of domination, struggle and emancipation. She uses a dual framework – the
philosophy of Maori knowledge and European epistemology – to interpret
and capture the world of reality for a moment in time. Thus the search for
truth in complex human relations is a never-ending quest.’ RANGINUI
WALKER, FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF MAORI STUDIES DEPARTMENT AND PRO-
VICE CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND.

‘We have needed this book. Academic research facilitates diverse forms of
economic and cultural imperialism by shaping and legitimating policies which
entrench existing unjust power relations. Linda Tuhuiwai Smith’s powerful
critique of dominant research methodologies is eloquent, informed and
timely. Her distinctive proposals for an indigenous research agenda are
especially valuable. Decolonization, she reminds us, cannot be limited to
decomposing the dominant story and revealing underlying texts, for none
of that helps people improve their current conditions or prevents them from
dying. This careful articulation of a range of research methodologies is vital,
welcome and full of promise.’ LAURIE ANNE WHITT, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
MICHIGAN TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY.

‘A brilliant, evocative and timely book about an issue that serves to both
declare and create indigenous realities. In recent years, indigenous people,
often led by the emerging culturally affirmed and positioned indigenous
scholars, have intensified the struggle to break free from the chains of
colonialism and its oppressive legacy. In writing this book, Linda Tuhuiwai
Smith makes a powerful and impassioned contribution to this struggle. No
beginning researcher should be allowed to leave the academy without reading
this book and no teacher should teach without it at their side.’ ROB MORGAN,
DIRECTOR, JUMBUNNA CAJER, CENTRE FOR ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT
ISLANDERS, UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY.

About the Author

Linda Tuhuiwai Smith (Ngati Awa and Ngati Porou) is an Associate Professor
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focused strategically on the goal of self-determination of indigenous peoples. Self-determination in a research agenda becomes something more than a political goal. It becomes a goal of social justice which is expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains. It necessarily involves the processes of transformation, of decolonization, of healing and of mobilization as peoples. The processes, approaches and methodologies — while dynamic and open to different influences and possibilities — are critical elements of a strategic research agenda.

Figure 6.1 is a simple representation of an indigenous research agenda. The chart uses the metaphor of ocean tides. From a Pacific peoples' perspective the sea is a giver of life, it sets time and conveys movement. Within the greater ebb and flow of the ocean are smaller localised environments which have enabled Pacific peoples to develop enduring relationships to the sea. For Polynesian peoples the significant deity of the sea is Tangaroa. Although there are many directions that can be named, the chart takes the Maori equivalent of the four directions: the northern, the eastern, the southern and the western. The tides represent movement, change, process, life, inward and outward flows of ideas, reflections and actions. The four directions named here — decolonization, healing, transformation and mobilization — represent processes. They are not goals or ends in themselves. They are processes which connect, inform and clarify the tensions between the local, the regional and the global. They are processes which can be incorporated into practices and methodologies.

Four major tides are represented in the chart as: survival, recovery, development, self-determination. They are the conditions and states of being through which indigenous communities are moving. It is not sequential development — the survival of peoples as physical beings, of languages, of social and spiritual practices, of social relations, and of the arts are all subject to some basic prioritizing. Similarly, the recovery of territories, of indigenous rights, and histories are also subject to prioritizing and to recognition that indigenous cultures have changed inexorably. Recovery is a selective process, often responding to immediate crises rather than a planned approach. This is related to the reality that indigenous peoples are not in control and are subject to a continuing set of external conditions. In reality this means that specific lands and designated areas become a priority because the bulklooters are due to start destruction any day now.

The indigenous research agenda is broad in its scope and ambitious in its intent. There are some things which make this agenda very different from the research agenda of large scientific organisations or of various national science research programmes. There are other elements, however, which are similar to any research programme which connects research to the 'good' of society. The elements that are different can be found in key words such as healing, decolonization, spiritual, recovery. These terms seem at odds with the research terminology of Western science, much too politically interested rather than neutral and objective. The intentions conveyed by these terms, however, are embedded in various social science research methodologies. The belief, for example, that research will 'benefit mankind' conveys a strong sense of social responsibility. The problem with that particular term, as outlined in previous chapters, is that indigenous peoples are deeply cynical about.
the capacity, motives or methodologies of Western research to deliver any benefits to indigenous peoples whom science has long regarded, indeed has classified, as being ‘not human’. Because of such deep cynicism there are expectations by indigenous communities that researchers will actually ‘spell out’ in detail the likely benefits of any research.

Ethical Research Protocols

The huge credibility problem the research community faces with indigenous peoples has also been addressed within an indigenous agenda. Initially the problem was framed entirely in the negative, with indigenous individuals, communities and organizations reacting to research as something done only by white researchers to indigenous peoples. These reactions positioned indigenous communities as powerless and research as disempowering. There seemed little space for changing that perception. The nexus of debates rising out of the indigenous movement, discussions raised by other interested groups in relation to ethical research and shifts in some social science paradigms (to be discussed in Chapter 9) have created space for negotiating better research relationships. Some scholarly communities of scientists may have well-established ethical guidelines, many have not. Even if such communities have guidelines, the problem is that it has been taken for granted that indigenous peoples are the ‘natural objects’ of research. It is difficult to convey to the non-indigenous world how deeply this perception of research is held by indigenous peoples.

Many of the ethical issues have been raised by interested groups in relation to the rapid advances of science and technology and the rapid disappearance of diversity. In the debate about ethics distinctions are drawn between legal requirements and ethical codes of conduct. Indigenous groups argue that legal definitions of ethics are framed in ways which contain the Western sense of the individual and of individualized property — for example, the right of an individual to give his or her own knowledge, or the right to give informed consent. The social ‘good’ against which ethical standards are determined is based on the same beliefs about the individual and individualized property. Community and indigenous rights or views in this area are generally not recognized and not respected. Indigenous peoples have attempted through the development of instruments such as treaties, charters and declarations to send clear signals to the world’s scientific and research communities that open-cast mining approaches to research (see, take and destroy) are absolutely unacceptable. Debates within the indigenous world about intellectual and cultural property rights are taking place against the background of rampant prospecting in the biodiversity and pharmaceutical fields. Cultural ethics or indigenous codes of conduct are being promulgated by different organizations often as a sheet act of survival.

The charter of the Indigenous Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests signed in Penang (1993) includes statements referring to the collective rights of peoples to intellectual and cultural property, participation by indigenous peoples in the management of projects, promotion of health systems, control over their knowledges, and an insistence that all investigations in our territories should be carried out with our consent and under joint control and guidance (Article 45). The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples signed in Whakatane, New Zealand (1993) addresses these issues by declaring that 'indigenous peoples of the world have the right to self-determination and in exercising that right must be recognized as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property. It insists that the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge must be direct indigenous descendants of that knowledge.' The Declaration calls on governments and states ‘to develop policies and practices which recognize indigenous peoples as the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge and that indigenous peoples have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions’. The Declaration is one of several indigenous peoples' declarations. Other international indigenous statements and declarations which aim to protect indigenous rights and enforce ethical standards include: the Amazon Basin Declaration, the Kari Oca Declaration 1993, the Pan American Health Organization, the Native American Draft Declaration, the Blue Mountains Declaration, the International Alliance of the Indigenous Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests Charter 1993, and the Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education, 1993. There are many other such statements being prepared at local community level.

In the New Zealand context research ethics for Maori communities extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality. In a discussion of what may constitute sound ethical principles for research in Maori communities, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has identified a set of responsibilities which researchers have to Maori people. Her framework is based on the code of conduct for the New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists, which in turn is based on the American Anthropological Association's guidelines. Te Awekotuku sets out fairly basic guidelines aimed at respect for and protection of the ‘rights, interests and sensitivities’ of the people being studied. There are, however, some culturally specific ideas which are part of what is referred to as Kaupapa Maori practices. These are not prescribed in codes of
conduct for researchers, but tend to be prescribed for Maori researchers
in cultural terms:

1 Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
2 Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face
to face).
3 Tiriti, whakareango ... kereko (look, listen ... speak).
4 Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
5 Kia tuparo (be cautious).
6 Ka suo takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana
of people).
7 Ka su e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).24

These sayings reflect just some of the values that are placed on the way
we behave. They are very different from the 'public' image of Maori
society as a forum for ritual, oratory and chiefly leaders, but they are the
kinds of comments which are used to determine if someone has 'good'
qualities as a person. There are several other proverbs and sayings which
contain the ideals and aspirations which are worth seeking, as well as
the moral messages for those who decide not to conform to the rules
of practice.

From indigenous perspectives ethical codes of conduct serve partly
the same purpose as the protocols which govern our relationships with
each other and with the environment. The term 'respect' is consistently
used by indigenous peoples to underscore the significance of our
relationships and humanity. Through respect the place of everyone and
everything in the universe is kept in balance and harmony. Respect is a
reciprocal, shared, constantly interacting principle which is expressed
through all aspects of social conduct. Hig-Brown and Archibald write
that, 'to be in harmony with oneself, other members of the animal
kingdom, and other elements of nature requires that First Nations
people respect the gift of each entity and establish and maintain
respectful, reciprocal relations with each'.25 The denial by the West of
humanity to indigenous peoples, the denial of citizenship and human
rights, the denial of the right to self-determination – all these
demonstrate palpably the enormous lack of respect which has marked
the relations of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

Notes

1 See, for example, Alfred, G. R. (1995), Hearing the Voices of Our Ancestors. Kaohouwe
Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Nationalism, Oxford University Press, Toronto;
Awatere, D. (1984), Moir Sovereignty, Broadstreet, Auckland; James, M. A., ed.

(1992), The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance, South End
Press, Boston; Walker, R. (1992), Ka Whakarua Tana Matua: Struggle Without End,
Penguin, Auckland; Wilmer, P. (1993), The Indigenous Voice in World Politics, Sage,
Newbury Park.


4 Lippman, L. (1981), Generations of Resistance. The Aboriginal Struggle for Justice,
Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, p. 49

5 See, for example, Sykes, R. (1989), Black Majority, Hudson Hawthorn, Victoria.
Roberts (Bobbi) Sykes was herself an activist during the 1970s and her book is
an analysis of the conditions of Aborigines in the 21 years since the changes to
the constitution were made. It paints a stark picture across the fields of justice,
housing, health, education, employment and human rights.

6 Alfred, Hearing the Voices, p. 1.


8 Awatere, M. A., ed., p. 34.

Commission, Australian Government, Commonwealth of Australia, p. i.

10 Ratn i Jeppan, C. (1952), 'Global Community? Superordinational Strategies of
40-97.

11 Morris, G. T. (1993), 'International Status and Indigenous Peoples', in
Indigenous Peoples Politics: An Introduction, ed. Marc Sills and G. T. Morris,
Fourth World Centre, University of Colorado, pp. 22-45.

12 Robbins, R. (1992), Self-Determination and Subordination: the Past, Present and
Future of American Indian Government', in The State of Native America, ed. James,

13 Van der Walt, J. (1992), 'A Warrior Caged: the Continuing Struggle of Leonard
Peltier', in The State of Native America, ed. James, Boston, pp. 291-310.

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Document 29, Copenhagen,
pp. 10-12.

15 Ibid., p. 11.

16 Morris, G. T. (1992), 'International Law and Politics: Towards a Right to Self-
Determination for Indigenous Peoples', in The State of Native America, ed. James,
p. 76.

17 The International Indian Treaty Council was granted consultative status to
ECOSOC in 1977 and the World Council for Indigenous Peoples was granted
status in 1979. For further information see Aga Khan, Saheeddin and Hassan bin

18 Morris, 'International Law and Politics', in The State of Native America, ed. James,
pp. 55-86.

19 Thernström, P. (1991), International Law and the Rights of Minorities, Clarendon Press,

20 Dodson, M. (1994), 'Voices of the Peoples: Voices of the Earth, Indigenous
Peoples - Subjugation or Self-determination?', in Voices of the Earth, ed. Leo van

21 Te Awekotuku, N. and Manatu Maori (1991), He Tihanga Whakapua. Research Ethics
in the Maori Community, Maratau Maori, Wellington.


23 See Chapter 9.

24 I have selected these sayings, having heard them used on several occasions as evaluative comments on people. The saying 'Titiro, whakarongo, koreo' comes from Te Anauangi, the Maori language programme for adults. It seems to be a basic code of conduct in a number of situations for researchers. Actually these sorts of sayings are often spoken by the karu, or older women, on a tongue as they watch, very keenly, what people are doing.


CHAPTER 7
Articulating an Indigenous Research Agenda

DIARY NOTES

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

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


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


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

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

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

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

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

“Indigenous researchers have to be clear about their intentions. They need to have thought about the larger picture or research and have a critical analysis of their own processes.” p.137

“Is her spirit clear? Does he have a good heart? What other baggage are they carrying? Are they useful to us? … Can they actually do anything?” p. 10

“Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated?” p. 10

“What knowledge will the community gain from this study? … To whom is the researcher accountable?” p. 173

Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects [p.143-162]

Claiming
Testimonies
Story telling
Celebrating Survival
Remembering
Indigenizing
Intervening
Revitalizing
Connecting
Reading
Writing
Representing
Gendering
Envisioning
Reframing
Restoring
Returning
Democratizing
Networking
Naming
Protecting
Creating
Negotiating
Discovering
Sharing