Indigenous Research

Elders & knowledgeable others in higher education

World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium

Journal 2011
Indigenous Research

Elders & knowledgeable others in higher education

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The call for papers for the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) Journal, 2011, directed authors to a theme of Elders and Knowledgeable Others in Higher Education. This call for papers drew articles that addressed matters ranging from institutional change to the importance of acknowledged individuals (the knowledge holders) to Indigenous knowledge, a research approach and curriculum.

The World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) plays an important role in not only respecting but representing traditional knowledge and the diversity of the ‘voices’ of local people or scholars. Indeed it is through such “voices” that knowledge, values and practices are honoured while theoretical arguments are progressed from within Indigenous knowledges. This Journal has stood in support of the different “voices” within the WINHEC community. A range of Indigenous “voices” from across the world are therefore reflected in this Journal. This is the commitment of WINHEC.

No formal order has been imposed on the sequence of the articles which are indicated in the following summaries. This section is then concluded with a statement drawn from the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

University elevates Indigenous knowledge: Endorsement of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan 2010

This is the first article and tells of the progress of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan through the authorizing systems of Deakin University. This story began to be documented, by Elders and Knowledgeable Others, in the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) Journal of 2010. The article advises of Elder and Knowledgeable Others intellectual work, and their support that ensured the endorsement of the plan. The article also provides an indication of the responsibilities now likely to emerge in the areas of ethics, research and higher degree supervision.

The need for Elders in education: Five Indigenous perspectives from around the world is the title of the second article, which calls for Elders to be involved in all levels of education. Through the ‘voices’ of Indigenous people from across the world, this article addresses policy, language, culture and identity, among other matters. All require the input and wisdom of Elders.

The third article, The Role of Elders In Strengthening Indigenous Rights In New Zealand, documents the significant achievements for political, social and legal rights for the Maori in Aotearoa. Maori Eldership from a personal perspective, in its many forms, is also chronicled through the life and times of a dynamic Indigenous leader - the author. While linking to the contemporary United Nations a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Finally, within the numerous roles an Elder may take to advocate for their people also are outlined in some detail.

The fourth article, Incorporating Indigenous Knowledge into Research
Practice, discusses the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge within contemporary research practice at a number of levels, including 'The Authentic Human Engagement' approach. Thus, taking an etic approach the article provides some potential to challenging Western research.

Article five, Borana indigenous knowledge on water resource management, documents the water resource management of local knowledge holders. Importantly, this article gives life to enduring patterns of knowledge, behavior and values, articulating an Indigenous system of community-ownership. In addition the article tells of the relegation of such knowledge through the introduction of new Western approaches. The article therefore explores competently how Borana Indigenous knowledge in scarce water resource management compares with the rhetorical views of higher education.

Influence of Ogiek’s Indigenous Apprenticeship Education of Herbal Medicine and Cosmological Related-Belief Systems on Sustainable Environmental Conservation of Mau Forest, Kenya is the sixth article. This article follows the organisation and interpretation of ‘data’ through the use of an Indigenous approach founded in the knowledge of the Ogiek. An Indigenous interpretation is therefore central to articulating sustainable environmental conservation in this context. This is a very detailed and important article

Finally, Small Stories: A Guide to Learning and Teaching Sámi Arts and Crafts, brings Sámi values and practices to life, within curriculum on studies in Sámi handicrafts, offered within the Sámi University. This knowledge originally presented through personal experience of Sámi duodji (how to make Sámi handicrafts) within the family experience can underpin Sámi duodji to connect to the Sámi way of thinking and Sámi teaching it is argued. The article raises the question of whether formal education without input of Sámi can bring the duodji tradition to new generations.

In this journal, again this year, Indigenous “voices” from across the world, in unison, extol the dynamic liberation that all our traditional knowledges bring. These voices echo, with strength and committed passion, sentiment enshrined in article 31 of United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which states that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

Thank you to all who have, in the spirit of their ancestors, contributed to this journal.

University elevates Indigenous knowledge: Endorsement of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan 2010

Aunty Joan Vickery, Aunty Alma Thorpe, Aunty Melva Johnson, Aunty Kella Robinson, Aunty Merle Bamblett, Aunty Georgina Williams, Uncle Graham Austin, Aunty Rose Bamblett, Aunty Beverley Peters, Aunty Laura Bell, Aunty Lyn McInnes, Esme Bamblett, Lisa Thorpe, Helen Kennedy, Angela Clarke, Nicole Waddell, Annette Vickery, Jan Muir, Rosie Smith, Irene Morris, Veronica Arbon, Mark Rose, Wendy Brabham

All participants in this paper bring with them the knowledge of their Elders and Ancestral Spirits.

Abstract

The notion of Academic Freedom snarled the endorsement of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan at the Academic Board of Deakin University requiring discussion, written arguments and a presentation with the full authoritative direction of Elders and Respected Persons/Knowledgeable Others. This resulted in elevation of arguments on the primacy of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the ruling on the Research Plan several months later. This paper progress a previous article through outlining achievements and discussion of one aspect of this necessary work within and external to the University.

Introduction

In the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) Journal of 2010 we reported on the status of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan at Deakin University that had encountered impediments in its university approval process due to the Cultural Research Integrity Protocols (CRIP) framed within the document. The issue that the journal article surfaced was centred on the notion that the plan’s construction presented a challenge to issues of ‘academic freedom’ for the broader university. This caused the Institute of Koorie Education’s research plan to be stalled while a raft of meetings, position papers and finally a presentation to Academic Board was held. While this was conducted in the highest echelon of Western Knowledge construct a parallel discourse was also happening in the highest echelon of Indigenous Knowledge – Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others led these discussions.

The Institute of Koorie Education at Deakin in its twenty fifth year is regarded a leader in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education across the nation and, internationally. At the very core of Institute’s operation and ethos is authentic relationship with the communities of Indigenous students and staff that is enshrined instrumentally with a unique ‘joint management agreement’ with the Victorian Aboriginal Education Association Incorporated (VAEAI). The submission of the Institutes research plan is a testament to the many years of dreams and hard work that has evolved and crafted an Institute that is so grounded within the communities it seeks to serve. The fruition of the plan is predicated on achieving a ‘new agenda in research’ faithful to the integrity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Knowledge and these communities.

That is why the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan goes to great length to elevate and position Indigenous Knowledge as a system in its own right. Other more apologetic models tainted with degrees of comparative integration or assimilation with the Western dogma was not an option for the authentic positioning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Knowledge in the view of the Institute and the Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others. The
plan was drawn up through their direct input and in terms of their integrity. The plan represented this rigor in both the process and the production having challenged the Western principled notion of academic freedom. As a foundation behind nurturing and giving strength is the relationship that the Institute has with Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others. This dynamic and enduring relationship directs and was pivotal in the escalation of Indigenous Knowledge through the Academic Board ruling on the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan—working with a New Agenda in Community Empowered Research (Attachment 2) and the ITEMS FOR CONSIDERATION OR APPROVAL ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE VALIDITY (Attachment 1).

**Vestige of the colonial past**

In 1872 an effervescent Victorian Colony, cashed up from a gold rush and tempered by a failed revolution sought to flex its burgeoning democratic maturity by enacting through a ground breaking fiat that became law and made education free, secular and compulsory for all. This experiment in social and educational democracy was led by James Wilberforce Stephen who as Attorney General in the Francis government sought to avert chronic child labour abuse conditions. The Education Act of 1872 carried with it a progressive sense of egalitarianism, accessibility and clearly delineated lines of separation between state and church. Symbiotically however the Education Act of 1872 was far from being value neutral and for a time enacted what was effectively a government monopoly on knowledge systems. This was reflected at its very core and articulated demonstratively a curriculum that actively muted Aboriginal knowledge and effectively relegated it into invisibility and potential oblivion, “the curriculum devoid of Indigenous perspectives presents as a bland cadaverous offering that would for decades distort the nation’s national identity” (Rose 2011, Page 1). This vestige continued and regenerated itself infusing and contaminating all the other strands that make up the various arms of the Australian education sector and the ramifications of which are still well felt today. The case that embodied the submission to the Deakin University Academic Board was not an endeavour for mere recognition – but an acceptance of the argument posed for positioning Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge alongside western knowledge as knowledge systems in their own right.

This argument emanated from Elders and Respected Persons/Knowledgeable Others is captured in the constructs of the plan and prosecuted through university mechanisms including the academic board by Professors Brabham, Arbon and Rose.

**A case for primacy**

The thirty nine universities blanketing the nation many of which are held up as world best practice present even today as agents of this relegation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge systems. Apart from mere tokenistic
or symbolic gestures often enforced by Federal Education requirements on the whole they continue to place Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island knowledge in a position of subservience. From research codes that process Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island issues as derivatives of western knowledge to administrative, personnel and infrastructure one of the world’s oldest intellectual traditions is rendered an adjunct or appendage in deference to the knowledge of the newer western tradition.

That is why the Deakin University’s Academic Board ruling on the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan presents as a seminal mark on the Australian education landscape. The ruling notes that Indigenous knowledge systems claim ‘primacy’ with western and other knowledge systems and this immediately differentiates Deakin University as what is to be believed as the first university in the land to do so.

By claiming primacy as a principle neither Deakin University nor the ‘Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others’, who stood firm on this issue makes no value statement on either knowledge system, it places them as parallel entities. Simply put that there no subjugation of western knowledge for it is a rigorous and robust knowledge system as is the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge system. Importantly there is also no alliance between either knowledge system for that contorts the argument for primacy and inadvertently creates obtuse power relationships. Therefore by claiming the notion of primacy of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island knowledge systems there exists, the strongest planks for progressing Indigenous intellectual self determination.

The journey

It was in the WINHEC Journal of 2010 that the journey had started however at the time of print was yet to be determined. Addressing the challenge to academic freedom was achieved through position papers that defended Indigenous Knowledge Systems and their points of differentiation pervasive by those of critical minds that were able to subjugate and deconstruct their own knowledge system. By the very virtue of the notion of epistemology if researching an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander topic you are obliged to step out of one and into another albeit your epistemological claim can at best be considered fifty per cent. It was these very arguments that were launched and navigated through university mechanisms leading up to a presentation to the full academic board on May 11th, 2010.

The journey however was only made possible by the by the wisdom and tenacity of Victorian Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others who were involved in providing the vision, words and encouragement to the staff of the Institute to progress their arguments through the University channels. The three Aboriginal professors Brabham, Arbon and Rose did not stand alone before the assembled professorate at academic board for behind were spirit and the grit of their ancestors and the Victorian Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others who had
marshalled their cultural and ancestral authority to stand firm on this matter. Their collective Eldership provided clear and distinct directions for ‘working with a new agenda’ in research.

At academic board on May 11th, 2010 the Vice Chancellor at the time Sally Walker stood in respect and following questions the academic board chair Professor Joe Graffam complimented the presentation and gave two months for further deliberations and feedback. None were received however informal discussion was rife and at the meeting of Academic Board, 14th September, 2010, the plan was formally ratified.

This ratification of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan and endorsement of the primacy of Indigenous knowledge ushered a new era in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge and research on the Australian education landscape

**Dog chasing a car**

Progressing an agenda of Indigenous advantage is never easy within the monolithic Western academy. With the appointment of two Chairs for Indigenous Knowledge Systems to build on to its already established research profile the Institute has progressively moved towards the elevation of Indigenous Knowledge as a legitimate knowledge system within the academy. This task however was brought into contention when the former Vice Chancellor Sally Walker queried dimensions of the Institute’s research plan. Vice Chancellor Sally Walker who while regarded as a supporter of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education as a consummate academic leader sought to ask the critical question that a Vice Chancellor as defender of the gates should ask which she did so courageously without fear or favour. The question was: How does this impact Academic Freedom?

This created an opportunity to prosecute at the highest level of university academic governance the proposition of Indigenous Knowledge systems. It was therefore with great tribulation that at a gathering of Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others at the Institute’s ‘research hotspot’ that the Director of the Institute was able to announce that Deakin University’s Academic Board ruling was in the positive.

This was a defining moment for the Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others many of whom have a lifetime in the pursuit of such issues. Their humbleness in victory was seminal and with barely enough time for celebration and consistent with their great wisdom they posed the question with great symbolic eloquence:

“... we have been like a dog chasing a car, have we ever thought what the dog would do with the car if it was caught”.

Having ‘caught the car’ and being the first university to endorse the arguments surrounding the validity of Indigenous Knowledges places us at the edge of a precipice laden with huge responsibilities and infinite possibilities – as we face the dawn of a new era and a new agenda in Community Empowered Research.

**A new era and a new agenda in community empowered research**

The acceptance by Deakin University’s Academic Board of the Institute of
Koorie Education Research Plan carries with it multiple challenges both for the Institute, for the broader university and for communities. The challenges for all actually reduce to the clear call from the Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others for ‘honest’ research. The tipping point that ignited the call for review by senior university personnel was triggered around the CRIP (Cultural Research Integrity Protocols) which was seen as impeding ‘academic freedom’. Around the table at all the ‘research hotspots’ were stories by the Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others of research abuse and exploitation. Certainly the years of lobbying on the issue had been instrumental in raising the standard in contemporary ethical mandated compliance such as the National Ethics Application Form¹ (NEAF); however it was considered that even these didn’t capture the fundamental differences between knowledge systems.

The core point of differentiation revolved around the fact that western knowledge systems were essentially transactional and as such shuns relationship that could contaminate the objectivity of the knowledge transfer. On the other hand Indigenous knowledge transfer is predicated on relationship and therefore any knowledge exchange that is not linked to a relationship is to be cautioned and may restrict the flow of information. In order to leverage the best and in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander terms the most ethical and meaningful exchange when dealing with a topic that involves Indigenous matters the Cultural Research Integrity Protocols (CRIP) honours such relationship and this is central to the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan that gained carriage through academic board.

CRIP obviously calls for adherence to National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) (2007)), NEAF and AIATSIS (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (2000)) documents however it also requires compliance around issues that define the quality of the research relationship such as evidence of;

1. Inclusion of Statewide Organisations in involvement and engagement.
2. Local negotiation
3. Evidence of authentic community involvement and engagement
4. Statement of value
5. Statement of reimbursement or investment by community
6. Residual relationship with community

A unique feature of the CRIP is that it calls for all research including desktop and commercial research some of which falls outside the domain of NHMRC, NEAF and AIATSIS compliance to be evaluated.

The Institute of Koorie Education is highly aware of the numerous levels of work now required in research, supervision and other areas. Notably in the research field the Institute of Koorie Education at Deakin University does not wish to nor does it have the capacity to mobilise a policing action in order to ensure compliance. What it does want to do is to influence the research culture in order to gain higher standards of research particularly...
one that benefits Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people including communities in surfacing, affirming and securing Indigenous knowledge and assist communities in ‘knowledge based’ solutions. In order to achieve this over 2011 and 2012 the Institute of Koorie Education in collaboration with the Deakin Research Office will therefore create two products that will operationally progress the spirit and intent of CRIP. One product being an ‘on-line’ training package for all those proposing Indigenous research at Deakin University and the other being a register of all research undertaken at Deakin University involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

The proposed CRIP training package is in its infancy however forward plans predict a platform whereby the user views and reads selected material that relate to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research. Following this the computer generates eight to ten randomly selected questions from a bank of questions and on successful completion the applicant will receive a CRIP registration number. The material and questions will be approved by Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others as is the principle and ethos at the Institute.

Similarly the CRIP register will be created in tandem with the Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others. The register will list on a university website all relevant details of and research activity that they are undertaking that includes Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people undertaking research. This declaration will list principles central to the community empowered research agenda and will be accessible by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and organisations.

The two projects are deemed the best way to operationally initiate the CRIP as a tool to influence the research culture at Deakin and beyond and to protect and secure Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges.

Conclusion

This paper progresses discussion on the ratification of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan—working with a New Agenda in Community Empowered Research while outlining the elevation of Indigenous Knowledge systems through the unwavering cultural authority of the Elders and Respected Persons / Knowledgeable Others and the negotiations of the three Aboriginal professors Brabham, Arbon and Rose, as it begins to outline the next phase of required focussed and responsible work within the broad area of research.

References

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies 2000, Guidelines for Ethical Research in Indigenous Studies, AIATSIS, May.
National Health and Medical Research Council and Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, 2007, National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, Australian Government, Australian Research Council, March, Canberra
To recall that at Meeting 3 of the Academic Board, held on 11 May 2010, the Academic Board received a presentation from the Director of the Institute of Koorie Education and the professors for Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The presentation was on the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan—Working with a New Agenda in Community Empowered Research (Doc AB2010/03/46) which outlines a cultural research integrity protocol. Also tabled was an attachment to the plan entitled Aboriginal Knowledge Validity (Doc AB2010/03/45). After a full and robust discussion, the Academic Board made a commitment to revisit the matter at a meeting in the near future for endorsement. To note that the main assertions of the cultural research integrity protocol are that Indigenous knowledge systems claim primacy with western and other knowledge systems. All research (including desktop and empirical) involving Aboriginal culture, people, and communities will benefit from collaboration and negotiation with Indigenous experts within and external to the University. To approve the recommendation:

that the Academic Board endorse the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan—Working with a New Agenda in Community Empowered Research (Doc AB2010/03/46), which outlines the cultural research integrity protocol, as a guide to researchers conducting or intending to conduct research pertaining to Aboriginal people, communities and/or culture.

that the Plan be located on the University’s Research website so that researchers have access to the protocol as a guide.

Appendix One:

Deakin University Academic Board Deliberation

Items for consideration or approval, Aboriginal validity

To recall that at Meeting 3 of the Academic Board, held on 11 May 2010, the Academic Board received a presentation from the Director of the Institute of Koorie Education and the professors for Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The presentation was on the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan—Working with a New Agenda in Community Empowered Research (Doc AB2010/03/46) which outlines a cultural research integrity protocol. Also tabled was an attachment to the plan entitled Aboriginal Knowledge Validity (Doc AB2010/03/45). After a full and robust discussion, the Academic Board made a commitment to revisit the matter at a meeting in the near future for endorsement. To note that the main assertions of the cultural research integrity protocol are that Indigenous knowledge systems claim primacy with western and other knowledge systems. All research (including desktop and empirical) involving Aboriginal culture,
Appendix Two:

Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan—working with a new agenda in community empowered research

Preamble
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people belong to the oldest continuous intellectual tradition. For centuries ‘ways of knowing’ have passed from generation to generation in forms that predate and eclipse both the printing press and the great universities of the Middle Ages which are the iconic rudiments of western knowledge. Life as we know it today revolves around competing knowledge systems be they global/local, disciplinary, commercial, technical and national and within this competition for primacy sits contest for the hierarchical positioning of knowledge. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge as a national and educational resource, has for too long been subjugated to levels of tokenistic opportunism and novelty by the broader academy. The appointment of two ‘Chairs of Indigenous Knowledge Systems’ is a dynamic statement by the University to recognise firstly the significant work that the Institute of Koorie Education has made in teaching, learning and research over two decades as well as with community endorsement set new agenda in intellectual and community engagement.

Working with a new agenda
Consistent with the Institutes’ values that are grounded in community principles and engagement direction for this plan was sought by way of workshop that was held with Victorian Elders and Respected Persons. The workshop delivered a clear and distinct message on research generally and within its dimensions a new agenda. For too long the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and their communities have been buffeted by research agendas that simply put took without giving. Elders and Respected Persons called for ‘honest research’ based upon the principles of trust, integrity, transparency and ethics. While these are not inconsistent with ‘best practice’ models of general research the core issue here for community groups is the notion of access and positioning within the research protocol. The challenge that was put to the Institute by the Elders and Respected Persons was repositioning the community from a passive subject base to a place of empowered ownership. This ownership extends to instigation. High level quality research is expensive and usually done to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and not instigated by them. Community Empowered Research as an agenda of the Institute of Koorie Education will work with community and community organisations to either assist or even conduct projects that they would not normally be able to embark upon. In short as a result of our collaboration with Community Empowered Research projects the capacity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people will be enhanced as either participants of or drivers in research projects.

Goal
The overall goal of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Agenda 2009-2012 is:

“To enhance in a culturally authentic manner the capacity and capability of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
people and communities to manage their knowledge in research contexts.”

**Aims**

In order to do this the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan 2009-2012 intends to:

1. Enhance Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge capacity through higher degree programs by community based delivery modes.
2. Working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities in research projects that surface, affirm, apply and secure Indigenous Knowledge.
3. Facilitate community-based research to critical questions/issues in partnership with individuals, communities and community organisations through knowledge solutions.

**Background**

The Board of the Institute of Koorie Education developed the Koorie Research Program Ethics, Protocols and Methodologies Discussion Paper (Atkinson, Brabham, Henry et. al., 1994). The Institute of Koorie Education Board also proposed the development of a Research Centre (IKE 1998). Both documents highlight the importance of communities and working with people in communities in order to undertake research. The proposal for the development of a Centre was not implemented however a growing research program has been established. This has been strengthened through increasing postgraduate completions, including three Indigenous research doctorates over 2006-7. The continuing growth of Indigenous research and Indigenous research capacity in the Institute of Koorie Education is now to be encouraged and supported within Deakin University (Deakin University 2008). The Institute of Koorie Education, Research Plan will therefore be responsive to community research aspirations and researcher capacity growth while working in partnership with the University.

The Institute of Koorie Education, Research Plan 2008-2012 will focus such growth by dovetailing into Deakin University’s goals, strategies and Research and Research Training Plan 2008-2012. Deakin University’s goal for Research and Research Training is:

To improve Deakin’s research performance so that it is in the top third of the Australian higher education sector by building a critical mass of researchers who will develop a distinctive portfolio of high quality discovery, applied and commercial research.

The Institute of Koorie Education, Research Plan is also cognisant of the 2007-2012 Indigenous Education Statement and is aligned with Indigenous Higher Education Policy. The Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Council (IHEAC), for example, seeks to “encourage the development of a climate in Australian higher education where the level of Indigenous postgraduate enrolment increases; the number of Indigenous researchers increases; and, Indigenous research is strengthened and enhanced” (Commonwealth of Australia 2007, p.2).
Stronger Futures IHEAC conference report progresses this position by setting out to “begin a new era of collaboration capable of transforming the sector and building the capacity of Indigenous Higher education to provide stronger futures for Indigenous people” (Commonwealth of Australia 2007, p.11) through a national strategy for Indigenous research, building capacity and providing funding support among other matters (Commonwealth of Australia 2007, p.18, 19).

**Cultural research integrity protocol**

At the Elders and Respected Persons workshop a clear and distinct call for ‘honest research’ based upon the principles of trust, integrity, transparency and ethics was made. This is partly captured in the second aim of the

Research plan by;

“Working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities in research projects that surface, affirm, apply and secure Indigenous Knowledge”

The issue of being able to secure Indigenous Knowledge is one that was projected by Elders and Respected Persons as a significant issue. At the workshop we were questioned on our responsibility to ensure not only the integrity of our work but the research capacity of the broader university. Therefore Cultural Research Integrity Protocol (CRIP) will be a strategy that looks beyond baseline University Ethics to preserve the cultural integrity of the project at the same time protects the Deakin brand within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community. In order to do this a mapping of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research that is undertaken under the auspice of Deakin including collaborative and commercial ventures will be captured. Every research project will be open to audit and review along following principles:-

- Adherence to University or other appropriate ethical standard eg NHMRC, NEAF.
- Adherence to AIATSIS or other appropriate guidelines
- Inclusion of Statewide Organisations in involvement and engagement.
- Local negotiation
- Evidence of authentic community involvement and engagement
- Statement of value.
- Statement of reimbursement for investment by community
- Residual relationship with community.
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<th>Aim</th>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Measured</th>
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<td>Enhance Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge capacity through higher degree programs by community based delivery modes.</td>
<td>Promoting, attracting, supporting and supervising through to completion Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in Masters and PhD programs.</td>
<td>Growth rate of formal enrolments and completions.</td>
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<td>Workshop promotion to honours students.</td>
<td>Number of workshops held.</td>
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<td>Conducting in communities’ research incubation workshops.</td>
<td>Number of workshops held.</td>
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<td>Working closely and with respect with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities in projects that surface, affirm, apply and secure Indigenous Knowledge.</td>
<td>Where appropriate and where invited work with the community on issues of surfacing local knowledge including the necessary protocols that secure ownership by the community. These include assisting with knowledge management systems.</td>
<td>Number of community engagements held.</td>
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<td>Working predominantly with and directed by the community produce knowledge collaborations in various media formats that further Indigenous Knowledge Systems.</td>
<td>Number of workshops on research and ethics.</td>
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<td>Where appropriate and where invited work with the community on stages of research in order to transfer skill on matters that require community-based solutions by way of knowledge solutions.</td>
<td>Number of invited speaking engagements.</td>
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<td>Number of research activities completed.</td>
<td>Facilitate community-based solutions to critical questions/issues in partnership with individuals, communities and community organisations through research.</td>
<td>Where appropriate and where invited work with the community on stages of research in order to transfer skill on matters that require community-based solutions and knowledge control.</td>
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<td>Where appropriate and where invited work with the community on stages of research in order to transfer skill on matters that require community-based solutions and knowledge control.</td>
<td>Number of community engagements held.</td>
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The need for Elders in education: Five Indigenous perspectives from around the world

Dr. Noelani Iokepa-Guerrero, Barbara Carlson, Larry Railton, Dallas Pettigrew, Eloise Locust, Tjalaminu Mia

Abstract

Elders are the knowledge keepers and knowledge teachers of Indigenous societies. The perspectives, skills, knowledge, stories, and teachings of Elders must have its place in western academy and higher education. The article provides five passages of Indigenous perspectives, stories, examples of including Elders, their wisdom, knowledge, and expertise, in the educational institution.

Introduction

Diversity continues to impact the educational system and the academy profoundly. Garcia (1995) states, that by the year 2026, 70 percent of all American students will be nonwhite. “As the proportion of minorities rises within an institution, institutional success depends increasingly on minority success” (Garcia 1990, p. 73). Educational institutions must address the needs of students of color, ethnic minorities, and indigenous populations that some day will be the majority in academia (Iokepa-Guerrero, 1998). Recognizing, honoring, and incorporating the culture, values, and traditions of students of color is a step towards addressing the needs of these students in education. Particularly, for the Indigenous population, the respect, recognition, and inclusion of the Elder as a source of knowledge and expertise in the educational institution is of utmost importance. Elders are the knowledge keepers and knowledge teachers of Indigenous societies. The perspectives, skills, knowledge, stories, and teachings of Elders must have its place in western academy and higher education. Indigenous peoples have much to share with the world. The following passages are five perspectives, stories, examples of including Elders, their wisdom, knowledge, and expertise, in the educational institution.

Ka Hulu Kupuna: The Elder, a choice and precious feather
A Hawai'i perspective
Contributed by B. Noelani Iokepa-Guerrero, Faculty at Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke’elikōlani College, University of Hawai’i at Hilo, Hawai’i.

Nui nā mea a nā kūpuna e a’o ai. Nui ka ‘ike o nā kūpuna i ka wā ma mua a inā ‘a’ole a’o e pau ana. Hiki ke há’awi aku a ho‘omau i ia ‘ike o nalowale, a pehea lá? ‘O ia ko’u kuleana e ho‘ōla i kēlā mau mea. (Nicholas, 2011)

Translation: There are many things the Elders have to teach. The knowledge of the Elders is extremely immense and important. Elders know a lot from before, and if it is not taught it will be lost. Transfer, give and perpetuate this knowledge or else it will disappear, and then what? This is my responsibility to revitalize these things.

In old Hawai‘i, feathers from the native birds of the forest were gathered to create adornments for the chiefly class. Because of the skill and technique necessary to obtain the feathers without harming the birds, these feathers were highly valued. The title of this passage, Ka Hulu Kupuna, is an ‘ōlelo no‘eau, wise Hawaiian saying and proverb,
that likens the Kupuna, Elder, to a most precious feather. The metaphor illustrates the understanding Hawaiians have of the educational, cultural, and spiritual importance of and their reverence for kupuna.

The term kupuna means elder, ancestor, grandparent, starting point, source. The word itself proves the knowledge holding role of the Elder in the Hawaiian society. The Kupuna is usually one of the first teachers of the child from infancy and is a constant mentor and guide for the child, family, and community. The genealogical place of the Kupuna in the family and his/her experience makes the Kupuna by practically a natural teacher and knower of many things. The Kupuna is the source of the family, the source of knowledge and information from which new things grow and sprout.

Stated by Kupuna Lolena Nicholas, the opening quote holds many pearls of wisdom. The first lesson and example of the importance of Elders, illustrated in the quote, is the power and knowledge of language. Many of the cultural secrets, wisdoms, traditions, and teachings of the past are locked in the traditional language of the people. To unlock this treasure, one must know the language. About 30 years ago, the Native Hawaiian language was on the verge of extinction. There were less than 50 Native Hawaiian language speakers under age eighteen. Lolena Nicholas was one of the handful of Native Hawaiian speakers at that time who, through the language revitalization movement of the ʻAha Pūnana Leo and the Pūnana Leo schools, helped to nurse the state of the Hawaiian language back to health. Today there are thousands of young Hawaiian language speakers (Iokepa-Guerrero, 2010). This success is largely attributed to Kupuna like Lolena who continued to hold this knowledge of the ʻōlelo makuahine, mother tongue, and shared and taught the knowledge of the Hawaiian language to the next generation(s).

The second lesson from the quote is the importance of looking to the past. Generations who have gone before have mastered many skills, crafts, arts, and sciences. The repository of the Elder is great. Why try to reinvent something that has already been done or proven? Learn from the lessons of the past. Look to the traditions and teachings in history.

The third lesson from the quote is the importance of perpetuating the knowledge of the Elders forward. This lesson embodies the responsibility to care, uphold, and continue the teachings. Teach the skills, knowledge, stories, and traditions of the Kupuna to the next generation(s).

The last lesson from the quote is the importance of moʻolelo (history, legends, stories, and talk story). Many lessons are found in the stories told and the talk story nature of everyday conversation. The quote opening this passage was taken from a mere 5-minute conversion with Lolena while she was caring for my youngest child at the Pūnana Leo preschool. Listen well to learn the wisdom. The knowledge of the Kupuna does not necessarily come in lecture form or written word but most often in
Kupuna Lolena Nicholas is a mentor in the University of Hawai‘i system. A mānaleo, Native speaker, she is faculty in the Ke‘ena Mānaleo of Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. While she does not teach in a typical college classroom, she shares her stories, expertise, and skills in the Hawaiian language, mele (music, song and poetry), hana no‘eau (cultural arts and craft), and mo‘olelo. She succeeds other Kūpuna, such as Eddie Ka‘ana‘anā, Lydia Hale, Kainoa Wright, ‘Iokepa Maka‘ai, and Josephine Lindsey who once worked at the University in the same capacity. These Kūpuna serve as cultural guides, mentors, and experts in Hawaiian language and traditions. The Mānaleo program has been at the Mānoa campus since the 1980’s. University students and staff of the Hawaiian Language program of Mānoa are able to meet, converse, and learn from the Kupuna on campus. As a class requirement, Hawaiian Language students meet weekly with Lolena (Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, 2007). Students have the opportunity and venue to converse with a Native speaker and apply book knowledge to real life experience. Students learn cultural practices hands-on from an expert practitioner. Students grow academically, socially, and culturally from the teachings of the Kupuna—a holistic and culturally responsive approach to education honoring the knowledge of the Elder.

Larry Kimura is another example of a Hawaiian Elder working in the University of Hawai‘i system. Larry is an assistant professor at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo’s Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani College. Growing up listening to the stories of his Kupuna (Tsai, 2006, WorldNewsSite.com, 2002), Larry is skilled in the Hawaiian language, mo‘olelo, mele, wahi pana o Hawai‘i (famous places of Hawai‘i), and hana no‘eau. Unlike Lolena, Larry teaches in the typical University classroom. He weaves his expertise and knowledge in the Hawaiian language and culture curriculum he teaches in his college courses. In 2002, Larry earned his Master of Arts in Hawaiian Language and Literature (Starbulletin.com, 2002). He is currently working towards his doctorate in Hawaiian and Indigenous Language and Culture Revitalization.

While Hilo’s campus does not have a Native speaker position and mānaleo program, Larry’s contribution to the academy is testament to the versatility and ability of Kupuna who straddle both worlds of tradition and modern times perpetuating the cultural wisdom and excellence of Elders.

Kupuna Lolena Nicholas (2011), who spends her days teaching both young students in the Pūnana Leo preschool and adult students at the University, sums up the role of the Kupuna, “Hana me nā keiki, hana ma ke kulanui...like ka pahuhopu, e ola mau a ho‘omau i ka ‘ike o nā kūpuna.” Whether you work with children or work at the University, the objective is the same, perpetuate and continue the knowledge of the kūpuna.
Elders in education
A Northern Manitoba perspective

Contributed by Barbara Carlson, Faculty at University College of the North, Manitoba

Note: Most of the information in this passage is taken from the University College of the North website (University College of the North, 2011). Information in this passage is credited to the University College of the North Kenanow Bachelor of Education Program and the following who have helped in the creation of the Kenanow Model---Elder Stella Neff, Elder Mabel Bignell, David Lathlin, Pat Lathlin, Esther Sanderson, and Doris Young.

Elders are respected and honored by their communities for their spirituality, wisdom, high intelligence, knowledge. Elders are recognized for their gifts for their love and knowledge of the land. Within University College of the North (UCN) Elders are role models, resources and advisors providing guidance and support to students, staff and administration community (University College of the North, 2011). University College of the North has a council of Elders. The council works in partnership and provides guidance within UCN by sharing Elders' traditional knowledge of wisdom beliefs and values. The following is an example of how Elders are partners in education. This model demonstrates the importance of Elders in education and the wealth of knowledge they bring.

The Kenanow Learning Model is an education system that served Aboriginal people well for generations throughout time and history. It is about identity, a place of belonging, community history roles and responsibilities for generations of families and the process of handing down knowledge in larger context, the community that supports and nourishes the heart, mind body and spirit (University College of the North, 2011).

Kenanow is intended to generate constructive solutions to systemic issues within the education system in the areas of literacy, language and culture, identity, teacher supply, training and retention and community support for learning. Researchers and educators will continue to explore the model's value as a tool for positive change in teacher education for Aboriginal and northern students (University College of the North, 2011).

The model is circular, containing 3 circles—an inner circle and an outer circle which are joined by a circle at the top.

(1) Inner Circle – Looking Back
The inner circle represents the past generations and is the heart of the Aboriginal knowledge base protected and sustained by our Elders, ancestors, and memory. It is comprised of cultural histories that have been carried on from generation to generation via oral traditions of storytelling, ceremony, songs and teachings, as well as rituals and sharing. These histories reflect in the names of places, people and elements of creation, a spirit that is alive in the land. They were then and remain today etched in the memories of the people and the land (Absolon...
(2) Outer Circle – Looking Forward

The outer circle are the children, the youth and future generations represented by our children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren – the children/youth of today and also those yet unborn.

(3) Top Circle – Kenanow/Us

We, all of us, Kenanow, parents and educators, are represented by the top circle where the two circles meet. It is us/we Kenanow who are responsible for transmitting knowledge we received from past generations (from Circle 1), down to our children and youth….that in education, our children must have a way of learning that is based on Our Story, and our original ways of knowing and teachings (University College of the North, 2011).

Terms in this passage:

• Aboriginal – Include all Original Peoples of the land and their descendants including Cree, Metis, Saulteaux/Ojibwe, and Inuit. It is a more common term in Canada rather than Indigenous.

Aboriginal post secondary institutions gathering space
A British Columbia Perspective

Contributed by Larry Railton, Administrator at Langara College, Vancouver, British Columbia

Canadian success of Aboriginal learners in post secondary education greatly depends on supports and Aboriginal services available within their learning environment. This said, there is a massive amount of research in Canada to back up this statement, much of this found in government surveys and academic research. A quick reference supporting this assertion can be attributed to the 2007 Aboriginal education plan the Provincial Government of British Columbia Canada implemented. The plan released a 65 million dollar policy framework supporting Aboriginal students in post secondary institutions.
Aboriginal services plans and Aboriginal Special Project Funding were launched in an effort to recruit and retain Aboriginal students (Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development, 2008).

One of the strategies, now outcomes, was to build Aboriginal Gathering Spaces in PSI’s. Funding and operating capital is the responsibility of the institutions as this infusion of money would be understood as a one time opportunity to build and create a space for Aboriginal students to gather, connect with like minded colleagues, as well as creating a cultural learning environment holistic to individuals’ needs. At the same time PSI’s that have gathering spaces use the spaces to increase Aboriginal awareness on campus. The greater expectation of these spaces would be to support and create a safe space for Aboriginal students to gather, building an environment of supports and collegiality leading to greater retention of Aboriginal students in post secondary.

Gathering spaces, created by this funding, supports Aboriginal student including services such as Aboriginal counselors, traditional healers, and Elders. Technology within gathering spaces also supports Aboriginal learners making available computer systems, printers, and faxes. Many gathering spaces offer a place for students to prepare foods and on special occasions potlucks to celebrate successes.

It is important to note that many Aboriginal students attending PSI’s need support, not just academically but spiritually, in part through Elder guidance. Rural students coming into urban settings often experience culture shock leaving their rural home community. Thus it is important to welcome the role of the Elder into the gathering space as an Elder in residence. This important factor confirms the commitment to the Aboriginal learners while creating a culturally safe environment.

Elders, the keepers of knowledge, carry a responsibility as healers of our people. An example of this is an Elder in resident program that guide students through difficult times while in post secondary. Ardent listeners, Elders carry the knowledge passed down by the grandmothers and grandfathers and carry their experience into the gathering space. Recently on a visit to a local PSI an Elder reported, “Student’s seek me out when I come on campus, I help to calm them when their work is too much” (B. Gladue, personal communication, January, 2011). In this case, the Elder’s responsibility was to calm the student, helping them focus on the issue at hand. In another conversation with an Elder, the elder reported “…is a good student, she is sad that she is so far from home, it’s good she has lunch with me when she is at school, we talk a lot about home her family. I know her family through my cousin” (R. Point, personal communication, November, 2009). This is an example of student support that connects the student back to family at the same time remind the student that the work must be done even though at times it might be too much.

Recently, at a PSI in Vancouver an Aboriginal student became ill with kidney disease. During the student’s
time attending the PSI, students heard about the illness. In western medicine the system is built to solicit potential donors. Matching donors is an onerous process and often takes time, at the same time, putting the patient at risk. In the case of this student, the gathering space created a sense of family that developed relationships, with that, the student’s newfound family (cohort) stepped up. Seven Aboriginal students stepped up and offered to give a kidney to the student. All seven of the students applied and went through the screening process of being a potential donor. One of the seven students during the writing of this is now tissue matching to ensure a match. With a little luck and overseeing of the creator, the student will have a new kidney prior to the fall session. Along with Elder support, the connections that students make are often lifelong relationships strengthening and rekindling lost family connections. “I was scared when I came to college, I was afraid that I wouldn’t fit in. The best thing about the college is the gathering space for me it’s the place that found friends that have become my family” (A. Derrick, personal communication, April 2011).

The focus of the Federal government of Canada and the Provincial government is to increase the numbers of Aboriginal Post Secondary Students. It is early to quantitatively report the successes of increased numbers as a result of gathering spaces. That said, the qualitative report appears to be leaning towards increased numbers of Aboriginal students entering PSI’s as well as, increased numbers of graduates as a result of cultural support and services that have been encouraged. It appears with the few outcomes demonstrated in this short essay, the 2007 Aboriginal Education Policy was accurate in understanding the need for a place for Aboriginal students to gather, connect with each other supported by Elders.

Terms in this passage:
• Aboriginal - Include Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

Involving Elders in higher education
A Cherokee Nation perspective

Contributed by Dallas Pettigrew and Eloise Locust of the Cherokee Nation, Oklahoma

The Cherokee Nation seeks to involve our Elders in education at all levels, from early childhood programs, through elementary and high school, and into college. It’s not hard to imagine how an extra grandparent can fit into the day of a young child in an educational or child development setting, as we think of grandparents as caretakers already. However, we do not often think of grandparents as supports on college campuses for young adults who are “becoming mature” there. The Cherokee Nation is currently developing a plan to encourage students’ success in completing college (Cherokee Nation, 2011).

In a partnership with Northeastern State University, the Cherokee Nation is establishing designated residence halls that are exclusive to Cherokee students. We hope to establish a sense of community among the students. We hope to create a “home away
from home” to encourage students to complete college. Historically many, even most, Cherokee students drop out of college before completion often because they lack the family support they enjoyed at home. Being away from parents, siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles, and grandparents, is sometimes too overwhelming for students and they return home before finishing college. Hopefully our Cherokee Residence Halls will provide students the supports they miss by not being home.

Cherokee Elder and philosopher, Benny Smith (2010), has taught us that we should not have to give up one aspect of our lives (the traditional realm) in order to accept and thrive in another aspect (the modern realm). In order for us to maintain tradition while mastering the modern we must not leave one for the other. Involving our Elders in our higher education experience is one way to maintain our traditional life in the modern world. Our Elders will transmit cultural wisdom to our students during all the times the students are not involved in class work. They may help plan and prepare meals, offer advice and encouragement, and provide that sense of home that may help stave off the homesickness that draws students away from college.

During times that the school is closed for breaks or long weekends, these Elders may be willing to offer their homes and families to students who can’t travel to their own homes. This surrogate family could become an additional system of support for the student and the relationship could carry on for a lifetime. Systems of support, sense of connectedness to the college community as well as the feeling of family are protective factors that will encourage our students to remain in college and earn their degrees. Elders on campus will help us maintain balance, harmony and respect, the ways of keeping our inner spirit strong, and the means to incorporate our “keetoowah” nature alive. We hope we can find the proper balance of home and university.

Terms in this passage:
- Cherokee Nation - the governing body of approximately 250,000 Cherokee members with its headquarters located in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. The Cherokee Nation boundary covers 14 counties in northeast Oklahoma.
- Becoming mature - the nearest English translation of how Cherokees explain going off to school.
- Keetoowah - the traditional Cherokee word explaining the spirit (essence) of our people.

Looking to our Elders for direction: The importance of cultural inclusion immersion within mainstream education
An Australian perspective

Contributed by Tjalminu Mia, Managing Director of Sister Kates Home Kids Healing and Remembrance Center, and Healing and Cultural Grounding Programs, Perth.

The education curriculum in Australia has changed shape at primary and secondary levels over a number of years, and though a major benchmark nationally was to give Aboriginal
peoples access to education – 1967 Referendum (National Archives of Australia, 2011), the majority teaching/learning curriculum is still greatly imbedded in western culture and history. As well, also inclusive now is a high degree focus in the areas of economic industry, mining, off-shore multinational economic development collaborations and business management, primarily aimed at the high level of international students attending university across the country (University of Western Australia, 2011).

There is however, from an Aboriginal perspective, still failure to recognize that the curriculum falls short of adequately catering to the cultural, emotional, social and educational needs of Aboriginal students. This is across the board, particularly at the pre-primary and primary levels. These years (in educational learning terms) are the important primary learning years of a child’s learning experience and development, and alternately determining a child’s thinking and outlook of the world around them. This has always been a major concern for our Elders, particularly in reference to the increasing population in Australia with a high in-flux of many migrant cultures now making Australia their home.

Though there is Aboriginal cultural themes introduced into mainstream learning modules with some success, this mostly falls to Aboriginal teachers who are both limited in numbers and what they can teach, and who are also pushed to extremes to cater to the needs of all students in their class, especially children with learning difficulties (special needs) and children from multicultural backgrounds, with the language barrier being a major factor in their progress. This puts our Aboriginal teachers under enormous pressure, coupled with the knowledge that they are limited as teaching practitioners in enabling spiritual and emotional wellbeing and cultural learning opportunities for Aboriginal children.

Though the development and implementation of the Follow the Dream Program (The Government of Western Australia Department of Education, 2011) for Aboriginal students has also had some success and is offered to Aboriginal students in High Schools, it is not compulsory for Aboriginal students to attend. Our Elders feel this as with the non-inclusion of appropriate cultural learning programs in early childhood mainstream curriculum is an issue and needs to be addressed at the community grassroots and federal/state government levels.

As an Indigenous researcher and oral historian, I have had numerous discussions with our Elders concerning a wide range of issues that affect our peoples collectively (Mia, 2000), including the need for appropriate cultural grounding programs for our younger generations. Their shared thoughts and views are constantly aligned in regard to the importance of cultural inclusion within mainstream education curriculums. They feel it is not enough to offer our children cultural programs that are piece meal, as this only causes further confusion because of the lack of continuity. Though many of our Elders have participated in cultural
programs within both primary and secondary schools, including hands on application in cultural learning activities, they still feel this is not enough to both sustain cultural learning for our young ones as well as for them to retain the cultural knowledge they share with them. This is why they feel a set of compulsory cultural programs need to be developed by Aboriginal staff working in Departments of Education, and where they work along side our Elder’s who would guidance them in developing a cultural curriculum that would be culturally sound and would greatly help our children to re-connect with their Aboriginal heritage, which in turn, would aide them to identify as Aboriginal people.

As Nyungar Elder Beryl Dixon voiced at an Elder’s meeting to discuss various issues affecting Aboriginal children, “I’m 85 years old, a grandmother and great-grandmother, and I have seen the face of Australia change many times over, but the worse thing I have witnessed is the destruction of our children’s identity. I see the confusion in the eyes of many of our kids because a lot of them don’t really know who they are or what it means to be Aboriginal.

If you ask some of our kids what it means to be a Nyungar, they couldn’t really answer you and this is because they identify with every other culture around the world other than their own. It makes me sad to say this but it’s true in many ways, and we need to get more cultural things happening for our younger generations before it is too late. I think the Australia government and the education department have a lot to answer for…” (HACC Elders program – People Who Care, Western Australia, 2009).

Building cultural pathways within mainstream education to enable our children to access cultural knowledge must be considered, and this could happen by providing opportunities via a special cultural unit made up of Aboriginal cultural teachers, who would be taught by our Elders, who then would in turn, teach our children the cultural knowledge they need to understand themselves better. Feeling strong in your identity makes for a stronger future (Mia, 2011)

Our Elders feel the current education curriculum needs to change and be more embracing of Aboriginal children’s needs, and should include an alternative learning strategy paradigm that is culturally sound and reflects our true cultural heritage and identity, which would also include Australia’s contact history of Aboriginal peoples and their lands (Colbong, 1999).

As stated by Nyungar poet, writer and human rights activist talking at a Black Deaths in Custody rally.

“The loss of identity and Karrnagh – (shame) that many of our peoples, especially our children suffer today is a sad thing to witness, and we all know that this stems from the continuous oppression we all still experience. Couple this with the high rate of imprisonment of our men, women and children incarcerated in prisons and detention centres, it’s any wonder we feel the way we do. But we all need to keep strong and fight for our human rights and that of our children if we want to see them take their rightful place as First Peoples of Country and our future Leaders. We need to work together to make this happen. We need to stand strong together and help our kids heal from past injustices and heal the hurt they and we still feel from the intergenerational trauma of oppression, assimilation, and the Stolen Generations. Talking our Truth, and Walking our Truth can only bring with it a positive way forward for us all especially for our kids, and the best
Terms in this passage

- Aboriginal – Indigenous person to the lands of Australia
- Nyungar – a generic term to identify an Aboriginal person from the southwest, Great Southern region of Western Australia, who are also part of the 14 family groups that make up the Nyungar Nation
- First Peoples of Country – term to identify people’s cultural, spiritual and bloodline links (through family & community connections) to the land
- Stolen Generations – Aboriginal children who were taken away (without the consent/or permission from Aboriginal mothers & fathers) by the Chief Protector of Aborigines, and placed in various children’s orphanages and homes throughout Australia over a span of 8 decades.

Summary

“Today, more and more are looking to the diverse cultures of the world. It is a rebirth and freedom to share our knowledge. It is not only the vogue thing to do... It is the right thing” (L. Railton, personal communication, May 2011). Indigenous peoples look to Elders as the knowledge keepers and knowledge teachers of their cultures. Elders hold a high place in their Indigenous communities. Elders’ position of value must also be accepted and acknowledged in the western educational institution. Elders, their wisdom, knowledge, stories, and teachings must be included and recognized in academia and the academy.

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Acknowledgements
We acknowledge all Aboriginal and Indigenous Elders and educators
that have worked tirelessly over the
decades to establish Aboriginal and
Indigenous knowledge curriculum and
a more positive educational experience
for our younger generations. Thank
you to the programs, those highlighted
in this article and all programs that
have acknowledged and embraced the
wisdom, knowledge and teachings of
the Elders. We give a special thanks to
the World Forum Indigenous People’s
Action Group (IPAG) that has created
a forum for advocacy and education
for Indigenous peoples and children
around the world. This article was
made possible through the collective
efforts of IPAG members dedicated
and committed to the perpetuation,
recognition, and education of the
excellence of Indigenous peoples.
Mahalo. Thank you.
The role of Elders in strengthening Indigenous rights in New Zealand

Turoa Kiniwe Royal

Introduction

The intention to write an article on this subject has been on my mind for some time. Maori elders figure prominently in all walks of life in the past present and no doubt in the future of New Zealand. It has been given some impetus lately since New Zealand has recently signed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Whereas in September 2007 144 countries signed the Declaration in support, four countries – Australia, Canada, United States and New Zealand declined to do so. At the time I wrote as Chairman of WINHEC to our Prime Minister Helen Clarke expressing our concern that no consultation had taken place with the indigenous peoples of New Zealand and further that New Zealand has not followed the lead of 144 countries. Her reply indicated that our government could not support a number of articles despite the fact that it was made clear that the Declaration was to be used as guidelines, as minimum requirements that were not legally binding on any country.

The party in power – the Labour Party lost the following elections and the National Party under John Key on behalf of New Zealand approved the signing of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. We know that Australia and Canada have also signed the Declaration. At the time of writing this article it is understood that the United States has indicated that they intend to sign the Declaration.

It is interesting to note that the development of the Declaration has had a long history. After many years of discussions within the United Nations a Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was accepted in 1993. It was not until 2007 some 14 years later that the word “Draft” was taken out of the title presumably because 144 countries felt it was no longer necessary.

Who are the Indigenous peoples of the world?

The United Nations suggests a number of features that define Indigenous Peoples within a world setting. Indigenous Peoples tend to self identify on an individual basis and are accepted by the community as one of their members. They know their historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or presettler societies. They have strong and historical links with their territories and surrounding natural resources. Each indigenous group have a distinct language, culture and beliefs and live within distinct social, economic and political systems. Furthermore most indigenous groups resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.
Unfortunately most indigenous communities have a history of colonising powers imposing their will over them as indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples represent about 4% of the world’s population. There are at least 5000 indigenous groups in the world; and they live in every region of the world. It is interesting to note that about 70% live in the Asian region.

Indigenous peoples suffer high rates of poverty, landlessness, malnutrition and internal displacement than the rest of society. They do not enjoy high attainments in education nor in employment.

International Day of the World’s Indigenous Peoples is observed on August 8 every year.

The Maori people of New Zealand

In many ways the above description and history of the indigenous peoples of the world mirrors the history and condition of the Maori people as indigenous peoples of New Zealand. British colonisation beginning in the 1800s has changed the existence of the indigenous people of New Zealand.

In 1350 A.D. the Maori people migrated south from Eastern Polynesia to Aotearoa/New Zealand. They set up a new homeland for themselves and once the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing were satisfied they developed a high level of artistic endeaveour that forms part of our present day art world.

In addition they developed centres of higher learning – the whare wananga – a feature that has been redeveloped nowadays to meet the current needs of tertiary education for Maori in particular. The wananga movement provide opportunities for Maori aspirants to become truly bilingual and bicultural.

The original name of this country was Aotearoa. That name came from a Polynesian explorer around the period of 950A.D. Abel Tasman a Dutch explorer in 1642 sailed around the islands and named the country - New Zealand.

In 1769 Captain James Cook sailed around New Zealand. His view was that it was fit for British settlement. Edward Gibbon Wakefield of Britain organised a planned settlement of New Zealand. At the same time British missionaries were spreading the christian message throughout the world. British settlers in New Zealand were anxious to ensure that New Zealand became a British colony. Pressure was put on the British government to set up a Treaty with the indigenous people so that a formal relationship could be formed and at the same time ensure that the country would not fall into the hands of the French. The French had set up a mission station in Akaroa in the South Island of New Zealand.

The advance guard of modernity not only included traders, but also christian missionaries who were charged with carrying the Christian message to all corners of the earth. Holding the Bible aloft they proclaimed the way to salvation. They wanted Maori to give up their unchristian ways for they were considered unchristian and abhorrent.

It is understood that the first school for Maori children was built in 1816 by Thomas Kendall. The aim of the
school was three fold – to convert Maori to Christianity, to teach the English language and to show them how to use European materials and tools. Even though the missionaries were the first to document and use the Maori language as the medium of instruction the goals of education were clear. No Maori language was taught in schools that were controlled by the government. The missionaries played a crucial role in persuading tribal chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. They proclaimed the benefits under the kindly rule of Queen Victoria as well as the advantages of British citizenship.

The Treaty of Waitangi

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the British Crown and about 500 Maori chiefs most of whom came to Waitangi a place in the Bay of Islands in North Auckland.

- Article One gave the British Crown the right to govern Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- Article Two – in return the Crown agreed to recognise and protect Maori ownership over their lands, forests and all aspects of Maori life that Maori valued – such as language and cultural attributes and treasures.
- Article Three – Made provision for the Queen of England to protect all peoples of New Zealand and to provide equal rights and privileges for all citizens in New Zealand.
- The fourth Article dealt with the freedom of worship.

The unfulfilled promises

Article One of the Treaty was accomplished almost immediately. The British Crown set up their form of government soon after the signing of the Treaty. That eventuated almost immediately. It is sad to relate that the promises to Maori under the Treaty of Waitangi (Article 2 and 3) remained unfulfilled for over 135 years. One of the main roles that Maori elders assumed after 1840 was to pursue all the promises that both parties had signed up to in the Treaty. It was felt that the fulfilment of the Treaty of Waitangi lies the basis of Maori wellbeing. That vision is still uppermost in their minds.

The British Crown set about governing all people who lived in New Zealand. Schools were used to establish the moral position of the British One technique was to use the curriculum and the English language as part of the new order. The Native School system was set up in a way that outlawed the use of Maori language on school grounds. Eventually the new order became the only world that provided new rewards. At the centre of the reproductive process of schooling was the curriculum. Its construction by British educationalists served to invalidate Maori knowledge by determining what constitutes knowledge. Maori language and culture was ignore indeed outlawed in schools for over 100 years.

Land laws were developed almost immediately to advance English settlement and when Maori objected to the unfairness of ownership transfers they fought back but the British military quickly put down the uprisings. Large
areas of Maori land was confiscated as a result of the uprising. The loss of land and introduced diseases took its toll on Maori population. Many indigenous peoples in other countries suffered the same fate. History records the fact that there were attempts made by Maori to seek audience of the British Crown in London to report the unacceptable nature of British governance in New Zealand. Their requests were refused.

In 1840 Maori owned over 66 million acres – by the turn of the century only 11 million acres was registered in Maori ownership. The Crown did not consider that the Treaty was binding as the Treaty was not incorporated into the laws of New Zealand. Maori people had to wait until 1975 some 75 years later for the Treaty to be enshrined in law. Other difficulties became apparent. Deprived of their capital resources and land on which prosperity could be built Maori had to eke out a living with limited resources. Tribal warfare using muskets also had disastrous effects on Maori population. In 1849 it was estimated that the Maori population was over 100,000. By the turn of the century the population was estimated to be about 43,000.

Circumstances changed over the decades for the better. Over the years during the 20th century the changes in circumstances and the dedication of indigenous elders had a marked effect on the Maori population. “We have a future in Aotearoa/New Zealand” was the understanding to the extent that the Maori birth rate began to climb higher than the Pakeha population. The present census indicates that the Maori population is about 215,000 (about 16% of the population of New Zealand).

The Maori people never loss sight of the intentions of the Treaty of Waitangi that remained unfulfilled for many decades.

**Maori Elders**

It can be claimed that the role of Maori elders, men and women, has been determined to a large degree by the circumstances of British colonization. The main thrust of Maori protests was and still is to ensure government would honour the terms of the Treaty in every aspect. In doing so it was believed that it would achieve equity in many, if not in all aspects of life in New Zealand. The achievement of equality and justice and the maintenance of the Maori cultural heritage continue to be the hall marks of a just society from a Maori point of view. The history of New Zealand has been written in the main by Pakeha New Zealanders including Professor Sinclair and Michael King. In some respects they paint a historical picture that is a little more rosier than that of a Maori historian. Professor Ranginui Walker an academic and a Maori elder wrote the history of New Zealand from a Maori point of view. He named his book *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou – Struggle Without End*. It has helped Pakeha New Zealanders (and Maori youth) to understand the way in which Maori understands the history of New Zealand since 1840.

While the role of Maori elders has been diverse there is no question about their leadership in pursuit of these ideals. They all saw the pursuit of the fulfilment of the Treaty of Waitangi as an important function in life. But many had different
ways of fulfilling the recognition of Treaty. Some stood outside of government and began protest marches on parliament or they marched to Waitangi in the north where the Treaty was initially signed in 1840. Others joined political parties and worked inside parliametry processes. The land, the well being of the people, the language and culture in a fast changing world have always been the focus of Maori elders.

This article defines an elder as mature indigenous men and women who in many vocations worked for the benefit and well being of the Maori race of New Zealand.

Elders as visionaries

Surprisingly, despite the unfulfilled promises of the Treaty by the Crown, the Maori men formed a battalion and fought valiantly in World War 1 and 2 in north Africa, in Crete and in Europe. They knew who they were fighting for, according to their well known song:

“For God for King and for country – Aue Ake ake kia kaha e
(Forever be strong)”

Many soldiers were lost in the war. They were highly regarded by Army commanders and were highly decorated for their bravery. They gained much goodwill from the British people and the citizens of New Zealand. But they did not influence the fulfilment of the Treaty of Waitangi. “At what price is freedom?” One of their number - Rangi Logan - voiced his feelings in the 1946 general election campaign;

“We more than did our share at El Alamein and elsewhere (We) shed our blood in two world wars. If these acts had done nothing else,” he declared, ‘they had at least purchased the right to equality of opportunity’.

When they returned to New Zealand they faced issues related to landlessness, housing, employment education, urbanisation and community development. With these issues in mind and the dwindling loss of the Maori language and culture Maori needed a vision and a direction as they struggled to face the future.

It is my view a significant statement that I call a vision came when Sir Apirana Ngata an academic, a politician and a statesman in 1948 wrote in a autograph book of a young girl. The quote continues to be stated in many Maori gatherings for it encourages Maori people to shape their lives accordingly – Sir Apirana Ngata wrote in the Maori language:

E tipu e rea mo nga ra o tou ao
Grow up in the days of your world

Ko to ringa ki te rakau a te Pakeha

Taking hold of modern Pakeha (English) society

Hei ara mo tou tinana
For your wellbeing

To ngakau ki nga taonga o nga tipuna,
‘Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors,

Hei tiketike mo tou mahuna
As a plume for your head

Tou ngakau ki te Atua
Your heart given unto God

Nana nei nga mea katoa
The author of all things.

In addition the writer of this article took note of the challenge that John Waititi (an elder at University in my time). He said to us;
You are here to be informed. Information leads to transformation

For those who are training to be teachers you need to ensure that Maori language and culture is accessible to all.

Some of you will need to go to Wellington to work in the Head Office of the Department of Education in Wellington where new policies are developed.

He was, at that stage, contracted by the Department of Education to write Maori language text books for the teaching of Maori language in schools. Little did I realise then that 20 years later I moved from Auckland to Wellington having been invited to apply for a position at Head Office of the Department of Education dealing with new policies related to Maori education.

Elders in the Public Service

One of the skills that Maori brought home from the war was the ability to manage – to set targets and organise the manpower and resources to achieve an outcome. It is understood that many senior Maori battalion commanders on returning to New Zealand were encouraged to join the Public Service particularly in serving the Maori people.

Among them included Colonels Arapeta Awatere and James Henare both of whom commanded the Maori Battalion and Charles Bennett, Moana Raureti, Bill Herewini and Monty Wikiriwhi and many others. In addition to these officers were Rangi Royal and George Marsden (both uncles of the author of this article). All of those named were commissioned officers of the Maori Battalion and they led their troops with distinction. All of these men joined the Public Service to serve Maori people and some like Charles Bennett who was appointed to positions representing New Zealand. Many worked in the regional offices of the Department of Maori Affairs and they were instrumental in improving the well being of the rural and urban Maori people.

Other well known leaders came after them and while I would not class them as elders in an age sense nevertheless became extremely successful in developing policies that were made to improve Maori living conditions. I refer to Kara Puketapu and Tamati Reedy later to be employed as a Professor in a university and on retirement was knighted for his great foresight and dedication to his people.

Elders were also community leaders

Probably the most effective Maori groupings that were formed soon after World War 2 were the Maori Womens Welfare League (MWWL) and the New Zealand Maori Council. Such people as Dame Whina Cooper, Ruiha Sage, Dame Mira Szasy, Hine Potaka along with others led the League for many years. They formulated more precisely the vision for Maori in respect to equity in education, family/whanau development, housing, health, employment and linguistic and cultural support. Sir Graham Latimer led the New Zealand Maori Council for many years. The two bodies worked closely with government departments, preschool centres, the local Maori communities and schools. They were consulted by Government departments in developing new policies – in education, community affairs, health, environment, housing,
land development and law. Maori people have always acknowledged the voluntary work of these organisations.

**Elders as political leaders**

Many Maori elders were effective politicians over many the years. Some, not all, that come to mind include The Honourable Sir Apirana Ngata, Ben Couch, Matiu Rata, and Koro Wetere. They all served their people with distinction in many facets of life and every day living. They advised governments of the day to day needs of the people. They travelled widely to many parts of the country to meet people who wished an audience with these Maori leaders. Many Maori elders in their political roles also took time to attend the annual general meetings of Maori groups. They used the occasions also to carry the views and policies of government. In return they received the views from many communities.

Probably the politician that will be remembered when talking about the Treaty of Waitangi is Honourable Matiu Rata. In 1975 he, as the Minister of Maori Affairs, introduced a Treaty of Waitangi Bill into parliament that would have far reaching effect on the country in the future. The passing of the bill resulted in the setting up of a body – the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal could make recommendations to government on how to resolve issues that had arisen from breaches of the Treaty incurred by the Crown. The articles of the Treaty of Waitangi were recognised in full. Maori tribes could bring cases to the Waitangi Tribunal where the Crown had breached the articles of the Treaty.

**Elders as political activists**

While there were many political activists – young and old probably the most effective was Whina Cooper. She had served as the first President of the Maori Womens Welfare League and she was once called the “mother of the nation” by the media when she was asked to welcome sportspeople from around the world to join in the Commonwealth Games in New Zealand. Over the years she became annoyed at the Governments lack of protection of Maori ownership of their lands. She organised a protest march in 1975 to Parliament starting at the northern tip of the North Island of New Zealand. While only a handful of protestors marched the whole distance of some 900 kilometres on the day she led the march of over 40,000 people to parliament in Wellington. Her catch cry was “Not one more acre of land must be lost by Maori...” The Prime Minister came out and received the petition that had gathered signatures thoughout the North Island.

The protest march had a profound effect on parliament for it assisted Hon. Matiu Rata, Minister of Maori Affairs to introduce a Bill that recognised all the Articles of the Treaty. The Act further provided the opportunity for a Tribunal to be set up eventually to investigate actions by government that contravened the intentions of the Treaty from 1975 onwards, as noted above. Some years later the Act was changed so that the Waitangi Tribunal could hear cases contravening the Treaty as far back as 1840.
In 1987 the Maori language was recognised as an official language of New Zealand English and sign language had already been recognised as official languages of New Zealand. It meant that government had to promote its value and its use. Government structures – Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo was developed accordingly. It was not surprising to note that many regional radio stations were developed with government funding for Maori. One of the major emphasis was to ensure that Maori language was supported and promoted.

It was not long after that funding was made available for the development of a free to air Maori television station. This station is very popular for it caters for those with varying degrees of Maori language fluency.

**Elders as human rights advocates**

Another cry from Maori this time from the young and old and this time also from European (Pakeha) New Zealanders relates to race relations in New Zealand and South Africa. New Zealanders both Maori and non Maori objected to the all-white All Black team that left New Zealand in 1960 to play an all-white South African rugby football team. The “No Maoris No Tour” call signified to both Rugby Unions that race based rugby football teams was not to be tolerated in the future. The next time the All Blacks went to South Africa the non white All Blacks were classified as “honorary whites” Again the objectors both Maori and Pakeha made it known that calling non white rugby players in the New Zealand team as honorary whites was an insult to their true identity.

When the South African all white rugby team arrived in New Zealand in 1981 the public both Maori and Pakeha protested at every match. In Hamilton the objectors occupied the rugby grounds. They refused to move off the rugby field. The game was eventually cancelled. Some years later the South African Rugby Union changed their rules and selection is now based on merit and not on race.

Interestingly the objections to race based rugby was the beginning of the call to improve race relations in New Zealand. Many groups, while objecting to race based rugby found a platform on which to question the poor race relations in New Zealand and the unfair treatment of Maori in many spheres of endeavour. The Citizens Association on Racial Equality (CARE) mainly associated with Pakeha citizens brought their concerns to the politicians in Wellington over many years. They argued that statistics on the positioning of Maori education, health, employment, housing and life expectancy was far below that of European/Pakeha and it was hypocrisy to object to race relations and conditions in South Africa when it could be demonstrated that the treatment of the indigenous race in New Zealand was far below that of the European/Pakeha. The government of the day also felt the ire of the National Council of Churches as they noted the views of CARE. Maori organisations also joined the movement. The Maori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR) while mainly a movement of younger Maori nevertheless had an appreciable number of Maori elders. They joined with the CARE group and marched...
to Waitangi every year to object to the Crown celebrating the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on the 6th February 1840.

“You come to celebrate –we come to mourn the broken promises…”

was the message that the government and diplomats received at Waitangi during the contrived celebrations.

On the other hand the government and their agencies, the Governor General and overseas diplomats came togther to celebrate 6 February, Waitangi day 1840 as the day that the British and Maori came together to make New Zealand one of the best counties in the world in respect to good race relations. Pakeha politicians trumpeted this message at every possible opportunity. They seemed to be incensed at Maori wilfully misbehaving for it showed something less than gratitude expected of them for the gift of civilisation. And so the agitation by Maori and Pakeha to have the Treaty fully enshrined in law continued.

**Elders as educational and cultural rejuvenators**

Elders have been exposed to cultural experiences including the language of years gone by. Their knowledge is likely to be more expansive than those of the younger generations. Many have helped in Play Centres, in local schools, in Maori medium schools, in tertiary institutions including wananga (indigenous Maori universities), in publishing of the written word and providing advice to Government on policies related to Maori language and culture. Importantly they have upheld the status of Maori language and culture on the 900 marae (community centres) around New Zealand. They have been and continued to be well respected for their contribution to the perpetuation of the native culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

**Elders as recent learners of the new information technology**

As noted above elders have been visionaries for they have given the Maori people direction on which to base their lives in a fast changing world. While it was important to advance ones’ own life chances in the modern world it should not be at the expensse or loss of one’s own cultural identity. The social reality for Maori was not only to live in modern English society but also maintain and enjoy the reality of modern Maori culture. For Maori it is the essence of being Maori.

But it is at one’s own peril to ignore modern society that has become a world society. While Maori have learnt to live as a Maori in terms of language and culture they are aware that they need to live in a global society, to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. They have inherited a dual heritage – both Maori and Pakeha.

To do that many Maori elders have seen it neccesary to undertake courses in computer training. The indigenous tertiary institutions – wananga, continue to run computer courses specifically for elders with the aim of learning how to use computers.

The motivation in the main has come
from calls from the younger generations to their grandparents and other elders to write and to publish their life histories. The life stories are then stored in wananga libraries and other public libraries. A new service has been found for elder members of society. It is one way of maintaining and passing on Maori knowledge, Maori language and culture and Maori history.

I, as an elder and the author of this article, I am bound to follow the call of the younger generation. I have written (as a reflective practitioner) nine chapters of a ten chapter book on "The Transformation of Maori Education - From Assimilation to Self Management."

As I have been in education as a teacher, a school principal, a Chief Executive of a Polytechnic, a senior lecturer at a university, a co-founder of a wananga (indigenous tertiary institution in New Zealand) and a co-founder of the World Indigenous Nation Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) I think I can claim the right to do this and accept the challenge of the rangatahi (youth). My last chapter yet to be completed is entitled “Unfinished Business” for there is much more to be achieved in a multicultural country in the South Pacific.

Greetings to you all.
Abstract

This paper discusses the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge within contemporary research practice. It has arisen from an opportunity to work with I-Kiribati students undertaking an Australian tertiary education. Given the problem of undertaking research within this group it quickly became evident to me that there was a need to utilise a research approach that enhanced understanding of the authentic lived experiences of the I-Kiribati students. This has led to development of the Authentic Human Engagement Framework which provides the underpinning guide to the research process. This framework combines the traditional ethnographic methods with contemporary Four Seasons of Ethnography by Gonzalez (2000). This approach was inspired by Māori ancestors and a desire to more deeply understand my I-Kiribati cousins. This approach has enabled deeper understanding of the I-Kiribati experience and the researcher’s journey which could not have been obtained by using western scientific approaches alone. It has provided an authenticity, balance and a harmonious way of being to establish a research partnership which enabled the participants to be present throughout the research process.

Introduction

I had a unique opportunity and a responsibility to develop an understanding of the I-Kiribati students as a combination of my employment and undertaking a research dissertation. From this unique perspective I had a strong feeling that this story must be told and that the voices of the I-Kiribati student must be heard. My mother is from New Zealand and my Father is Australian. There has always been a mystery about my New Zealand connections as my mother was relocated to Australia at a young age. During this research process I learnt that my grandfather was of Māori decent (Ngati Huri) and that my great grandmother was a teacher and a scholar of Māori ways, famous for surviving the Mount Tarawera eruption in 1886. This was the largest volcanic eruption in the history of New Zealand which killed many people and buried the Māori village of Te Wairoa. I feel that it is important to mention this here as it provides insight into my connectedness with the pacific region and pacific people. My heritage has no doubt influenced the way in which I interact with the participants. Am I repeating my ancestors work in another time and place? I began this journey with uncertainty only knowing that this story must be told. However according to Māori tradition we do not walk alone in our lives our ancestors known and unknown surround us and guide us in our life journey (Simmonds, 2009; Pihama, 2001). I have no doubt that my research path was influenced by my Māori ancestors which has enabled me to gain insight to my authentic self.

Background

Choosing a methodology which is acceptable to participants and academic requirements is challenging. There is value in not repeating colonial mistakes and allowing Indigenous people to participate in what is written about them. An important objective of this study was to enable the voices of the people to be heard. Due to my position within the group as a student adviser it was imperative to choose a methodology which recognised and allowed for the description and interpretation of
the situatedness of the researcher (Cavanagh, 2010). During the early stage of immersion I began to sense the importance of listening to the student voice if any meaning or understanding was to be gained from their experience. Such meaning is of significance as there is little research concerning I-Kiribati people and their immigration and educational journeys; and without this understanding it is impossible to adequately provide support to students living an international educational experience.

To achieve this objective I turned firstly to the traditional ways that Western research has sought to gain meaning from the lives of others. For many hundreds of years Indigenous cultures have encountered anthropologists who have studied, documented and collected cultural histories (Smith, 2002; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Early anthropologists employed qualitative methodology, however traditional methods rely upon the notion that the researcher is in control over the knowledge and its interpretation. Qualitative methodology according to Strauss and Corbin (1990) allows for the exploration of phenomenon and interactions in order to reach findings which include thoughts feelings and beliefs. Throughout the colonised world the term research is associated with the worst attributes of imperialism and colonialism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). These early transcultural research experiences often had a devastating effect on the local people being discovered (Smith, 2002).

Consequently there remains a distrust of the western researcher as qualitative research has represented an objective view of the dark skinned other (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Demosthenous, 2010). In recent times there has been a call for research to be conducted using methodology which provides a voice to participants allowing the true experience of the people to be heard (Rigney 1999; Demosthenous, 2010). Further the Guidelines for Ethical Research in Indigenous Studies state that “at every stage, research with and about Indigenous peoples must be founded on a process of meaningful engagement and reciprocity between the researcher and the Indigenous people” (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), p. 1).

Feeling dissatisfied that the Western approach was appropriate for the research problem, the researcher and the participants. I began to explore alternatives to traditional anthropological approaches, with Ethnography and Autoethnography catching my attention early into the research development. Ethnography according to Fetterman
(1998, p.1) is “the art and science of describing a group or culture”. Further, Denzin (1997) describes ethnography as the recording of lived experiences from the real world. Ethnographic research requires immersion within a community for a period of six months to two years documenting the observations and interactions of social life (Fetterman, 1998; Keesing & Strathern, 1998). As participant perspectives and interpretations are important the Ethnographic design allows for the descriptive voices of the participants to be heard (Watson-Grego, 1988). I then found Gonzalez’s (2000) approach which incorporated Ethnography and Indigenous science, this approach instantly made sense to me and the puzzle pieces finally began to fall into place. I realized that I had to explore ways in which Indigenous knowledge has been utilised within research practice, and how I could use this approach to understand the I-Kiribati student experience.

Indigenous knowledge is also known as native science and according to Cajete (2000) describes ways of thinking; knowing and acting which have been developed through interaction with the natural world. The discontent with colonised methodology has led to the development of Maori ways of knowing in Aotearoa/ New Zealand called Kaupapa (e.g. Robertson, Royale, & Demosthenous, 2005). According to Bishop (1998) the obsession that Western researchers have with neutrality, objectivity and distance, removes the Māori people from the development of knowledge. Further the utilisation of such concepts to assert authority increases the segregation of the participants from the research knowledge and disregards the contribution of Māori people, removing them from participation. Kaupapa allows for connectedness and self-determination and includes ways of knowing that according to Heshusius (1994 cited Bishop, 1998) are a mode of consciousness which reorders the meaning of relationship eventuating in a sense of connectedness and a reduction in the focus of the self. Further Indigenous epistemology provides a “culturally mediated lens based on participation with nature” (Cajete, 2000, p. 4). Thus providing a tool through which the research becomes in inclusive rather than an exclusive process.

Martin (2003, p. 6) discusses the importance of the ontological and epistemology stand point within Australian Indigenous research practice. Highlighting that ontology provides “an awareness and sense of self, of belonging and for coming to know our responsibilities and ways to relate to self and others”. The Quandamooka peoples of South East Queensland ways of knowing according to Martin (2003, p. 7) are related to not only land and people, but also to entities. These entities include all of the elements existing within the natural environment including the “waterways, animals, plants, climate, skies and spirits”. This is a relational ontology and through this approach connections are maintained and there is a balance of reciprocal interaction (Arbon 2008; Robertson, Demosthenous & Demosthenous, 2010). According to Martin (2003, p.
9) “ways of knowing inform ways of doing and being”. Further Martin (2003) discusses the three main constructs of Australian Indigenous approaches including establishing knowledge of entities and their relationships, and then developing and implementing ways of maintaining the relationships between these entities.

The Four Seasons approach developed by Gonzalez (2000), originates from South American Indigenous epistemology and cultural ontology. It applies four guiding ideals to the Ethnographic data collection process. These ideals describe the elements of the Ethnographic approach and include: natural cycles, the interdependence of all things, preparedness, harmony and balance. This approach likens the phases of the research process to that of the seasons, describing the interaction of the researcher with the participants, establishing relationships and providing a guide for the appropriateness of data collection and interpretation. The incorporation of the Western Ethnographic approaches with an Indigenous epistemology provides a way of meeting the needs of the Western academic community while respecting Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing. In summary this approach according to Gonzalez (2000) recognises spring as a period of preparedness, laying foundations, gaining permissions and positioning the self. Summer represents growth, data collection and rebellion; autumn is for making interpretations, compiling data and preparing to leave the field. Winter provides a time for retreat in order to write Ethnography and speculate about future research.

Methodology

The methodological approach utilised within my research is most effectively described as the process of engagement between the researcher and the participants in order to achieve a meaningful and valuable Ethnography. It provided a way of interpreting my feelings and experiences during the research process, and a framework which is congruent to my experience of the natural world. The framework depicts an adaptation of the Four Seasons approach to Ethnography by Gonzalez (2000) to the research question and topic. To establish the I-Kiribati student experience throughout their time studying in Australia, there are a series of lenses through which the researcher will view the experience. During the seasons there are different objectives which are met as the engagement develops and changes. This is presented in Figure 1 below.

The model which I have called the Authentic Human Engagement Framework shows that during spring the approach is determined, which moves then to summer when there is a commitment to immersion within the cultural group. During autumn there is a focus on data collection ensuring that the researcher is adequately prepared for winter. As the season of engagement changes and moves around the outside of the model a new lens is created through which the researcher gains a different perspective, establishes new knowledge and undertakes a different part of the process. The model is circular...
in order to incorporate the natural cycles of the world, the interdependence of all things, balance and harmony. Indigenous cultures across the world have incorporated the circle as a representation of the cycle of life, there is no beginning and no end it is all one experience as we move through time and space and into the eternal.

Figure 1. The Authentic Human Engagement Framework

Benefits and limitations

While there is much that has already been learnt since anthropology began, there are exciting new developments which enable a merging of traditional and Indigenous approaches, allowing for increased depth, awareness and a culturally appropriate research methods for Indigenous people. Further there is harmony and balance when participants are not forced into artificial interview situations and settings. Gonzalez (2000) offers an approach which can be incorporated into many Ethnographic settings which relate to an external group member undertaking research.

The seasons within the Framework are interchangeable with the individuals own authentic understanding of the natural world from which they originate.

The seasons are not as important to the I-Kiribati (the participants of my research) as in South America, which has informed the seasons approach to research, living in the Pacific close to the equator means only small changes in seasons. Life for the I-Kiribati relates to the sea, birds, song, sun, stars and the moon, similar to that of the Quandamooka people of Australia (see Martin, 2003). Indigenous researchers from this way of knowing, being and doing would be encouraged to adapt the Authentic Human Engagement Framework to their unique understanding of the natural cycles of their environment, thus ensuring authenticity of the human research instrument. However the seasons discussed do not relate to the
physical climate they are metaphor for the psychological and spiritual cycle of engagement and disengagement.

**Conclusions**

The Authentic Human Engagement approach enabled the exploration of rich data which was directly from the engagement with the participants. It also allowed for the learning that comes from the experience of working with I-Kiribati students to be included. Further the approach has provided a way of interpreting the natural development of the human instrument during the research process. This helped to gain deeper awareness of the personal process that is experienced during prolonged engagement and also has provided a basis from which to interpret learning. Moreover, the Indigenous epistemology has enabled a greater depth of understanding due to the ability to incorporate all interactions as meaningful, as well as allowing for the learning to move with the natural cycle of development. This ensured that the process was never forced, establishing a mutual sharing of knowledge and understanding.

I believe that there is value in utilising this approach; in particular with helping research students to understand the cycle of Ethnography, thus providing a platform from which to interpret and monitor their own personal Ethnographic journey, while providing a link to traditional qualitative methodological approaches and methods. The combination of Western and Indigenous science has the power to change the way the world engages with and interprets cultural and social groups for the purposes of research. This approach could be utilised to develop and enhance cross cultural research methods which meet academic requirements, the needs of Indigenous research participants and Indigenous research students.

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Borana Indigenous knowledge on water resource management

Zelalem Nemera Bultum

Abstract
Borana pastoralists in Ethiopia inhabit areas where there are scarce water resources and extreme climatic conditions that limit the options for alternative livelihood systems. Accordingly, the agro-ecology of Borana pastoralists is predominantly arid and often subjected to variable and uncertain rain fall patterns. It is characterized by recurrent drought that in turn disrupts livelihood of the people and biodiversity of the area. In order to cope up with such natural calamities, Borana Pastoralists have been able to develop indigenous institutions applicable to key pastoral resource management. This article explores Borana indigenous knowledge in scarce water resource management so as to bring the concept and contribution of indigenous knowledge on resource management to rhetoric views of higher education academia.

Background
Borana rangelands in southern Ethiopia are characterized by arid and semi-arid climate with sub-humid zones (Sabine, 2004). More than 90% of the population lives in rural areas (CSA, 2007) and their livelihood remain to be livestock production. According to Arero District Pastoral Development Office (2010), 60% of the total landmass are bush encroached areas, rangeland accounts for 19%, about 17% is potential farmland areas and about 2% are forest land. Rainfall is uncertain and the mean annual rainfall sometimes falls below 400mm and droughts occur once every seven years despite there is fluctuations (Sabin, 2004).

Borana indigenous knowledge on water resource management

Zelalem Nemera Bultum

Key words:
indigenous knowledge, indigenous institutions, water resource management

Background
Borana rangelands in southern Ethiopia are characterized by arid and semi-arid climate with sub-humid zones (Sabine, 2004). More than 90% of the population lives in rural areas (CSA, 2007) and their livelihood remain to be livestock production. According to Arero District Pastoral Development Office (2010), 60% of the total landmass are bush encroached areas, rangeland accounts for 19%, about 17% is potential farmland areas and about 2% are forest land. Rainfall is uncertain and the mean annual rainfall sometimes falls below 400mm and droughts occur once every seven years despite there is fluctuations (Sabin, 2004).
Borana pastoralists have been able to develop an exceptionally efficient indigenous key resource management that enabled them to preserve Borana rangelands at highest grazing potential in East Africa (Coppock, 1994). It is with this flexible system that Borana pastoralists matched their livelihood needs to the limited water and grazing resources in the rangeland.

Indigenous Borana institutions clearly describe the rights to water for each of the available sources. Particularly, there is an intricate well-centered system of clan-association through which other clans can claim the right to access wells. Borana customs and culture label not only those who are entitled to access certain wells, but also the order of priority for watering animals among those with entitlement. The rights required to access a source of water is related to the trustworthiness of the source and the amount of labor required for the establishment and maintenance of that source (Boku & Irwin, 2003).

The overall objective of this article is to explore indigenous knowledge of Borana pastoralists on water resource management so as to create a path way for harmonious relationship between the academic world and cultural frameworks of the community while identifying how these roles and responsibilities may be affirmed. Therefore, the study was initiated to contribute in the effort to narrow down the gap between the academia and the indigenous knowledge of the community that are believed to be vectors for development and scientific inventions.

**Methodological approaches**

The study employed a qualitative research approach under which in-depth interview, focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews were scheduled. The major reason for applying qualitative research approach emanates from the suitability of the problem under study to the approach. Hence, it is so difficult to quantify knowledge of the community. A snowball sampling technique was applied in the selection process of the study participants. Three FGDs each with eight members were held in two selected villages namely Wachile and Gadda located in Arero district of Borana zone. The FGD’s discussants comprise multi segments of the community including women, youth and the elders. For cross triangulation, an in-depth interview was held with prominent individuals on water resource management. Besides, key informant interviews were held with governmental and nongovernmental officers working on pastoral resource management. Different cases were investigated and presented to support key findings of the study. The summarized data were contextually and textually analyzed using participatory research approach tools like problem ranking wherever applicable.

**Conceptual framework**

Indigenous knowledge has multiple notations and different meanings and the notions are controversially discussed in different literatures (World Bank, 1999). For instance, Richards (1985) described indigenous knowledge as characterized attributes of ‘ecological particularism’ generated in a local
natural environment and under specific ecological relationships. Warren and Rajasekaran (1993) on the other indicated that indigenous knowledge is utilized as an information base which facilitates communication and decision making in a particular society. The agents of indigenous knowledge in this context are indigenous people, who are unique to a given context (Warren et al., 1995). Despite these definitions are sound enough, in the context of Borana pastoralists both definitions are narrowly presented. In case of the first, the applicability of indigenous knowledge is beyond specific locality and it is almost the same for the whole Borana in different localities as the community has one socioeconomic, religious and political institution known as Gada system. In case of the second, the importance of indigenous knowledge is beyond communication and information disseminations but every aspect of life is determined by the existing indigenous institutions for the Borana pastoralists.

In order to cope with the harsh conditions of arid and semi-arid rangelands, pastoralists successfully evolved multifaceted indigenous pastoral resource management systems. Such knowledge plays an important role to link ecological variability, flexible production strategies and local institutions for sustainable natural resource management. With indigenous knowledge, pastoralists show diverse technical and organizational skills on how to fit specific demands of their herds with the unpredictable natural resource supply (Niamir-Fuller, 1999). This point matches the result of this study as water points are one among the key pastoral resources.

The importance of pastoralists’ indigenous knowledge for sustainable natural resources management depends on ‘self-organizing’ capacity of pastoral systems, based on institutional flexibility of the pastoralists and the ecological pliability of the vegetation (Abel & Langston, 2004). As a consequence, interventions which failed to recognize indigenous knowledge are likely to fail and make the local institutions and the eco-systems more vulnerable (Gadgil et al., 1993).

In the same token Breman & de Wit (1983) revealed that pastoralists’ indigenous knowledge has been developed from direct interaction of community and their herds in a typical natural and social environment. Therefore, indigenous knowledge subsumes information and skills by which pastoralists can derive the highest benefits from the available natural resources.

Pastoralists make use of their indigenous knowledge through flexible natural resource use strategies, which are intricate, transmitted and preserved by the interaction of the community. The effective dissemination of information is realized through agents such as herders and community leaders and elders. Thus, the coordination of natural resource use strategies with other users ultimately depends on the social networks developed within and among different user groups as it is clearly described by Niamir-Fuller (1999).

Likewise, Borana pastoralists have a chained indigenous social structure
applied to Borana rangeland resource management. The structure precisely defines the roles and responsibilities of every actor in the key resources’ management so that role confusion rarely occurs among the actors and the community at grass-root levels.

Based on this conceptual review, the following structure of indigenous institutions in Borana pastoral key resource management was adopted from Sabine Homman (2004) and used to analyze the problem under study.

**Result and discussions**

### Indigenous institutions in water resource management

Borana pastoral water resource management involves all community members regardless of gender and age. In accordance with this, there are certain rules that direct the community in managing water resources. These rules are determined by Abba Gada (the leader of Oromo democratic institution named Gada in which Borana is one of the branches) together with council of elders or messengers of Abba Gada. The rules are to be enforced by different agents who work together. The first and the most prominent figure is Abba Herrega (an appointed officer who takes a leading role on water resources management). Therefore, Abba Herrega is appointed with the responsibility to manage water resources particularly the wells. The other figure is known as Abba Konfi (A title given to a person who initiates an establishment of a new water source particularly wells). Abba Konfi is not appointed by the community; rather the title results from a person’s commitment and initiatives to establish a new water source.

Water resource use right among Borana pastoralists is based on the existing indigenous rules and everyone is obeyed to the rules. In case problem appears against the rule, Abba Herregaa title holder appeals to the council of elders for the enforcement of the rules of the community on water resource management.

According to the
indigenous Borana rule on water resource management, there is certain correction measures imposed upon a person who misused water resources. The measures include: to excavate about 3m² of under establishment water source, if he/she used any water point particularly wells for his cattle without permission from the Abba Herregaa. If the offender is woman, her husband and/or son will be punished on the behalf of the woman. From this, it can be said that the correction measure by itself is one way to expand sources of water in the rangelands. The study identified that there is a slight difference in the management of the two water sources in Borana rangelands.

**Pond management**

Pond (called Haro) is a seasonal and temporary source of water collected from rain during rainy season. Borana pastoralists use pond water during the wet season for both livestock and domestic consumption which contributes to reserve wells, the major water sources. In Wachile and Gada villages of Arero district there are 22 and 9 ponds respectively. However, almost all of them are functional only during the wet season and dysfunctional during hard hit times of dry season. As a result, water shortage becomes severe in the rangelands during the dry season.

Borana pastoralists have a far excellent long lived system for successful establishment of new ponds in the effort to cope up with the inherent shortage of water in the rangelands. Accordingly, before rain season, Borana pastoralists make a preparation for collection of rain water. This is a pre condition in the establishment of a new pond. To this effect, a person from a particular clan takes an initiative action and the person who took the initiative will be provided with a title known as Konfi. The person holding the title has a responsibility for successful establishment of the pond he has initiated. The beginning of the initiation is marked when Abba Konfi makes Qara (a sharp stick used to mark a center for an under establishment pond). Once the Abba Konfi marked the qara (mark), all clan members of the Abba Konfi regardless of gender and age play their role for successful establishment of the under establishment pond.

As the activity of establishing a new pond is cumbersome and labor intensive, a lot of bulls may be slaughtered until completion of the under establishment pond. The Abba Konfi provides the first bull(s) to be slaughtered. The slaughtering of bull(s) during establishment of new source of water has nothing to do with witchdoctors or religious ritual. Rather to motivate and mobilize workforce for the under establishment pond. It is a kind of ceremony that calls all clan members of the Abba Konfi to take part in the work.

Abba Konfi is supported by Abba Herregaa, council elders and the Gada leaders in leading the activity. In this course, the elders and Gada leaders play directing and mobilizing roles spearheaded by the Abba Konfi. Able youth and men are expected to be the major sources of labor for under establishment pond. Women have also a decisive role in it. All supportive works like food preparations are the
responsibilities of women and able girls during the activity. Beyond this role, there is special rule applied upon women. Accordingly, a woman crossing the area where the work is undergoing is expected to dump out a certain amount of soil from the ongoing pond establishment. In addition, if the activity is for conservation of an existing pond, women who went to the pond for fetching water should dump out a certain amount of soil. Nevertheless, there is no kind of forcing women like old women, lactating mother and pregnant to do so. This indicates that how much the culture is gender responsive and aware of females’ reproductive freedom.

After completion, the name of the newly established pond will be coined after the name of the founder is for two reasons. The first is to show respect for the person who initiated a new source of water for the community. The other is to encourage others to play the same roles in the effort to fulfill the water demand of the community.

Once the first phase of establishing a new pond has successfully completed, another activity will be carried out. This marks the beginning of the second phase in pond establishment. The major activity during this phase is to make fence around the newly established pond. The purpose of fencing around pond is to protect it from damage and for its proper conservation. As to the first phase, the whole community members regardless of age and gender are expected to involve in fencing activity. The following case represents ponds with best management based on Borana indigenous knowledge.

Case 1:
There are three ponds with good conservation practices in the case of Wachile village of Arero district. These are: Haro Adi (Adi’s pond), Hara Boji (Boji’s pond) and Haro Dadacha Irressa (Dadacha’s pond). These ponds are relatively those ponds that live long and even serve during dry season to some extent. Relatively, they respond to hard hit times of the dry season compared to the others. The community was a primary actor for the conservation of these ponds despite there was some support from government and civil society organizations in Borana rangelands. The bases in conserving the ponds were set by the community and the intervention by the government and civil society organizations is just backing the efforts of the community. The supports provided by government and civil society organizations include material and technical supports while the community participated with their indigenous knowledge on water management as well as provision of local materials and labor (Source: Own data).
Well management

Well is a deep underground water source with long period of water supply compared to ponds. Wells in Borana are divided into two sorts, *adaadii* (shallow wells) and *tulaa* (deep wells). The establishment of wells as well as dragging up water from it is labor consuming and cumbersome. The deep wells have a depth of above 30m, and water is pinched up by as many as 20 able men standing one above another and relying containers of water. The able men engaged in dragging water for wells use to chant as morale for cooperation, and hence, these wells are sometimes referred to as the *singing wells*.

Wells are limited in number and a lot of Borana villages are unfortunate to have them. For instance, there is no recent well established in the district of Arero and the concept of establishing wells is beyond the knowledge of the participants of this study. The focus group discussants at the two villages were unable to indicate the time when and the generation during which the existing wells were established. In the in-depth interview held at Wachile village with an elder (82 years old) presented the case as follow:

“I have never seen an Eeela (well) established in my age. The oral history from my ancestors however, indicates that the same system for the establishment of pond is applied to establish a well. There is a Konfi title to initiate an establishment of a new well. The Abba Konfi marks a center for the would be established well. Abba Konfi also provides the first bull/s to be slaughtered so as to declare the begging of establishing a new well. As the activity takes long time and consume great labor, there might be several bull/s to be slaughtered. Those members of the Abba Konfi’s clan who can do can provide the bulls turn by turn. All systems are directed by the norm of the community and at the end, the well will benefit all members of Borana even if, nominally wells bear the name of the clan of the Abba Konfi. He further stated that during the time when the current wells of Borana were established, there were no sophisticated materials to excavate wells and the common instrument used was made from sharp stick and there was no external support and all the wells were constructed by the Borana generation who lived during those periods. In case, someone is absent from the task without any justification while the establishment is going on, he will provide a bull that will be slaughtered for the labor dealing excavating the well. The name of a newly established well will be coined after the name of the clan of Abba Konfi or the name of Abba konfi. But the established well is neither a private property of the Abba Konfi nor private property of specific clan, but it is the resource of the whole Borana” (In-depth interview at Wachile).

The study also attempted to address why the current generation of Borana failed to establish new wells and the focus group discussants underlined three suggestions. The first is that the present generation is relatively lost courage to engage in such hard activity due to exhaustion by recurrent drought and conflict in the area as well as restrictions imposed on Borana pastoralists in mobility pattern and livelihood determination. They indicated that this affects the commitment of the community in communal work that also resulted from external influences like weakening of the power of Gada system due to intervention from the contemporary system as well as limited attention to Borana indigenous knowledge. The third is that the
detection of site for potential well needs
certain heavenly gifted vision and this
is less visible to the current generation
compared to the past. As it has been
already indicated, the availability of
wells varies from one village to the
others. Some villages have no well at all
while some have relatively large number
of wells. For example, in Wachile village
there are 13 wells while there is no well
at all in Gadda village. In general, there
are 9 villages with wells in the in the
study area. These are: Web, Wachile,
Borbor, Erder, Dhas, Melbane, Dubuluk,
Gofa and Layi. According to the
FGD at Gadda village, the last two
wells (Gofa and Layi) were previously
belonged to the Borana and joined the
neighboring Somali pastoralists in the
2009 referendum. The discussants
also indicated that these wells (Gofa
and Layi) remained to be a ground for
the recurrent conflict between Borana
pastoralists on the one hand and the
neighboring Somali clans on the other.
More specifically, the five Gosa (clans)
in Wachile have wells initiated by their
respective Abba Konfi. The following
table depicts those wells with the
corresponding Gosa that initiated the
establishment of the wells.

Table 1: Wells in Wachile village with their respective Gosa

Source: Own data

There are some wells that are excellently
managed by the community reflecting
the best contribution of indigenous
knowledge on water management. The
following case represents a case of well
managed wells.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the well</th>
<th>Responsible Gosa</th>
<th>Quantity of the wells</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eela Hawatu (Hawatu’s wells)</td>
<td>Hawatu</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eela Karayu (Karayu’s well)</td>
<td>Karayu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eela Digalo (Digalo’s wells)</td>
<td>Digalo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eela Galantu (Galantu’s well)</td>
<td>Galantu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eela Nonitu (Nonitu’s well)</td>
<td>Nonitu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Case 2:

“Eela Qallu (Qallu’s wells), located at Wachile village of Arero district was established by Karayyu clan spearheaded by Abba Konfi named Qallu. Its time of establishment is unknown. Eela Qallu is regarded as the best conserved water source in Wachile village of Arero district. Currently, it has a potential to supply water in dry as well as wet seasons and it can accommodate more than 300 livestock (Yaasaa 3) per day even if, its potential during dry season is relatively weak. In addition, there was an intervention, by an NGO, Save USA that contributed to reduce the number of chained able men from 20 to 7 to drag up water.”

When we come to indigenous wells administrative systems, Borana pastoralists have a far more excellent well-focused system of clan-association through which other (associated) clans can claim right of access to wells other than their own. Accordingly, Borana customs and culture define not only those who are entitled to access certain wells, but also the order of priority for watering animals among those with entitlement. Others have to request the clan to access and the response is affirmative in most cases. Those given access must wait their turn according to the priority rights of the other herds present. As stated earlier, the major actors in wells management include Abba Gada, councilors and messengers of Abba Gada, Abba konfi and/or his descendents and Abba Herregaa (appointed by Abba Konfi or his descendents). Accordingly, Abba Gada and his councilors and/or messengers formulate regulation on management of the well while Abba Herregaa follows the day to day management of the well.

Conflict over water resources and Indigenous conflict management systems

There is no kind of conflict over water resources within or among the different clans of Borana even if, there is frequent conflict over water resources with external groups. There is a clear norm set for the community and the community acts accordingly reducing the probability of conflict incidences. As touched before, the norms on water resource distribution are set by the community and Gada leaders. The enforcement of the rules is followed by the Abba Herrega supported by respective Abba Konfi and council of elders. Accordingly, the Abba Konfi (his family), Abba Herrega, council of elders and the ordinary community are served 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th respectively.

Distribution of the available water resources to different purposes are also subjected to the existing water management norms so that conflict over the water resources for different purposes rarely appears among the Borana. In distributing the available water resource for different purposes, domestic consumption, watering of lactating cattle and calf, weak and sick livestock and small ruminants and camel are served 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th respectively.

In order to manage water shortage during hard hit times of dry season; the Borana has its own system to overcome the shortage with less probability for conflict to appear. Accordingly, when there is severe shortage of water resources at a certain village, the clan of Borana suffering from the problem prefers to move to the other Borana clan areas where there is a promising
water resource. The hosting clan has to be informed ahead by the clan with the problem so that the hosting clan positively accepts them and let them share the available water resources.

However, now a day clash breaks when the Borana clan moves to the Digodi and Garri clans of Somali and vice versa. The conflict between the Borana on the one hand and the Digodi and Garri clans of the Somali on the other has a devastating effects on both material and human resources and the settlement of the problem takes longer time and followed by piece of land to either side through referendum. The piece of land that went to either side always remains a point for conflict and grievance, and creates sense of hostility between the two.

There are three major factors considered to be immediate causes for such conflict. These are attempt to use water points of the other by force without pre permission from the owner, purposive attack on water points of the other as a revenge for the permanent hostility between the two, rid of livestock of the other when moving with own livestock in search of water points. Sometimes, clash may appear when the Borana moves to the other neighboring Oromo clans of Gujji and Gabra and vice versa. But the degree of the incidence for conflict with these clans is unusual, easily manageable and minor compared to the former.

**Challenges on Borana Indigenous institutions on water management**

The study indicated that the existing Borana indigenous institution on water resource management is in a declining trend because of several factors that include: weakening of the power of Abba Herrega and community elders, conflict and attack on water sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of proper support from concerning authorities</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict and attack on water sources</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mismatching of indigenous knowledge with that of the contemporary</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak power of Abba Herregaa and Konfi</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less participation and motivation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Challenges of Borana Indigenous institutions on water management**

Source: Own data
(water sources became ground for conflict) and mismatching of indigenous knowledge with that of contemporary.

In relation to this, the focus group discussants at Wachile village indicated that previously, if Abba Herregaa accuses a person for mistreatment of water resources, there will be corrective measures against the offender according to the rule of Borana on water management. To do so, there is no need to find for witness. However, now a day, if there is such case; there must be witness for the case to take corrective measures. Hence, the issue of asking for witness is neither in the rule of the Borana nor laying and denying is culture of the Borana. In Borana community, there is no way to blame or accuse one without any ground. The serious challenges of Borana indigenous institutions on water resource management were ranked as follows, (see Table 2)

**Conclusion and implications**

Borana pastoralists possessed a long lived indigenous knowledge appropriate to manage the scarce water sources in Borana rangelands that in turn plays a decisive role in natural resource management at the time when the world is highly concerned and working to curtail the threat of global warming. The article thus, endows with a valuable but, hidden knowledge of the community to academic world, policy makers and other development agents. It intends to contribute in the effort to fashion harmonious relationship between indigenous knowledge of the community and scientific theories of the academia that makes a path way to the flow of knowledge from bottom-up rather than from up-bottom. It also intends to prove proper intervention approaches that centre indigenous knowledge of the community in the effort to ensure environmental conservation and sustainable development. This in turn, reduces the imposing of alien approaches that might not be contextualized into real situation of the community.

Borana pastoralists’ indigenous knowledge is in deteriorating trends for several factors now a day. One of the factors is imposition of alien systems by overlooking indigenous knowledge of the community. Therefore, academic investigation and intervention that focuses on the identification and upgrading of indigenous knowledge of the community is highly acknowledged. For any successful intervention in Borana pastoralist areas, development agents and policy makers along with the academy should centre on indigenous knowledge of the community rather than imposing alien approaches.

The other factor for water resource management system deteriorations in Borana rangelands emanates from recurrent conflict between Borana pastoralists and the neighboring Digodi and Garri clans of Somali pastoralists. Therefore, awareness rising on peace full conflict resolution to both sides is very important. To this effect, identifying and utilizing indigenous conflict resolution methods of the community is another means to arrive at sustainable conflict resolution in the area.

In general, water resource management to manage the scarce water sources in Borana rangelands that in turn plays a decisive role in natural resource management at the time when the world is highly concerned and working to curtail the threat of global warming. The article thus, endows with a valuable but, hidden knowledge of the community to academic world, policy makers and other development agents. It intends to contribute in the effort to fashion harmonious relationship between indigenous knowledge of the community and scientific theories of the academia that makes a path way to the flow of knowledge from bottom-up rather than from up-bottom. It also intends to prove proper intervention approaches that centre indigenous knowledge of the community in the effort to ensure environmental conservation and sustainable development. This in turn, reduces the imposing of alien approaches that might not be contextualized into real situation of the community.
has direct implications on the other key pastoral resources like pasture, natural forest and the biodiversity of the rangelands so that effect on water resources implies effect on the aforementioned resources. Therefore, in Borana rangeland management, water resource management through indigenous knowledge of the community needs primary and prior attention in managing the other key resources.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Pastoral Forum Ethiopia (PFE) and Institute of Pastoral and Agro-pastoral Studies (IPAS), Haramaya University for their contribution to the success of the study. My thanks to the organizers and participants of the 2011 “International Conference on Eco-system Conservation and Sustainable Development” is also great for their constructive comments on the article during my presentation of the paper on the conference. I am also grateful to Professor Veronica Arbon, (Chair of Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Institute of Koorie Education, Deakin University) who encouraged me and critically commented on the article in due course of publication.
Influence of Ogiek’s Indigenous apprenticeship education of herbal medicine and cosmological related belief systems on sustainable environmental conservation of Mau Forest, Kenya

Ronoh, T.K., Ogola, F.O., Makori, G., and Mumiukha, C.K.

Abstract

Traditionally, the Ogiek are hunter-gatherers and have distinctive histories of interaction with the natural environment. Over the years, the Ogiek have inhabited in the Mau Forest with little impact on the environment. This paper critically examines the influence of Ogiek’s apprenticeship Scheme of herbal medicine and related cosmological belief systems and practices on sustainable environmental conservation of Mau Forest, Kenya.

The study was informed by the General Systems Theory and the Cultural Ecology Theory. An ethno-historical approach was employed in the design, instrumentation, data collection, analysis and interpretation. The paper reveals that herbal medicine as practised by the Pre-colonial Ogiek society facilitated the conservation of Mau Forest ecosystem for their sustainable livelihood. Moreover, the omnipresence of God was cherished as the caretaker of the Mau Forest. Therefore, there was a strong moral conviction that the loss of Mau Forest and its biodiversity was a loss of the Ogiek heritage. It is hoped that the research findings will be useful to policy makers in such fields as education, medical Anthropology and environmental conservation on the need for the integration of indigenous knowledge systems into modern environmental management strategies.

Introduction

Hunting and gathering peoples of Africa represented an environmental adjustment that is found in isolated areas of low population density (Ottenberg, 1960). This was a true assertion of the Ogiek of Mau Forest in Kenya who has heavily relied on the simplest technologies, usually owning no more material goods than they could carry on their own as they engaged in migratory search for food. They are directly dependent upon wild plants and animals for their survival.

The Ogiek, also referred to as the Dorobo, form a minority group among the Kalenjin. They constitute an underlying sub-stratum for the Kalenjin and the Maasai people and perhaps the Kikuyu according to Muriuki (1976), Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973). The Ogiek are one of the earliest known inhabitants of East Africa. They are presently among the few survivors of the early inhabitants of East Africa. Unfortunately, they are facing extinction as they are being assimilated by other communities (Sutton, 1976 and Towett, 2004). The Ogiek lived in small isolated settlements inside the dense, high-altitude evergreen forest, their permanent home and wet-weather hunting ground. According to Kratz (1986), the forest has been mentioned as the place the Ogiek regarded as their domain, contrasting sharply with their neighbours spatial understandings. Hence, closely related to the space itself was the way in which the Ogiek made their life in it, by hunting, gathering and
practice of herbal medicine.

In Kenya, about 80% of the local population meets their Primary Health Care (PHC) needs through herbal medicine (FAO, 2004). However, in rural areas where about 20% of the medical services were realized, people were treated largely by use of traditional medicines. Similarly, in Kenya, study of indigenous knowledge on uses and conservation of useful indigenous herbs and plants as intensified among scientists at Kenya Forestry Research Institute (KEFRI), National Museums of Kenya (NMK), Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI) and the School of Medicine of University of Nairobi especially the Pharmacy Department and Kenyatta University School of Health Sciences have been focusing on traditional medicinal plants, commonly referred to as alternative medicine.

While, ICIPE which deals with insect ecology has been actively involved in research on plant pests and insecticides including plants based on chemicals such as NEEM (IGAD, 2001). Herbal medicine was widely practised by the Ogiek as early as pre-colonial times. Ogiek used a variety of treatments for health problems, which had physical and social causes alike. They had substantial knowledge of herbal medicine made from forest plants and trees and also consulted a range of traditional healers (Kratz 1995:126). Infact, many patients who had health problems were cured through the mixing and administering of herbal medicines as that constituted a high proportion of Ogiek healer’s work. Girls were taught how to apply traditional medicine on the patients as first aids for the treatment of ailments and common complaints (Birir, 2006).

It would be imperative to note in this paper that as contextualized from the traditional African worldview perspective, environmental resources (land, water, animals and plants) were not just production factors with economic significance but also had their place within the sanctity of nature (Millar, 2004; UNEP, 2007). Among the Ogiek, certain places had special spiritual significance and were used as locations for rituals and sacrifices such as sacred grooves, shrines, mountains and rivers. These locations were quite often patches of high biodiversity which were well conserved and protected by the community. They acquired special values and became objects of reverence as well as worship among the indigenous Ogiek society because of their roles in the fulfilment of man’s bodily needs.

**Methodology**

The subject of inquiry was based on the assumption that individuals construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations and that the reconstructions tend to be transitory and situational (Cohen, 1994; Gall, 2003). This was the study of a people’s representations of their history and hence linked to the study of their oral tradition. Therefore, a relevant research design for this study was an ethno-historical design that systematically and objectively locates, evaluate and synthesise the evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning the past events. The study
sought to investigate the socio-cultural aspects of indigenous education of the Mau Ogiek that have been able to engender sustained environmental management of Mau Forest.

An ethno-historical design typically combined two research strategies, the emic (local viewpoint) and the etic (scientist-oriented) approach.

The research sample was drawn from seven sites in Mau Highlands: Teret, Sururu, Nessuit, Mariashoni, Bararget, Tinet and Kiptororo. Using the snowball and purposive sampling techniques, the researcher identified forty-five elderly Ogiek individuals who provided useful information on specific knowledge that this study sought to investigate (Babbie, 1986 and Gall, 2003). These people were then used as informants to identify others who qualified for inclusion in the study and these, in turn, identified yet others, hence the number kept on snowballing (Dalen, 1979; Cohen, 1994; Gall, 2003). Some of the informants were identified from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi while undertaking collection of archival sources. The others were mentioned in the course of the fieldwork. The main instruments that were used to collect the data were an observation schedule and interview schedules. The researcher administered observation and interview schedules for each of the targeted groups: the council of elders, herbalists, sponsors, religious leaders as well as early converts, colonial chiefs and government officials. The items in the instruments were designed in such a way that they were relevant to each of the group of informants mentioned above and were ultimately useful in achieving the research objectives outlined in this study. Data collection approaches included the use of field observations, oral interviews and documentary (primary and secondary) sources. Oral interviews, observations and documentary sources were the main sources for data collection in this study. The data was collected by interviewing individuals, observing events as well as analyzing documentary (primary and secondary) sources.

The critical undertaking in analyzing qualitative research was for the researcher to manage and organize the data. The researcher constructed patterns that emerged from the data and tried to get meaning out of them. Starting with a large set of issues and data, the researcher progressively narrowed them into small and important groups of the key data as acknowledged by earlier scholars and based on the research objectives (Dey, 1993; Bogdan, 1998; Krathwohl, 1998; Kottak, 2002; Gall, 2003). Following Patton’s (1990) and Gay & Airasian’s (2003) approaches to data and content analysis, the investigator undertook a multistage process of organizing, categorizing, synthesizing, and interpreting the data. Each of these processes were found to be iterative as the researcher cycled through these stages more than once in a continual effort to narrow and get meaning of the emerging themes and categories that formed the organizing frame work in this study. Indeed, Gay and Airasian (2003:229) identify four steps in analyzing qualitative research data, which were ultimately utilized in this study, namely: reading or memoing,
Results and discussion

The paper critically discusses the influence of Ogiek’s indigenous apprenticeship education of herbal medicine and related cosmological belief systems on sustainable environmental conservation of Mau Forest in Kenya. The purpose was organized around three major aspects based on the superstructural systems, theories and institutions among the Ogiek.

Philosophy of administration of herbal medicine as ecological learning strategies

The first aid involved the fetching of different types of curative leaves, roots or even juices of particular trees (Ronoh, 2000; Maina, 2006). Men and women learnt this skill from their parents. Parents also passed over the knowledge of herbal medicine to their children who had special interest to learn the art. Some families acquired widespread reputations as successful healers and diviners. Within the Ogiek community, the elders encouraged all the members to learn the basic elements of herbal medicine in the application of simple ailments. The trainees were taken through, not only to memorize the vast syllabus of oral literature, their curriculum but also to include the entire range of medical knowledge accumulated and transmitted from generation to generation. They had to learn to recognize diseases, both physical and mental and more so as to have knowledge on identifying and diagnosing symptoms in early stages by defining the probable cause of a particular illness.

Fundamentally, the trainees were taught on how to discern the leaves, berries, and roots of a greater number of local plants. In order to adequately acquire such knowledge, the youths and relieved patients were sent to gather specific herbs and ultimately taught the recipes for preparing a variety of medicines. As already discussed in the foregoing analysis, it would be imperative to note that acquisition of such skills and techniques were generally passed on from father to son especially from those clans that took herbal medicine as their profession. However, the same arrangement was far from rigid.

For instance, a son who had no natural bent for his father’s inclination to herbal knowledge, may take up hunting or bee keeping as a full-time or learn another trade from a member of his father’s or his mother’s family or even from non-relative as was acknowledged through their traditional framework. In that way, each individual was expected to fulfill and predetermined his destiny. Such conceptual ideology and reality as articulated by the proponents of General Systems theory greatly influenced the educational theory and practice of the Ogiek society. Therefore, every Ogiet was considered to be a herbalist to a greater or lesser extent (Toweet, 1979:40-41). However, Chepkerichenek, were recognized and trained herbalists who practised the art of herbal medicine among the Ogiek and they came from specific clans (Kimisoi, 2006).

Gathering the curative wild fruits, berries, roots and herbal barks for medicine was
the task of Ogiek women and children. Women herbalists transmitted their knowledge of herbal medicine to the next generation. Collecting of herbs (Kebut Kerichek en Osinet) for curative purposes were guided by rules and regulations where all the herbalists were expected to adhere to. Such rules also included guidelines on the administration and treatment of the patients among the Ogiek community. On the onset, the council of elders of various Konoituek had maintained an oral register (not written) of all professional and experienced herbalists. It was on the basis of an oral record that they only allowed such people to access the forest to collect herbs for use to treat the patients. However, in very rare occasions, these herbalists took with them the trainees to the forest to assist them to gather herbs, including being taken through an educative process of acquiring skills and knowledge on the art of herbal medicine.

More precisely, through several years of learning, practising and experience, the herbalists were able to memorize the exact location or position of each and every important curative herbs in the forest. With the stream of time, they were able to transmit such knowledge and skills to their children and youth who occasionally accompany them to the forest to learn how to collect these herbs. As diametrically opposed to other apprenticeship schemes, the trainees learnt the art of herbal medicine through participant observation as they were being prepared to be fully potential herbalists, thus determining the destiny of the community. In the same contention, children and youth were inducted knowledge of skilful gathering of herbs without destroying the entire tree, especially with regard to removal of roots, leaves, stems and barks. They were also warned to be extra cautious on handing of harmful poisonous and dangerous herbs such as mocheket, tagaratuet, Chesitoruet and cactus leaves, which in turn would be mixed with other ingredients to make useful herbal medicine to cure numerous diseases.

Based on the philosophy of the concept of tomorrow and aware on the need for environmental conservation, herbalists were able to stock ready-made herbs for use lasting over a long period of time so as to allow for regeneration of those affected plants to heal. In the same likeness, most of the herbal medicinal trees were treated as sacred and therefore the society was not to tamper with them. Because of the importance attached to these herbal trees, the herbalists did assist the lineage council of elder’s tribunal to check and monitor the growth and development of such trees as it greatly determined the destiny of the community. To acknowledge the significance of these trees, many informants and cultural consultants agreed that the punishment meted on offenders who destroyed these special tree species were more punitive than those who were found to have tampered with ordinary trees. For instance, a part from the general guidelines on compensation thereof, the offender was instructed to plant more of the same herbs within the homesteads of recognized herbalists.
Training and restocking of new herbs for sustainable environmental conservation

In most cases, renowned herbalists were found to have tendered their own bushy and miniature forests of herbal plants within their various konoltuek hence assisted in conservation of the natural resources. These museum gardens enriched the growth and development of herbal plants and in turn acted as an educational centre, where herbalists trained their clients (children and relieved patients) to identify different types of herbal trees and their usage in the treatment of various illnesses. These gardens became the pharmacies and laboratories where the trainees gained enormous knowledge, skills and techniques in the area of herbal medicine. The Ogiek boasted of the forest itself as a school, where nature could teach the trainees many things through observation. Therefore, the wisdom to understand nature and live on it in a sustainable way was a heritage passed down by the herbalists to the young members of the Ogiek society. For adequate and regular management and maintenance of these garden museums, herbalists utilized their relieved patients (who may not have been able to pay in kind towards their treatment) to further equipped and tendered the gardens by collecting more herbal plants and seedlings from the forest to plant them within those domesticated gardens in their homestead.

However, in the same light, there were also strong medicines that their administration and prescriptions required the patients to be closely monitored by the professional herbalist especially on their dosage, treatment and ultimate response. Those patients who were subjected to that mode of treatment included those with psychiatric cases. Because of their prolonged period at the orbul, such relieved patients were trained to administer medicine to their sick colleagues. They were also sent out to collect herbs on behalf of the herbalists who were hosting them. This was in cognizance of the fact that the demand of these herbs were rapidly increasing, yet the supply was also supposed to be met in order to maintain a clear and balanced equilibrium of those needing the services of herbal medicine. In essence, this was aimed at establishing self-regulation and pattern maintenance as advocated by the general system theoreticians.

Maintaining the richness of traditional knowledge of herbal medicine depended largely upon the Ogiek’s continuous use of their ancestral forest land as a classroom and laboratory (ILO, 2000) and hence conservation of the environment was extremely vital for their survival. Moreover, indigenous knowledge of the Mau Forest ecosystems was learnt and updated through observation and so evicting the Ogiek from their ancestral land would break the generational cycle of learning the apprenticeship scheme of herbal medicine. One informant, Chesimet (2006) from Tinet acknowledged very categorical that Mau Forest was their pharmacy; indeed more precisely, he asserted that Mau Forest was their hospital, where the herbs were collected and eventually used as medicine.
Generally, the apprenticeship scheme of herbal medicine was passed on only to the already relieved patients. *Orbul* was a reserved place where patients stayed for a while in a secluded natural environment when they were still undergoing treatment (Barkosiah, 2006). Herbs of specific trees were mixed with meat soup for the treatment of patients (Ronoh, 2001). Some leaves from a variety of specific trees were collected and then burnt into ashes commonly used for the cure of heart related diseases (Maina, 2006). *Manget* was used to cure common colds. While some tree barks and roots were extracted and boiled for the treatment of malaria. Such tree species included, *inter alia*, *Manget-ab Tinet*, *nukiat*, *Sigowet*, *Kositiet*, *emiot*, *ngechebchiat*, *arorwe*, *tendewet*, *Soget*, *bisigwet* (Chelule, 2006; Tuei, 2006; Sangwea, 2006 and Chumo, 2006). *Manget ab Tinet* is the by-product found to emanate in some specific trees especially when such trees had been left bare and their barks had been removed either as herbs or as utilized for repair of beehives. Ogiek named it as Tinet but commonly used as medicine. These barks and roots employed as herbs were from a tree called *Chepkologolyo*. For instance, they were instructed to protect the important tree species like *Dombeya goetzeni mukeo*, *Olea euro* and *Olea hochostetteri*; which were used for herbs and honey (Wass, 1995:10-22; IGAD, 2001). Subsequently, they were warned of the problems that they would encounter when the environment had been degraded.

However, roots of *soget*, *Mogoiwet* and other specific indigenous trees were boiled and then used as herbs to cure gonorrhea and other related sexually transmitted diseases (STDS). Indeed, a few herbalists possessed remarkable knowledge of these diseases. Such knowledge was not easily obtained but it could take up to five or ten years for the trainee to become proficient herbalist and ultimately to effect the real cures. During this period, the trainees usually learnt the art of herbal medicine while serving under the tutelage of an older and more experienced herbalist. The secrets of the profession was easily transmitted but only reluctantly released depending on how speedily the trainee displayed maturity and competence in learning the trade. Thus, very few herbalists were endowed with the skills and techniques of such treatment of this nature. Those who did and performed this art, willed a form of prestige and higher status in the society’s ontological frame.

Moreover, when a person was injured possibly during hunting, warfare, or while collecting honey (in most cases), one was given herbs to cure the patient from any anticipated anomalies such as bodily fractures. Among the Ogiek, there also emerged experienced elderly surgeons. These were very rare individuals and carried out all sorts of surgery. They transmitted their knowledge to the interested individuals through the process of apprenticeship. For instance, an elder who had the skill would recruit his son or a relative and taught him how to operate on the brain, internal organs, limbs and other body parts.
The apprentice would accompany the herbalist on his regular visits to treat patients and by so doing, they acquired such skill through learning by observation. The skill of surgery was treated with a lot of secrecy and passed on from one generation to generation. In making inference from the Marakwet of Kenya experience (Cheboi, 2009) traditional surgeons learned how to operate the human skull using knives that were specifically designed by local blacksmiths for that purpose. The trainees were taught to understand neurological processes, since the complex blood vessels required extra care so that an individual could not endangered the person’s life. Charges for the operation depended on the complexity of the process.

Further, *Warburgia ugandensis* was used to treat chest pains and coughs while *syzygium* aided Africana diabetes and high blood pressure as well as providing food for young babies. Another good medicinal plant with great potential was *Pygeum (Prunus Africana)*, whose barks were used to cure prostate disorders, a condition that afflict men mostly at the age of 50 years (FAO, 2004). All these herbs were preserved for their cherished values as herbal medicine to the Ogiek pre-colonial society. According to the Ogiek’s key cultural consultants and herbalists, all indigenous trees within their natural environment were used as curative measures to prevent various diseases.

As a result, the society were inculcated a broad-based educational curriculum of herbal medicine that emphasized the need to have a clear balance and integration of demand and supply framework for effective management of the natural environment so as to ensure steady supply of herbs.

However, the most important plants and trees that were utilized as herbs included, *Senetwet, Bobatab tegat, Ngatumiat, Chepngoroitet, Silibwet, Chepkebech* and *Mosongik*. *Senetwet* roots and leaves were boiled for the treatment of malaria while *Bobatab tegat* was used for deworming. *Ngatumiat* was used to cure heart bans and *Chepngoroitet* was commonly employed for the treatment of malaria. *Silibwet* barks were generally used to cure animals and people. *Mosongik* roots and grains were used to cure small pox and *Chepkebech* was used to treat polio among the Ogiek pre-colonial society (Sang, 2006, Lesan, 2006). Usage of the leaves, barks and roots of various herbs and the curative techniques took the form of boiling the ingredients, or soaking them in water or even crushing them into powdery form. The serialization of these diseases and the prescriptions of each one of them demonstrated a wider spectrum of herbal knowledge that the Ogiek had systematically developed over time during the pre-colonial times. All these herbs were jealously guarded and conserved by the Ogiek as it provided them with their lifetime for survival and existence as a people. One informant summed up the whole issue by stating that it would take many years for a tree to mature and one day to destroy it (Rop, 2006).

It was from such a conception frame that the youths were meticulously taught virtues on the essence of
preserving the environment as opposed to the vices of degradation. Indeed, harvesting and collection of herbal medicine in whatever form (i.e., barks, juices, roots, stems, leaves) were done by experienced women and sometimes men, who took into cognizance the need for regeneration of such important plants within the Mau Forest ecosystem.

Honey was used as a curative product (Kratz, 2000). Extracts from roots and barks of specific trees were boiled and the soup was then mixed with honey (nuriek) which had already been added to water. The boiled mixture would then be given to the patient. Basically, it was found to cure so many types of diseases (Marindany, 2006). Other non-alcoholic health beverages and drinks such as stews and soups were prepared either traditionally from or with wild fruits or seeds due to their nutrition and medicinal potency.

In a way, herbal medicine aided the conservation of the environment because only the specialists were allowed to extract the herbs from the forests and they were entirely guided within the framework of their code of ethics governing their profession (Kimisoi, 2006). Though, they exploited the environment, they were cognizance of the plants’ sustainability. Trees of medicinal value were conserved and it was the responsibility of the individual members and the lineage councils in general to monitor their growth and development. Likewise, during the various rites of passage, the young were taught the importance and fundamental rights attached to these specified trees and hence the society treated them as sacred.

The Ogiek universally guarded their Mau Forest ecosystem from being destroyed by the loggers and members of other ethnic groups. The Ogiek were self-sufficient in their wisdom and knowledge of the environmental utilization of the forests as pharmacies and laboratories. For instance, Mathooko and Kariuki (Kamau, 2008) from the Department of Biological Sciences at Egerton University had noted that by the year 2000; approximately 55 percent of Mau riparian vegetation could be used for herbal medicine, while 11 percent as food. For many years, the Ogiek have relied on their traditional medicine for treatment. Forests were and still are Ogiek’s pharmacies and laboratories.

The medicinal use of plants and herbs for treatment of ailments could become an aid for modern medicine (Nomi, 2004:4; http://www.Ogiek.org 2004). Ogiek herbalists in general, could not be allowed to cut trees as a way of obtaining or collecting herbs. Instead, they had in mind the concept of tomorrow guided by God’s constitution (Oduor, 2004) to ensure that they had adequate and steady supply of herbs thus reinforcing the perpetuation of herbal medicine as a profession. Pre-colonial indigenous education of herbal medicine is still in force despite rapid social change among the Ogiek. Therefore, trainees in herbal medicine are currently found keeping notebooks with the medicinal preparations written down to aid their memory.
Cosmological related belief systems and practices among the Ogiek

According to the Ogiek’s world view (Astill, 2002) God, spirits, ritual crops and animals as well as food items were all inter-related. These vital forces played a critical role in the ontological frame of the Ogiek society that had closer connectivity to the utilization of their social and natural environment. More importantly was the fact that the Ogiek attached greater cultural associations with their ancestral Mau Forest (Nomi, 2004). They performed several cultural rituals and ceremonies that were closely associated with religion and worship. The Ogiek considered their connection to the forest as spiritual and most of their ceremonies such as initiation, birth, death and marriage were linked to the forest (Oduor, 2004; Sang, 2006).

As already revisited earlier, the use of herbs for spiritual purposes and ritual ceremonies clearly demonstrated their integration of the social and the natural environment. Cultural values, especially those inspired by religious teaching, gave prominence to employing reason and common sense when dealing with the wealth of nature. Respect for the living environment was emphasized in much of the Ogiek’s traditions (Chumo, 2006, Mosonik, 2006; Ntoror, 2006). Generally, speaking, environmental awareness among the Ogiek was closely linked to their cultural and religious practices. Indeed, Ogiek Indigenous education could be described as mainly informal and that the process of learning and teaching took place from day to day experience from birth to death and beyond, as the dead ancestors (living dead) continue to exert a great influence on the living members of the community.

To the Ogiek, Mau Forest had a cultural value which could not be quantified in terms of money (FAO, 2004) and an important aspect of their social and spiritual life (Nomi, 2004). In fact, the use value relevant to such forest (non-extractive) made them unique to the Ogiek as a community and this was one strategy that essentially made their conservation a community affair. However, the council of elders played the major role as the keepers and cultural conservators of the Mau Forest (Sangwea, 2006; Birir, 2006) and that has continuously enabled it to stand out as an important water catchment forest with its rich biodiversity to date but, however, with the entry of other interest groups, these gains has been rapidly reversed setting in the stage of massive environmental degradation.

The Ogiek adhered to and rigidly employed traditional norms and regulations governing the management of Mau Forest ecosystem, as well as local norms and beliefs that governed sacred or fetish groves which in turn prohibited harvesting of forested products and indiscriminate hunting of endangered species. Indeed, river sources were highly protected sites and people were not allowed to fetch water from the source. For instance, many informants acknowledged that the source of River Njoro near Nessuit was nicknamed Kiplulukit by the Ogiek and it had an outstanding tale that regarded it as sacred. It was revealed that though
it had very clear and clean water, nobody was allowed to drink water from its source and whoever partake of the same would be struck by lightning and even birds were not spared either (Chelule, 2006; Sambu, 2006). Entry to specific place such as Tinet Forest was only allowed during specific occasion, when it was due to perform community rituals (Sangwea, 2006).

Most of the groves were believed by the community to contain the ‘earth god’ or spiritual beings that were anticipated to promote peace and prosperity, while checking and correcting anti-social or deviant behavior within the society. This resulted in remnant patches of primordial forest even in places where the Ogiek had resided on a sedentary basis. Most of the relics in Mau Forest have survived because they were considered to be sacred and for their important roles for veneration. Ideally, they were preserved for the cultural expression of this community. Many informants do agreed that such areas e.g. Tinet Forest is still a no-go-zone for strangers and many trees within this natural forest are mostly regarded as sacred. These trees included Emitik, Tegek, Tinet, Slibwet Sinendet, Sirititiiek, Korosiot, and Simoten. While, there were also sacred animals such as elephants, lions and gazelles which were neither to be hunted nor eaten. Family totems, whereby some lineages among the Ogiek were prohibited from eating animals and birds also offered protection. Such strategies emanated from the Ogiek themselves who had concerned for their environment and its entire ecosystem, an attitude which enabled them to conserve their resources without written legislation. In addition, Ogiek cosmology promoted values that supported conservation and discouraged values and ethics incompatible with sustainable ways of life.

These sacred plants and animals were valued by the Ogiek as they played a central role in their livelihood as a community. For instance, cedar was used for making beehives and ‘Sirititi’ was utilized in the making of bows. While Nokiriwet and Simetet plants were used for reconciliation. Similarly, Osiek sacred plants which were mostly found growing within the sacred mountain of Tuluap Lagok in Londiani were utilized during the performance of initiation rituals and ceremonies. It was at this place that initiation was conducted for the first time and as a result the Ogiek as well as other Kalenjin groups attached greater significance to it as a sacred site (Sang, 2006; Birir, 2006 and Ntoror, 2006).

According to the Ogiek mythology, it was noted that this forest was regarded as sacred and God (Asis) had created and made it as a home for animals. Therefore, it was a taboo to clear or destroy it nor was one being allowed to hunt animals out of such a wonderful habitat (Sang, 2006: Tuei, 2006). This justified the notion that the Ogiek integrated among the youth, cultural and spiritual traditions in their orientation mechanisms of preserving the environment. In fact, cultural taboos put restrictions on the use of certain plants, animals and special places. Severe punishment would be meted on
the wrong doers by the living ancestors who violated such taboos. This helped to curb the depletion of natural resources that was considered significant for the continuation and survival of the Ogiek as a community. Recent development indicated that the Kalenjin have pushed for a proposal to have this mountain upgraded into a museum status for conserving Kalenjin artifacts (Sang, 2006).

As we could inferred from the ecological status of the Loita Purko Naimina Enkikiyo Forest, where there has been little or no degradation which was attributed to the value and reverence attached to the forest by the local Maasai community. It was noted that the locations of some of the sacred sites were closely guarded secret with only one person per age-group being shown their location (Karanja, 2004). The sacred sites and spiritualism of the Mau Forest could provide historical information for future generation (Astill, 2002). It would be imperative to observe that many of these sacred places are being encroached upon and destroyed by ‘external’ people (other communities and timber harvesting companies) leading to a loss of livelihood for the Ogiek community who largely depend on Mau Forest resources for their survival. Therefore, access to and management of this forest was governed by God’s constitution (‘unwritten law’) being administered by the council of elders at various lineage councils and hence above all, the sacredness attached to the plants and animals greatly aided conservation of the same.

From customary laws, the Ogiek developed indigenous management systems that were effective mechanisms in environmental conservation. The creation of institutional curbs such as sacred areas for purposes of worshipping ancestral spirits served to regulate societal attitudes towards the natural environment. This is in line with the assertions that Africans respected God’s manifestation in their lives and indeed, God played an active part in human history as seen in terms of supplying them with rain, good harvests, health, cattle and children, in healing, delivering and helping them, in making His presence to be felt through natural phenomena and objects. Therefore, Ogiek continued to practise their traditional religion remembering the importance of their ancestors. In this way, beliefs played a fundamental role in a people’s livelihood and in maintaining a healthy and conducive natural environment. In view of this understanding, the Ogiek protected Mau Forest for religious reasons. It was respected as a sacred forest and that reality reinforced its maintenance and preservation as a vital watershed.

The Ogiek people believed in the existence of a supreme being known by various names such as Torooret or Asiista and Chepbongolo. They prayed to the deity during sunrise and sunset and they believed in a supreme being that was thought to be beneficent and was invoked in blessings. In their prayer, the Ogiek maintained that the ownership of such areas as forests, rivers, mountains and valleys were belonging to God as its creation and they warned any individual who might
be involved in the destruction of these natural resources that the ancestral spirits could punished them. It was therefore considered the community’s duty to protect the environment for the continued survival of the Ogiek and to serve the future generation. It was believed and acknowledged by the Ogiek that the natural environment could not be changed and God Asis had made it best to fit them and therefore they were bestowed with a responsibility to preserve it since once it was destroyed, it would never ever be replaced (Chelule, 2006). Thus, in this case, the sacredness of the natural environment became a strong strategy in conserving Mau Forest ecosystem.

Omnipresence of God was cherished and acknowledged as the caretaker of the forest and hence the forest had a clear manifestation of sacredness to this community.

According to the Ogiek’s ancient myths and stories, God made the Ogiek of the East Mau Forest from “soil gathered at the cliffs” of the Mau Complex (Majtenyi, 2001). It was a universal belief that destroying of the natural resources would annoy God and the ancestral spirits. The Ogiek believed that the ecosystem and the biodiversity supported by the Mau Forest exemplified the fine balance that must be maintained in this ecological haven (Nomi, 2004). Any alteration would ultimately affect the stability of the forest, thus causing detrimental effects on all of its inhabitants of which the Ogiek were part of it. There was a strong moral conviction that the loss of the Mau Forest and its biodiversity was the loss of the Ogiek heritage. Culture was the fabric that holds the Ogiek together.

According to Lesan (2006) from Tinet Forest, she observed that before our forest was cut down, we had our culture and traditions that clearly stipulated that anyone destroying our forest was destroying our culture. According to her, forests were regarded as determining their cultural destiny and regarded as temples of God by the Ogiek. In fact, as Nomi (2004) contends in this context, that the disappearance and extinction of a culture and heritage was a permanent loss to mankind that could not be replaced. Therefore, as a result of this deeper understanding, various methods were put in place to jealously protect and conserve their natural environment. In so doing, the Ogiek became the protectors of the Mau Forest ecosystem.

Further, as attested by Beinhart (2000), the ancient African including the Ogiek were revered and praised as frontiersmen who co-existed with nature. Therefore, nature and the environment were described symbolically using human and animal spirits. For instance, land was identified as sacred and powerful through the use of myths and fables and in every undertaking, it was strengthened through conservation efforts to preserve every natural resource base that was cardinal to the Ogiek’s existence and survival. Mau Forest provided a way of life, a source of ceremonial and sacred locations such as grave sites (Toweet, 2004) and a place that inspired spiritualism and emotional well-being (Kirui & Mbugua., 2004). The spiritual life of
the Mau Forest offered the Ogiek an impetus to cultivate sincerity and moral commitment to protect the environment and all its inhabitants. The Ogiek drew their inner strength and the purity of consciousness through their integrative approach in the control and management of natural resources. Sacred trees were bestowed with protective roles. For instance, when an individual was being chased by dangerous wild animals, he was strongly advised to climb a sacred Tinet tree and it was believed to be in safe hands because such animals would immediately abandon the chase altogether.

The Ogiek administered their prayers at family level within their various homesteads sacred shrines (mabwaita) but, however when there was a serious crisis or disaster such as prolong droughts or an important ritual event, prayers were conducted at a central place called Kapkoros. The shrine (mabwaita) was a foundation of four strong poles, bounded at the base with vines. It was filled out with leafy branches, the structure as a whole resembled a tree (Kratz, 1998). The sacred species used were both the properties which made them appropriate for its utility and their other contexts of use contributed to the significance and associations of Ogiek blessings. In this way, the construction of these shrines both at the homesteads and at public places were the responsibility of the elders, who in turn engaged the youth through a participatory learning process to understand the importance of each of these tree species used and imperatively for them to appreciate their sacredness by protecting, maintaining the growth and development of their seedlings.

The Ogiek set up was highly hierarchical and systematic. They believed in the hierarchical existence of vital (Ontological) forces that played a role in shaping the social and natural environment. Based on this hierarchical and ontological frame, the Ogiek generally, believed on a supreme God, or a creative spirit and lesser spirits. They accepted a continuous existence after death, with parents and grandparents taking an interest in, and even participated in the activities of their families in the hereafter. As a result, they had a strong attachment to the art of herbal medicine where healers received their calling through a dream to practice the profession.

In recognition of this reality, the specialists and diviners acknowledged that they received such divine revelation and calling from ancestors who were healers, to practice the same profession. Instruction in this art was transmitted to other specialists through further dreams. In addition, they attributed sickness and other misfortunes as a punishment from the offended ancestral spirits and the healers had the sole responsibilities of detecting the source of the misfortunes in advance. Such powers of discerning also included, inter alia, identifying the cause of the offence and how it could be remedied. In the same vein, they believed that some illness and misfortunes were attributed and associated to witchcraft committed by living persons. Healers were also expected to define its cause
and recommended the appropriate remedy.

For instance, witch-doctors detected witches and occasionally counteracted their power. There were Ogiek specialists and diviners (to administer treatment that was believed to have been caused by evil powers. In the past, corpse was laid to rest in the forest or bush. Upon death, adults became ancestral spirits and could continue to affect the living in so many ways. Ancestral spirits could cause illness and misfortune for the living, if they were forgotten in retribution for the wrongs committed among their relatives (Kratz, 1995:261). If angered, they could bring disease or bad luck to their living relatives.

As a result, there emerged specialists who learnt how to conduct witchcraft (Maina, 2006). Those few persons practising witchcraft did this in secret and supposedly even trained their children in the act. When discovered, a suspected witch was driven out of his or her own home to live with their maternal uncles (Ronoh, 2000). Some individuals were specialists in exorcising witchcraft and these were very rare people among the Ogiek, and they passed on their skills to their offspring. But, in some circumstances where an individual was not related in any way to the specialist (if not from the same clan) the apprenticeship could take place when the apprentice paid in form of compensation for the services rendered. In most instances, if not otherwise stipulated, a sheep that had no blemish was presented to the aggrieved party as a form of compensation (Chumo, 2006). Most of the activities related to healing had clear influence from the natural environment. For instance, when one individual was on a journey (usually in the morning) and he or she met a hawk sitting facing the opposite direction or a rat crosses his path, that individual should not proceed on his journey as that was a sign of bad luck. This phenomenon reflected how cosmological understandings played a critical role on the Ogiek’s daily life undertakings and their knowledge of the natural environment. This demonstrated the inseparable and instrumental role that the social environment greatly motivated them to conserve their natural environment of Mau Forest.

**Conclusion**

Infact, their indigenous education was more functional in the sense that it was primarily aimed at helping children in particular and adults to learn and master the necessary social and occupational skills which enabled them to effectively cope with their socio-cultural and natural environment. It was their socio-cultural and belief sytems that largely informed intergenerational teaching of the Ogiek as they equipped them to understand the natural world and the art of herbal medicine by navigating through the physical complexity. This also assisted to locate themselves in a supernatural and spiritual context through interpretation of their rights and responsibilities between them and other living things. In essence, it would be objective to observe that it was their inward orientation and gratification as opposed to the outward obligation that made the Ogiek to preserve their enviroment and perfected their skills and techniques of herbal profession as
As already discussed from the foregoing analysis, indigenous herbal and cosmological learning was largely based on the actual living conditions of the people, their views of the universe, God and its relationship between the supreme being and mankind as well as relationships between various groups of people. In particular, its emphasis was on a broad based curriculum in understanding the natural environment on which the survival and well being of the society depended on and determined by its mode of production. This justified the synthesis being articulated by the cultural ecologists that informed the core of this study as it discusses the imperatives of interaction between the mode of subsistence, cultural and the natural environment.

Moreover, their legacy in professional training and other rituals were built on the philosophy where the needs of the individuals were subordinated to the interests and needs of the community. Ideally, the Ogiek’s herbal medicine, belief systems and practices were based upon not only on the respect of their environment but also upon respect for each other as a distinct foraging people as well as maintaining their status quo. In this respect, the ideology of communalism philosophy and group cohesion became the organizing and underlying pillars of Ogiek’s herbal profession, belief systems and practices that guided their involvement in the socio-ecological and economic superstructural development of their education.

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I have learnt Sámi arts and crafts and how to make Sámi handicrafts at home, from my parents and close relatives. Through small stories, I will present what I have experienced while learning to make handicrafts; I will also analyse how my experiences are connected with the Sámi way of thinking and Sámi teaching methods.

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Small stories: A guide to learning and teaching Sámi arts and crafts

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that the scissors will cut the hair. If I take too much, the cut will not be nice and even and the result will not look good. I practise trimming for a long time; I do not always manage to cut the hair, and sometimes I cut a hole in the piece of skin. We three work together, and I feel I have grown twice as big as I was earlier – especially as my grandmother praises me, saying that I am good at trimming and quick to learn. She promises that I will soon get to trim real leg pieces, and I feel like a real craftsman.

In the early summer, my grandfather is outside, working. He is barking poles for the frame of a Sámi hut, and I go over to him. I sit on my knees and watch him working. He cuts the bark with a knife and then pulls the bark back in two directions. I watch for a while and then ask whether I can also try. My grandfather says yes and tells me to come and sit in front of him so that I almost sit on his lap. He gives the knife to me, showing how I should hold it in order not to cut myself by accident; he himself holds my hand, and we start to remove the bark again. As we bark, my grandfather asks whether I can feel how much I need to press the knife if I want it to cut the bark. When we have made a cut in the bark and it is time to pull it in two directions, I do not have the strength to remove it. The bark sits tight and I do not manage to loosen it, so my grandfather tears the bark off. When we have worked this way for a while, my grandfather lets me use the knife alone while he tears the bark off. As we work, he tells me about the skeleton poles of a Sámi hut: what they should be like, where and when they should be fetched and what one should do to them. He tells about his childhood and what life was like then, and what his parents and other relatives have told him. In the autumn he continues to give me advice about the poles of a Sámi hut and tent, a goahti and a lávvu, when he is smoking reindeer meat in a Sámi tent and I slip in to watch what he does.

The kinship network
a sense of belonging together

Aunt Inga is sewing a hemline part for her Sámi dress, as she needs to make herself a new dress for the festival on Lady Day. I stand by her and ask: “Is it difficult to sew with the treadle sewing machine?” I would like to try but do not dare to say it straight out. I have already been able to try sewing with a machine that is worked by hand. We children got the old machine when our grandmother bought a treadle sewing machine. I suppose my aunt can read my mind, as she asks me whether I would like to try. First she makes me sew a small piece of cloth without thread. She tells me to treadle carefully, not too fast so that I do not sew my own fingers by accident.

During Christmas, all of our grandparents’ children and their families used to gather at our grandparents place. We grandchildren got the chance to play together. The day was so short in mid-winter that we could not play outside for very long. It must have been sometimes difficult to come up with something that the lot of children could do in the long evenings. However, one night my older sister and I knew what we wanted to do: we wanted to knit. Our father and Niillas, our son-in-law, were going out to tend the herd in the morning, and they did
not have a potholder with which to lift the hot pot. We had seen such a thing in the school kitchen, and we thought that our father and Niillas would need one out in the woods. We asked for knitting needles and yarn. Our grandmother got us some yarn but could not find suitable needles for us. We started to feel really disappointed, because we could not knit and show others what we could do; we also felt bad when we thought that our father and Niillas might burn their hands because they did not have a potholder. Suddenly our uncle Ántte went out, just to return slightly later with two pairs of needles. He had made us needles so that we could knit. You can imagine how highly we thought of our uncle at that moment: he was the nicest and the most skilful person in the world right then! Now we could knit, and, of course, we started to compete who was the quickest one. My sister, who was older and had knit more than I, was the fastest. When I tried to hurry I lost a few stitches here and there, and was about to start crying. Aunt Inga was cooking, and she came to help me and managed to make me want to continue knitting.

**Teaching by living**

At the beginning of one summer, I got to go to get bark with my grandmother; she packed along a lunch for us. I, too, got to wear a belt with a knife. We walked for a while; the house must still have been in sight when I started to ask whether we would soon begin to cut bark. While walking, my grandmother told me what kind of place we were looking for and what kind of willows would be suitable for bark. She told me about the best time of the year and the best phase of the moon for getting bark. She also explained me how to communicate with nature: people are not masters of nature but part of it. People must ask nature for permission to take, and, after taking, also thank for their share. We must behave well in nature; we must not shout nor quarrel, and we must not destroy anything intentionally. We must not take more than we need. We reached the place where we were supposed to collect bark. My grandmother showed me different kinds of willows, telling what their bark would be good for. As she started to cut willows, she showed me how to do it so that there would be some willows left everywhere; that way, we would not destroy the area for other creatures, for example mice and birds, that also make use of willow thickets. We cut off the branches, my grandmother the thickest ones and I the smaller ones. Out of these branches we built a fire on which we made some coffee and broiled some dried reindeer meat. During the coffee break, my grandmother told me what she had experienced as a child when she got to go along to get materials from the woods. Her grandmother had told her what to do in the woods: how one must keep in mind all the places, hills, rivers, lakes, etc., so that one will learn to find one’s way.

**Guide and learner**

After compulsory schooling I started again to spend more time making handicrafts with my mother. Now, my mother had assumed the role of my grandmother: she gave me advice on how to work, what to do and why. Gradually, I dared to try more things myself and craft on my own. My mother
was my guide, but she began to give me advice only when I asked for it. She let me try and make mistakes and learn from them. Sometimes she could correct my mistakes, while sometimes I had to start all over. I remember when I sewed my first hemline. I had sewed the decorative ribbon on my own but had not held it tight enough. I had to take the ribbon out, and that took long, as I had to be careful not to destroy the broadcloth or the ribbon. At one time, I was cutting out a Sámi dress alone, and my mother was sitting close by knitting. She watched me and what I did, but without me noticing. Suddenly she asked me whether I was going to cut out the part in the way I was planning to. I wondered why she suddenly doubted my ability to cut out the dress, as this was the last part of the dress. My mother asked me to look at the piece closely, as there was something wrong with it. I looked for a long time, trying to find the mistake, but could not. My mother helped me to notice what was wrong; she told me to look at the broadcloth and see whether all the parts had been cut out the right way. When I checked the broadcloth, I realized that I was about to cut out this last piece the wrong way. As we worked on our handicrafts, my mother told me how she and her grandmother had sat crafting and how her grandmother had advised her on the shape of the dress, how one should decorate it, what kind of decoration was suitable, and how parts should be cut out so that no material was wasted and the dress would feel good to wear.

**Forums of learning**

There are also other means of learning than by making handicrafts at home and by observing one’s immediate environment. Festival occasions that attract a great number of people are good forums for learning. My mother told me to observe what kind of Sámi clothing people were wearing; she explained to which area each type of clothing belonged to and to which family the wearer belonged to. She taught me to recognize family-specific features in the clothing of our area. She trained me to see the differences in the clothing of other regions, too, but advised me not to try to be an expert on them, as it was important to respect and appreciate the people, craftwork, patterns and designs of other regions. However, she wanted me to know the handicrafts and clothing patterns of our own region as well as possible. My mother often says that one should know the traditions; only after having learnt them thoroughly, one can be creative in one’s own way, if one wishes to. One should also know what Sámi *duodji* is – also what its background is – before one can start changing or renewing it. The same applies to the development of *duodji*: one cannot develop Sámi handicraft if one does not know the traditions, working methods and ways of thinking connected with it. I have learnt that a craftsperson always needs to plan and think about his/her work in terms of the seasons. Materials must be acquired from nature at a certain time, the treatment of materials takes its time, and each season is linked with the making of certain types of handicrafts. Acquiring materials is connected with what happens in nature, and the treatment of materials is the basis of crafting. Through the ages, *duodji*, or Sámi arts...
and crafts, has been part of Sámi life. In my opinion, if a person has grown up with Sámi arts and crafts, his/her connection to *duodji* can be compared to connections between relatives and generations. *Duodji* comprises the grand-grand-grandparents, grand-grandparents, grandmothers and grandfathers, parents, aunts, uncles, sisters, brothers, cousins, children, grandchildren and grand-grandchildren. *Duodji* is the collective property of the Sámi. We have inherited it from the earlier generations, and we have the obligation to convey its traditions to new generations as comprehensively as possible.

**Holistic thinking**

In my small stories, one can recognize aspects of the Sámi world view and way of thinking. An example of this view would be the idea that human beings are part of nature and not its owners. According to Elina Helander, the Sámi world view is connected to the idea that humans depend on nature and, therefore, respect it. The Sámi understanding of the world becomes visible and survives in the chores of everyday life (Helander, 2000: 171–182). It is important to live in harmony both with people and nature. In her book, Asta Balto writes about how the ecological way of thinking becomes apparent in her research material in the following way. People were not masters of nature: they had a humble and respectful attitude towards every creature. No animal was allowed to suffer in vain, and predators that were wounded or hurt were to be killed or cared for. People were to use the yield of nature sparingly and not exhaust the stock of game or waste what was found in nature (Balto, 1997: 125).

In my story about how my grandmother and I went barking, my grandmother guides me, through doing and words, into the Sámi way of thinking. Through her stories, she teaches me ethics, how I should behave, and how one can pay attention to both the worldly and the spiritual sides of life. This means that one must strive for a state of balance not just in one’s own life but also as concerns the utilization of nature.

In his article, Mikkel Nils Sara (2000) analyses the Sámi concept of time and seasons from the perspective of reindeer husbandry. He starts his analysis with the image of the sun; in the old times, it was depicted in the centre of the Sámi drum and had four corners. The image can be explained so that the sun depicts the annual cycle. Furthermore, Sara explains that the moon played an important role in how time was divided and when tasks were performed and natural phenomena took place during the year. There were tasks that were to be done while the moon was waxing (Sara, 2000: 2–5). Similarly, crafting requires that one knows and observes nature, the year and the seasons. The year, the weather and the growing season – what they have been like – determine to a great extent what kind of materials one can get both from plants and animals. In crafting, the acquiring and the treatment of materials depend greatly on nature and the seasons during which they should be gathered. Gunvor Gutorm (1999) analyses the influence of the moon on materials and life in general. Through examples, she shows how important
the phase of the moon has been for
the acquiring of material and why this
has been so (Guttorm, 1999: 91–95).
My stories show how comprehensive,
exact and deep my grandmother’s and
father’s knowledge of nature, time and
the seasons was.

The family and the network that consists
of relatives but also, for example, of
godparents, friends and neighbours
are significant in Sámi upbringing and
teaching. Asta Balto calls this network
a Sámi social institution. She analyses
the role and the meaning of the family
in upbringing, reflecting also on the
importance of the fact that grandparents
and other relatives include children
in the community of adults and help
teach, look after, support and guide
the children until they grow up (Balto,
1997: 75–92). In a way, this guarantees
that knowledge and skills are passed
down, as the transmitting is not the
responsibility of the parents alone. In
my stories on Aunt Inga and Christmas,
relatives play a central role. Everyone in
the family participates in teaching and
upbringing the children. Adults helped,
allowed and made it possible for my
sister and me to knit. We felt that we
were important and that our work was
appreciated.

Ever since they are very small, Sámi
children tag along when adults are
engaged in their work, which means
that, very early in life, they learn to see
what kind of tasks need to be done and
how they are done. They form a picture
of the working process even though
they do not yet participate in the tasks
in practice. In Sámi upbringing, the
focus is on learning and teaching. For
instance, in the case of knitting, nobody
told us potholders are not needed in
the woods. Rather, the members of our
family saw knitting as an opportunity of
learning and a skill that would help us
manage in life.

In the story of my grandmother and
me fetching bark, I use the phrase
“Teaching by living”; with it, I refer to
the way a person is him/herself involved
while teaching another person. As the
story and my grandmother’s advice
show, my grandmother had a deep and
comprehensive knowledge of the Sámi
heritage and way of thinking. She was
sure about her knowledge and skill. She
lived and mastered the circumstances,
and she shared her knowledge with me.

By the phrase “She lived” I mean that
she was both physically and mentally
attentive in what she was teaching. She
taught me the Sámi thought and world
view both through verbal and body
language. From everything that she did
and said, one could see that she was
humble and respectful towards both
nature and our ancestors and traditions.

By “mastering the circumstances” I
mean that the Sámi way of thinking and
world view were an integral part of my
grandmother. She was like a spring from
which clean water steadily bubbled. By
“shared her knowledge with me” I mean
that my grandmother gave, or taught,
me her knowledge and skills.

The diversity of forums of learning
shows how the Sámi have used all
spheres of life for learning and teaching.
They have noticed the opportunities
and also made use of them. Indeed, the
Sámi view of life contains the idea that
one learns throughout one’s life. The
Sámi ways of learning and teaching show, for example, that each person is granted the room and power to develop according to his/her talents, interests and endowments. Things are explained and taught as they are, but it is never said that one must follow a certain, set pattern. One is also guided to be critical and even suspect what one sees or hears: one should reflect on and assess things oneself and not always accept the way things seem to be. Proverbs and sayings play a central role in Sámi upbringing, and they are often used in the teaching of Sámi duodji, or Sámi arts and crafts.

**Discussion**

Through these short narratives, I describe the Sámi way of bringing up children and especially the way children are taken along to participate in doing tasks ever since they are very small. It is a distinctive feature of Sámi upbringing and teaching that there are usually three generations working together. From the point of view of passing down the arts and crafts tradition, it is extremely important that three generations act together, as the relationship between mother and child differs from that of grandparent and grandchild. The mother is closer to the child, and she will, for example, deal with the child’s anger when he/she gets tired but still wants to do handicraft and then makes mistakes. The grandmother or -father, again, helps the child with making handicrafts so that he/she does not give up and get weary of crafting. The grandfather/-mother also helps the child to move on from an unpleasant situation by, for example, coming up with something else that he/she can do together with the child.

The learner observes the “master” making handicrafts and also participates him/herself in the crafting. Gradually, the learner is given more responsibility and becomes, eventually, a master him/herself. In my stories about my childhood, my grandmother is the master, my mother an advanced learner and I myself a mere novice. In my story about the time when I was a teenager, my mother has the role of a master who guides me – a learner who will eventually become a master. And when I become a master, I also become the one who has the responsibility and obligation to pass down the craft tradition.

The Sámi ways of learning and teaching show, for example, that each person is granted the room and power to develop according to his/her talents, interests and endowments. Applying Sámi methods of teaching entails that things are explained and taught as they are, but it is not said that there is a certain pattern according to which one needs to work. Each person will, with time and practice, find his/her own way of working, putting thus also his/her individual mark on the handicraft. Proverbs and sayings are used to a great extent in the teaching of Sámi arts and crafts, or duodji, but also in upbringing and teaching in general (e.g., Guttorm, 1999). The learners of Sámi arts and crafts are guided to be critical and reflect on both the process and the result of their work. They should not believe in everything they see, hear or read – nor accept things without reflection.

The Sámi University College participated in the evaluation study program of the
curriculum reform Reform 97 that was initiated by the Department of Church Affairs, Education and Research. The task of the Sámi University College was to evaluate how the Sámi curriculum (O97S) of the 10-year comprehensive school was implemented in the Sámi schools. Altogether ten researchers from the Sámi University College were involved in this project. In his article, Mikkal Nils Sara (2003) explains how he understands traditional knowledge and the view behind it. He explains briefly how wide and comprehensive traditional knowledge is just in the sphere that can be connected with social and natural sciences and environmental studies. For example, he writes on traditional Sámi skills in this way:

Earlier, home, village, family and guest-host relations were, among the Sámi, the central institutions of organising relationships between people. They have been the places where people have acted and met, or the company in which the different tasks have been performed, discussed, reflected upon and evaluated. [...] And all the stories, news, evaluations, learning and tasks belonged to one common sphere and could take place in the same room and time. When I say so, I also think of knowledge and customs that are connected with a wider unity of both concrete things and the spiritual and visionary spheres. They are part of the heritage that has existed ever since the Sámi have mastered their natural surroundings and had their own religion and explanations and rituals connected with it. In many activities, people communicated earlier with their natural environment not just through having an effect on and being affected by nature, but also through thought and words. Performing tasks entailed a certain type of disposition, thoughts, words and ways of behaving – all an integral part of the know-how (Sara, 2003: 126).

The ideas of this quote and its last sentences become concrete and visible in the story in which my grandmother and I went to fetch bark. As my grandmother worked and talked, I experienced things, learning something all the time. This illustrates aspects of what I mean by talking about “Teaching by living”. This is something that we teachers – at all levels of education – need to keep in mind when teaching. We need to think about how we, as teachers, master and grasp the whole field and subject that we are teaching. Naturally, one person cannot know and master everything, but we can know and be proficient in our own field.

In her monograph, Vuokko Hirvonen writes about the pedagogical orientation of Sámi teachers and schools and how this orientation affects teaching (2003, 100). We Sámi teachers need to reflect on our orientation. Sámi educational institutions, in turn, need to reflect on their meta-orientation. But we also need to think about what we would want our approach to teaching to be like. On the basis of Miller and Seller (1985), Hirvonen presents three types of meta-orientation. The first one of them is the transmission orientation, in which the teacher plays a central role in teaching. The second position is called the transaction orientation; it emphasises comprehensive knowledge, which is
seen as a living process and something that changes. In such education, individual and collective learning are not differentiated from each other, but methods and other teaching practices are based on social relations of learning, having their roots in Dewey’s view of upbringing (Hirvonen, 2003: 100–104). The third orientation is the transformation orientation, and it emphasises social enhancement and personality development as the goals of education and upbringing. It contains an orientation that is humanistic and focuses on social change; the emphasis is on teaching skills that promote personal and social transformation. It also contains an orientation that is part of social progress and aims at attaining harmony with the environment instead of exerting control over it. Furthermore, this approach also entails spiritual and emotional communication with and ecological respect for the environment (Hirvonen 2003: 105).

From the perspective of the orientations presented by Hirvonen, I can discern the transformation orientation in my grandmother’s teaching. Certainly, my grandmother’s upbringing had my social enhancement and the development of my personality as its goals. This must be the – either conscious or unconscious – objective of all parents. I also see an attempt to attain harmony with the environment. In addition, my grandmother pays attention to spiritual and emotional communication with the environment and to ecological respect for it. My grandmother adjusted her doings and actions to the environment so as not to damage or destroy anything intentionally. She communicates with nature before doing anything and thanks afterwards for her share.

**Conclusions**

Now that I have been working at the Sámi University College, I have learnt more, for example, about Sámi day care centres, their work and their contents, but also about the plans that steer their work. I have paid attention to the fact that it is very natural to do Sámi arts and crafts, or duodji, together with the children at day care centres, but, at school, duodji hardly exists. I have also noticed this with my own children who have gone to school: they have very seldom done any Sámi handicrafts at school. One reason may be that the number of lessons allocated for the teaching of Sámi arts and crafts is small, or perhaps schools do not consider duodji important. It is also possible that teachers are not so skilled in Sámi handicraft. One reason behind this is that duodji is a voluntary – not a compulsory – subject in teacher training. Thus, students choose subjects that they are interested in or that they think will be of use for them in their working life as teachers. Apparently, priority is seldom given to Sámi arts and crafts when such choices are made. The fact that aesthetic subjects are not held in high regard in the mainstream school systems of the Nordic countries also has an effect on the situation.

In the school, the focus could be on duodji and practical work in general, so that all the subjects would be involved. For example, it would be possible to apply mathematics, studies
on nature and the environment, the Sámi language, history, duodji, music, physical education, etc. when making rattles. In the subject “Nature” pupils could learn about the different tree species, in environmental studies, about conservation, in Sámi, both spoken and written language, in history, for example, how and for what the Sámi have used different kinds of wood, and, in music, how to make sounds, what rhythm is and what rhythm instruments are like. All this could be dealt with when making handicrafts, and, as the pupils would come up with questions, it would be possible to look for more information. A variety of resources could be used: it would be possible to have elders as co-teachers, to benefit from the families/networks of the children themselves, to use books, photographs, etc. This would probably make cooperation between the school and homes more natural. Of course, such methods require resources, research and development before they can be implemented. One solution might be to conduct action research into the issue, and such research has already yielded good results. For example, the Sámi University College and Luleå University of Technology have cooperated on research and school development in 2005–07 in a project that was run by Asta Mitkijá Balto and Gunilla Johansson. Another example is the master’s thesis of Mathis Bongo in 2005, for which the Sámi University College received a quality award.

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The Institute of Koorie Education at Deakin University unequivocally recognises the integrity of Indigenous Knowledge. In respect of the principles and values enshrined in Indigenous Knowledge Systems and in intensive consultation from Elders and Respected Persons the recognition of intellectual property for this paper is vested in the ancestral spirit of the lands of those who contributed. That spirit swirled inside all to produce a plan and supporting arguments that drew vestige from centuries of wisdom therefore all in attendance at an important workshop of 2010-11 are listed as the authors. The Aboriginal Nations of those involved represent the Wiradjuri, Wotjobaluk, Gunditjmara, Latji Latji, Arabana, Wemba Wemba, Bangerang, Wathaurung, Yorta Yorta, Kurnai/Gunai and Miriwung Jerrong.

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Dr. Noelani Iokepa-Guerrero is a Native Hawaiian with familial ties to Kaua‘i, Maui, and Hawai‘i Island. She is a practitioner of hula, oli, mele, and lei making. Dedicated to her people and the perpetuation of the legacy of her kupuna, Noelani lives and integrates the traditions of her heritage in her professional capacity and family role as a granddaughter, daughter, wife, and mother of two. Noelani is an assistant professor at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language in its Kula Maoli Ola division and Kahuawaiola Indigenous Education Program. She is the Pūnana Leo Schools Director responsible for program oversight of all Pūnana Leo sites throughout the State of Hawai‘i. She has ties to the Pūnana Leo since 1992. Dr. Iokepa-Guerrero’s experiences have led her to contribute in many ways. She is a member of the Asia-Pacific Regional Network for Early Childhood, the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium, and World Forum on Early Care and Education to name a few. She has presented at numerous conferences locally, nationally, and internationally. The essence and knowledge of her kupuna continue to guide and ground her in today’s world.

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Barbara Carlson, Barb, is originally from Northern Ontario and presently resides in Thompson Manitoba. She is professionally affiliated with Cree, Dene, Métis, Saulteaux/Ojibway and Inuit. She has been employed with the University College of the North (UCN) since 2001. Barb is an instructor and coordinator for the Early Childhood Education (ECE) Program. In partnership with the ECE faculty, she developed the curriculum for the ECE
program. Barbara is an active member of several governing committees within the University College of the North including curriculum standards, academic planning, learning council, and recently elected to the governing council. She is an active member of the Manitoba College of Early Childhood Education Committee. She is an active member of the Manitoba Child Care Association (MCCA) Thompson region, and past MCCA Chair and present Vice Chair. She is the UCN representative on Child Care Education Program Approval Committee Barb is an member of the Association of Canadian Community Colleges Early Childhood Education Affinity group. She is Chair of the Board of Directors for the Keewatinowi Awasisak-Opi-ki-wak Childcare Center. In 2010, Barbara received the Lorimer Award for outstanding contribution to education in the North. Barb is an advocate for child care in Northern Manitoba and promotes and advocates for inclusiveness and diversity. She has over 30 years of experience in the childcare field.

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Larry is Métis of Cree and Welch decent. He is currently the Manager of Services for Aboriginal Students at Langara College in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. His primary interest is in education, early years through post secondary, keeping in mind the impact of culture, Elder, community support and the impact of lifelong learning. He has developed Aboriginal early years learning programs in his community and designed Métis specific early years curriculum for the Métis National Council in Ottawa. Larry volunteers his time on committees and boards locally and nationally. He also coordinates an International Project “Preserving Indigenous Cultures” with the World Forum Foundation Indigenous People’s Action Group.

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Dallas W. Pettigrew resides within Cherokee Nation’s tribal jurisdiction, just outside the capital city of Tahlequah, Oklahoma. He is a member of the tribe and is employed by the tribal government as the director of Building Leaders to Build Our Nation, an initiative designed to increase educational outcomes in Cherokee people, thus reducing generational poverty and the social problems that are associated with it. Dallas holds a bachelor of science in criminal justice as well as a bachelor of social work, both from Northeastern State University. He is a student in the University of Oklahoma’s master of social work program, with an expected graduation in May 2012. Dallas has worked with Cherokee children and families for nearly 15 years in various capacities, both as a paid employee and as a volunteer. His family arrived in Oklahoma in 1839 following the forced removal of Cherokee people from their
homeland, known as the Trail of Tears.

Dallas is a member of the Board of Directors for the Oklahoma Institute for Child Advocacy, a Global Leader for Young Children (part of the World Forum Foundation), is a mentor and a foster parent.

**Eloise Locust**

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Eloise Locust is full blood Native American of the Cherokee and Muscogee "Creek" Tribes located in Oklahoma from the community of Notchietown located within the boundary of the Cherokee Nation. She and her family members are the fourth, fifth and sixth generation to live on the original Cherokee land allotment of maternal grandmother, Charlotte Wildcat Buster. She was raised in the traditions and culture of the Cherokee and Muscogee "Creek" Tribes. She completed Bachelors and Masters Degree in Education at Northeastern Oklahoma State University. She has been employed for 30 years at the Cherokee Nation working with Children, Youth, and Families. She holds her current position as the Manager for the Child Care and Development Program-Licensing Program. She is responsible for the administration, development, planning, implementation, fiscal management and overall quality of services provided by the childcare licensing program. She serves on local, state, regional, and national boards dealing with children’s issues.

**Tjalaminu Mia**

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Tjalaminu is a Meneng, Goreng, Wardji Nyoongar from the Great Southern region of Western Australia, and has for the last fifteen years, been working at the School of Indigenous Studies, University of Western Australia where she has co-authored numerous oral history publications and several children’s first reader books, as well as staged a number of local & international social justice forums, art exhibitions and cultural exchanges on cultural knowledge, land care issues and sharing the voices of the Stolen Generations. Tjalaminu was also the first Aboriginal woman to work in a men's maximum prison (Fremantle prison) in 1980 and also the first Aboriginal art curator to work at the Art Gallery of Western Australia 1993-1997. A Stolen Generations survivor, Tjalaminu is currently the Sister Kate’s Home Kids Aboriginal Corporation Secretariate and Managing Director of The Healing & Remembrance Centre, and healing programs for the Sister Kates Home kids and their descendants. The centre will be the only one of it’s kind in Australia around the Stolen Generations, and is of historical significance. It is hoped to be a Healing Centre of International Excellence. It will be built on the ‘bush block site’ adjacent to the old Sister Kates Children’s Home in Queens Park, Western Australia.
I was born into the Ngati Raukawa and Hauraki tribes of my father and the Ngaiti Hine/Nga Puhi tribes of the north on my mother’s side.

I went to the local primary school and then a secondary boarding school. Although I wanted to stay home and milk dairy cows I was told to carry on my studies at Auckland University. I completed two masters degrees one at Auckland University and one at the University of New England, New South Wales, Australia. I have been a teacher, a school inspector, a secondary school principal, a Chief Executive of a Polytechnic, a co-founder of the Wananga movement, a senior lecturer at Victoria University Wellington and the foundation Executive Chairperson of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC).

For my work I have been awarded the Queen's Service Order (QSO) as well as an honorary D.Litt from Massy University. I am currently the Chairman of the Governing Body of a wananga. I have indicated that I will retire this year from that position to complete a book as a reflective practitioner of my work in education with special emphasis on Maori education.

I am happy to do so.

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Melissa is a registered nurse with over 10 years experience working within the clinical setting, obtaining a Master of Nursing in 2007. She began lecturing in nursing in 2006, commencing with the Diploma of Nursing followed by the Bachelor of Nursing in 2008. Melissa then was appointed a student contact officer for the Kiribati Australia Nursing Initiative in 2009, an AusAID funded project for I-Kiribati youth to obtain an Australian nursing qualification. She is currently a clinical lecturer in the Graduate Entry Master of Nursing Studies at The University of Queensland and has recently completed a Master of Advanced Practice (Health Care Research). She has undertaken international development experience in Thailand and India, and in 2008 participated in the Nurse of the Year campaign for the Cancer Council Queensland and was awarded Regional Charity Nurse of the Year in South Queensland. Melissa has undertaken research in teaching and learning throughout her employment, and has presented nationally and internationally her methods of promoting student engagement. Her current work includes exploring the international student experience of the Australian tertiary education sector particularly focusing on nursing education and the I-Kiribati student.

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I have been serving as a Lecturer at Haramaya University, College of Social Science and Humanities since November 2008. I also work with...
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As authors from Kenya, Africa, they share an interest in Indigenous education of the Ogiek on environmental conservation and have published a number of papers in this area. Moreover, T. K. Ronah is presently completing a Doctor of Philosophy while working as a Lecturer at Egerton University.

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I was born and grew up in the Finnish Sápmi; from 1995 on, I have been living in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino in Norwegian), Norway. I have worked in the Sámi University College since 1997, first as a substitute teacher and, from 2005 on, as a permanent teacher in *duodji*, or Sámi arts and crafts. I got my master’s degree in *duodji* in 2004 with the values of Sámi arts and crafts and their transmitting in the present school as my subject. At present, I am working on my doctoral thesis; its working title or theme is “The Sámi way of thinking and the teaching of Sámi arts and crafts.”