dr. Sereana Naepi

The key results were positive, and participants praised the project. We concluded that students find value in learning how to both do research and publish the results. We recommend, based on our survey results, that the Knowledge Makers Journal continue to engage students and promote the value in Indigenous research. The information we have accumulated will serve as a reminder that Knowledge Makers is a valuable piece in a participating student's academic life. The new information collected in the study has helped us to realize that for program alumni, Knowledge Makers will continue to be a part of them throughout their lives.

Reflections

The participants were not initially offered anything in exchange for filling out the survey. They were, however, offered a Knowledge Maker's face mask in return for their agreement to use their words in this report.

Upon reflecting on what they learned and what it meant for them to participate in the program, researchers shared similar reflections regarding Knowledge Makers.

Jennifer Edwards says that she appreciates the value in learning about conducting Indigenous research, writing about findings and the process of publishing, uncovering answers to questions that are searched for, discovering information and sharing wisdom with others. Sharing wisdom is important for Indigenous people. Publishing stories of heritage or culture can help future generations discover their Indigenous identity. She says in her paper *The Knowledge Tree of Healing*, "Maintaining our 'traditional' culture enhances the wellbeing of ourselves as Indigenous people." (Edwards, 2020, p. 65). The more we learn about our background and connections, the stronger we feel and the more pride we carry.

Marie Sandy said "Knowledge Makers provided an outlet for my curiosity. I was able to indulge in an area that I was interested in. I finally felt like Indigenous knowledge meant something and could mean something to everyone!" To provide a reference basis for future Indigenous researchers for their own research is part of KM's purpose. This message ties in with something she said in her Knowledge Makers paper, *Ck'úl'ten (The Way We Are): A Review of Secwépemc Epistemology*, "To create

a stronger review of Secwépemc epistemology, ideally, I would have to analyze a larger number of Secwépemc research papers to develop a more comprehensive vision of Secwépemc epistemology" (Sandy, 2017, p. 106). Years from now, students will be encouraged to draw on what others before them had to say about a topic and offer their own unique perspective of the issues presented. Those students will need sources to engage and will have the Knowledge Makers Journal to turn to.

Wynona Edwards expressed value in the aftermath of Knowledge Makers, she has been Indigenizing her research papers and incorporating all of her cultural knowledge in her writing since then. Knowledge Makers opened her mind and pushed her to use her writing as a form of resilience and find a way to make her colonial westernized assignments Indigenous. She learned to connect with her identity and connect with others in the program. Our Indigenous teachings and cultural knowledge cannot be learned in a classroom. In fact, *Holding onto Traditional Indigenous Ways in Contemporary Times*, is the title of her paper. She stresses the importance of raising her daughter as traditionally as she can, because she knows that she is the next generation. She teaches her "to create a balance between contemporary times and holding onto our cultural values and ways" (Edwards, 2020, p. 39). Now that we have this medium for knowledge keeping, we can use it to preserve our way of life that we fight so hard to keep. Our culture can be preserved through research and publication.

Knowledge Makers isn't just a journal for researchers to publish in. It eventually becomes a community. The process of engagement and learning students experience as they participate in the Knowledge Makers workshops helps them make new friends and connect with others. Emily Toews reflects, "I made new friends and have such pride in what I created throughout my KM journey". She states in her paper *Breaking the Stigma* that she is not the same person upon writing the conclusion as she was at the beginning of her research.

The experience that we gain as researchers makes us different persons than we were before. We become more knowledgeable and perceptive about the world we set out to explore. We not only learn about places and things and people, we learn about ourselves. "I learned more about myself and the collective experience of colonization of Indigenous people across Canada and the world. It was a beautiful and safe space to explore my identity and connect to others on a similar journey!" said Tia Stanley. In *Building My Tipi*, she writes "If I can know myself better, I will be better able to serve others. I have the privilege of gaining knowledge, so I must be able to give it away. Knowledge belongs to everyone and it is up to us, the Knowledge Makers, to ensure it is shared" (Stanley, 2020, P. 101). She guides us through her journey as she walks through two worlds, the settler-colonial world and the Indigenous world. Our ancestors were intrepid in keeping our culture alive. They fought hard to remain who they were, so that we can understand who we are, and our children will know who they are.

Knowledge Makers also serves as a benefit to our well-being away from academia. Justin Young met his fiancé at Knowledge Makers, reflecting that they went to go sing on the mountain top after the weekend workshops, and ever since that moment, have been together, learning, loving, laughing their way into what he calls "the most beautiful relationship we have ever both experienced in our lives."

Knowledge Makers can also be a valuable tool for researchers and their personal growth. As we gather evidence for theories, we can form our own ideas and contribute to developing knowledge and as Knowledge Makers, our research becomes a means to understand issues and increase public awareness. Marie Collins claims that she learned how to communicate a lot more with members in the community. Erin Chillihitzia says of the Knowledge Makers program, "It really grounded my learning in ways to harness passions, to keep going in the direction that reflected my overall dreams and be curious on how to get involved in those areas that needed more advocacy, more voices, more knowledge shared."

Janna Wale is now pursuing a masters using Indigenous research methodology. She suggests that she never would not have gotten experience with, if not for the Knowledge Makers program. She says, "For me, participating in the Knowledge Makers program really opened the door to research for me as an Indigenous researcher."

As for me, I found the experience to be quite eye-opening. It helped me realize how many other Indigenous people are out there with similar academic goals and interests as myself. Also, it was nice to meet so many other Indigenous academics.

I want to take this time for my own reflection on one specific experience that occurred at a Knowledge Makers workshop. Things were getting kind of heavy as we were reminiscing about Elder Estella, to whom the 2020 journal is dedicated. We discussed her smile and the joy and laughter she always brought with her. Her guidance and teaching are missed. Elder Mike suggested we go outside for a walk, to get some air, to refresh our minds. During this walk, Elder Doreen approached me and asked if I could drum and sing a song for everyone when we go back inside, to uplift everyone's spirits. In my own and probably all Indigenous teaching, when an elder asks something of you, you comply. I find it hard to say 'no' to an elder. Because of this momentous occasion, I wanted this song to be special. I thought hard about what song I should sing. Songs have meaning. Some songs aren't meant for certain occasions. I wanted this song to fit in for this perfect moment. I have a song that I sing when I want everyone to be happy. There are certain songs for a couple for their first dance together. I have a song for when people are sad and need to remember the past. I have a song I sing for when somebody is being missed. I even have a song I rarely sing. It is a song for when family members need to say 'good-bye' to one who has passed on to the spirit world. It is a song I would rather not hear.

None of these songs were suited to fit this occasion of coming together to share research and knowledge. Then I heard it. A song in the wind. I believe that song makers don't always make the songs, they catch the songs. These songs are being shared to us by our ancestors. If we need a song, they will show us. Sometimes songs come to us in dreams, and it is up to us to try and remember them, to interpret them. Sometimes they come to us as prayers in the form of timeless music, drifting through centuries on the wind. I kept singing it in my head so I wouldn't forget it. I knew that this song had meaning. This song was intended for this purpose. To bring people together for sharing stories and knowledge. This song has become the Knowledge Makers song. I hope this song will continue to be a part of Knowledge Makers throughout the years. A song future researchers can take with them after the closing ceremony where they are handed their first Knowledge Makers journal and as they give their first copy of their journal to someone close to them who has helped or inspired them throughout their academic journey, the song will be heard. I will always remember my Knowledge Makers family and I know that future Knowledge Makers will remember theirs. Knowledge Makers will continue to be a part of us throughout our life. Because as Tenessa Gagnon who asked to be referred to as 'Supreme Overlord Tess' has cheekily stated "it never ends, and you never get away ;)".

> "This song was intended for this purpose. To bring people together for sharing stories and knowledge. This song has become the Knowledge Makers song. I hope this song will continue to be a part of Knowledge Makers throughout the years."
>
> - Sandra Banura

Moving forward

From COVID, fires, floods and the children found at KIRS, everyone in Secwepemcul'ecw is struggling and as usual, Indigenous

communities are affected the most severely. The existence of this year's journal—with all the delays and challenges—demonstrates our resilience. Creating capacity in Indigenous research is essential; KM does exactly that. The program is expanding, and it has potential to define Indigenous research across the world. We will continue to look back to ground our journey and forward to ensure our voices are heard in academia and the world.

Response Sereana and Airini

"I remember when I realized that COVID was something to be worried about. It was when I received news in Aotearoa that the Celebration Dinner for 2020s Knowledge Makers was going to be delayed to protect the health of our elders" – Sereana Naepi

Knowledge Makers has always been about bringing people together, 2021 provided a unique challenge in that not only was this not possible but we also aimed to bring together people from across Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean). Initially, we thought there would still be a chance for us all to gather in person at the end of 2021 after a few zoom calls we would get to see each other in person. Instead, we faced a global pandemic and restricted gathering and movements making our 'typical' programme impossible. Despite the challenges of 2021, we still gathered, we still wrote, and we still sang; and this was only possible because of the team in Secwepemcul'ecw, who bought together voices and people from across the globe in ways we hadn't imagined when this programme first began.

The words gifted above serve as a reminder about what is possible when we empower Indigenous undergraduate students to find their voice in service to their community. Research provides us with tools to uplift our communities and creatively take on the many challenges that await us. Indignous research allows us to reach back into the past as we take on these challenges and imagine a different way forward. Knwoledge Makers is about creating space, whether virtual in or in person for us all to raise our voices and share the stories of our communities and loved ones in ways that change our path forward.

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The Knowledge Makers program taught me the value and importance of sharing knowledge and interests, and how learning of others' experiences can strengthen our own sense of value and connectivity.

~ Jana Chouinard
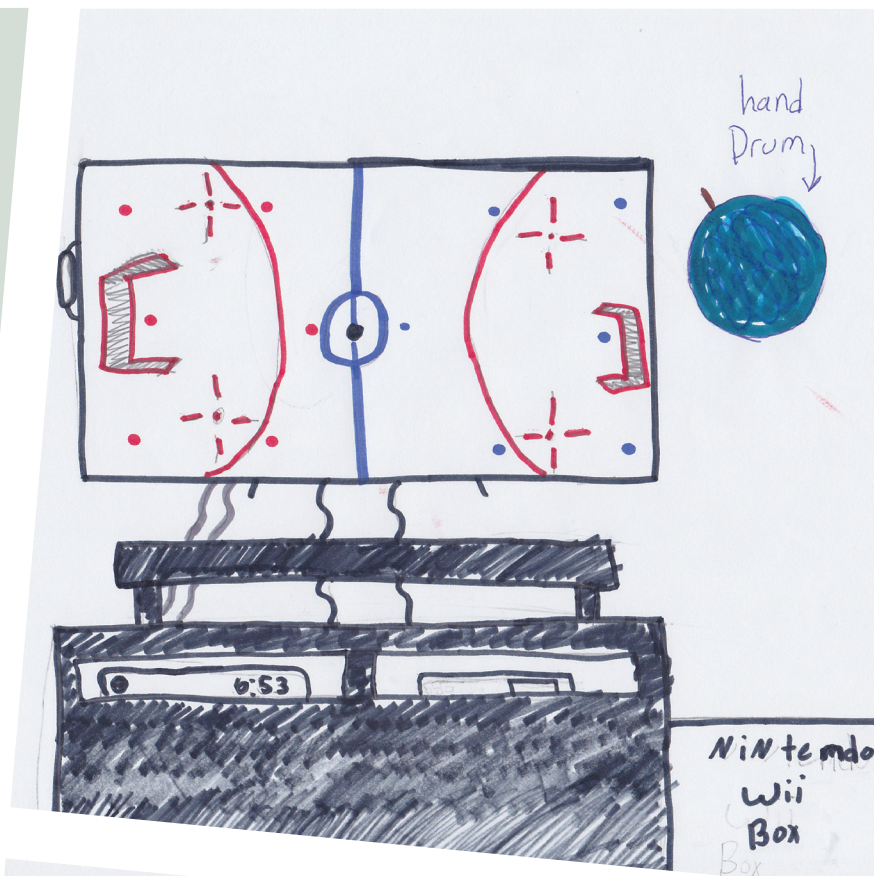
Drawing credit:
E. Chouinard, 2021.
"Our Home #1" and "Our Home #2."

Elder Sandi (Huppie) Hendry
Métis
Thompson Rivers University

HEY, DAD, ARE WE INDIANS, HALF-BREEDS OR JUST NORMAL?

I was supposed to be doing my homework while I was sat there at the kitchen table. But I had drifted off and found myself staring at my dad's back while he filled the tea kettle at the sink. Although he was short, he was always larger than life to me. Mom always said he looked like a ruffian. That day, the bottom cuff of his one pant leg was curled. Mom's teasing didn't bother him. Dad liked what he wore. Anyways, he would dress up when he was going to "talk business" with the mining companies. A cowboy hat and fortrel pants were the essentials for Dad's "formal" wardrobe.

When it came to drilling, Ed Huppie was all business, and everyone knew it. Especially me, since I was the recipient of all the rocks and core samples he brought home from every job. I was delighted to add to my collection. They were my treasures!

I studied him. His long brown hair curled around the collar of his one of his several western style shirts, most of which had cigarette burns on front, which he claimed gave them "character". The shirt hugged his wide chest – it was part of his "uniform". My eyes followed the forest of long blond hair on his freckled arms, continuing to his huge hands. They reminded me of baseball mitts, wide with stubby fingers. Plus a few nicotine stains for color. His hands made me feel safe, protected. He was strong, built like a bull but soft like a teddy bear. I asked him the question.

Me: Hey, Dad, are we Indians, half-breeds or just normal?

He turned to face me, and I noticed that this particular shirt had tiny floral patterns running from top to bottom with fancy mother-of-pearl snaps. It was done up only halfway. His shirt collars were too tight – they choked him. But, of course, he would close them before going to get smokes – most of the time. He would drive the car to Coopers, the windows wide open, his elbow resting on the windowsill with a cigarette between two fingers of his right hand. This was a familiar route. Steering with only his left hand, he would rest his smoking arm on the passenger seat with his cigarette pointing towards the roof. That is how Dad decorated the roof liners of our vehicles – dots created by red embers of Dad's smokes while the ashes drifted down onto his shoulders. The roof was permanently altered, but not the only thing that was accidently decorated.

Ed Huppie, 1931-1993

As he swung around to face me, tea kettle in hand, he walked to the stove. He placed the now full tea kettle on to the stove and turned on the element. Drops of water dripped from the kettle and I knew what was coming next. Soon, it will be time for a "cuppa tea and smoke break". A lot of our time was spent having a "cuppa tea and smoke break" or getting prepared for the next "cuppa tea and smoke break." But for this particular one, I had asked a question. A big question. And my dad was going to answer it.

Dad: Depends on who wants to know, my girl.
Me: Well, it's my assignment in Social Studies. I have to do my family tree and label us.

Dad: Well, we're all of the above. Indians, breeds, half-breeds, FBI's – depends on who you are talking about.

Me: What do you mean? Who we are talking about? Which ones are the Indians?

Dad: Well, your Aunties. They are Indian, but they couldn't resist us good-looking half-breeds! Just like your mother couldn't resist me – took one look at me raced me to the altar!

He tried to snap his fingers. They were wide and short which made crossing them challenging, but made his point. His blue eyes twinkled, and he laughed out loud. His laugh was like a kid's laugh. He'd hunch his shoulders forward and shake his body at the same time while he looked you in the eye and said "tee-hee" a few times.

Dad: Tee-hee-hee! Your mother knew a good thing when she saw it. Same story for my brothers. Boy, we were a real find in those days – handsome, good workers who could fiddle 'til dawn. My brother Jimmy was the best fiddler I knew. We used to cart our fiddles to all the dances. Couldn't wait to open them cases and get the bows out. Harvey, he liked the guitar. Used to play with a knife along the strings – made a Hawaiian sound. The girls loved it.

Me: What about your sisters?

Dad: Same story for Evelyn and Lorette, only they married white guys. Both of them lookers too and hard workers. We all came from good stock, born at home on the farm. Came into this world looking for farm chores to do! Made my old man happy. Except for Junior, the youngest – he was born in the hospital. Not sure why.

Me: Well, then what were grandma and grandpa? Indians or half-breeds?

Dad: The two of them were half-breeds, no doubt about it. French and Cree. But Grandpa Smith on Mom's side was an orphan. He lived in a poorhouse until he was 12 or 13 years old and then they kicked him out. Told him to go find work. The free meals were over, they said. Even though he worked the horses and in the hay-fields every day for the mission. On the way out, they told him his last name was Smith. Huh? I

Dad holding me at six months of age.

think they just gave him that name because it was common and they couldn't be bothered to find out his real name. Never heard of a half-breed called Smith. Should have been a Lefleur or Gladue. Anyways, he didn't have no paper-work about him when he got dropped off at the orphanage but I'm pretty sure he was FBI.

Me: FBI?

Dad: Full blooded Indian. No card though as he didn't exist as far as the government was concerned. Big Indian though. Big and tall, jet black hair and eyes as black as the ace of spades. That's why your grandma looks like she does – black hair, round brown face, and dark eyes.

Dad seemed lost in for a few moments and then he laughed, shoulders forward, shaking a little, like he had his own secret.

Dad: She was as bowlegged as they come but boy, she could move fast when she needed to. Grab those chickens in the barnyard, her cotton flowered dress riding up her knees, her braids flying! Yup, catch those chickens, heads off, plucked and in the stew-pot in no time, especially if company stopped by.

Me: I have a round face too, don't I, Dad? Except mine's white.

Dad: Yup, you do, just like your grandma. Round like a moon...

Me: Dad, everyone thinks I got my red hair and freckles from mom because she's from Ireland, but I got it from you. You're the red head, Dad. That confuses everybody.

I sighed shaking my head, exasperated at the whole world for being wrong.

Dad: Well, haven't I always told you not to be ashamed of who you are?

Me: Yes, but I'm not ashamed!! I just want to know what I am. A watered down version of who? My grandma, you and mom? Grandpa?

He lights a smoke and begins to choke. Every time he lit up, a cough would consume his body. His short legs would fly up from under the kitchen table then pause inches from the floor. Like his body believed that would help him fight the cough. Although the coughing spell would only last a minute, it felt much longer. His coughing fits were a family ritual. Everyone stopped talking when Dad coughed. You couldn't hear yourself anyway. It was so loud–like a train whistle at a crossing. All conversation stopped until the coughing was over. Sometimes it scared me but if he
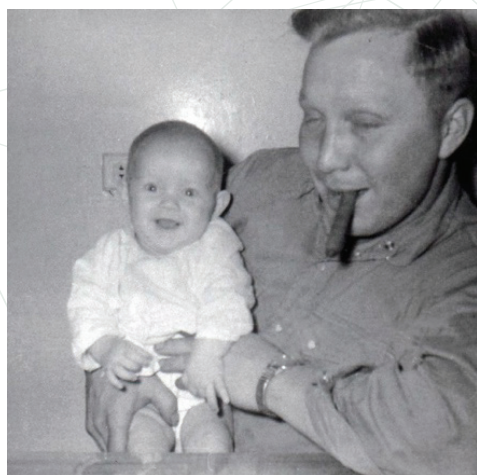
saw fear in any of us, he coughed harder, louder to show he was in control–nothing to worry about here kids. When this particular coughing fit ended, he looked up at me, blinking several times, his teary eyes slowly returning to normal.

Dad: Kettle's boiled. Tea?

Me: Sure. Sounds good. Any bannock left?

Dad: You're a good Indian, my girl. You like your tea and bannock!

Me: Dad, you just called me an Indian! What am I supposed to put down by my name on the family tree? Good Indian? Who's going to know what that means? I could lose points for that!

Dad: Wouldn't be the first half-breed to lose a few points over admitting you're a breed. Wouldn't be the first.

He fixed our tea. We both liked it strong. Mom always made her tea in a fancy teapot and poured it into her teacup but not me and Dad. We plopped our teabags right into our mugs, added boiling water and stirred our teabags until the tea was black, no cream or sugar required.

He fished his teabag out of the mug, squeezing it along the inside of the mug and then the bag came out, squished and steaming and stuck to the spoon. He ceremoniously placed on the table by his mug and his ashtray.

Dad and Mom, Dublin, Ireland, 1957

Jackie, Gail, me and Fran, 1962

And then he leaned forward and nodded, my cue to continue my line of questioning.

Me: Did you ever lose points, Dad? Or was that just in the old days?

Dad: Oh yes, yes, yes, my girl. I lost a few points along the way! Pretty hard not to. I couldn't not be Indian when I had one of my brothers along with me. Black as the ace of spades, they were. No pretending they were anything but breeds. That's the trick. You have to be smart enough to know you've lost points. Only a fool would keep losing points and not change a thing or two. You gotta assess these situations. Gotta be thinking all the time. Can't let your guard down. You could lose a lot.

Swirls of steam rose up from the mugs and he took a sip and thought for a moment.

Dad: When I was a boy, one of my aunties declared there was no native blood in her family – couldn't possibly be! She claimed to be white. Yup, she kept that up for as long as I knew her. She lived in town. She'd invite me to visit her only because of these freckles and blue eyes, but the rest of the family – nope, not invited – too dark. The whole damn town knew we were breeds, but she wouldn't hear of it. Sad thing in life to go along with a lie all those years. Still don't know what she gained by that.

So back to you, my girl. Your problem... what are you going to call yourself? How about quarter-breed? Quarter Indian or quarter Cree? That sounds pretty damn impressive to me. You're one quarter Cree, one quarter French and half Irish – we gotta give your mom some credit.

Me: Well, OK, but Holly's parents aren't going to like it. They never say the word Indian without the word "dirty" in front of it. It's like its one word in their family. DirtyIndian. DirtyIndian. They say it all the time at the dinner table. They should know, they have a cabin at the lake and some Indian owns it. Holly might not be my friend anymore when she finds out I'm quarter Indian.

Dad: Well, that's the chance you gotta take, my girl. If you don't state the truth about what you are, you'll be no better than my auntie. A proud fool. Wouldn't admit to the truth if it was

looking her right in the eye! That doesn't sound like you, now does it? Use them brains of yours and never be ashamed of what you are, breed and all! Now where's my smokes?

He pushes aside his ashtray and there they are – never far! His big hands reach for the pack.

Me: What are you making for dinner Dad?

Dad: Oh shit, look at the time! I've got to get that stew on–the hockey game starts at 5:00! Ah, hell I got time for one more smoke.

My dad was "My Métis Connection." I just didn't know it at the time. I say this with sarcasm as I never heard Dad use the word Métis. He was comfortable with the term half-breed. It was his language and had meaning for him, mostly without prejudice. When he spoke of breeds, half-breeds, they were descriptive words and the folks he spoke to also knew the language. They would nod their heads in unison, in agreement. Everybody understood. No one was confused.

I learned about my Métis heritage from my dad. He was the one who made sure I knew who I was and assured me it was ok to be me. As a matter of fact, he told me it was great to be me! I am not sure if he ever heard the same message in his life. Being a half-breed was like no man's land in the late 1930s and early 1940s. He grew up in an era where admitting you had native blood was a risk, depending on who you were telling. That's why he questioned "Who wants to know" when I asked him my question. Throughout his life, he must have answered this question many different ways. See, in order to get a job, stay in a hotel or date a certain girl, he had to answer it the right way to get the results he wanted. When he was back at home, amongst his family and relatives, he didn't have to think about who he was. He was free to be himself without having to wear a mask.

Believe me, if this pandemic has taught us anything, it's that having to wear a mask is uncomfortable. You are always questioning

Dad, smoke in hand with Mom and me at a drill site, 1968

yourself. Do I have my mask with me? Am I wearing it properly? Is it inappropriate? Or good enough? What happens if I leave my mask off? What are the penalties?

I always knew my dad was different. Like Dad said, you have to be smart about these things. I prided myself in being smart enough to know he was different. I remember fore-warning my husband-to-be when I brought him home to meet my dad for the first time to be prepared. Prepared for what? I didn't say. Maybe I couldn't put it into words then. Perhaps now I know the word "different" was just another word for Métis. I just knew my dad was not like other dads who were accountants, members of the Lions Club, or coached girls' basketball.

My dad did none of the above. He looked like a bushman and had a wild streak. For example, choosing to wear his hair long, he rebuked the mining companies for refus-ing to hire "long-haired hippies" as drillers. So, he grew his hair long, side-parted, and over to one side behind his ear, around his collar with a slight curl. It hung down below his cowboy hat at the back. He made his point, and before long the company hired those "long haired hippie" drillers. He wore his hair long from then on, a perpetual rebellious stand for the underdog. Ah, again, different from all the other dads.

One time he picked me up from high school. I saw him parked on Valleyview Drive in our red '68 Malibu, windows rolled down, smoke in his hand, listening to my favorite eight-track, *Bad Moon Rising* by Credence Clearwater Revival. As usual, he was in no hurry and enjoying his smoke break. I can still hear the lyrics:

I see the bad moon arising.
I see trouble on the way.
I see earthquakes and lightning.
I see bad times today.
Don't go around tonight.
Well, it's bound to take your life.
There's a bad moon on the rise.

Some kid yelled out to me, "Hey Sandi, your big brother's here to pick you up." "Big Brother? Oh, that's not my big brother, that's my dad." Enough said.

My childhood would have made a great sitcom. I was born into a blended family with an immigrant mom and a half breed dad. My mom, Phyllis, was born and raised in Ireland. She was a single mom with two little girls, Frances and Jacqueline, when she met dad at a dancehall in Dublin in 1956. Dad was an adventuresome twenty-five-year-old Canadian who was working in Ireland, a long way from the farm in Lac La Biche. Not long after they met, they got married. I loved their wedding photo – my Dad wore a suit and tie – the only time I've ever seen that! And my mom was beautiful in her ladylike pink suit and matching corsage. Dad shared with her that he was Indian and when she moved to Canada, she would have to smoke the peace pipe. Mom believed him.

When Dad returned home, he had a new wife, two little girls and a third baby on the way – me! I was born two months later and was much loved and adored, and then eighteen months later my baby sister Gail arrived. Because of these out-of-the-ordinary family dynamics, we learned to stick together, keep our head down and not let anyone else in our circle; no community connections, no lifelong friends or reasons to stay in one town. We were always moving to the next mine site or town close to it. We lived in multiple houses in Lac la Biche, Salmo, Yellowknife, Vancouver, Burnaby, Princeton, and finally Kamloops. For me, grade one was comprised of three different schools in three different cities. In those days, no one asked the kids how they felt about the moves – we were just told we were moving, again. I thought everybody did that. When we left Yellowknife, my grade one teacher left me a present at the train station. I remember looking at this little wrapped parcel at the counter and the ticket man handing it to me. Why did she do that? What did she see in us?

Summer holidays took place wherever Dad happened to be drilling. One year his job site was in Grand Cache, Alberta. Dad rented us a converted school bus. No swanky RV for my family, just a bright yellow school bus with a bad shifter. We were thrilled. We got to see Dad after months of him working away, we got to camp in the trees, and we even had our own fire pit. Living the good life, according to Dad.

However, our best holidays were the summer trips back to Lac La Biche. We went to see my grandparents, aunts and uncles and all those Indian cousins who I loved so much and still do! After arriving in our station wagon, the four of us would tumble out to greet everyone. There were hugs and laughter and mock voices that said how big were getting. We shyly eyed our cousins standing across the driveway, heads down but ready to run and play at the first break. Finally, the grown-ups made their way inside the house, still talking. The men sat around the living rooms, smoking and joking, the guitars and fiddles being tuned up, again and again and yet again while my aunties were laughing and busy in the hot kitchen.

Gail and I with our matching pig tails surrounded by our cousins, 1966

Soon the wonderful smell of new potatoes cooking in cream and fresh dill wafted through the house. All of us kids chased each other from room to room, laughing and playing. Occasionally, someone called out to us as we streaked by, "One of you kids grab my smokes from the kitchen." The challenge was on! We raced to see which one of us could get to it first. We wrestled it from one another, always careful not to crush the prize. With the spoils of war raised high above our head, we ran back into the smoky living room. With our gasping delivery came our reward, a heavy pat on the head and a nod from one of my uncles. We felt very important! We continued the game until Grandma hollered "You kids play outside now. And keep away from that well, or you're all going to bed early!" Out we ran, banging the squeaky screen door. We held bragging contests and lined up to see who was taller with lots of lively discussion! It was so much fun to be together again. The fiddle music mingled with the smells of dinner. Soon we'd be sitting on the wide porch, plates on our bony knees, trying hard not to laugh and eat at the same time,

Sometimes we took trips to town. Grandpa would buy us a treat at the gas station, sour candies or a bottle of pop. We

could pick our own flavor and didn't have to share with anyone. I picked Orange Crush but my mom's favorite was 7-Up in the green bottle. One time we went to Lac La Biche Pow-Wow Days. So much to see: the whooshing sounds of the midway rides, the bingo caller using the on-again, off-again microphone making corny jokes, the fiddler standing outside the big white tent, waiting for his stage call, and of course sticky pink cotton candy.

Dad's big hands holding Ed, 1988

While all this was going on, I was watching Dad. He was a different person! He knew so many people and stopped and talked to all of them, tapping his foot to the fiddle tunes, laughing and having fun. I could see he felt at home, a sense of belonging I knew he didn't get in any of the places we lived. Cities choked him. I knew the only other place Dad felt at home was in the bush. He talked about it all the time. Bad weather could not deter him. A good storm with high winds and pelting rain added to his enjoyment. In the bush Dad could take his mask off. The natural world does not discriminate. It did not view him as a breed or half-breed, just another living soul. I have a vision of him standing on some mountain top, outside the drill shack looking at the night sky, tea and a smoke close by, listening to the rhythm of the drills behind him, just being himself.

Pancreatic cancer ended Dad's time in the bush and eventually with us. In the hospital I cringed when I saw his wide freckled back reduced to nothing. I slipped into the darkened hospital room and pulled up a chair beside his bed. I thought he was sleeping but he reached out for me. He barely had the strength to lift his arm to stroke my long hair. But he did. We didn't talk for a long while. I broke the silence. I had a question. A big question. And my dad was going to answer it. I whispered quietly,

Me: How am I supposed to go on without you, Dad?

He cleared his throat and was quiet for a time. He stopped stroking my hair. I waited.

Finally, he spoke.

Dad: I have to be the first to go, my girl. I am the leader of this family. I have to show the rest of you how it's done.

He paused and I heard the sharp intake his breath. He rubbed my head.

Dad: You have your own family to look after now. It will be alright.

We stayed like that for a long time. Dad didn't want anyone to shed tears during our visits but I did anyway.

A few nights later, my baby sister Gail wheeled Dad outside the hospital for a smoke break. It was quiet and dark.

Dad: Look at that tree, Gail. Do you see the way the light from the street lamp is hitting it just right? If you look real close, there's a wolf looking straight at us. A beautiful white wolf, his head's cocked a bit. He's standing, looking right at us.

Dad got quiet. God's glory was revealed to him by the wolf's arrival. He knew the wolf was coming to guide him home. He was at peace with that, even welcomed it. Finally, the wolf returned and Dad died on June 9, 1993. I was devastated. We all were. Dad wasn't the centre of our circle – he **was** our circle. He filled every space with his big presence and soft heart. He was at his happiest when he shared "a cuppa tea and a smoke break." And so was I.

After Dad's funeral, we formed a big circle in our hay field so we could spread his ashes. It was wet and windy. Dad would have loved it! Raindrops started falling and the wind made the long yellow hay sway wildly around our rubber boots. We passed Dad's urn around and one by one, released his ashes, free in the wind. No granite headstone for him, towering above some rectangle grave in some linear graveyard in the middle of a city block. Not for my Dad.

My son lost a lot with my dad's passing. Four years earlier, my husband and I bounded up the steps of the Nanaimo General Hospital and asked where the nursery was. We made our way to the big glass window and peered at the bassinettes all lined up. "Which one is ours? Where is he?" I asked my pale husband as we read aloud the last names of the new babies. "There he is!" I said excitedly as I pointed to one perfect baby! The station

nurse smiled and let us in to the nursery and over to the bassinette. We held hands and stood peering over him, "Hi Ed," I said, "We're your new parents! "

Yes, we named our son Ed after my dad. It was my lasting gift to Dad. I loved seeing the two of them together, Edmond always on his grandpa's knee as though there wasn't another seat in the house. I would have loved for my two Eds to have more time together. They were so much alike, smart and funny, both with reddish hair and beards, as I would find out when my Ed grew into a man. But perhaps their biggest similarities were their love of a good smoke break and their ability to add character to their shirt fronts with burn holes. I am not kidding! Years later, much to my delight, we discovered that our son's birthright was also Métis. Dad would have liked that!

When I lost Dad, I lost my Métis connection. I did not realize it at first. It was like something was missing, a part of me that I could not see or touch but longed for deep inside. After dad's passing, life did go on. My family and I formed our own circle. We worked, we changed jobs, and we moved a few times. Eventually we found our way "home" to Kamloops after a long time away. Home felt good, but I sorely missed Dad's presence.

I shared my longings for Dad with Mom. I told her that I heard a new name for half-breeds, and they were called "Métis", but I didn't know how to pronounce it. I started the search for anything "Métis". The internet was just coming into its own but didn't help me. I called the Kamloops Indian Band office, as it was known then. I found their telephone number in the Yellow Pages of the phone book. I dialed the number and asked the receptionist if she had ever heard of Métis groups in the area. She said no and hung up. Another dead end. I was still lost.

Eventually I found a newspaper clipping for a Métis gathering taking place in Kamloops. I was so excited. That night, I drove my car to the community hall and parked in the gravel parking lot. As I was getting out of the car, I heard the sound of fiddles being tuned up from inside the hall. I stopped. I listened. I hurried up the steps, opened the door and walked in. Someone started to shake my hand and welcome me. Someone else offered me tea and showed me to a seat at a big round table set up in the middle of the room with chairs all around it. No podium at the front and chairs in a row for this group! I heard laughter and turned to see some kids playing tag. They raced by me, tugging at each other. At the same time, a woman approached and asked me if I was new. I stopped and stared too long at her. She looked just like my Auntie Lorette – reddish hair, round face and crinkly smile. When I managed to stop staring, and said, "Yes, this is my first time," she immediately pulled out the empty chair beside me and whispered, "Well, we can't have you sitting alone then, can we?" She sat down and introduced herself. The fiddle players finished their warm up and someone called the meeting to order. I felt a stirring of excitement in the hollow of my chest.

Since that day, I have never left my Métis community. I found out I belonged to a nation, with its own history, language, flag, war-stories, and heroes. I met people who looked like me and others who didn't – they looked like my grandma with brown skin, brown eyes, and jet-black hair. I met Métis with round faces, blue eyes, green eyes and that indescribable "Métis look." Some spoke Cree or French. Others were storytellers or fiddlers. All of them laughed. I felt connected to each one of them. I felt at home! Nothing could keep me away from the gatherings. I joined the Women's Circle, tried beading and found out jigging takes the wind out of you. I listened to stories and I shared stories. I encouraged folks who just discovered their Métis roots to continue their journey. It's a worthwhile endeavor, I told them, full of surprises. "It started with my Métis Dad" I say, taking a sip of tea.

Dad holding Ed as I snuggle up to both of them.

The Knowledge Makers program taught me to always remind myself of the power, knowledge and wisdom we indigenous peoples embody. To be unapologetic about who I am as a young pacific island woman navigating in this western world. And to know that across the world, there are other indigenous people just like myself choosing to acknowledge and utilise all we embody to fight for a better world.

~ **Milika Swann**

Joseph Houghton
Cook Island Māori
University of Canterbury ~ PhD

I acknowledge Ngā Tahu Iwi as mana whenua of the land that I was born on, live on and teach on. I acknowledge the home islands of my ancestors in the Pacific, Rarotonga, Aitu and Tahiti. It is from these places, that I visit only occasionally, that I draw identity and strength as a person of the Pacific. I acknowledge my ancestors who travelled between these islands, traditionally on vaka, and recently by ship and airplane.

EMPOWERING PASIFIKA VOICE IN EDUCATION

Introduction

As an educator for the last 13 years, there are few lessons I have learnt that are not underpinned by the need to dive deep into relationships. My success as a teacher or leader depends on my ability to form and sustain relationships and authentically listen to the voices of all people involved in my work. When I decided to undertake doctoral studies, I wanted to focus on Pacific Peoples in our education system, to empower them and their voice. Their voice is strong but often unheard. The methodology needed to reflect the powerful indigeneity and creative culture of the Pacific, while at the same time connect with the emerging 'New Zealand Pasifika' voice, coming out of new generations. These new voices are born in Aotearoa, but in their bloodlines they bring the dreams of their ancestors from all the individual islands.

The article begins with an overview sharing the definition of Pasifika, speaking to marginalization in education and the current efforts to address challenges for Pasifika students. My PhD research and approach to my methodology, with the Talanoa and Tivaevae models, is also included in this paper.

Overview

Education has been a central reason for the migration of Pacific peoples to the country of New Zealand over the last century. Many perceived the system as quality education, although it is a Western system. There was a belief that education would enable successful futures for individuals, families, communities, and subsequent generations. The education and schooling of Pasifika in New Zealand have significant complications. Communities strive to ensure that their children are prepared for life and success in the Western world. However, they want them to retain a sense of self, inextricably linked to their community, developing identity, language, and culture, with the children embracing ways stemming from the land of their ancestors.

"Pasifika" is a collective term for people from various nations or descended from people who have migrated from Pacific nations (Gorinski & Fraser, 2006). Pasifika is widely used as a "multi-ethnic" (Wendt-Samu, 2006) term in government policy, such as health, education and social policy. For this research, the term Pasifika will indicate people who have their origins in the Pacific nations, the most common in New Zealand being from Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands and Fiji. They could either born in a Pacific country and have migrated to another country or born in a different country to a parent or parents from one of the Pacific nations.

The Ministry of Education has used the term throughout their various policies concerning Pasifika education, since the first iteration

of the *Pasifika Education Plan* in 2001. There is a growing debate about whether this term is appropriate to use in, however, the term is widespread in the New Zealand education system is helpful to collectively describe the people from the region in an ethnic context.

On some levels, Pasifika are a marginalized people, locally and internationally. This can be most clearly seen in the health and education sectors where outcomes for Pasifika peoples are facing significant challenges (Ministry of Education, 2020; Hunter, et al., 2016). Despite significant investment and improvements, Pasifika have the highest proportion of people without qualifications (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2015; Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010). This marginalization reflects the importance of providing effective platforms for Pasifika people to have a strong voice, and for them to be agents in the design of their own futures. Nabobo-Baba states that Pasifika researchers must "represent the voices of our peoples" (Nabobo-Baba, 2004, p. 31), and it is the aim of this research to encourage that.

In an attempt to address the marginalization of Pacifika people, the Ministry of Education, in consultation with Pasifika communities, created the *Action Plan for Pacific Education*. The action plan aims to work towards a future where "Diverse Pacific learners and their families are safe, valued, and equipped to achieve their education aspirations" (Ministry of Education, 2020, p. 7). This statement, while aspirational, is complex, as multiple voices represent the Pasifika struggle with acknowledgment in the cacophony of the New Zealand education system. The plan states that it included the voices of "diverse Pacific communities and educators across New Zealand," and they shared that "our education system needs to acknowledge and value their identities, languages and cultures, learner and family wellbeing, and collective success" (p.15). The Ministry's plan recognizes the importance of using "voice" as a critical component in measuring change and will "increase the knowledge and **voice** of Pasifika learners, parents, families and communities, so they can demand better outcomes and influence the education system from within" (Ministry of Education, 2013).

The concept of "voice" is a complex notion to unpack, a task which schools in New Zealand are ill-equipped to do. As an educator, I listen to students and parents, in order to provide learning and education appropriately. The reality is that voice is tied to power and/ or the autonomy that one has over their life. The first challenge facing our schools, teachers, principals, and education leaders is to enable and empower unheard voices, which share various expressions of values, culture, interests, aspirations, relationships and environments. Secondly, they must channel these voices into the development of the various mechanisms which construct the schooling system, such as governance, management, curriculum, practice and cultural norms within institutions.

Doctoral study

My doctoral study aims to develop research understandings of what constitutes this concept of voice, particularly within the city of Christchurch in a secondary school context with a Pasifika roll of approximately 10% and in a region with a growing Pasifika population. Shirley Boys' High School and community is used as a research site that is similar to several New Zealand school, particularly in Te Waipounamu. These South Island people have a strong but small Pasifika presence. Given this site is relatively representative for Pacifika people, the implications related to this research will be informative for other communities with similar contexts, both locally, nationally and globally, as many communities in Australia and America face similar challenges (McGavin, 2014).

My research will indicate culturally appropriate practices used to collect Pasifika voices, exploring the realities and perspectives of students, parents and community members in education. Including the effect on teachers, principals and board members in a school incorporating Pasifika voices. This project will provide evidence and understanding about how to engage and act upon Pasifika's voice within the school. It will also study the impact on student wellbeing, achievement, and engagement.

The purpose of this research is to explore Pasifika voice concerning schooling, where

Pasifika families believe that changes need to be made and what changes are necessary to enable schools to become places of higher value for Pasifika students. Also, my study will provide sources and motivation for schools to:

› Deepen their understanding of the complexities that exist within Pasifika communities,

› Challenge their assumptions and overcome perceived barriers that prevent them from connecting with Pasifika communities,

› And, to better position themselves to engage and act on Pasifika student and community voice.

An urgent need

Schools and educational institutions need to become receptive to and engaged with Pasifika's voice in the education of young people. Most educators and others involved in our Western education system have limited comprehension of the wants and needs related to education of Pasifika students, parents and communities. Despite their poor understanding of needs and the urgency for change, they must respond to the needs of their Pasifika community (New Zealand School Trustees Association, 2013). They are also responsible for implementing changes that can achieve community aspirations.

As the number of Pasifika people, families and young people in New Zealand grows, there is a strong need for "more high quality research to improve the education system so it works for all Pasifika learners" (Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 3). A system that works for Pasifika moves beyond looking at underachievement for Pasifika students, or at attempts to shorten the length of the so called 'long brown tail' that is referred to in our schooling system. Instead, education must ensure that appropriate steps are taken to create a system that is inclusive of Pasifika epistemologies, languages, cultural identities and values (Amituanai-Toloa, McNaughton, Kuin Lai, & Airini, 2009; (Chu, Glasgow, Rimoni, Hodis, & Meyer, 2013; Nakhid, 2003). The education system must "establish and maintain consistent, meaningful and reciprocal relationships that allow them to deepen understanding of the various parts of the whole Pasifika community, and theirs in particular" (Fletcher J. , Parkhill, Fa'afoi, Leali'ie'e, & O'Regan, 2009; Gorinski & Fraser, 2006; Poumale, 2016). These relationships must also allow the Pasifika community access to the school, in order to be able to understand and influence the environment in which their children receive education from the state.

For schools to be better able to provide an education that "works for all Pasifika learners", they have to be able to establish and maintain consistent, meaningful and reciprocal relationships that allow them to better understand the various parts of the whole Pasifika community, and theirs in particular (Fletcher J., Parkhill, Fa'afoi, Leali'ie'e, & O'Regan, 2009; Gorinski & Fraser, 2006; Poumale, 2016). The purpose of this research is to explore Pasifika voice concerning schooling, where Pasifika families believe that changes need to be made and what changes are necessary to enable schools to become places of higher value for Pasifika students.

International trends

While New Zealand has seen rapid growth in terms of its Pasifika population over the last fifty years (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) as outlined below, other countries are also seeing significant increases Pasifika populations (Batley, 2017). This has substantial implications for education in these areas, as well as other social sectors such as health and justice. New Zealand, with its experience in recent decades, could potentially assist with the challenges and opportunities that migration and population growth of Pasifika peoples inevitably incurs, as well as be assisted.

Pasifika people's migration has resulted in pockets Pasifika communities around the globe (Hau'ofa, 1994). The United States of America is particularly significant as Hawai'i is a state and therefore the connection between the Native Hawaiian people and America is counted within the overall American population. In 2010, there was a recorded 1.2 million Pasifika peoples in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). The U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Estimates Program, records the following definition of Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander:

A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands. It includes people who indicate their race as "Native Hawaiian," "Guamanian or Chamorro," "Samoan," and "Other Pacific Islander" or provide other detailed Pacific Islander responses. (United States Census Bureau, 2019)

Research is showing that while the Pasifika (inclusive of the Native Hawaiian people) population in America is small in relative size to other ethnic groups, it is one of the fastest growing groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), and understudied (Subica, et al., 2019), which is having major implications:

Although this [...] provides potential opportunities, challenges and struggles in navigating dual cultures and systems is a reality. Thus, commitment to culturally relevant social work practice with transnational Pacific Islander Americans is imperative. [...] practices that acknowledge and integrate indigenous ways of knowing and doing with consideration to the duality of their transnational identities will produce better outcomes. Emphasis on Pacific Islander cultural strengths is fundamental to generating positive health and mental health outcomes [...]. (Godinet, Vakalahi, & Mokuau, 2019)

The mention of practice being "culturally relevant" the emphasis on the importance of the "duality of their transnational identities" align with current way of thinking on similar issues in the New Zealand health and educational landscapes, and places the gathering of Pasifika voice as a high priority. Other insights into the Pasifika population in America include the importance of family and specific values being at the core of Pasifika experiences, especially within the context of migration, education and intergenerational cultural adaptation (Holmes, 1980; Vakalahi & Godinet, 2014), as well as placing value on indigenous epistemologies (Smith, 2012). The marginalization of Pasifika peoples is also of concern in America, both educationally and in terms of socio-economic status. Pasifika peoples have some of the lowest rates of high school graduation and have low college admission rates, as well as being disproportionately low income and facing numerous health disparities (Asian Americans Advancing Justice, 2014).

Australia has also been a country which has experienced high numbers of Pasifika migrants, moving there for opportunities centered around health, employment and education (Kearney & Glen, 2017; Ravulo, 2015) – similar to the American and New Zealand situations. Pasifika migration has also increased significantly in Australia over the last half century (Vasta, 2007), with many Pasifika people arriving via New Zealand, often as first or second-generation New Zealanders. From my research, there is a distinct lack of research around Pasifika educational issues in Australia, with many researchers drawing primarily on New Zealand findings. This is concerning, with the Pasifika population in Australia predicted to double in the coming decades (Ravulo, 2015).

Reflecting on and connecting to these findings and others around best practice in health, education and other issues are important to the Pasifika educational scene in New Zealand, and globally, as we seek to understand and maintain the ever growing Pasifika diaspora. Ultimately, they place a strong emphasis on voice, relationships and values as strong currencies in working with Pasifika people.

New Zealand trends

New Zealand has strong cultural, historical, social and political ties to the Pacific, with the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau in particular being New Zealand dependencies, and over recent decades, a larger and increasingly diverse number of Pasifika people have come to call New Zealand home. This migration to New Zealand has been happening in a very real sense since the 1950s (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2015), and it is widely acknowledged that employment was a major pull factor for Pasifika peoples, and that a significant labour shortage provided the opportunity (Anae, 2012).

The growing population, which now sits around 7.4% of the population (Statistics NZ, 2014), makes certain demands on various sectors of New Zealand society. The population is a relatively young one, with 35.7% of the population being children, (Statistics NZ, 2013; Callister & Didham, 2009), so the development of all education sectors, from early childhood to tertiary, is crucial for Pasifika educational, social, and economic success.

Pasifika people's inclusion in a number of educational polices since the 1990's has seen them identified as "priority learners", alongside New Zealand Māori, primarily because there has been a consistent pattern of underachievement in national standardized tests, for example NCEA and National Standards (Tongati'o, 1997; Ministry of Education, 2012). This underachievement, and their subsequent identification as priority learners, has meant that educational institutions in New Zealand have been actively searching for ways to engage and include Pasifika students and their families for the better part of three decades. There is a growing movement towards the use of their cultural strengths which seems to be emerging. However, it does become increasingly difficult as students move into higher levels of schooling, specifically, secondary and tertiary, where their voices not only tend to be drowned out by the majority, but by the very system itself. At least in the primary sector, a tangible relationship between home and school still exists for many families, even if it is just a visible face at the start and end of the school day.

The underlying principles are clear and well supported by research. Teachers and institutions who fail to build connections and allow for opportunities for Pasifika students to connect to their own culture within an educational setting fail to provide an equitable environment for these students (Dooley, Exley, & Singh, 2000). The value of a "Pacific space" within institutions is supported by research and provides both students and staff with a forum from which to allow different voices to be heard (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010). However, this notion can also be contested, with the view that the foundations of the Western, colonial schooling model being to isolate children from their families in order to assimilate 'other' cultures in a systematic fashion. Thus, listening to the voices of families and students, as well as taking into account the work of recent generations of Pasifika academics, is crucial to gain the understanding necessary to build an education pathway that is an authentic, student-, family- and culture-focused pathway towards successful outcomes for Pasifika students. It is the power relationships and principles of control which lie at the heart of this issue, and wresting the power from the dominant structures, in order to empower the community is something that needs to occur.

The recognition of different cultural capital, other than the mainstream, European prominence, could trigger the development of educational tools better able to be utilized by Pasifika students and their families. This is a type of prior knowledge activation which deepens the learning experience and enables students to lead their own learning, taking ownership and maximizing engagement (Ministry of Education, 2003; Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010).

Methodology

My doctoral study is a qualitative Participatory Action Research (PAR) with interviews and focus groups as the main form of data collection. The data collection will also engage with two Pasifika research frameworks, namely the Tivaevae Model (Maua-Hodges, 2003) and the Talanoa method (Vaioleti, 2006). The Tivaevae Model will form the basis of the overarching methodology, while the Talanoa method will influence the data collection processes. The participants will consist of four main groups:

› Students who are a range of ages and Pasifika ethnicities at Shirley Boys High School
› Members of the Shirley Boys High School Pasifika community, including parents and school alumni
› Teachers within Shirley Boys High School
› Pasifika leaders in the area

The main aim of the project will be to gather qualitative data to inform on the perspectives, narratives and journeys of Pasifika students, parents and community members, alongside teachers and other members of the school and wider community.

Reason and Bradbury (2008) in their working definition of action research state that PAR "seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people."

PAR "aims to produce knowledge and action directly useful to people, and also to empower people through the process of

constructing and using their own knowledge" (Miller & Brewer, 2003). As an emerging researcher, this engaged my thinking and I believe it is a methodology suitable for the community with whom I am doing the research.

Christchurch secondary school setting

Looking at the literature and analysis of data concerning Pasifika student and family engagement nationally is one thing, but within a Christchurch secondary school setting, the research becomes limited. While on a national level, there have been significant calls for academic, social and pathway improvement, a lot of this is focused in the northern regions of the country. I was interested in something based in our community, for our community. This led me to conclude that the "pursuit of practical solutions" in education for Pasifika communities in Christchurch, with its growing Pacific community, was something that is of pressing concern.

The research problem I identified was a distinct lack of Pasifika student and parent voice within our secondary school system in Christchurch. With action research, "the inquiry deliberately starts from a specific practical or applied problem or question. Its whole purpose is to enable action to solve that practical problem or answer that practical question" (Punch & Oancea, 2009).

The Tivaevae Model

The Tivaevae research model and theoretical framework is an indigenous research model based on the unique, artistic quilting process in the Cook Islands, and has been slowly emerging over the last two decades as a Pacific research methodology (Te Ava & Page, 2018). Based primarily on the work of Maua-Hodges (2000; 2003) and further developed by several Cook Island academics, including Te Ava (2011; 2018) and Hunter and Hunter (2018), the Tivaevae model has a clear process and a specific set of values attached to it, which align with other indigenous Pacific research methods, including the Talanoa model. These models and methods seek to connect with Pacific ways of life and cultural aspects and as Sanga and Reynolds (2017) state, "theorisation as an activity is seldom

an isolated pursuit and genealogy need not develop within only one model appropriate for one locale, but also between models serving diverse communities" (p. 200).

The three dimensions of the Tivaevae model are reflective of the Tivaevae construction process, and are outlined by Maua-Hodges as follows:

› **Koikoi** – gathering of patterns and ideas to inform the creation
› **Tuitui** – the sewing of the pattern onto the canvas – the physical making of the Tivaevae within the community of expertise
› **Akairianga** – reflection on the creation and offering of the Tivaevae to others as a gift

These three dimensions reflect the process undertaken by the researcher in order to develop a powerful "creation" so to speak. The koikoi reflects the initial co-construction of the research objectives and questions, which emerge from the community and the discourse, as opposed to merely the researcher. The tuitui reflects the collaborative data collection that occurs and the data analysis which forms the concrete product of the research work. Lastly, the akairianga is the co-assessment or evaluation of the final product, which will be gifted or given to the recipients – in this case the Pasifika community within which the research is conducted, for their use and benefit.

As stated above, the Tivaevae model is in an emergent phase and the inclusion of it in my research design is an appropriate way to acknowledge and develop where I am coming from as a researcher of Cook Island heritage, and as a model to compliment the more popular Talanoa method.

The Talanoa research method

I chose to also utilize the Talanoa research method and methodology (Vaioleti, 2006) from the initial development of my research, through to the actual collection of data. The Talanoa method is "an existing cultural practice of the Pacific" (Fa'avae, 2016), and relies on the development of strong relationships between the researcher and the participant. I wanted to give a sense of legitimacy to the research conducted. Talanoa is

a phenomenological research method which focuses on understanding the participants experience in relation to certain events, and being derived from Pasifika philosophy, values and cultural traditions, it is "orientated towards defining and acknowledging Pacific aspirations while developing and implementing Pacific theoretical and methodological preferences for research" (Vaioleti, 2006).

Allowing authentic voices to emerge

One of the core aims of this research is to break down the barriers that often exist between traditional schooling methods in New Zealand and equitable experiences in education for Pasifika students, and to allow the authentic voices of Pasifika families and students to emerge. This is no easy task, as the judgement of what is 'authentic' or not can be hotly debated and contested. I am hopeful that the use of the Talanoa and Tivae-vae models alongside Participatory Action Research will help break down those barriers. The participants and I are looking to conclude the data collection for this research at the start of 2021, and I am planning for the PhD to be completed in late 2022. I am working towards producing a body of work that will support and encourage other educators to listen carefully to the voices of their Pasifika community, no matter the size.

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ARRIVING AT THE PATH-WELL TRODDEN

Tulou, tulou, tulou

As those who have come before have done, I beg that my status as *tu'a* (commoner) be laid aside as I write about the late Queen Sālote's poetry. If what I have written and expressed in this piece should break any sacred protocol of the *hou'eiki* (nobles), I beg forgiveness and to be excused as one still coming back into the inheritance we claim in the ko e Sila 'o Tonga (Coat of arms of Tonga) as a *tu'a*. May all that is above and below this reflect that I am still learning and trying to, in the most respectful way to honour my heritage, both within Tonga, but also within the broader Moana too. "Potopoto a niu mui - the wisdom of a young coconut seedling." Tu'a 'ofa atu.

My whole life has been a series of arrivals,
A lifetime of stumbling through olding doorways
into clean fales that feel more, and more – like
Hawaiki.

My whole life has been a pilgrimage,
A leaving of people I love
trying to claim an inheritance
I am slowly learning to pronounce.

My whole life has been a comical contradiction
Silly Coconut/ Budding Scholar
Church Rebel/ God Lover
Becoming Wise/ Being Foolish

My whole life has been prodigal son,
My whole life has been the child that stayed,
My whole life has been wandering,
My whole life has been in the promised land,

My whole life has been a quiet commiseration
to the plastic that slowly leaves my skin
I celebrate the quiet decolonising I go through.
The salt water that purifies colonial trauma.

My whole life has been a weaving of the many paths,
Each movement I make brings the paths together
Closer, Closer, Closer
Until there is only one path in front of me.

Hala kuo papa,
I celebrate the many feet that have trodden these paths.
How the rope that was once many is now weaved into one,
Bringing all of myself into this journey to selfhood.

I celebrate us, we who continue to arrive
following giant tracks to the *fale*, where we sit and *fai kava*
Mixing into the *fonua* we consume.
Being and Becoming Ancestor in both *Tā* and *Vā*

Fakatapu

Tapu moe tama Tu'i, Siaosi Tupou VI, koe Hau 'o Tonga, 'uma'ā 'ae kau Hou'eiki 'o Ene Afiō. Tapu mo Molofaha mo Ha'a tauhi fonua pea mo Ha'a lotu.

'Oku ou fakafeta'i ki he 'Otua mafimafi 'ihe tauhi mo malu'i ae ki'i motuani keu to e a'usia mai 'ae 'aho fakakoloa ko 'eni.

Tapu foki mo Palofesa Hufanga 'Okusi Mahina,'uma'a 'a Leali'ifano Dr Albert Refiti pehe kia Dr Arcia Tecun pea mo Dr Sereana Naepi.

'Oatu foki moe fakamalo lahi makehe ki hoku famili pehe kiha ngaahi maheni mo eku kau ngā'ako kotoa pe.

Si'oto'ofa, si'oto'alofa I greet you who are reading this twice, each time with love,for that is what it means to have moana (ocean) in your blood. My name is Eric Theodore Fakatovolea Soakai, I am Samoan and Tongan, however, I was born and raised in the south side of Tamaki-Makaurau (Auckland), Aotearoa (New Zealand). Desmond Tutu says that the more we tell our story the less power it has over us (Tutu). I find this an important tenet to ground this piece of writing in because to say 'where I am from' has always held a lot of shame for me. This piece of writing, much like the poem that precedes it, is an attempt to battle that shame and take pride in who I am as a person.

My story starts as most other peoples stories do who are of the diaspora do. Which is to say, it starts with displacement. In one of the courses on philosophy I studied we looked at the Heideggerian concept of Geworfenheit, this concept which most closely translates into English as 'Thrown-ness' contends that once we recognise our being as situated in time and space our plight becomes making sense of ourselves in relation to our surroundings. When I realised I was not inherently white and did not belong to all the hegemonic constructs of society, when I realised I was not Indgenous to Aotearoa but belonged to the sea that surrounded I felt like I finally understood why I was an outsider. Conversly, I understood that it was time to come into myself and come home.

While this is a journey I feel I will be on my whole life, I can proudly say I am at the very least, finally at the start of my journey back into my Indigeneity, (re)claiming an inheritence I have spent most of my life running away from. The catalyst that has propelled and protected me thus far on this journey is Kava, more specifically interacted with in the faikava (kava drinking) ceremony.

Kava, yaqona, sakau, 'ava, or *Piper Methysticum* is a plant that only grows within the Pacific. It is made into a drink by steeping the wet crushed or pounded roots and basal stump in water (Aporosa 2019). The *faikava*, the ceremony I have come to know about Kava through, is one that is accessible to people in all walks of life, a *faikava* is also known as ceremony of commoners (Fehoko 2014). As with other Indigenous ceremonies the space is facilitated by elder(s), with the most important facilitator being the Kava root that was squeezed and mixed into the bowl.

In Samoa on my mothers side I am from Poutasi, Falealili. In Falealili my family descended from *Ali'i* (high chief) and *Tulafale* (talking chief). In Tonga I am from *Felemea* in *Ha'apai*, while I carry the last name of the *Matapule* (talking chief) Soakai, I recognise this is part of the inheritance I am growing back into.

> # "Ko e Kava Ko e 'Api Ako (Kava is a Learning Home)."
>
> - Eric Soakai

Chelsea Dahlia Fuluola Naepi

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It is a gift to learn on the lands of Ngāti Whātua-o-Ōrākei. As a descendant of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, I acknowledge that I am occupying stolen land. Tino rangatiratanga still belongs to Māori. Their sovereignty was never ceded.

REDISCOVERING LOTOSEA: THE HOUSE OF MODERNITY & HAUNTING

*"Inside me the dead
woven into my flesh like the music
of bone flutes."*
Albert Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead"

Fragments of a forgotten past can choose to visit us in different ways. They can seep into our subconscious, visiting us briefly like the butterflies belonging to a Summer day. They can even choose to lurk behind us through their haunting. Typically, when we think about being haunted our mind automatically goes to the ghost stories we were told as children. The chilling tales we were surrounded by growing up in our communities, the taboo spaces we were to never go near. The spooky forest, the unkept graveyard, the haunted house. Either way, these ghostly remnants remain to linger until they are acknowledged. Our very own world system can be analogous to a haunted house, holding a number of distant stories which have been erased from our collective memories. Although erased, this doesn't mean these stories have been erased from existence. Rather, we are posed with the task to rediscover them; to embrace these narratives and utilise their chilling pasts to move forward into the future. Let us follow these ghosts to enter the haunted house, to confront these forgotten fragments. As we journey through this haunted house together, we must remember that the ghostly beings lingering within these walls were once the bodies that walked these very floors. What we may discover through this journey together is the remnants of a previous structure. Speaking to Pacific conceptualisations of the world and beyond, our framings of ghostly matters differ from the everyday understandings. Rather than being confrontational of a past plagued with a confrontational violence, Pacific communities are guided, not haunted, by their ghostly remnants. This piece will provide a discussion of how these two different worlds, both settler colonial society and Pacific communities interact with their ghostly matters, firstly giving definition to haunting theory before discussing how these two different worlds interact with this theory.

As I will be discussing indigenous conceptions of ghostly matters, it is important to specify which lens I will be discussing this from. As noted by Ahenakew (2016), we as Indigenous storytellers and academics are faced with the challenge of translating this visceral phenomenon of sense-sensing. As a child of Oceania, I will be speaking on behalf of my Pacific heritage, precisely to *Aga Fakamotu Niue* (Niuean culture). Haunting in Niuean conceptualisations speaks to epistemological and ontological understandings of the individual and the collective they belong to. The *Agaaga mitaki or Agaaga kelea* (good or bad spirits) serve as guiding forces to navigate the world, as remnants of a past that

aren't forgotten but rather continue to live on through the descendants of their kin. To be speaking as a child of Oceania, I will be speaking to all bodies that are descendants of Oceania, as per definitions of Oceania provided by Hau'ofa (1994) in his pivotal text *Our Sea of Islands*. Rather than perpetuating divisional and belittling definitions of the Pacific as offered by Western perceptions, it is important that we embrace definitions which empower and rejuvenate the Pacific. It is crucial that we tell our stories our way, with ourselves sitting at the very core. The significance of bringing our perspective to academia allows us as Pacific people to walk within this world where our footsteps are traced and tracked. We must engage with these discourses, to offer our perspective.

Through providing these perspectives, I have turned to my *tau mamatua tupuna* (grandparents) in guiding me through Niuean conceptualisations of haunting. I would like to thank my *tau mamatua tupuna* for sharing this wisdom with me and helping me tell our stories as bodies of Oceania. This knowledge shared through *talanoa (conversation)* have been precious gifts in which I hope I can retell in a way that honours them and empowers the present and future descendants of Oceania.

Persistent Ghosts: Defining Haunting Theory

The ghost stories we are told whilst we are growing to understand the world leave an uneasy feeling within the psyche. Ghosts

are painted as monsters, a skewed image of a jarred soul left to wallow in liminality. They leave a question lingering in the mind as to why these ghostly beings choose to haunt individuals when they seem to have done nothing wrong. We never question this mask of innocence, merely assuming that those who are being haunted have not agitated these ghostly beings. We assume that this haunting is undeserving, coming from a place of unjustified resentment or anger towards the world. It's important to remember that haunting is multifaceted; there is a story to be told from all sides, including these ghostly beings. Haunting theory serves as the representation of these untold tales, demanding a change within their presence, called "mattering" by Morrill et al. (2016).

As a grounding work for this theory, Gordon's *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (1997) follows the remnants of present absences to investigate the notion of ghostly matters. Trailing behind such narratives, we are to be led to stories which have been rendered invisible or forgotten from the collective conscious memory. These ghostly matters are an essence made marginal through the violence of modernity. Gordon follows the stories of three ghostly figures, their history erased in modern day archives or twisted into different narratives. What is revealed from Gordon's unpacking is that the social attitudes of contemporary society are a reflection of the past. The narratives we tell are a mask of innocence, an attempt to maintain the cultural

> "This knowledge shared through *talanoa* (conversation) have precious gifts in which I hope I can retell in a way that honours them and empowers the present and future descendents of Oceani. "
>
> - Chelsea Naepi

structures of a persistent disavowal. The truth has begun to seep through the cracks of such a façade, revealing the violent colonial, heteronormative histories which contemporary society is born from. Haunting theory reveals to us that these hauntings are matters of influence. They are how the past has influence over the present, articulating "the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice to itself but also what it represents. What it represents is usually a loss, sometimes of life, sometimes of a path not taken" (p. 63). In ghost stories, we see the fallout of decisions of the past. Haunting serves as the reminder of these decisions.

Tuck and Ree (2013) build on this notion, embracing Gordon's haunting theory as a reflection of the origins of the settler colonial state. Tuck and Ree acknowledge that:

"Haunting, by contrast, is the relentless remembering and reminding that will not be appeased by settler society's assurances of innocence and reconciliation... Social life, settler colonialism, and haunting are inextricably bound; each ensures there are always more ghosts to return" (pg. 642).

Thus, the haunting narrative is to forever repeat itself; haunting is the resolution to a grievance too large to reconcile between the "triad" of the dispossessed indigenous, the chattel slave and the colonial settler.

Indeed, to be haunted is to pay the price of subjugation; but it never settles it.

Thus, we are to follow, we are to listen, and we are to be led to uncomfortable discoveries.

Facing the Haunted House: A Confrontational Past

As Tuck and Ree (2013) remind us that it is not just individuals who are haunted, it is whole societies that are haunted by their past. Settler colonies are "premised on the elimination of native societies... The colonizers come to stay - invasion is a structure not an event" (Wolfe, 1999, p. 2). This structural invasion takes shape through ideological assimilation, the adaptation of outside social structures such as governmental bodies and institutional systems. These institutions serve to reproduce the imperialist mantra, to oppress the racialised body. The fangs of settler colonialism are disguised behind the gentle smile of civilisation and modernity, waiting for the perfect moment to strike their prey. The settler colonial State is successful in their imperial agenda when the masses accept their ideologies, whether that is done wilfully or through violence. Indigenous bodies are subjugated to this colonial violence in order to secure imperial freedoms, displacing these Indigenous bodies from their own Sovereignty.

Settler colonial society is built in the image of a haunted house. The walls are representative of colonial institutions, the roof padded with the chipping tiles of capitalism. Stein et. all (2017) describe the current capitalist world system through the notion of 'The House of Modernity.' The House of Modernity is synonymous to the world system, the quest for endless capital situated at the core of its very being (Wallerstein, 1974). Violence and oppression against the racialised body is what ensures maintenance of the walls of this house; these walls serving as a metaphor for the production and protection of overwhelming amounts of capital to mobilise the imperialist nation. The House of Modernity is haunted. This concept of the house is allegory for the settler colonial State, haunted by the remnant of their own actions. This delusional "investment in innocence" (Tuck, 2019) that contemporary society spits out adamantly reveals its very rooting in its whiteness. The white settler views themselves in a state of siege, instead of being seen as the attacker. Whiteness is founded on this hallucinatory reversal. The structure of the empire is a protection of whiteness, the characteristics that build this haunted House of Modernity reflective of this notion.

We stand in front of our very own haunted house. Rotten wood, shattered glass. A concaving roof with a foundation as weak as the rusted iron gates surrounding this frail structure. Although on the brink of caving within itself, light seeps through cracked windows to illuminate the walls.

If we listen closely, we can hear the sounds of hurried footsteps and faint laughter.

The walls begin to speak.

They whisper of different earths, different lives long forgotten.

Again, we listen, and again, we discover.

Koe Leveki he Kaiga: Walking Alongside Our Ghosts

Pacific conceptualisations of haunting take shape in a different form. The ghostly remnants which remain within our epistemology and ontology are reflective of relationality and genealogy. As bodies occupy and leave this Earth, they live on within us as our ascendants, as our ancestors. Their haunting is told in the form of storytelling, in the form of *tomatoma* and *fakamonuina* (the process of blessing and the content of the blessing itself), and as Karlo Mila (2010) expresses in *Inside Us the Dead (The NZ-Born Version)*, "all the bodies that have been, the making of me" (p. 282). Both the physical and spiritual inheritance passed on from generation to generation is what lingers within Pacific world systems. As previously mentioned, there are both *Agaaga mitaki or Agaaga kelea* (good or bad spirits) within our knowledge systems, but rather than having them associated with guilt and violence as felt in Western knowledge systems they are associated with *matatohiaga* (genealogy) and guidance. Each spirit tells a lesson, provides a means of navigation through their deterrence or encouragement, similar to the "spirit lights" Morrill et. al (2016) mention in their collective writings. In order to navigate the future, Pacific epistemologies look backwards in order to move forwards (Te Punga Somerville, 2018). The lessons and life stories from these ghostly spirits provide the current bodies walking in this world today with the knowledge to move forward.

When discussing this idea of haunting theory to my grandparents, they did not agree with the idea that society is built like a haunted house. Rather than being haunted, ghosts linger in these spaces to watch over them, to tell a story with lessons, hence the title of this section. *Koe Leveki he kaiga* translates to the protector of the house, a familiar presence which leads to the physical body questioning self and the connections they come from. An example of *Koe Leveki he kiaga* is spoken through the story of my grandmother's family home in Avatele, known within our family as *Lotosea* (The White Heart). The spirits that occupy Lotosea are her own mother and father, more so the latter. Both of their bodies have been laid to rest just outside the back of the house, but within the walls of Lotosea their spirits remain. Walking through the front door of Lotosea brings an overwhelming feeling of *mamalu* (spiritual presence). The fragmented absences within this space bring an urge to uncover. The need to answer questions posed from one's psyche is indeed a quest to answer through ancestral connection. My grandmother recalls a very vivid memory where she experiences *fakapokia*, the visit of ghostly beings through physical reincarnations. Similar to how Grandma Tala visits her granddaughter Moana in the form of a stingray, the experience of *fakapokia* for my grandmother took shape in the form of a butterfly. Wearing a hat which previously belonged to her mother, my grandmother shared that she had taken the hat from Lotosea to church, then back to her accommodation to have morning tea with a friend that very afternoon. She recalls:

"I should have brought it back after I had worn it. But I didn't, I kept it for three days. Suddenly a butterfly, a huge one, came and fell right next to me on my bag which was sitting on the table. I then said [to my friend] "Ae, look how huge this butterfly is!" It sat right on my bag, never moving until I had to part ways with my friend. Anyway, we later said goodbye and I went back up to my hotel room. As soon as I got to the door the butterfly had landed itself near the door. Then I spoke. I said, "Mum? It must be you. Are you here because I haven't dropped the hat off? I'm not going to take it with me!" So, I drove back to the house, put it right where I found it and I covered it up. I then said, "I'm here to drop it off mama, thank you for letting me borrow it." That was the end of it! But I knew if I had taken it back [to New Zealand] with me I knew she would be very upset. These things were very dear to her, and I hadn't realised it until she came and reminded me."

This experience of fakapokia can serve as an instance of haunting in *Aga Fakamotu Niue*, but it is also symbolic of the *tomatoma*. To be able to rediscover and recall knowledge handed down from our ancestors is the guidance we speak of when remembering the ghosts of Pacific epistemologies. This guidance in itself is also a blessing, as this knowledge is viewed as a gift. The eerie essence attached

to this category of haunting is not associated with violence as felt within Western perceptions. Rather, this type of haunting is more to do with the recollection of memories and knowledge lost within the crippling structures belonging to this House of Modernity. Our framings of knowledge are easily dismissed within Western epistemologies, as they are produced as too incomprehensible or intangible to even be acknowledged within the exchange of ideas (De Susa Santos, 2007). However, it's important we remember that our advantage as the descendants of Oceania and as Indigenous bodies is that we wield the power of embracing the visceral. We navigate the waters of this "sense-sensing" (Ahenakew, 2016) with ease, it poses no difficult task to uncover and embrace the world of haunting within our ontological shaping.

The reason I mention Lotosea in this piece is that it is a physical representation of Pacific epistemologies. It is our own version of what Stein et. al (2017) coin as the House of Modernity. Whilst the house is allegory for settler colonialism and capitalism, our knowledge systems remain adamantly fixed within the walls, refusing to be forgotten. The colonial structures which this house has been built upon retain the narratives of ghostly beings. It is indeed haunted. However, Pacific epistemologies embrace these hauntings for the guidance to move forwards. In order to break down the walls of the House of Modernity, we look to our ancestors. We look to the ghostly matters that remain embedded within this structure, as they provide us with the knowledge to dismantle the very house we are trapped within. We are called back to the house by this butterfly, representative of the supposed "ghost", and it is within this very structure we remember. Haunting is indeed an uncomfortable notion as felt within Western conceptualisations, but they bring a message– they "matter" to us (Tuck, 2016). Facing the message they bring, remembering the stories they tell, these ghosts provide us with the key to decolonising and dismantling a world system that has operated far too long in a cognitive state. The functionality of our current world system is built upon what De Sus Santos (2018) calls the cognitive empire, a rigid approach to how knowledge is produced and thus validated. What is embraced as knowledge in the settler colonial state is justified through what is deemed as the factual, supported by Western sciences. This leaves no room for our own conceptualisations of the world. As I stated previously, we must remember that the ghostly beings haunting these walls were once the bodies that walked these very floors. The cognitive House of Modernity fails to identify that amongst the living lingers the dead as well. It's just these past entities linger as a part of the structures of this system and within our very beings, too.

A New Day: Walking Backwards into The Future

Visiting the House of Modernity is always an experience that brings discomfort. How are we to continue moving forward the way we are, knowing the history which plagues the ontology of our world system? The answer is both simple and complex – We cannot. Moving forward without an amendment in behavioural and cultural attitudes means we have learnt nothing throughout this encounter. It is paramount that we embrace and utilise the narratives of previous earths and of previous lives. Our haunting will never cease until we choose to acknowledge these buried echoes. These ghostly beings offer a breadth of knowledge we would never be able to curate on our own, and this is the very essence of which Pacific epistemologies and ontologies operate on.

> "The haunting narrative is to forever repeat itself; haunting is the resolution to a grievance too large to reconcile between the "triad" of the dispossessed indigenous, the chattel slave and the colonial settler."
>
> - Chelsea Naepi

There is a Niuean saying which goes: "*Tufatufa ke kai auloa*", which translates to "Share it out and eat together." I would say that this can extend to the knowledge we carry as descendants of Oceania and as Indigenous bodies. Our epistemological metaphors carry indispensable gifts of knowledge that would shape a new world, a new house, in which we are empowered. Our ancestors ground us in this current world and the next to come. Our ancestors provide us with the means to resist this world system. They are a part of us just as much as we are a part of them, and the real task for us as descendants of Oceania is finding the courage to follow these remnants to where they wish to lead us. Let us take the risk and follow the butterfly, let us take the risk and step into this haunted house. Within the cracked walls of this House of Modernity lay the remnants of our very own Lotosea, peering through chipped enclosures like the first light of a new dawn.

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Roxane Letterlough (skícez7a)
Rylee Bull (ápa7), & Trish Terry (kwékwa7)

St'at'ímckan, Tsalálhmeckan
Thompson Rivers University

INTERGENERATIONAL HEALING THROUGH INTERGENERATIONAL RESEARCH

Roxane nskwátsitsa. Tsalálhmeclhkan. St'atímckan. Trish muta7 Larry nslaliltema. Nilh sMargaret Terry muta7 Lucille Johnston nelh nkwekwekw7a. Nilh sHenry Terry Sr. muta7 Howard Johnston nelh nspapez7a. Nilhs Mike Skwátsits Nkwtámtsa. Nilhs sJustin, sRylee múta7 sZion i nsqáycwa skúza7. Nilhs sMicah nsmúlhats skúza7

Tákem íwa matq ku xw7útsin sqw'axt.
Thank you for the Four legged.
Tákem íwa nq'áylec lta qú7a. Thank
you for the Finned ones.
Tákem íwa saqw'. Thank you for Winged ones.
Tákem íwa srip lhélta tmícwa.
Thank you for the Plants.

I acknowledgment the land as an Indigenous woman and as a daughter of a residential school survivor. I am forever grateful for the caretakers of the land within the territory I reside in. A visitor to the Secwepemcúlucw, I give acknowledgement to the people and acknowledge that the work that I do is on the traditional, never surrendered tmicw of the Tkemlups te Secwépemc.

My mother is St'at'imc and my father is of mixed European ancestry (Scottish, French and Icelandic). The St'at'imc are in the heart of the interior of British Columbia and the heart of my family. Although the land is remote, it is abundant with natural resources. I am a mom of three boys, one daughter and one grandson. Currently, I reside in the territory of the Tkemlups te Secwépemc with my husband and my two youngest children at home.

Rylee Bull – Ápa7

I was born in Kamloops to my wonderful mother Roxane Letterlough. I am a student at Thompson Rivers University studying Biology and English. I am constant reader and sometimes I am a writer. I've written a couple handfuls of short stories and the beginnings of what may turn out to be a book. I attribute my love of literature to my mom, for she was always the first to make sure I had a book to read. Even now she continues to fund my love of books, much to my delight.

Research as Intergenerational Healing

COVID-19 has drastically changed any and all interactions with all members of my family. No hugs in over a year, only waving from car windows and scheduled family Facebook time. Bingo once a month, Facebook family group chats to send updates, travel check-ins and memes. But no hugs for over a year! My children are home schooled. Like so many others, holidays had forced us to choose between safety and the Christmas spirit. We chose safety. Fortunately, my mom lived alone and she could join us for Christmas. It was a quiet Christmas, spent beading and having Netflix marathons.

COVID has drastically change any all interactions with my education. My plans to conduct community events to share my research and provide information, build relationships and start my PhD journey have gone the way of the hug. I was going to conduct interviews with women who attended Residential Schools. Interviewing my mom and lifting her story and voice was essential for me as an Indigenous woman in research and academia. My mom, my foundation, is the sole reason I have applied for tenure and I am obtaining a PhD. I would not be able to attain a colonized education if not for her constant support and her resilience, demonstrated by surviving her own education. Without her traditional and cultural teachings, I would not be able to stand strong in my Indigeneity in academia. I would not be able to confront colonization, racism and stereotypes at my workplace. Her cultural teachings and her belief empower me to be an authentic and strong Indigenous woman. I am forever grateful to her.


Walking in two worlds with my family as my guides

My family is my foundation, my role models, and a source strength in all I do. My dad worked long hours at a local mine while my mom cared for the house. Both of my parents taught me how to be on the land. I learned how to hunt and fish with my dad and how to process and harvest deer, moose, fish, bear, berries, and sage with my mom, her sisters and my cousins. My mom spent her spare time playing soccer, basketball, volleyball, broomball and fastball. I began playing with her at the age of fifteen and was always (and still am) referred to as "Trish's daughter." Even though my mom is dark skinned, she was welcomed into my dad's family as a daughter. I turned out with bronze skin, light brown hair and eyes; however, both sides of my family always made me feel like I belonged. Although I was an only child, I was never lonely. I always had cousins to play with and Uncles to wrestle with. I was, of course, all of my grandparents' favourite. My Papa (dad's dad) would always slip me a $20 bill before I went home. Now if he did this to every grandchild, he would be broke. Being welcomed on both sides of my family allowed me to be a strong walker of both worlds. I could and can navigate the colonial system with "ease" and have the confidence to advocate for myself. I know I still have a lot to learn but I watch and learn from the other strong Indigenous two world walkers.

Rylee

I have many memories of days spent with my grandma exploring Mother Nature. I remember going for drives with her into the mountains and forests to find sage, berries, medicine and sword-shaped sticks. I loved going on road trips with my grandma to visit family and attend pow wows, oftentimes both at the same time. I have memories of days spent watching movies together at home while my mom attended university to become a teacher. I don't have many memories of the days spent at home with my grandma while my mom was at classes, mostly because I have so much more memories of going to the beach and having fires. I'm very grateful for how much my grandma took me out to be in nature during my childhood, and it's her I attribute for my love of botany and plant biology. I was always fascinated about how my grandma could name all of these plants and their uses and how to turn them into medicine.
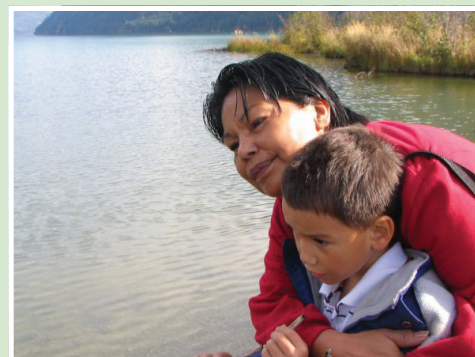
Something my mom instilled in me, was that our children are a part of us and that we take them with us wherever we go. My daughter Micah attended all my Masters classes as

she was a baby. My son Rylee came to my staff meetings as a teacher, and my son Zion came to all my ball games. The connection to family is something that was taken from us by colonialism, using education as a weapon to destroy our families and culture. I have used my education to strengthen our connection.

I vaguely remember my mom's staff meetings. But I think the combination of how young and how bored I was likely caused me to forget most of it. Also, I was probably reading throughout most of them. However, I do have vivid memories of watching over my little sister, Micah, during my mom's Masters classes. I remember taking her outside of the classrooms to go for little walks around the campus when she would get fussy. I remember playing with her in the hallways outside of the classrooms and letting her lead me around the building. One of my mom's classes allowed her to go to Peru for a month, and she took us with her. I didn't much like the food or the bugs, but the nature was wonderful, especially the animals. I loved exploring with Micah and my mom, and I also read a particularly good book series during that trip. Taking care of Micah in Peru while my mom was learning is one of my fondest memories.

It only seemed natural to involve my son Rylee with my research process. He is now twenty and is an aspiring academic. He is naturally smart, things are easy to him in book format and he is a gifted writer. I spent some time trying to figure out how to transcribe my mom's first interview. Instead, and a bit out of technological frustration, I emailed it to Rylee and 24 hours later he emailed me back my first written transcription. It then dawned on me that even though I could learn how to dictate and do this process on my own, it became more valuable to have him take the lead and also listen to his grama's stories. He has now agreed to do all the transcriptions of my mom's interviews and any future interviews I conduct. To me, as a mom, and an educator this was an excellent way to continue building strong connections in our family.

Giving and Making Space

I can use my position in academia to give and allow space to lift voices that are seldom heard. For my PhD, I will be telling my mom's story. She is an Indigenous matriarch who had so much taken from her. She had a home filled with love and grew up confused and never understood where her siblings were going or why her mom was always so sad. Her story must be told. She was seized from her loving home and raised herself amongst white nuns, priests and teachers and was still able to raise a child in a loving, caring and nurturing home. I ask academy to listen to her story, listen to her anger, her laughter and provide no judgment but only understanding. Focusing on my mom's story as a Residential School survivor is my way of giving back to her for all that she has done for me. I knew it would be hard to hear the stories of her being taken from her own mom, the stories of how it felt watching her siblings leave her, but I needed to return the strength she has given me and listen. She is my first role model; her resilience and

strength to make space in this new world is fascinating. The bare minimum the colonial educational system can do is listen.

The following are some excerpts from my first interview with my mom. We sat down, each nervous and unsure of the process. We gathered at the kitchen table with our beads. My two youngest children sat not too far away, but far enough to not hear too much of the details. I wanted to ensure that mom would speak freely and not censor her words for fear of scaring her grandchildren. As I pressed record on the Zoom button I heard her take a deep breath…

I was a little apprehensive to learn about what my grandma had to go through, because I wrote a paper in high school about unethical experimentation and its effects on modern medicine, and one of my topics in that paper was residential schools. During the research for that paper I learned some of the worst things the residential schools and the Canadian government did and I didn't like the thought that some of it could have happened to my grandma.

My name is Patricia Rose Terry. Born April 1, 1957. My mom is Margaret Terry, my dad is Henry Terry Sr., and we're originally from Seton Lake. I have 4 brothers and 3 sisters. Originally there were thirteen of us in our family. So we had a big family. We lived on the road that's now called Bull Run. We had a big house, but it was kind of a, how do you say, just like a big living room, one bedroom, and kind of a laundry room I guess you'd call it on the side. And lots of chickens. We had one rooster that was just like, mean. You had to be really fast, because if you went outside it'd chase you. You had to run very fast.

Knowing my mom played every sport you could think of I asked, "is that how you started your training? Hahah!"

Yeah, I think that's how I started my training hahaha.....

We had lots of chickens, lots of fresh eggs all the time I guess. I remember walking a lot with mom, going to look for mushrooms all the time along the creek. Yea, well it was across by Spider creek, just down by where Aunty Judy's house is now. Just down there, just a walk down there and look for mushrooms. Lots of swimming and playing, had kind of a free for all play area. I remember a lot of Uncle Adolf. He had the warmest house.

I remember my grandma taking me and my cousins on walks along the creek, and we'd always visit Aunty Judy for a bit when we walked past.

Like fireplace warm? (I knew she meant a welcoming home when she said "the warmest house", but I wanted her to elaborate and tell me more about this feeling.)

Yea, fireplace, and welcoming. You know how you go to someplace and you just can feel the warmth of being welcomed. We slept there a lot. I remember when the Day School started, well when my older siblings went. And when I started going along with Uncle Hack, who is my daughter's Godfather, Henry Terry Jr. The part I remember all the time is getting off the bus, the school bus at the corner, and the race started there. And, of course, Uncle Hack was the fastest, so we'd race to Uncle Adolf's, because Uncle Adolf would cook us pancakes in the morning and there would be leftovers. And so, whoever got there first was the one who got to eat em all! So by the time we got to him, he would have all the pancakes rolled up into a ball… and of course we're not gonna wanna have it when it's like that, but he'd just be standing there eating it like an apple.

I remember, down at the lake, and I just have the memory of all of you guys (aunts and uncles) having her in the water on a blanket. Because she was so hot, and wouldn't go in or something. And I just remember you and my dad and I can't remember which aunties or uncles but they all had a corner of the blanket and she's just half-laying like a floatie.

Yea, she was sleeping and she was so hot. All she said, that I can remember was "Ahhh you!"

"Shit you goddam" hey. When my grandpa was in the hospital nearing his time to the "happy hunting grounds," I was told

the story of "shit you goddam well fed". This was a phrase my gramma was known for saying when someone was acting "better" than someone else. We kind of figured that she was implying that because someone was "well fed" that they demonstrated being better than others.

Yea, shit you goddam well fed.

I remember being the youngest girl and my mom used to call me baby and then nobody was allowed - I was a baby (laughs). They used to go up to the train station, to go up to the beach or whatever. Hah, I used to just plop down on the ground and I wouldn't move. My brother and sisters had to come down and get me. If you know Seton then you know where the Bull turnoff is and then going straight up to the bridge. I used to plop right down in the middle of the road right down in the corner. And they would just keep walking and walking... Keep looking back at me and trying to get me to go, but I wouldn't. They'd have to come all the way back and get me, they were just about up to the bridge.

Roxane: They carry you or..?

They had to carry me, they had to cross their hands like that.

Brat! (Laughs)

(Laughs) Yea.

So..? Hahaha

Mom said I was the baby!

I don't remember my... I don't think mom and dad had a car yet, and didn't have any TV. Don't think we had any running water either. We had a pump outside, a water pump. Don't even know if we had electricity there.

But the best part was getting on the bus to go home. That's the part I remember.

Go home and try to beat Hack to get those pancakes.

We never did.

And he'd never share?

And he wouldn't share!
He'd just laugh.

What did Grama call you?

Babe, Baby. She called me baby until I was about 13, I think. Didn't call me by my name, always baby.

To this day, my mom calls me "babe." It doesn't matter the setting, time, or who's around, if she wants my attention she calls me "babe." It's her way of passing on a pet name her mom called her.

Mmhm. We used to... Mom and dad would give us enough money to go to Bridge River, we had to walk to the Bridge River Library, to watch a movie. I think they had them either on Friday or Saturday. We'd walk on the train tracks, and go through the tunnel and that. Didn't seem like it took us that long, but you can imagine when you're little it was probably a long ways!

Holy!

To see a movie.

Do you remember which movies you'd see?

The one that I remember the most is *The Jungle Book*. I don't really remember the other ones. The reason why I remember **The Jungle Book** is because uncle Willy was with us, he took us... Hahaha. Just hearing him laughing. You know, he was the only one laughing in the whole theater. It wasn't that big but to me it was big.

And he has such a big belly laugh.

Yea, he was just laughing through the whole movie. *Just a, bear necessity* (sing-song)

And we'd each have enough for a pop and a bag of chips or chocolate bar. It was a real treat. Didn't get those treats very often but when we got it it was –

Delicious?

Delicious!

And we had to walk all the way back from the movie. Sometimes it was cold, but I think we were all adapted to it. We knew what was in store. Then we'd get home and mom and dad would be laying in their bed reading those Inquirers Dad - Grandpa used to always get? Reading those, or some kind of book, but they'd always be reading and waiting for us. We'd pile on the bed or kneel down by the bed and we'd all be telling them what happened in the movie.

Retelling the story?

Yea, telling them what we remembered. And another really good part of when we got home was having the roaring fire.

Oooh yea!

Hahaha, yea... Snap, crackle, pop. Mom always used to have a pot of juniper and cedar on the stove, steaming away. I remember that... But yea, they would just sit in the bed, listen and let us talk, sometimes they'd ask questions. We were always playing outside anyway, in the winter time and the summer...

Grandma always had... well, grandma and grandpa always had stray different kinds of animals. I remember we had a fawn. Yea, something happened to the fawn, so I don't know who brought the fawn home. Looked after it, and mom mended it back to health, and they set it free.

I remember thinking this was so cool when I was transcribing because its something I'd love to do for animals and I'd love to be around them like that.

For hunting season?

Yea hahaha!

Think it was a female, so, yeah. I remember going out to the... I think me and Hack were making our way to go up to the mountains. For hikes.

And I was yelling at him, "Look at that puppy! Look at that puppy!" And then we'd get closer "Look at that puppy!" and Hack got closer and he said, I was getting pretty close to it and then he's yelling at me "Don't touch it! Don't pick it up!" Hehehe, it was a coyote. So I can only imagine if I'd picked up... well he was just a little but still, little coyote. Yea. It was a little baby, and we didn't see any mom around so we brought it to Mom. Yea, she looked after it and when it was all better and old enough to look after itself she set it free. And it used to go down by where Aunt Judy's house is down by the ditches, used to go down there after. And Mom used to say "Awooo" or whatever coyotes say, you know, yip yip. And off it would go. Can't remember what else we had. Ooh, can't forget Wild Bird. Uncle Kenny got it on the clothesline. What kind of bird was it? Like a parrot or something?

Cockatiel, something like that?

Cockatiel, yea... I think they went around, to try and see if anyone lost it or whatever.

Birds have always fascinated me, so I couldn't believe they'd found a cockatiel. I remember when I was young we'd have crows in our backyard, and my grandma would call them my "Crow friends" and she'd always joke saying they're calling me to come play with them when they'd caw.

Had a pet umm gerbil or something.. Hamster? Chickens would roam around in the house.

Did they have names?

I can't remember her name, but yea they did have names.

Was she named like the Coyote or?

No, no. But I remember seeing it in the corner of the house, well inside, the blanket and everything, just laying there. Had dogs, Bingo, Bozo, Silver, Tulip. Mom got a... I don't know if you'd remember, the dog named Silver? I think that was before your time.

Yea. I remember in the old house we had family dinners and we had a big table, we used

to sit at the table and eat. Mom used to set the table. Used to love it when she used to make yeast bread, yeast buns.

Still my favourite!

She used to send us out to the field and pick frozen apples. We used to, she used to make what we called Achuk, used to put them on a big pan or whatever, used to put sugar, brown sugar, whatever she had to sweeten it up. Oh, it was really delicious. Cook in the oven, probably I would say maybe 30 minutes or maybe longer to make them roasted apples. It was a good life, you know. There were hard times and that, but we had loving and caring parents. All that, like I said, the Alexanders, we'd help each other help. I remember a lot of times going over to the Alexanders and playing with them over there, or the Sampsons. And you always got fed. Even if it was just a little bit, that little bit helped. Get rid of the growlies. But if they came over to our home, mom would always feed them, even though we already had a big family and so did they.

Yea, I'll probably start to remember more, because right now my...

Excellent start. We'll both get better at it.

I love you. I love you Rylee.

I didn't expect it, though to think about it I should have. It made me smile from ear to ear.

She said this last statement because she knew her grandson would be listening and transcribing. She was not only talking to me about her stories but she knew she was sharing her stories to her grandson and these stories would be kept.

Incorporating an intergenerational approach to Indigenous research seemed to fit naturally. The idea that my mom would be sharing her story and reliving her childhood but doing it in a safe, supportive and a family environment. She is not being recorded by a stranger and having a computer software program listen and write down her words. Her story is being taken care of by those that love her. Since this interview, we have conducted

three more. We are becoming more familiar with the process and she is starting to share more vulnerable pieces. I worry about Rylee hearing the stories but I feel he is resilient enough to listen and care for her stories.

I did get a little teary-eyed at some parts, but I am relishing the chance to listen to my grandma's stories. I'm not terribly good at conversing and it's hard for me to ask these things in person, so I am happy to learn more about my family and my grandma in particular. I love my grandma and I'm glad my mom included me in this. I am a very proud son to be a part of my moms PhD process, and I'm enjoying the insight it's giving me. I believe it's important that people hear the truth about some of Canada's darker history, and I'm proud that it's my grandma who's sharing

The Knowledge Makers program taught me the importance of weaving my voice and experience together, helping me articulate the different worlds I find often find myself traversing.

~ **Nathan Rew**

Zoë Catherine Lavatangaloa Henry

Māori - Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Kahu. Niue - Makefu
University of Auckland ~ PhD

EXAMINING EARLY MEDIEVAL PUNISHMENT THROUGH THE LENS OF MATĀURĀNGA MĀORI

Ko Wai Ahau/ Who I Am

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā mātāwaka.
Ko te mea tuatahi, mihi ki te atua ko te mihi.
Te papa e hora nei, ngā mihi mahana ki a koe.
E te hunga mate o ngā tau, o ngā marama, o ngā wiki,
Haere atu ra ki Hawaiki nui, ki Hawaiki roa, ki Hawaiki pamamao.
Haere, haere, haere ōti atu ra.

Kimihia, rangahaua te kī a ngā tupuna, ēngari, ehara tēnei ara e te ara kitenga-tahi,
Me aro tātou katoa ki tēnei take.
Kia whakaoho ai ngā kitenga maha o ngā tūpuna.
Nō reira,
Tēnā tatou.

Ko Ngāpuhi me ko Ngāti Kahu ngā iwi
Ko Pakanae te marae
Ko Mangonui te maunga
Ko Debbie, ko Salemona rātou ko Kasi ōku mātua
Ko Zoë Catherine Lavatangaloa Henry tōku ingoa

When I started on this project with Knowledge Makers, I had planned to submit an essay on Niue's rejection of Catholicism in 1933 and how this had been underappreciated in recent scholarship. However, as exciting and vital as this research was, I felt that Knowledge Makers would be an ideal space to reflect on my Master's degree journey, particularly in terms of being an Indigenous researcher doing Indigenous research but outside of Indigenous studies. My undergraduate and early postgraduate studies had focused on classical studies and early medieval Christianity, and I was interested in how Christianity evolved over time and eventually became a global power. However, as my supervisor and I continued with the Master's project, it became increasingly evident that I was thinking about punishment and Christianity differently. We could instead think about Matāurānga Māori and how this could help historians re-think how early medieval Christians viewed and used punishment. On the other hand, we could also challenge other non-Indigenous historians and the histories they were writing of Indigenous communities. Taking this approach also gave me an opportunity to explore my Indigenous self within Western academia and to reconcile my identities as a Māori, Pacific, and European medieval historian.

This study was one of the first of its kind, and this presented its challenges. Fortunately, the Waitangi Tribunal had recently released a report discussing the placement and use of Matāurānga Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. This report, 'Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity 2011' or in short, the WAI 262 report. From this report, I was able to use Matāurānga Māori as a methodology that allowed the early medieval world to be viewed through an Indigenous lens.

This essay will look at some of the main components of my research. It will first outline Matāurānga Māori as a worldview and as a methodology, and how the WAI 262 report gave me a foundation for this style of research. The second part will discuss Pūrākau (storytelling) and demonstrate through storytelling, how I was given my first steps into Te Ao Māori. In the academic sphere, we have Indigenous academics already laying out the groundwork for how pūrākau and storytelling could be embedded and centred in our day-to-day activities. This will be explored in relation to a miracle story that originated in the fifth century Merovingian Gaul and was written by Gregory of Tours, a historian and Bishop of Tours during this time. He wrote extensively on the lives and acts of early medieval saints and their impact on their respective communities. By using both stories in a historical study allows us to see not only the complexities of storytelling, but also the opportunities that arise from Indigenous scholars doing non-Indigenous research.

Matāurānga Māori

'Fundamental to understanding is to know that Māori culture is a culture of relationships... with everything and everyone in Te Ao Marama (The Natural World).' (Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu Initial Hearings WAI 1040 at the Annual Conference of NZ Psychological Society, 2014)

Mātaurānga Māori can be defined as the 'the knowledge, the comprehension or understanding of everything, visible or invisible, that exists across the universe.' (Mohi, 1993; Williams, Lind & Lee-Smith, 2015, p. 9). More specifically, 'Mātaurānga' is derived from 'mātau', which means to know, and 'ranga'

which is to weave. Not only does this mean knowing but also encapsulates what is known and how it is known:

That is the way of perceiving and understanding the world, and the values or systems of thought that underpin those perceptions. Mātaurānga Māori, therefore, refers not only to Māori knowledge, but also to the Māori way of knowing (Wai 262, 2011, pp. 16-17).

In acknowledging the origin stories of Aotearoa New Zealand, it is evident that there is a precedent for acknowledging Mātaurānga Māori as a valid worldview. Not only was this a personal task, but one that was validated by the Waitangi Tribunal and is a trending topic in current discussions about postcolonial medievalism (Pihama, 2010). Therefore, I offer Mātaurānga Māori, not as a methodology, but to acknowledge the political context in which this research has been produced and to demonstrate that bringing together these two worlds, and the knowledge systems each possess, is a rewarding and worthwhile task (Wai 262, p. 13) Understanding this then requires a short background on the formation of Aotearoa New Zealand's national identity and the impact of this on the current standing of Mātaurānga Māori.

According to the 2011 WAI 262 report issued by the Waitangi Tribunal, Aotearoa New Zealand's origin stories are based on the meeting of two distinct cultures and peoples. Each of them brought their own unique ways of knowing and engaging with the world, 'its own cosmology, science, law, social organisation, and so on – and that through contact, each evolved their relationships with this land' (Wai 262, 2011, p. 13) The first group were Māori who followed Kupe from Hawaiki and the second group were the Europeans who followed after Captain Cook.

The former's identity can be defined by the principle of kinship, which was extended not only between peoples but also with their ancestors and with the physical and spiritual realms. Wai 262 argues that for Māori, 'kinship was a revolving door between the human, physical and spiritual realms (Wai 262, 2011, p. 5) This can be seen through the example of Tangaroa (god of the ocean). The ocean was not an impersonal or inanimate thing but rather the physical

representation of an ancestral deity called Tangaroa, son of Ranginui and Papatūanuku. The same reverence Māori have for their tūpuna (ancestors) forms the basis of the relationships between peoples, where the individual responsibility to the collective is emphasised 'at the expense of individual rights, yet [Māori] greatly valued individual reputation and standing' (Wai 262, 2011, p. 13). Each individual had an obligation to maintain and protect the mana of the iwi they belonged to, and in turn, the iwi had a responsibility to its members. The reciprocation and kinship of this relationship is known in Te Ao Māori as whanaungatanga. With this principle came the responsibility to nurture and care for the land they belonged to as kaitiaki (guardians). Over time, the formation and presentation of Māori as a culture and as a people has changed and evolved due to external influences, such as the meeting and interactions with Aotearoa New Zealand's other culture, the Europeans or Pākehā. However, what has remained consistent is the core value of kinship and their relationship with the whenua (land).

Those who followed Captain Cook to the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand came with their own culture, science and systems of knowledge. These included the idea of a single omnipotent God and the symbols associated with Christianity such as the Bible and the process of evangelising through education. Just this concept alone resulted in the spread of literacy and assimilation throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. Additionally, early European settlers bought a history of philosophical ideas influenced by the Greeks and the Romans: empirical science; deductive reasoning resulting from the Enlightenment; individual property rights as an integral part of the legal system; the ultimate power of the sovereign; and the nature of the individual citizen (WAI 262, p. 14).

Immediately, one can begin to see where these cultures clashed and how this eventually led to disharmony between the two groups. However, the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty ofWaitangi in 1840 should have recognised for both groups the authority to exist in a way that was relevant to their culture and ensured the survival of each distinct identity. The basis of WAI 262 is that this promise has not been fulfilled and that Mātaurānga Māori has been marginalised 'to

a point where its very survival is threatened', in favour of the dominant Mātaurānga Pākehā (Pākehā systems of knowledge) (Wai 262, p. 14; Pihama, 2010; Smith 1999). In summary, Aotearoa New Zealand was founded on the grounds of two very strong and distinctive knowledge systems. However, due to the devastating effects of colonisation, this has resulted in a single knowledge system being privileged over the other.

What is important to understand is that Te Tiriti o Waitangi, The Treaty of Waitangi and the WAI 262 report call neither for eradication nor for assimilation of one culture over the other. While colonisation has formed a bloody smear on the formation and history of Aotearoa New Zealand, we have in our hands an opportunity to challenge, to rethink, and to acknowledge Mātaurānga Māori in the inception and development of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Storytelling/Pūrākau

'She was an old, old woman. Everyone said she was crazy, she was off, she was mad. Everyone said that, right from the day she first came down from the spring, saying who she was. But they were the crazy ones because they said she was up there, and they pointed at the moon. Up there, hanging on to a ngaio tree, up there, in the moon. They stretched fingers skyward in the night and chanted their story about Rona, in the moon (Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 17.)

Despite being incorrectly characterised as myths or fairytales, pūrākau actually explores Te Ao Māori and its foundational components (Tau, 2001; Walker, 1969). At its core, the Māori worldview is defined by the relationships Māori have with each other and with their environment. The word pūrākau is derived from 'pū' meaning base or roots, of the 'rākau' or tree. This is significant considering much of Māori history is structured around ideas of kinship (Binney, 2010, p. 73). For most Māori, pūrākau represents a child's first exposure to lessons about Te Ao Māori. It is in this interaction that an elder or parent introduces the core concepts of Te Ao Māori to a child, and explains how these concepts correspond to daily life and relationships with other people. For example, creation stories concern the importance of whakapapa (genealogy) and

whanaungatanga (community), and reflect the connection between the material and spiritual world (Reilly, 2004). Michael Shirres (1997) argues that this is part of the 'Māori model of the universe':

The world of the atua (gods) is not separated absolutely from the world of everyday activities, from the secular world. Rather, the two worlds are closely linked, all activities in the everyday world being seen as coming under the influence of the spiritual powers (p.26).

For Māori, these worlds are interconnected, and through pūrākau, these interconnections are preserved and honoured (McRae, 2017). Therefore, it is not uncommon for pūrākau to include details of the atua, whether it is to acknowledge them and understand their role in the world, or to depict the atua interfering with human relationships. The latter is usually more common in pūrākau, as the atua typically only get involved when the bonds between people are broken or the state of balance in a community has been harmed. For example, in the pūrākau of Paikea and the Whale, Paikea is attacked by Ruapatu as an act of utu (revenge). To avoid being drowned, Paikea 'recited ancient chants to summon help from his ancestors' (Pohatu, 2008). Just as saints acting as representatives of God involved themselves in the interactions of their community, the atua appear to instigate a process of healing so that the balance can be restored, or to punish an individual for their transgression.

One of the most common pūrākau that expresses this relationship and illustrates the concept of punishment from a Māori perspective is the story of Ko Rona me te Marama. This story tells the tale of Rona and how she ended up being known as the woman in the moon, or to some audiences, Rona-whakamau-tai, the goddess of the tide.

The opening quote at the beginning of this section represents a single version of this pūrākau; however, as seen in this study, the multiplicity of pūrākau of this nature speaks to its acceptance and popularity in Māori communities (Tau, 2001). Most versions tend to agree on a few key points such as Rona travelling in the night to get water from a nearby source, then continually insulting te Marama after the light on her path was blocked by passing clouds.

When I was young, my nana told me about the woman who lived in the moon, a woman named Rona. It's been a while since I've heard this story so forgive me in advance if I miss a few details, but I'll tell it the best I can:

Rona and her husband, Tamanui-te-rā did not have a happy marriage. In fact, their marriage was full of arguments and misunderstandings. They argued about everything and anything – doing chores, fetching water, gathering food. They were oblivious to the fact that their constant arguing affected everyone else in the village. While others in the village tried to teach Rona and Tamanui-te-rā how to be a better couple, they could not see the error of their ways.

One summer's night, the moon was full and Rona and Tamanui-te-rā were arguing over whose turn it was to fill the tahā (gourd, water container). Fuming, Rona stormed out of the whare (house), carrying the empty tahā to the water; believing she was alone, she continued to mutter and complain of how useless her husband was. However, her words were carried in the night sky and were heard by the large full moon, Marama.

As Rona continued down the path, a slight breeze covered Marama and blocked the light on Rona's path. She stumbled and fell to the ground, her tahā broken in front of her. Boiling with anger, Rona began to curse the moon, (Pokohua marama, te puta mai koe kia marama) 'Wicked moon, not to come forth and shine.'

Marama felt no pity for Rona or her temper and soon heard enough of her insults, warning her 'be careful what you say, lest you be made to pay'.

Rona laughed at Marama's warning and carried on insulting him until Marama could take it no more. He reached down out of the sky and grabbed Rona and pulled her towards the sky. Rona grabbed a ngaio tree and clung for dear life. Alas, Marama was stronger and pulled both Rona and the tree into the sky.
Tamanui-te-rā searched for his wife the next day

but found nothing. Rona's friends joined the quest to look for her but were also unsuccessful. After searching for some time, they called out (E Rona, e Rona, kei hea koe?) 'Rona, Rona, where are you?'

And back came this cry to them, (E! Tenei au! Te kake nei I roto te marama, I te whetu') 'Here am I, up in the moon, with the stars.'

Rona became Rona-whakamau-tai, the guardian of the tides and found happiness living with Marama. To this day, when the moon is full, Rona can be seen still holding the ngaio tree branch with a broken taha at her side.

My nana told me this story to explain why there were shadows on the moon, that we weren't ever really alone but, more importantly, our actions and consequences were not singular experiences. Rather, because we are connected to each other, and to our environment, our actions had an equal impact on those around us. Pūrākau such as Ko Rona me te Marama/Rona and the Moon may appear to be told for entertainment or to put young children to sleep at night; however, there is a much deeper reason for the telling, constructing and re-telling of these stories.

As a historian of Māori, Pacific, and European descent, storytelling forms the basis of my understanding of the past, and how it fits into the present. Storytelling has the ability to contribute ideas and discussions about the future based on what is known about the past. Storytelling, according to Julia Kindt, helps us to make sense of the world, and so to an extent, the way we tell and share stories often tell us more about the storyteller and the audience, than it does about the actual event (Kindt, 2016, pp. 10-11). As oral traditions, stories had the ability to record and keep account of these relationships and events when they occurred and to maintain their relevance to a growing community. Stories could and did for early medieval communities, present a unique identity that set them apart from other communities during this time.

For Māori especially, our entire culture is built on oral traditions. Of the multiple oral traditions available to us, Pūrākau outline our histories and our whakapapa (genealogies) and, most importantly, provide a vehicle for Mātaurānga Māori. Its main objective was to transfer new knowledge to the audience and embed in the teachings an obligation to re-tell the stories whenever possible and necessary. As Jenny Lee argues, 'the imagery of trees often reflect[s] our cultural understandings of social relationships, our interconnectedness with each other and the natural environment' (Lee, 2005, p. 7).

Pūrākau is a communal activity where the relationship between the storyteller and the audience is intimate and invested; it provides a space for provocative thought and discussion. The stories that were told did not belong to a single person; rather they belonged to the whānau, hāpu or iwi and usually involved other people within those social groups. Therefore, participation from the audience was compulsory and it was expected that the storyteller would provide multiple opportunities throughout the telling and re-telling for the audience to interject and react (Lee, 2005, p. 2-3). This could be done in numerous ways, such as intentionally getting information wrong or omitting certain details from the telling. While this could negatively characterize the storyteller, in reality this emphasizes the core function of pūrākau, which was 'intended to be provocative, rather than pacifying; to rouse interest and connection to a teaching so that it would remain relevant to the listener' (Lee, 2005, p. 2-3). Additionally, this gave the audience an opportunity to correct the storyteller, acting as Joan Metge (2010) argues, 'a check on error, preventing storytellers playing fast and loose with treasured stories' (pp. 37-38). Overall, the meaning of each story may not appear

> **"'Mātaurānga' is derived from 'mātau', which means to know, and 'ranga' which is to weave. Not only does this mean knowing but also encapsulates what is known and how it is known."**
>
> - Zoë Henry

immediately to the listener, while the relevance of the story will vary according to the listener and their own experience. It is then up to the audience to discuss their own thoughts and reactions to the story, define the intended lesson, and explore its practical application to their own lives.

Gregory of Tours - Miracle Stories

In the same way this pūrākau, which has been passed down by our ancestors and told to me by my Nana, illustrates the lessons of our tūpuna (ancestors). This can also be seen in the works of Gregory of Tours, a prolific writer and Bishop of Tours during the sixth century. Gregory wrote extensively on the histories of the Franks but was especially known for his writings on the lives of saints in texts such as the *Glory of the Confessors* (1988). In this text, Gregory outlines the great feats of holy men and women that he knew about during his lifetime. These stories, like our pūrākau, held lessons for Christian communities on how to live according to saintly values and stories. Viewing these stories through an Indigenous lens gives us an opportunity to re-think some of these stories and more importantly, how Christian communities may have viewed these stories.

For instance, the end of chapter six in Glory of the Confessors features a small section in which a saint is insulted by another's ignorance:

In the Church mentioned above that the believers built in his honour there is still a stone on which the blessed man is said to have sat. Many years later, a priest named Leo moved the holy stone from its spot in order to set down his own tomb. Immediately he returned to his house with a tremor, was struck by a fever, and died on the third day. It was clear that bishop Martin had been insulted. I recalled that this happened during my lifetime (Gregory of Tours, 1988, p. 8).

In both stories, the offenders fall victim to their ignorance and are punished accordingly. Rona insulted te Marama and was taken away from her family and community; Leo insulted Martin by moving his stone and then passed away three days later. This clearly demonstrates an action-consequence relationship where the insult or sin is noticed and dealt with almost immediately.

Both types of oral tradition share a similar kaupapa (purpose) and intended outcome. As Jane McRae (2017) argues, 'Like poetry, these works aim for the ring or feel of truth and a sharp and compelling effect. The oral compositions were designed to be remembered, to persuade, to provoke, to impress, and to teach, and accordingly were composed in attractive, memorable language' (p.35). It is evident that the Christians in the early medieval period believed that their world was intricately linked to the spiritual world where their actions (or inactions) could negatively affect their community. Thus, they would then be required to undergo a process of punishment in order to forgive their transgression. Additionally, taking into consideration the multiplicity of pūrākau means that historians can take comfort in Gregory's tendency to rely on oral traditions to supplement his knowledge of past events. The fact that these stories are the product of an oral tradition signifies that there is the potential for more than one story to exist about an event. The perception of time can also affect the way in which an oral tradition is shared. As seen in both the pūrākau of Ko Rona me te Marama, and in most of the miracle stories written by Gregory of Tours, time constructs are not explicitly mentioned, therefore placing the story in a state of timelessness. The result of these similarities is the recognition of how early medieval Christians could share their experiences of punishment, and consequently how the process of punishment was embedded in their day-to-day interactions.

Conclusion

Kimihia, rangahaua te kī a ngā tupuna,
ēngari,
ehara tēnei ara e te ara kitenga-tahi,
Me aro tātou katoa ki tēnei take.
Kia whakaoho ai ngā kitenga
maha o ngā tūpuna.
Nō reira,
Tēnā tatou.

The beginning of this work featured a short mihi (greeting) and a pepeha (statement of tribal identity). Not only was this an expression of my identity as someone that identifies as Māori, but also to position

myself and this research appropriately. Part of this mihi included a brief explanation of how teachings embedded in Mātauranga Māori has guided my research and influenced my whakaaro (thinking).

The passage above represents a core Māori teaching that outlines our responsibilities as Māori researchers. 'Kimihia, rangahaua' translates to, to seek, to research and to search out knowledge. The rest of the passage refers to our relationship to our tupuna (ancestors) and how their guidance influences our day-to-day behaviour and attitudes, particularly when in light of our roles as researchers. Much of our teachings are defined by the ways of the past, and it is their hopes that are embedded in the passage.

Essentially, we are taught and encouraged by our tupuna (ancestors) to seek multiple pathways in our research and our mahi (work). The point of this is to encourage people not to approach problems and challenges with a single method, or to repeat the same behaviour and expect a different result. Moreover, taking a single approach to research leaves no space in the future to expand the field of study or to consider new relationships as a result.

It was this teaching and knowing that inspired my journey into and out of the Master's degree. Being able to use our Indigenous knowledge systems to re-think early medieval Christianity, shows the complexity of our ways of knowing and being. When we are able to use our ways of knowing and being, the opportunities are endless, and a whole new world of research opens up. With this study, I was able to bring together my work as an early medieval researcher with my Indigenous self, and perhaps show someone else that this type of work is possible.

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To me, Indigenous research is important, necessary and exciting. We are creating space for our knowledge to be shared with those yet to come and ensure we are never forgotten. We have always been here and will always be here.

~ Tia Stanley

My Favourite viewpoint in Tk'emlups te Secwepemc, where I am currently making my home as a grateful guest on this beautiful territory

Nathan Rew

Papua New Guinean
University of Auckland ~ PhD Sociology

As an indigenous Papuan here in Tāmaki Makaurau, I want to acknowledge the lands and waters of Aotearoa and its people which have nurtured and guided me on my journey. As I write on the lands and waters of Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki, I am reminded of the reality of our shared struggles as indigenous peoples. From the Gulf of Papua New Guinea which I belong to, to the Hauraki Gulf where I write, we have witnessed capitalism and colonisation violently dispossess indigenous communities from their ancestral relationships. They have and continue to destroy our forests, poison our waters, and outlaw our practices. I am linked to my homelands through the sea, it is the sea which has always linked us. In tracing and naming the history of colonisation and the sea, this paper hopes we can be better equipped to challenge colonial practices both here in Aotearoa, in Papua New Guinea, and in any community which is facing oppression at the hands of colonial powers.

DOES COLONISATION THINK OF WATER? A HISTORY OF AQUA NULLIUS

Abstract

This paper constitutes part one of a two-part archaeology of the logic of *aqua nullius* in relation to the Doctrine of Discovery and the high seas. In a similar vein to the logic of *terra nullius*, where Indigenous lands were deemed unoccupied, *aqua nullius* is here defined as the logic of regarding water as uninhabited, or uninhabitable, as other. I begin by examining what it means for colonisation to have 'thought'; for colonisation to have a set of beliefs and philosophies informing its decisions. By diagnosing the logics upon which colonial relationships persist, namely, our relations to water, this paper argues we can begin to form solutions which break the logics of colonisation. Part one of the history of *aqua nullius* begins in the Mediterranean, where early Greek and Roman law established the foundations for the development of Christian law. This paper then traces *aqua nullius* through the rise of Christianity, the dominance of Catholic Church, and the Reformation, wherein *aqua nullius* became established as a central tenet in the Doctrine of Discovery, and consequent colonial practice.

Thinking

The title question of this paper is one that I hope prompts more questions than answers; 'how could a concept like colonisation think?', 'what do we mean by 'colonisation'?' and even 'why does it matter?' being just some of the questions running through my head as I approached this paper. As such, in this opening section I take some time to address these questions, hoping to provide a stable common ground from which we can begin to examine if, how, and what colonisation thinks about water.

First however, introductions, I'm Nate, and although I've spent most of my life in Aotearoa, New Zealand; through my mother I descend from the beaches of Iokea in Kerema, Gulf Province, Papua New Guinea. At present, I'm a doctoral candidate in sociology at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, working on Indigenous water sovereignty in Oceania. I'm also interested in examining and challenging the underlying ideas and beliefs upon which 'colonial-capitalism' is founded. In this regard, I should be totally honest and

acknowledge that while I am writing my thesis in sociology, I am a philosophy student at heart, having completed most of my formal studies in philosophy before moving to sociology to finish. I mention this in particular, because I think my decision to move away from philosophy demonstrates one of the 'knots' this paper hopes to unravel.

My move to sociology was one prompted by and large by a real absence in my previous studies of any space or time to discuss the Indigenous philosophies of Oceania. Indeed, aside from a particular fetishization of 'Eastern Philosophy' amongst the dominant analytic philosophical paradigms, I found there to be an unwavering faith in the idea that rational and logical interrogation – supposedly overcoming particular experience, was the only thing required for philosophical investigation. The suggestion that someone's context; whether that be through experiencing the world as Indigenous, as black, as a woman, as LGBTQ+, as disabled, as all of these and any of the other intersections of existence, should influence their philosophical position was rejected on the grounds that it would be openly allowing bias into the process. To allow these biases to influence philosophical investigation would be to fundamentally undermine the goal of philosophy; the search for universal truths as far as the analytic tradition is concerned. Thus, acknowledging and working with these biases, is to turn to investigating particular moments, particularity, rather than truth. That, or, in the train of Wittgensteinian thought, to focus on these particularities is to become unintelligible, to play an obscure language game that only a few are capable of understanding.

The former critique is exemplified particularly well I think by the mechanisms proposed by John Rawls (1999) in his thought experiments concerning distributive justice. Specifically, Rawls (1999) argues that in attempting to determine how to distribute resources in a society, the best solution would be achieved if one operated under the 'veil of ignorance', that is, according to the assumption that the position of the person distributing the resources is unknown to them beforehand. Through not knowing our

position, acting rationally in our own self-interest, and then applying those individual decisions collectively, Rawls (1999) contends that we can imagine the best possible way of distributing resources.

Quite disappointingly, this imagined best possible society is not too different from the form of neoliberal capitalism which we experience today (Rawls, 1999). I think this somewhat bleak outlook demonstrates explicitly the manner in which the attempts to overcome particularity in contemporary philosophy often function to implicitly reinforce hegemonic philosophical and ideological positions (Zizek, 2008). The key issue I struggled with was how the ideas of 'self-interest' and 'rationality' implicitly reinforced a logic of individualism which made no sense to me. If I couldn't conceive of my 'self' divorced from the relationships which were and are so foundational to my sense of being, I would thus be condemned from the outset to irrationality. The self-interested 'rationality' of the dominant philosophical paradigms was consequently maintained as a precondition for the uncovering of universal truths.

In this respect, the philosopher Slavoj Zizek's analysis of ideological fantasy (2008) helps us map how the attempts by Rawls and the likes to overcome biases through mechanisms such as the veil of ignorance and original position, instead operate to subliminally reinforce hegemonic ideological paradigms. Zizek (2008) demonstrates that ideology operates most insidiously precisely at the moment when theorists and philosophers such as Rawls claim that they are not acting ideologically. As such, by structuring the question of distributive justice in this manner, Rawls (2008) implicitly imposes a number of philosophical constraints which ensure that the perceived best solution is inevitably one in which the main principles of neoliberal capitalism are preserved. Thus, individual freedoms, liberal democracy, minimal state interference, and free market capitalism for example, are all principles that are presupposed by the question from the outset. Moreover, Zizek (2008) notes that the true 'fantasy' lies in the fact that Rawls in all likelihood is aware that underlying his work are these presuppositions – indeed he names many of them. However,

he continues to buy into the fantasy that the conclusions he comes to are in some way or another, outside of ideology. This double function, whereby the attempt to overcome biases instead operates to reinforce hegemonic beliefs, and the adamant refusal of the dominant philosophical schools to acknowledge this, cemented my decision to move to sociology where at least these some of these presuppositions were challenged.

While Zizek provides us with a valuable language and tool for analyzing ideology and claims of being beyond ideology, to many of the Indigenous communities around the world his conclusions are not particularly new. In Oceania, we have known for the past four hundred years that 'rationality', 'civilization', 'democracy', 'freedom' and all the other lofty ideals espoused by the philosophers and thinkers of colonisation, have always operated under the implicit recognition that they only applied to Europeans. As Fanon (1963, p.43) notes of the oppressed "no professor of ethics, no priest has ever come to be beaten in his place." Those of us who have experienced the violence of colonisation have known and understood that there are deeper ideological belief systems which operate behind the given values and reasons for colonisation since the day they turned up lost and malnourished on our beaches. More importantly however, as members of Indigenous communities we are aware that this is the case with all people – that you simply cannot overcome your particularity, not matter what philosophical experiment, nor how pure a language you might try. Given this, the goal is thus not to pretend to overcome our self when engaging in philosophical investigation, but rather, to be as honest as possible about our selves when writing, when thinking, when engaging in discussion. This is why stating who you are, where you come from, and what influences you is so important to our interactions, it helps facilitate a clearer understanding of the people we are working with. It's why I made sure to start with introductions, so you can know to some extent, who I am and why I am here writing.

In this respect, the idea of ideological fantasy and the possibility of implicit logics impairing the ways in which we perceive the world establish the line of questioning upon which this paper is based. I asked that if the ideological fantasies of colonisation and capitalism are operating implicitly in the structuring of our world views, could we identify, trace, and challenge the way colonisation and capitalism ideologically construct water, can we outline the relationships colonisation and capitalism have with water? Can we outline the stories they tell to understand and reinforce these beliefs? And are these stories, these beliefs honest and helpful? If we can do so, if we can paint an honest picture of their understanding of water, perhaps we can start to make more sense of the disconnect between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities concerning the protecting of water and overcome these more fundamental beliefs shaping our experience to save the worlds waters.

A History of Thinking About Water

It is perhaps a bit odd in the midst of a global pandemic, seemingly on the verge of a global depression, to be writing a history of water. Yet, if the tumultuous events of 2020 and 2021 have demonstrated anything, it is the precariousness of the foundations upon which colonial capitalism is built. The illusion of the permanence of this world has dissipated, presenting us with, as Arundhati Roy (2020) articulates, 'a portal.' Thus, for those of us invested in thinking beyond colonisation and capitalism, Covid-19, the contemporary rise of fascism (Churchwell, 2020) and the impending climate crisis have forced us to reconsider our global relations and how we might continue to work together in the future we are trying to build. This particular moment has forced many of us to reflect on the relationships and structures that shape our world and to question the assumptions upon which colonial capitalism is founded. In this respect, the increasingly dire state of both freshwater and the oceans (Gatusso, Abram, and Hock, 2019) has informed my decision to delve deeper into the nature of colonial-capitalist relationships with water.

This paper functions as the first in a two-part diagnosis of the key, yet obscured logic of *aqua nullius*. While the colonial history of the application of logics of *terra nullius* across the globe is increasingly documented and contested (*Mabo* v *Queensland* (No 2) [1992] HCA

23, 175 CLR 1), I contend that the implicit logic of *aqua nullius* operated on a fundamental level to already dispossess the Indigenous communities of their water rights. *Aqua nullius* is defined as the logic of colonisation and capital which functions to dispossess Indigenous populations of their relationships to water. Embedded within the colonial-capitalist conceptualisation of the world is the implicit supposition that water by its nature is 'uninhabited' or uninhabitable, is abyssal. Through naming and identifying the logic of *aqua nullius* and tracing its history through the Doctrine of Discovery, the Doctrine being one of the key mechanisms by which colonial powers maintained a legal justification for their colonial violence (Ngata, 2019). I demonstrate that this logic was integrated into the Doctrine through the English Reformation, and the Church of England's subsequent attempts to justify its colonial practice in line with the wider context of European colonisation.

In this respect, I hope to contribute to the growing discourse concerning *aqua nullius* by demonstrating its conceptual history and tracing its role in dispossessing Indigenous peoples of their territories (Marshall, 2017) (Wilson, 2019). The legacy of *aqua nullius* is witnessed in the cutting of water, in the lines drawn in seas, lakes, and rivers, separating Indigenous peoples from their food sources, their sacred spaces, their family, these lines in the water sever their ancestral connections and relationships. Acts which continue to have dire consequences today (Daigle, 2018). Central to the functioning of this logic is the

> "The legacy of aqua nullius is witnessed in the cutting of water, in the lines drawn in seas, lakes, and rivers, separating Indigenous peoples from their food sources, their sacred spaces, their family, these lines in the water sever their ancestral connections and relationships."
>
> - Nathan Rew

Doctrine of Discovery. Established through a series of papal bulls issued between the 12th and 15th Century, the Doctrine of Discovery established the 'legal' basis for colonisation (Ngata, 2019). By providing an overview of the ways in which aqua nullius became embedded within the Doctrine of Discovery, I hope to illustrate that this particular way of relating to and understanding water has a distinct lineage of thought which is grounded in colonial world views. I begin with an account of pre-Christian relationships to water, examining the cosmological, theological, geographical, and political factors which influenced the development of *aqua nullius*, before demonstrating how this translated into the Doctrine of Discovery.

Mediterranean Water Relations Pre-Christianity

The importance of water and its link to life has been understood for millennia, giving rise to a number of different philosophies, mythologies, and knowledges concerning its nature. We know that Indigenous communities across the world place significant value on water in their cosmogonies, cosmologies, and creation stories. We also know that some of these relationships stretch tens of thousands of years into the past. However, I want to focus here on some of the early Mediterranean/European conceptualisations of water, showing how their environments, cosmogonies and cosmologies interacted with the fundamental religious and legal structures of the ancient communities to give rise to *aqua nullius* and the Doctrine of Discovery.

These ancient communities placed significant value on water and incorporated this value into their world views. The ancient Babylonian creation story, the *Enûma Eliš*, begins with the swirling primordial beings; freshwater Abzu and saltwater Tiamat, whose separation and subsequent coming together gives birth to the Babylonian pantheon (Lambert, 2007). The ancient Egyptian Ogdoad or primordial gods are fundamentally tied to the chaotic waters of Nu (Karenga, 2004). The ancient Greek and Roman cosmology held that the Titan Oceanus was both the father of the river Gods, as well as the personification of a great river which encircled the world the source of "all the rivers and all the seas on earth and all

springs and all deep wells" (Homer, 1990, p. 526). In each of these early cultural groups, the role and significance of water - their understanding of its nature; is inherent in how they represented these particular figures. The mythos and personifications of water, granting it a primordial position above and prior to many of their Gods and thus, humans and all life, gives us insight to the importance and value they accorded it. This should come as little surprise; their lives were fundamentally dependent on the water systems in relation to which they established their communities.

I locate the early history of *aqua nullius* within the context of Ancient Greek and Roman conceptualisations of water, the seas, and the world. Water, the seas, and their Gods played a range of significant roles in Greek mythology, allowing us some insight into the underlying value they afforded it. Take for example, the castration of the primordial sky deity Uranus by his son the Titan Cronos, and the casting of his genitals into the sea which brings about the birth of Aphrodite/Venus, the Greek Goddess associated with love (Cyrino, 2010). In this conceptualisation, water is fundamentally tied to life, cleansing, and love. A violent act, and an appendage cleansed in the saltwater gives rise to a Goddess of love. The waters here also predating many of the gods. Similarly, the nature and characterization of Poseidon the Greek God of the sea, storms, and earthquakes similarly provides us with insight into how the Greeks understood the seas. On the one hand he is depicted as a paternalistic figure who cares for his children, on the other, he is temperamental and quick to anger. This is exemplified in his reaction to the decision by the Athenians to adopt Athena as their patron over him. In a fit of rage, he sends a flood onto the Attic Plane to punish them. It's worth noting this story also helps provide a narrative of framework for explaining the general environment the Athenians found themselves in, a way of making sense of their world. The fickle nature of Poseidon reflects the struggles and dangers faced by those who would traverse the Mediterranean Sea and beyond, an idea reinforced by his daughter the sea monster Charybdis who lived off the coast of Sicily and was capable of creating whirlpools to drag passing ships under

(Apollonius, 1921). The rendering of the sea as a space of life and death, is thus reiterated in the Greek pantheon and mythos, and was adopted by the Romans as part of Hellenisation of Rome. *Aqua nullius*, the logic of defining water as uninhabited or uninhabitable is fundamentally derived from positioning water as a space of death, chaos and the unknown. A space in which life cannot persist. While these more complex relationships with water persisted in the ancient Greek and early Roman world views, the rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire would force a fundamental rethinking of the seas.

Crucial to the development of *aqua nullius* and building on the Greek mythos was the fundamentally legalistic and contractual relationships the ancient Romans entered into with their Gods. Established on the reciprocal principle of *do ut des*, that is, 'I give that you might give', the Romans often engaged in sacrifices, libations, and gift-giving to their deities in the hopes of receiving some good fortune back (Rüpke, 2007). While this functioned significantly on a personal and familial level, it was also crucial in Roman political society and foreign policy. For example, the consul Publius Claudius Pulcher after ignoring unfavourable auspices, engaged in and lost the Battle of Drepana against the Carthaginians, an act and defeat which resulted in him losing his office and being tried for treason, he was eventually convicted of impiety/ sacrilege and forced into exile (Rankov, 2011). The religious components of maintaining power in Rome were significant, but it was not until the Augustan revolution that religious and political authority began to be more intimately intertwined. In transitioning from the Republic to an empire, one of the tools Augustus used to maintain popular support was the deification of his uncle, Gaius Julius Caesar (Fishwick, 1993). In doing so, he simultaneously accorded himself divine lineage as descendant and heir to Caesar. By establishing the role of *princeps* or emperor, Augustus consolidated the broader power structures of Rome within a single figure, granting the emperor military (*imperium maius*) domestic (*tribunicia potestas*), and religious (*pontifex maximus*) power. In the later

Roman Empire however, the rise of Christianity however began to undermine the authority of the emperor, and indeed, the fundamental basis of Roman law throughout the Empire. Thus, as Christianity became increasingly dominant, the Christianization of the Roman Emperors led to a fundamental reshuffling of legal practice in Rome.

The shift in Roman legal practice was instigated by the Christian Emperor Justinian I through the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and informed by the drive to develop a cogent legal framework for the Roman Empire (Humfress, 2005). Rome's previous legal structure had essentially derived its authority through the Republican and Imperial frameworks which rested on the will of the Gods, the Roman religious pantheon. The desire to move away from these pagan practices led to Justinian reviewing and re-establishing the legal basis of Roman law (Humfress, 2005). Crucially, in his rewriting of the body of Roman law, Justinian enshrined *aqua nullius* in his interpretation of the ocean, water, and seas. This is exemplified in his position that running water was a part of a 'negative community' of natural aspects that could not be owned along with the air, seas, and wildlife (Hodgson, 2006). Though the general population could use the waters within reason, the legal right to ownership of them was rejected. Justinian's legal frameworks and rulings informed much of European maritime law for centuries to follow, including establishing the basis for the *Rolls of Oléron* which dictated French and European maritime law for much of the early colonial period (Frankot, 2007), (Scott and Coustalin, 1995). By declaring running water and the seas as incapable of being privately owned, incapable of being inhabited, and relegating them to the public sphere, he set the foundations for the development of the *aqua nullius* through the Doctrine of Discovery.

Aqua nullius, the Church, and the Doctrine

From the early Crusades (the 1100's) to the colonisation of Aotearoa (the 1800's), first the papacy and then the Protestant church granted England and other European colonial powers the divine right "to invade, search out, capture, vanquish and subdue all Saracens and pagans" via the Doctrine of Discovery (Hayes, 1998, p. 65). Reified in contemporary international law through the US Supreme Court decision *Johnson v. M'Intosh* ([1823] 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543), the Doctrine of Discovery has been cited as recently as 2005 in US Supreme Court rulings as a justification for the continued dispossession of Native American lands (*City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation* [2005] 544 U.S. 197). In both the set of papal bulls and the Supreme Court ruling, there is a conspicuous absence of language regarding ownership and xproperty claims to the oceans and waters (*Johnson v. M'Intosh* [1823] 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543). The main justification of title to water, comes through the 1455 Papal Bull *Romanus Pontifex* issued by Pope Nicholas V. The Bull confirmed that King Alfonso V of Portugal and his descendants had legitimate claim to all lands south of Cape Bojador noting they had "justly and lawfully... acquired and possessed, and doth possesses, these islands, harbors and *seas* [emphasis added]" (Davenport, 1917, pp.20-26). This provided the justification for the colonisation of both lands and seas throughout the 15th and early 16th centuries, including the claim to the entire Pacific Ocean by Vasco Núñez de Balboa for Spain in 1513 (Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1840). Interestingly, a claim to the seas is missing from the later 1493 Bull *Inter Caetera* (Scott, 1987, p 356) issued by Pope Alexander VI which sought to prevent conflict between Spain and Portugal. This was done by divvying up the world, granting to the Spanish monarchy the right to claim all "*islands* and *mainlands* [emphasis added] found and to be found... towards the west and south by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic pole... the said line to be distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cabo Verde."

The absence of a title to the seas in *Inter Caetera* as well as its supplementary Bull *Dudum siquidem* exemplifies one of the ways in which *aqua nullius* is established implicitly within the Doctrine. While Pope Nicholas V included language concerning the possibility of possessing the seas, of colonising them, the later Pope Alexander VI denied that prospect,

placing the seas outside the Doctrine. The conflicting ways in which the Doctrine was defined and used was related to the shifts in power throughout Europe during this period. Growing conflict throughout Europe during the 14th and 15th Century had been a consistent issue for the papacy, resulting in a number of the Bulls issued during this period being written to prevent conflict and ensure the supremacy of the Catholic church. The War of the Castilian Succession for example, ended in 1479 with the signing of the Treaty of Alcáçovas, and issuing of the papal bull *Aeterni regis*, granting the western coast of Africa to Portugal (Davenport, 1917). Central to the conflict in Europe was the desire to capitalize on the wealth being pillaged through colonisation, hence the funding of exploration voyages, such as Christopher Columbus' to claim and 'discover' the Americas (Dyson, 1991). The fight for control of the resources gained by colonisation was further reinforced by a fundamental challenge to the Doctrine's principles and authority by the English monarchy.

In the early 16th Century King Henry VIII broke from the authority of the Catholic Church through a series of Acts of Parliament, significantly, the *1534 Act of Supremacy* which declared him the 'Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England' (Bray, 1994). In doing so, ecclesiastical authority was consolidated within the English Monarchy. This move was reimplemented through Queen Elizabeth I's establishing of the English Protestant Church, with herself as 'Supreme Governor of the Church of England' via the *1558 Act of Supremacy* (Gee, Hardy, 1896). In breaking with the authority of the papacy, the legitimacy of the English colonies came into question. Consequently, English legal scholars, building on Spanish legal interpretations, argued that England's previous and future 'discoveries' were not in violation of the 1493 Papal Bulls as long as there was no other Christian authority on those lands (Miller, LeSage, and Escarcena, 2010). Under Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, the definition of 'discovery' was further refined to include the requirement of occupancy and possession of the lands for there to be a legitimate claim to discovery (Miller, LeSage, and Escarcena,

2010). While this provided Elizabeth with domestic religious and judicial authority to engage in colonisation, it was an authority which was maintained internationally through force. Exacerbated by English raids on Spanish colonies and ships, tensions between Spain under the authority of the Pope, and England under the authority of the Monarch, culminated in the attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada. The fundamental cost and failure of the Spanish attack solidified England's role as a central power in Europe and enshrined their definition of Discovery in the international context (Miller, LeSage, and Escarcena, 2010). Thus by establishing the legal basis of English Discovery on the 1493 Bulls *Inter Caetera*, and *Dudum siquidem*, and adding the requirements of occupancy and possession Elizabeth I fundamentally solidified the logic of *aqua nullius* within the Doctrine of Discovery and the logics of colonisation.

The Protestant reconfiguration of the Doctrine of Discovery both demonstrated the importance of an invocation of divine authority as the necessary basis for colonisation and reinterpreted the Doctrine in England and Elizabeth's favour. The defeat of the Spanish Armada strengthened Elizabeth's religious and legal claims to Discovery and made clear to the other European nations that they would have to occupy and defend their territories, rather than simply claim them. In shifting the authority over colonisation and international relations away from

> "I want to focus here on some of the early Mediterranean/European conceptualisations of water, showing how their environments, cosmogonies and cosmologies interacted with the fundamental religious and legal structures of the ancient communities to give rise to aqua nullius and the Doctrine of Discovery."
>
> - Nathan Rew

the declarations of the Catholic Church, and instead grounding it in a logic of occupation and possession she facilitated the development of a broader, more contested European period of colonisation (Miller, LeSage, and Escarcena, 2010). Consequently, by the early 1700s the Dutch, English, French, and Spanish, were all engaged in the colonisation of non-European, non-Christian nations around the world (Ngata, 2019). However, the fundamental basis for this shift was the need to reground the English Monarch's own divine authority as recognised by the English Parliament and Church of England. In this respect, it is important to reiterate that colonisation and the Doctrine of Discovery was theoretically and ethically justified through an appeal the authority granted by the shared Christian God and the Christian world view (Miller, LeSage, and Escarcena, 2010). Crucially, the authority which was granted via the Act of Supremacy has never been rescinded, where section 8 in particular which unites spiritual jurisdiction with the Crown, still operates today (*Act of Supremacy, 1558*). It is by this legal interpretation of the Doctrine of Discovery, and consequently on the authority of the English Church that the foundation for contemporary international law has been established, as exemplified in the 1823 US Supreme Court Decision. The imposition of colonisation, and *aqua nullius* as it operates today is inextricably tied to the authority vested in the Monarch as head of the Church and chief representative of God.

Conclusion

So that's part one, in tracing the early history of *aqua nullius*, I've here tried to demonstrate how a world view which conceives of water as uninhabited and uninhabitable has facilitated the colonisation of the world by European powers. I've focused on the cosmological and theological conceptualisations of the sea and oceans in the early Mediterranean area, linking these conceptualisations of water to the development of the logic of *aqua nullius*. Examining ancient Greek and Roman mythologies and cosmologies, I have shown how traces of *aqua nullius* permeate their legal and theological framings of water. Building on this, I have examined how the legal reforms

of Roman Emperor Justinian I facilitated the development of *aqua nullius* and solidified its significance in the Doctrine of Discovery. Lastly, I examined how the religious reformations throughout Europe necessitated a rethinking of the foundations and nature of colonisation. This culminated in Henry VIII and later Elizabeth I granting themselves the ecclesiastical authority through God to carry out the colonisation of territories against the wishes of the Papacy. In doing all this, in tracing the role of water and seas in the Doctrine, I have begun to show how European colonisation has implicitly enforced an ideological perception of water as uninhabitable, as void, as *aqua nullius*. In part two, I will look at how the rise of capitalism influenced and continues to influence our relationship with water.

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"When we are able to use our ways of knowing and being, the opportunities are endless, and a whole new world of research opens up.

~ *Zoë Catherine Lavatangaloa Henry*

THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY

Elder Mike Arnouse
Adams Lake Indian Band
Thompson Rivers University

THE WAY OF LIFE WE ONCE HAD: HOW IT WILL COME AGAIN

It is with great pleasure I introduce Uncle Mike Arnouse, one of our elders here at Thompson Rivers University. If you have ever been on campus, your more than likely to have seen him, either making his way to Cplul'kw'ten or having a tea in our elders' room. Uncle Mike is always more than happy to sit with students and tell them stories of his own or listen to theirs. Intergenerational respect and learning is a large part of all Indigenous protocol and comes in all shapes and forms. This is a reminder to cherish those connections, celebrate our knowledge keepers, and take the time to sit down and experience their presence; you'll never know what you'll learn.

The lightning can do it, so can the water, the trees, the sun. Even 90 million miles away they can still give us vitamins. Impregnate mother earth and allow things to grow, showing us how close we are and what we're connected to. Today, understanding how things once were, brings back how our people used to be, how closely we were connected to the universe, how we understood life. To me, it means miracles are still going on. New people are born, along with birds, butterflies, and salmon. When the year is started, babies still come and creation goes on. The modern people call it a soul, we call it Seménc. Stories like this bring us a lot closer to our spirituality. Everything has a soul, even if it's as far as the sun.

It helps to get away from academics. Life, it brings us together. In our bodies, we have a spirit, a heart, a mind. That kind of explains what makes us up, we have to exercise them all. Our bodies won't live without exercise, we have to connect all the things that have a soul. We have to understand these things, the four colors, body, mind, spirit, and heart. Remind ourselves that we do have these things, what we have in our bodies.

It's not like a religion. Our elders have translated it - it's our way of life. A lot of our teaching comes from nature, and that makes us a part of nature. We fit in the circle of the winged, fourlegged, roots, and berries. They remember the connection. This connection was outlawed for a long time, people were afraid to talk about it. It was labeled backward and uncivilized, but our youth are now realizing we need this connection.

Creation still goes on. Two things join together and there's a spark. In our lives, that's where creation starts. The younger people, the students, have started to speak with their elders about it. Reaching out to the creator - I don't try to make things hard when they're not - it's natural. With the springtime coming, growth begins, a baby deer and little robins. Creation goes on, it must have the creator in it, so that makes its life sacred.

We've erased our maternal ways of running ourselves, but we're starting to realize the greatest matriarch is mother earth. She gives us our food, our homes, songs, and ceremony. We have thankfulness for what she gives us. When we gather our food, she helped us, from the children to the elders.

It's a way of life that can't be categorized, our people are one mind one body one spirit, that's what a nation should be made up of. We carry all of this knowledge in our bodies, we cannot separate them, this is what a nation should be made of.

To know that feeling, being where the old people sat, communicating with them, the feathered, and the four-legged. To learn that, you have to be out in the quietness, by yourself. To figure out that balance and way of life, what we're supposed to do for that circle, and how we're connected.

Now, our youth are trying to understand our responsibilities to that circle. The seventh-generation knows the atrocities that have happened in the last 500 years. It's now time to start working together, it's time for healing. We know everything, the pain, and suffering, our minds are becoming straight again. We can heal because we know the history. Indigenous people can be found all over the world, we aren't alone. We've been received by them. We know ourselves better than anyone in the world, we know what we need to heal. We know what we went through. We can't rely on anything but ourselves, we have to turn to one another in the end.

The students are in a position where they can do something with that, turn the tragedy into flowers. When those things are clean and pure again, our health will start to heal again.

Our resources, the carriers of our knowledge, don't last forever. I started taking part myself, and at first, it felt like there were just two of us to get it started again. The hardest people to get through to were our own, the ones that were westernized. The person that was teaching me, said, "As long as there is one person repeating the ways of the creator, we win." Now there's so many more, it's becoming alive

and should be more alive because we're in the seventh generation.

Some of our ways of life are being reborn, like the butterfly.- it's small at first but it morphs into a beautiful creature with balance.

We were created when the earth was created. We try to hang on to those stories, Coyote, Raven, vision in the mountains. As a child, you depend so much on your parents to take care of you. When you're in the mountains you're alone, it makes you question how much you love yourself, your mother earth. How much do we love our creator, how much do we love our grandparents, how do we feel when we get there, We're the ones that have to make it that way.

Things that give their lives for us to keep living, we should be so grateful for that. There are ceremonies around it, something had to sacrifice itself for us.

The teaching of our people is just trying to make things human. To recognize and not get too clinical, to remind us that we sit in the circle of creation - the sun, mother earth, and the moon. We need to find out what our responsibilities for that circle are.

The creatures know how to stay in that circle, to keep that circle strong. The question is, do we know how? If one of the sections of the circle is missing, it makes the whole circle weak. In the end, when we're trying to save the animals, the water, nature, who we're really saving is ourselves. It's us who rely on those things. Without these things, we wouldn't survive. Without us, they would flourish. We need to step back and understand that.

> "Some of our ways of life are being reborn, like the butterfly.- it's small at first but it morphs into a beautiful creature with balance."
>
> - Elder Mike Arnouse