INDIGENOUS VOICES: INDIGENOUS ASPIRATIONS

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Indigenous Voices: Indigenous Aspirations

World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC)

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Art Work
The cover of this WINHEC Journal displays the artwork of Nicole Davies, Saulteaux (Anishinaabe) and Métis woman who generously donated her time and talent to our grassroots and internationally higher education efforts.

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The WINHEC Journal can be directly downloaded from www.winhec.org.

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Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Cross-Cultural Research

Ray Barnhardt

Abstract

This article addresses a number of issues specific to underserved populations in Alaska and other geographic regions inhabited by Indigenous peoples. It also provides a much-needed impetus toward organizing research and education support structures that contribute to the broadening of an infrastructure fostering the use of multiple knowledge systems and diverse approaches to research. The international scope of the initiatives described provides multiple benefits derived from the economies of scale associated with linking numerous small-scale populations, as well as increased generalizability of outcomes associated with the extensive opportunities for cross-cultural comparison.

Introduction

The initiatives outlined in this article are intended to advance our understanding of cultural processes as they occur in diverse community contexts, as well as contribute to the further conceptualization, critique, and development of Indigenous knowledge systems. Just as those same initiatives have drawn from the experiences of Indigenous peoples from around the world, the organizations and personnel associated with this article have played a lead role in developing the emerging theoretical and evidentiary underpinnings on which the associated research is based. The expansion of the knowledge base that is associated with the interaction between western science and Indigenous knowledge systems will contribute to an emerging body of scholarly work regarding the critical role that local observations and Indigenous knowledge can play in deepening our understanding of human and ecological processes, particularly in reference to the experiences of Indigenous peoples.

In Pursuit of Indigenous Research Methodologies

The graduate education initiatives outlined in this paper will help to integrate the tools and approaches of the natural and social sciences in a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary framework for analysis, and to better understand the emerging dynamic between Indigenous knowledge systems and western science. The focus is on the interface between Indigenous knowledge and research on an international scale, with opportunities for collaboration among Indigenous

peoples from around the world. The emphasis is on engaging a new generation of Indigenous PhDs by providing support for a cohort of Indigenous graduate students and scholars who can effectively integrate multiple cultural perspectives. In so doing, we are pursuing the development of a deeper understanding of Indigenous knowledge systems as they relate to conceptions of research, and the application of that understanding to contemporary issues, particularly in the context of Indigenous research initiatives. It also draws and builds upon past and current Indigenous research initiatives that have sought to utilize Indigenous knowledge to strengthen the research and pedagogical practices in K-12 education.

With numerous research initiatives currently in various stages of development and implementation that revolve around themes that drive the University of Alaska, Fairbank's (UAF) engagement with Indigenous research, there is an unprecedented window of opportunity to open new channels of communication between scientists and Indigenous communities, particularly as they relate to research activities that are of the most consequence to Indigenous peoples (e.g. effects of climate change, environmental degradation, contaminants and subsistence resources, health and nutrition, bio/cultural diversity, natural resource management, economic development, resilience and adaptation, community viability, cultural sustainability, language, and education, etc.). Despite the competing bodies of knowledge (Indigenous and western) that have bearing on a comprehensive understanding of relevant research initiatives, we seek to provide an opportunity for faculty and students to embed an Indigenous perspective with/in their graduate research initiatives to contribute and learn from applying a collaborative research process.

Given the range of interdisciplinary applications and research topics that come into play in the interface between Indigenous and western knowledge systems, the UAF Indigenous Studies PhD program has been structured to ensure that students achieve both breadth and depth in their graduate studies. This is accomplished by requiring all students to complete a set of core courses, coupled with specialization from a choice of six emphasis areas:

Indigenous Knowledge Systems	Indigenous Pedagogy/Education
Indigenous Research	Indigenous Leadership
Indigenous Languages	Indigenous Sustainability

By providing graduate fellowships and support for a cohort of Indigenous PhD candidates who are matched with various research initiatives, while at the same time engaged in an articulated course of graduate studies focusing on the Indigenous knowledge theme, we are preparing a new generation of scholars whose legacy will extend well beyond the projected time-frame of the current research initiatives. The crosscutting nature of Indigenous knowledge systems provides opportunities to not only deepen our understanding within particular thematic areas, but also to

better understand processes of interaction across and between themes. Much research has been done in recent years on identifying discrete features of Indigenous knowledge systems that are recognized as having scientific relevance and application in various fields (Krupnik and Jolly, 2005). However, few cultural insiders have engaged in systematic studies of Indigenous knowledge systems to identify the underlying epistemological structures that connect those discrete elements together and the processes by which the knowledge is accrued, adapted and passed on to succeeding generations (Kawagley, 1995). By addressing these latter considerations, we are confronting some of the most long-standing educational, social, and political challenges in Indigenous societies around the world.

In addition to conducting research on the inner dynamics of Indigenous knowledge systems, the graduate students (and associated faculty) are also examining the interplay between Indigenous and western knowledge systems, particularly as it relates to processes of knowledge construction and utilization. Given the complexities that have arisen from the intermingling of disparate systems of thought and ways of knowing on a global scale, it is essential that the issues be addressed in a coordinated, comparative, cross-cultural and cross- disciplinary manner. We are seeking to take advantage of the geographic context and cultural diversity of Alaska and the research strengths that have been developed over the past 30 years at UAF to assemble a comprehensive research agenda and strategy that will meet the challenge before us. As the only PhD-granting institution in Alaska, UAF serves as the lead institution in the development of the described initiatives, in cooperation with related strategically distributed partner institutions with distinguished reputations in Indigenous scholarship. Alaska, including UAF, has been at the forefront in bringing Indigenous perspectives into a variety of policy arenas through a wide range of research and development initiatives in recent years. From 1995 to 2005, the National Science Foundation supported the implementation of the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative, a joint effort of the Alaska Federation of Natives and UAF's Center for Cross-Cultural Studies (CXCS), to integrate Indigenous knowledge and pedagogical practices into all aspects of the education system, K-20 - the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative (AKRSI, 2005). Through this effort, a network of partner schools and communities throughout Alaska has been formed, providing a fertile real-world context in which to address many of the research issues associated with Indigenous knowledge systems outlined above. In the past few years alone, the National Science Foundation has funded projects incorporating Indigenous knowledge in the study of climate change, the development of Indigenous-based math curriculum, a geo-spatial mapping program, the effects of contaminants on subsistence foods, observations of the aurora, and alternative technology for waste disposal. A major limitation in all these endeavors, however, has been the lack of Indigenous people with advanced degrees and research experience to bring balance to the Indigenous knowledge/western science research enterprise.

One of the long-term purposes of the current initiatives is to develop a sustainable research infrastructure that makes effective use of the rich cultural and natural environments of

Indigenous peoples to implement an array of intensive and comparative research initiatives, with partnerships and collaborations in Indigenous communities across the U.S. and around the Indigenous world. The initiatives outlined in this article are intended to bring together the resources of Indigenous-serving institutions and the communities they serve to forge new configurations and collaborations that break through the limitations associated with conventional paradigms of scientific research. Alaska, along with other participating Indigenous regions, provides a natural laboratory in which Indigenous graduate students and scholars can get first-hand experience integrating the study of Indigenous knowledge systems and western science.

Cultivating an Interdisciplinary Research Culture

The heart of the Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) research initiative is made up of a cohort of PhD students enrolled in the UAF Indigenous Studies PhD program, established in 2009. The current enrollment is 30 students distributed throughout Alaska and extends to students across the country through a distance education delivery system. Through the research requirements associated with a series of PhD graduate fellowships, we have recruited a cohort of PhD students with an interdisciplinary interest in the theme of Indigenous knowledge systems and scientific research. These students, along with the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies (CXCS) and the Alaska Native Knowledge Network (ANKN) faculty, are responsible for implementing a series of research initiatives that address the core themes associated with cultivating a culture of Indigenous research as applied to Indigenous knowledge systems and research practice in a cross-cultural context.

Both the Indigenous knowledge systems and research initiatives are intended to offer and guide research opportunities for a cohort of current and aspiring scholars. All students are expected to participate in a common course of study associated with the broad theme of Indigenous knowledge systems, plus each student is required to choose an area of relevant studies in which they achieve in-depth expertise through participation in related research initiatives. Coursework to achieve both the breadth and depth requirements is taken through a combination of existing and newly developed UAF and partner institution course offerings, along with special seminars, distance education programs, visiting scholars, international exchanges, internships, and Indigenous elders' academies sponsored by the participating institutions. Following are examples of the core courses that students can choose from:

    CCS 601: Documenting Indigenous Knowledge

    CCS 608: Indigenous Knowledge Systems

    CCS 610: Educational and Cultural Processes

CCS 611: Culture, Cognition and Knowledge Acquisition

CCS 612: Traditional Ecological Knowledge

CCS 602: Cultural and Intelligence Property Rights

In addition to students having the opportunity to enroll in existing UAF courses through extended modes of instruction, they are also able to access expertise from cooperating partner institutions. In addition, students identify a scholar with whom they become associated who will serve as a mentor and member of their graduate advisory committee to help guide their research in ways that foster cross-disciplinary collaboration and comparative analysis. At the same time, students engaged in related research will be eligible to participate in UAF-sponsored programs and research initiatives with a comparable goal of promoting scholarly cross-fertilization, and synergy around the Indigenous knowledge systems and ethical research theme. Video and audio conferencing and Internet-based technologies are utilized to support an array of course offerings and joint seminars on topics of interest to an interdisciplinary audience. Such shared course offerings linking faculty and students across multiple institutions have already been implemented and the infrastructure is in place to expand to further topics. Each partner program and institution brings a unique perspective to the research arena that serves to inform and expand the capacity of the overall effort. Other institutions or researchers beyond those directly associated with the Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) research initiative are able to participate in and contribute to the initiatives as affiliates. Following is a brief description of some of the capabilities, programmatic functions and research topics that are associated with each of the participants. The key elements include building the capacity of Indigenous graduate students to create an international Indigenous graduate network in which students are challenged to become transformative knowledge mobilizers.

Related Resources and Initiatives

In January 2005, the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) organized an international *Indigenous Knowledge Systems Research Colloquium,* which was held at the University of British Columbia (UBC), bringing together a representative group of Indigenous scholars from the United States, Canada, and New Zealand "to identify salient issues and map out a research strategy and agenda to extend our current understanding of the processes that occur within and at the intersection of diverse world views and knowledge systems." A second gathering of Indigenous scholars took place in March 2005, focusing on the theme of "*Native Pedagogy, Power, and Place: Strengthening Mathematics and Science Education through Indigenous Knowledge and Ways of Knowing.*" The following is a list of research topics identified by the participants in these two events as warranting further elucidation as they relate to our

understanding of the role of Indigenous knowledge systems with regard to contemporary research and also to educational contexts:

Native Ways of Knowing	Indigenous Language Learning
Culture, Identity and Cognition	Ethno-mathematics
Place-based Learning/Sense of Place	Oral Tradition/Story Telling & Metaphor
Indigenous Epistemologies	Disciplinary Structures in Education
Indigenizing Research Methods	Cultural Systems and Complexity Theory
Cross-generational Learning	Ceremonies/Rites of Passage
Culturally Responsive Pedagogy	Technologically Mediated Learning
Native Science/Sense Making	Cultural & Intellectual Property Rights

Drawing on the seminal work of a number of distinguished scholars who participated in these meetings, the research agenda outlined above is intended to advance our understanding of the existing knowledge base associated with Indigenous knowledge systems. Likewise, the agenda will contribute to an emerging international body of scholarly work regarding the critical role that local knowledge can play in our understanding of global issues (Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005).

Alaska Natives have been at the forefront in bringing Indigenous perspectives into a variety of policy arenas through a wide range of research and development initiatives. In addition, Native people have formed new institutions of their own (the Consortium for Alaska Native Higher Education, the Alaska Native Science Commission and the First Alaskans Institute) to address some of these same issues through an Indigenous lens.

One of the long-term purposes of this approach is to develop a sustainable research infrastructure that makes effective use of the rich cultural and natural environments of Indigenous peoples in order to, implement an array of intensive and comparative research, partnerships and collaborations within Indigenous communities across the U.S. and around the circumpolar world. These initiatives are intended to bring together the resources of Indigenous-serving institutions and the communities they serve to forge new configurations and collaborations that break through the limitations associated with conventional paradigms.

While UAF has had a dismal track-record of graduating only 14 Alaska Natives with a PhD over its entire 90-year history, there is now a strong push, due in large part to the initiative of Alaska Native students and leaders, to bring more resources to bear on the issue. This includes drawing upon programs and institutions from around the world to provide students with an opportunity to access expertise from a variety of Indigenous settings, as well as to identify Indigenous scholars who might serve as members of their graduate advisory committees and to help guide their research in ways that foster cross-institutional, interdisciplinary and comparative analysis.

At the same time, students from partner institutions engaged in related research are eligible to participate in UAF-sponsored courses and research initiatives with a comparable goal of promoting scholarly cross-fertilization and synergy. Each partner institution brings a unique perspective to the research initiatives that serve to inform and expand the capacity of the overall effort. Close attention is also given to addressing issues associated with ethical and responsible conduct in research across cultures and nations, employing the 'Mātaatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous People," "Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic," and the "Guidelines for Respecting Cultural Knowledge" (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 2001).

World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium

The international partnerships associated with this endeavor are essential to its success, particularly as it relates to gaining a deeper understanding of the relationship between Indigenous knowledge systems and western scientific research. The primary benefits to be derived from cross-institutional collaboration on research related to Indigenous knowledge systems are the opportunities for scholars and graduate students to engage in cross-cultural analysis of data from diverse Indigenous settings to delineate what is particular to a given situation vs. what is generalizable across Indigenous populations and beyond. There are also considerable economies of scale and synergistic benefits to be gained from such collaborations, since many of the Indigenous populations are relatively small in number and thus are seldom able to engage in large-scale research endeavors on their own.

The primary vehicle by which these Indigenous collaborations are being implemented is through UAF's charter membership in the International Indigenous Graduate Education Alliance (IIGEA), which was established in 2009 under the auspices of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC). The members of IIGEA have formed an alliance which includes the following commitments:

> With this Memorandum of Understanding, the participating Indigenous-serving universities agree to join with the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium in forming a partnership for exchanging information and for developing cooperative programs and activities in the areas of graduate education, professional faculty development, and research broadly related to the education of Indigenous people.

In addition to facilitating cooperative research programs on an international scale, WINHEC has established an Indigenous accreditation process for Indigenous-serving programs and institutions, and, most recently, WINHEC has formed a World Indigenous Nations University (WINU) dedicated to the principles outlined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

University of the Arctic

In establishing international linkages for the IKS research initiative is the long-standing association of UAF with the University of the Arctic (UArctic), which is a cooperative network of universities, colleges, and other organizations committed to higher education and research in the North. The UArctic Board is currently presided over by the UAF Chancellor. Members share resources, facilities, and expertise to build postsecondary education programs that are relevant and accessible to northern students. The overall goal is "to create a strong, sustainable circumpolar region by empowering northerners and northern communities through education and shared knowledge" (Kullerud, 2005). With the UArctic infrastructure already in place and with UAF serving in a leadership role across the circumpolar region, UArctic serves as a close collaborator in the implementation of the IKS research initiatives, particularly as it relates to support for Indigenous contributions to the research efforts.

In addition to the networks of institutions listed above, there are many other institutions and scholars across Alaska and beyond who have much to contribute to and gain from the work of the IKS research initiatives. Within the U.S., affiliation with organizations such as the Tribal Colleges extends the reach of the IKS networks to other cultural groups with similar interests. IKS research reaches out to potential institutional and/or individual contributors to the IKS initiatives and incorporates them in regional symposia, collaborative research endeavors, international exchanges, shared course offerings, joint seminars, and the like.

Indigenous Knowledge Research Consortium

Overall coordination and implementation occurs through an Indigenous Knowledge Research Consortium (IKRC) made up of representatives from participating institutions. Extensive use of telecommunications technology (e-mail, listserv, web, teleconference) provides the essential communication and dissemination links among the various partners, supplemented by meetings that bring all the partners together in a face-to-face context to facilitate planning collaboration, cross-fertilization and dissemination of initiatives. Given the scope of the research agenda and support activities associated with the Indigenous knowledge systems research initiatives, the IKRC serves as the vehicle by which the various networks and research strands are linked together and coordinated.

The Indigenous Knowledge Research Consortium also provides opportunities for graduate students engaged in Indigenous related research to link with one another through a coordinated set of course offerings, seminars, exchanges and collaborative research endeavors that give students access to Indigenous knowledge, resources and communities on an international scale. Through the use of distance education modalities, the Internet and teleconferencing capabilities, students are able to draw on the resources of all the collaborating programs to enrich their graduate studies and research activities. UAF and participating members of the International

Indigenous Graduate Education Alliance contribute to scaling up the networking model of the Alaska Native Knowledge Network web site (http://www.ankn.uaf.edu), newsletter, publications, curriculum resources, etc., and apply it at an international level to serve as an all-purpose resource for information related to Indigenous cultures, communities and educational practices. Participation in the IIGE functions as a two-way exchange with UAF students accessing resources from other institutions and participants from other institutions accessing UAF resources.

Doctoral Research Fellowships

A limited number of Doctoral Research Fellowships and travel support are included in the PhD program as essential elements that provide students the opportunity to step back from day-to-day demands in their local context and immerse themselves in their graduate studies and research so they can complete a program in a reasonable timeframe. The intent is to provide support for an on-going cohort of doctoral students with each candidate receiving support for up to three years. We also welcome students from other institutions who may wish to participate in the IKS research program and course offerings under other sponsorship.

In addition to IKS research fellows having the opportunity to enroll in a cooperating partner institution with a strong Indigenous emphasis, they are also expected to identify an Indigenous scholar from that institution who can serve as a member of the graduate advisory committee to help guide the research in ways that foster cross-institutional collaboration and comparative analysis of IKS research issues. At the same time, students from partner institutions are engaged in related research to be eligible to attend other affiliated institutions with a comparable goal of scholarly cross-fertilization and synergy around the IKS research themes.

A primary emphasis in the recruitment of doctoral research fellows for the IKS program is based on attracting Indigenous candidates from throughout all the participating cultural regions, including Alaskans, Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, First Nations in Canada, and others from around the Indigenous world who have in-depth experience in Indigenous settings. This is so that the IKS cohort represents multiple cultural perspectives, which can be brought to bear on the themes of the Indigenous research program. One of the key incentives for initiating the research and education program at UAF has been to address the severe shortage of Alaska Natives with advanced degrees who can assume critical faculty roles and research responsibilities throughout the state. Video and audio teleconferencing are also utilized extensively to support an array of course offerings and joint seminars on topics of interest to a cross-institutional audience. At UAF, the courses, CCS 601 (Documenting Indigenous Knowledge), 602 (Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights) and 690 (Seminar in Cross-Cultural Studies) address issues associated with ethical and responsible conduct in research across cultures.

Institutional Roles and Responsibilities

The University of Alaska Fairbanks has adopted as one of its major strategic goals to "serve as the premiere higher educational center for Alaska Natives," and historically has been the lead higher education institution in Alaska providing programs addressing Indigenous issues. The Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, which serves as the institutional home base for the IKS research initiative, was established by the University of Alaska (UA) Board of Regents in 1971 as a teaching, research, and development unit to promote programs that concentrate on the needs of Alaska's Indigenous societies, with particular regard to educational needs and issues in rural Alaska. Accordingly, objectives of the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies are to offer academic degree programs and coursework in cross-cultural studies; design and conduct basic and applied research projects; develop, conduct and evaluate alternative educational strategies; and disseminate findings on current Alaska research in cross-cultural studies.

In recent years, most of the work carried out under the auspices of the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies has revolved around the newly created PhD program in Indigenous Studies and the contractual work associated with the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative. Both of these endeavors have opened up new avenues to expand our knowledge base in areas related to the study of Indigenous knowledge systems, most significantly by attracting and preparing the first generation of Alaska Native graduate students, at least 35 of whom are now engaged in pursuing further advanced studies and research.

In addition, we have participated in numerous national and international conferences and symposia on related issues through which we have formed alliances with other programs and institutions engaged in similar endeavors, many of which have agreed to contribute to the International Indigenous Graduate Education Alliance. Through its efforts, UAF is assuming a lead role in linking together these numerous localized endeavors to form a synergistic relationship that enhances the capacity of all the participating institutions and personnel to achieve goals we cannot achieve alone. Each of the partner institutions shares a common commitment to the overall goals of the various research initiatives, but each are also evolved in ways that adapt to the cultural and institutional milieu in which they are situated, so the partnership structure is critical to establishing the parameters and responsibilities for the implementation of each of the regional networks and research programs. In addition, the strategy for engagement of partner institutions in each region is incorporated into the planning and implementation process at the regional level, building on the research focus and strengths of each site.

Sustainability

An underlying theme of these initiatives has been the need to reconstitute the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the host societies; embedded by documenting the integrity of locally situated cultural knowledge and skills and critiquing the learning processes by which that knowledge is transmitted, acquired and utilized. To overcome the long-standing estrangement between Indigenous communities and the external institutions, all parties in this endeavor (community, school, higher education, state and national agencies) need to form a multi-lateral partnership built on the strengths each bring to the relationship. The key to overcoming the historical imbalance is the development of an Indigenous–driven research process that focuses on the role of Indigenous knowledge systems. Moreover, the primary direction needs to come from Indigenous communities themselves, so that, Indigenous people are able to move from a passive role subject to someone else's agenda, to an active leadership position with explicit authority in the construction and implementation of the research initiatives. The willingness of the partner institutions to enter into this partnership represents a significant milestone in the relationship between educational institutions and Indigenous communities around the world, to ensure that it becomes a truly reciprocal relationship of mutual benefit.

In this context, the task of achieving sustainability hinges on our ability to demonstrate that such an undertaking has relevance and meaning in the local Indigenous contexts with which we are associated, as well as in the broader social, political, and educational arenas involved. By utilizing research strategies that link the Indigenous ways of knowing already established in the local community and culture, Indigenous people are more likely to find value in what emerges and be able to put the new insights into practice toward achieving their own ends. In turn, the knowledge gained from these efforts will have applicability in furthering our understanding of basic human processes associated with research and the transmission of knowledge in all forms. By bringing the research expertise and educational capabilities of the higher education institutions into direct involvement with Indigenous communities, the initiatives serve a capacity-building function with potential "multiplier effects" for Indigenous communities in areas with disproportionate levels of underdevelopment on a range of socio-economic indices, e.g., improvements in health, education, and economic well-being.

All of the above contributes to the development of new insights that increase our understanding of how Indigenous knowledge systems function in relation to the cultural context in which they are situated. By focusing on an interdisciplinary, cross-institutional, and cross-cultural research endeavor toward a common goal with a carefully articulated, and unified strategy, we are well positioned to ensure that the work will move forward on a pathway to becoming self-sufficient and sustainable into the future.

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The Present and Future of Land-based Education in Treaty #3

Donna Chief & Brendan Smyth

Abstract

In this paper, we examine the current state of land-based education within Treaty #3 and look to potential models for strengthening and building upon current practices. This paper is organized around four central questions: 1. Where are we now? 2. What characterizes Anishinaabe land-based education? 3. Why is land-based education important now? 4. Where do we want to go? By reflecting on and responding to these questions, we hope to begin a discussion about how land-based pedagogies rooted in Anishinaabe knowledge can improve and strengthen the educational outcomes for all students within Treaty #3.

Introduction

In a recent editorial for a special edition of the journal *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* devoted to Indigenous land-based education, Matthew Wildcat, Mandee McDonald, Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, and Glen Coulthard assert, "Land-based education, in resurging and sustaining Indigenous life and knowledge, acts in direct contestation to settler colonialism and its drive to eliminate Indigenous life and Indigenous claims to land" (2014, p. iii). In this paper, Donna, an Anishinaabe educator from Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation, and Brendan, a non-Native educator working in Treaty #3 territory, will examine the current state of land-based education within Treaty #3 and look to potential models for strengthening and building upon current practices.

This paper is organized around four central questions: 1. Where are we now? 2. What characterizes Anishinaabe land-based education? 3. Why is land-based education important now? 4. Where do we want to go? By reflecting on and responding to these questions, we hope to begin a discussion about how land-based pedagogies rooted in Anishinaabe knowledge can improve and strengthen the educational outcomes for all students within Treaty #3.

Where are we now?

At the outset, it is important to set the stage in terms of the present state of affairs of land-based education in Treaty #3 territory specifically. Treaty #3 encompasses 55,000 square miles in northwestern Ontario and a small part of eastern Manitoba. Twenty-six Treaty #3 First Nation communities are located within the province of Ontario, and two are located in Manitoba. Treaty #3 was home to several Residential Schools, including St. Margaret's in Fort Frances, Cecilia

Jeffrey and St Mary's in Kenora, Pelican Lake near Sioux Lookout, and McIntosh near Vermilion Bay. Survivors and researchers have described how students at the Cecilia Jeffrey and St. Mary's schools in Kenora were subjected to nutritional and medical experiments without their consent and with the support of the Department of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Services (Mosby, 2013, p. 161). The legacy of the residential school system continues to affect Treaty #3 communities.

On June 2, 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) released an Executive Summary of their final report, containing ninety-four Calls to Action. Many of the Calls to Action target education, and make specific reference to the need for "age-appropriate curriculum on residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada," and funding First Nations schools "to utilize Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods in classrooms" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 7). The TRC's recommendations echo many of the proposals put forth in 1996 by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (Erasmus & Dussault, 1996). Among its many recommendations, the RCAP calls for cooperation between educators and governments "to develop or continue developing innovative curricula that reflect Aboriginal cultures and community realities" (1996, p. 431). For the purposes of this paper, we will be looking at ways to specifically address the development and implementation of an Anishibaabe land-based pedagogy that seeks to respond to these calls for curricula that reflect and emerge from Anishinaabe knowledge and traditions.

The recommendations of both of these national commissions align with the educational goals of the Grand Council of Treaty #3. In 2009, Grand Council of Treaty #3 released a report on an educational needs assessment for the communities of Treaty #3 entitled *Mino Kakendaasowin: Fulfilling Sakatcheway's Vision*. According to this report, of the twenty-six Ontario-based Treaty #3 communities, twelve have elementary schools ranging from K-6 or K-8, and five communities have their own high school (2009). Many elementary and high school students from the First Nation communities have to commute 1-3 hours each day in order to attend the local provincial school, and some high school students live in boarding homes in local municipalities in order to attend provincial schools (2009). Currently, Seven Generations Education Institute offers high school through adult and continuing education in thirteen First Nation communities, and Bimose Tribal Council offers high school opportunities through e-learning and independent learning in five communities.

In addition, the report found that the curriculum content being delivered to students both on and off reserve "is limited to mainstream content with little to no First Nation specific content on First Nation world view" (2009, p. 8). To address this deficiency, one of the report's recommendations was that a Treaty #3 curriculum "grounded in First Nation philosophies, language, and traditions" be developed (2009, p. 50). The report indicated that "[t]he

implementation of a Treaty #3 curriculum would help in the development of strong identities and possibly increase the retention and graduation rate of Treaty #3 students" (2009, p. 50).

Land-based pedagogies should play a foundational role in any discussion of a Treaty #3 curriculum. Indigenous land-based education has been around for many years, and currently takes place in Treaty #3 in a variety of ways including:

- parents and grandparents teaching their children how to fish, hunt, and harvest manoomin;
- families spending time out at blueberry camps;
- elders and other experts being invited into classrooms to share their knowledge;
- schools (such as Whitefish Bay school) partnering with Treaty #3 Police so students can learn about setting traps and maintaining a trapline;
- many communities hold annual Fall Harvest celebrations, where students from First Nation schools and local school boards can participate in traditional activities;
- First Nation schools (and some public schools) hold powwows.

In addition, local school boards offer outdoor education programs for students to participate in. However, these programs are not always explicitly grounded in Anishinaabe worldviews and philosophies.

What characterizes Anishinaabe land-based education?

When it comes to Anishinaabe pedagogies, Yerxa (2014) makes a connection between the importance of land-based cultural practices for maintaining a strong sense of identity. She states, "Our land based practices carry the very essence of who we are as Anishinaabeg. They are alive within the land as well as in our elders and community members that hold strong relationships with the land" (p. 161). For Simpson (2014), an Anishinaabe pedagogy,

> [T]akes place in the context of family, community and relations. […] The land, aki, is both context and process. The process of coming to know is learner-led and profoundly spiritual in nature. Coming to know is the pursuit of whole body intelligence practiced in the context of freedom, and when realized collectively it generates generations of loving, creative, innovative, self-determining, inter-dependent and self-regulating community minded individuals. (p. 7)

Similarly, Chartrand (2012) writes that Anishinaabe pedagogy "is learner-centred, subjective, and relies on relational management [...]. It has a humanistic focus and is aimed at exploring the interrelationships between all things within a critically reflective paradigm" (p. 152).

Drawing upon these three descriptions, we assert that any Anishinaabe land-based education program must be founded on the principles of *mino-bimaadiziwin*, generally understood as "a

good and balanced life with all of Creation; the way to a good and balanced life" (Acoose, 2011, p. 233), and must empower students to see clearly the multitude of relationships that connect us to the land and water, to each other, to animals, to the spirit world, and to past and future generations. Land-based learning enables students to become critical and creative participants in their own educational journeys, and can connect them to a strong sense of identity and community.

Here at Seven Generations Education Institute, and across Treaty #3, it is important to remember that many of our students go on to work in trades, in mining, forestry, and hospitality industries. The education and training provided in the First Nations and municipalities is an integral part of preparing students for these careers. If we think about how principles of Anishinaabe land-based pedagogy apply to this context, then we must be aware that any land-based education means that training/learning cannot be separated from a critical examination of the possible positive and negative impacts that different careers might have upon students and their communities. For example, education about work in the mining sector cannot be separated from considerations regarding Indigenous sovereignty over territory and resources and possible environmental impacts these operations could have on local communities. In other words, Anishinaabe land-based pedagogy demands that education not only train students to contribute to the economic well-being of their communities, but must also challenge learners to think about the wider implications for local and global communities and environments. In this way, students can become empowered to make informed and conscientious decisions about the ways in which they will use their education and training.

Another important element of Anishinaabe land-based education is the role of story and narrative. Nelson (2013), writes, "stories can guide people in how to care for places" (p. 215). Stories, in other words, deepen our relationships to place by revealing the complex ways that those places have marked people's lives and imaginations. For Anishinaabe peoples, landscapes are full of stories. When Donna was a child, her grandfather Jeff Chief would tell stories to her and her sisters when they lived in a little trapping cabin where Dinorwic Lake meets Rock Lake near Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation. One of the stories was about four villages who were being tormented by a large dog. Elders from the villages got together and decided to put a curse on the dog. They got their hand drums, started to sing, and they successfully put a curse on the dog that made it fall asleep. When Donna's grandfather told the children the story, he would describe how the enormous dog fell into the water, and how if the children were able to look at the land from above, they would see that the dog was still there, with one ear close to the trapping shack.

Peacock (2013) explains that lessons contained in stories were not to be imposed on the listeners, but rather, that listeners would draw their own conclusions. Whether the story of the dog was to teach about the shape of the landscape, the value of cooperating with other

communities, the necessity of being quiet so as not to wake the dog, or something else, was left up to each of the listeners. As Peacock writes, "Seemingly simple teachings, such as stories about why birch trees have black marks, or when rabbit ate all the roses, contained deeper meanings as well--about ridiculing, and the responsibility of human kind to protect our elder brothers, the plant beings" (p. 105). These deeper meanings gleaned from stories might change for listeners as they age and their circumstances change. Returning to these stories many times can offer listeners the opportunity to hear them resonate in new ways.

Jeff Chief would also use the land to teach about relationships and getting along with others. When the children were fighting amongst themselves, Donna's grandfather would sit them down and ask, "Why can't you get along just like those trees?" Embedded in that question is an understanding of conflict resolution grounded in the reality of having multiple species of trees coexisting harmoniously in the same space, the big crowns of the trembling Aspen, or a white pine tree towering over younger trees underneath. These lessons about conflict resolution emerge from lived experience on the land and knowledge of the relationships between the various organisms that share space and coexist. Nelson asserts that "just as stories reveal imagined landscapes, natural landscapes comprise actual "text" and the language to be translated, studied, and respected" (2013, p. 215). The question Jeff Chief posed to his grandchildren invites them read the landscape and apply its lessons to their own lives.

A land-based pedagogy must acknowledge and use the storied nature of the landscape in order to enable students to critically examine their connections to the land, water, animals, and each other. Nelson argues that "place, memory, identity, and imagination as interwoven elements in the fabric of Indigenous story and cultural health" (2013, p. 216). The use of narrative can allow students to articulate their own understandings of place, identity, and survivance in the face of ongoing colonial pressures.

Why is land-based education important now?

As Simpson reminds us, "Indigenous Peoples often find themselves challenging government-supported multinational corporations who exploit their territories for profit with no acknowledgment that their operations are on Indigenous lands, or that the industrial waste products they produce negatively impact local Aboriginal communities" (2002, p. 15). Indigenous communities in Treaty #3 are no exception, as local economies are primarily resource based, with forestry, mining, and tourism playing significant roles across the territory. In addition, there are ongoing consultations with respect to TransCanada's proposed Energy East pipeline as well as the Nuclear Waste Management Organization's ongoing assessment of Ignace, Ontario, Canada as a potential storage site for spent uranium pellets. This context points to the urgency of implementing land-based curricula that strengthen our students' relationships to the land and enable our students to make informed, critical decisions about land use that will

affect them for generations to come. Simpson explains, "Our continuance as peoples will be dependent upon the ability of our youth to protect traditional lands; reclaim, revitalize, and nurture our traditional systems of knowledge and language; and build sustainable local economies" (2002, p. 15).

Another urgent need for land-based pedagogies comes from the need to improve not only educational outcomes, but a sense of cultural identity, pride, and overall well-being. Summarizing the state of current research around cultural connections and health for Indigenous youth in Canada, Big-Canoe and Richmond (2014) argue that "health disparities are linked in significant ways to detachment from land, including reduced opportunities for the preservation of culture" (p. 128). Among the negative consequences of broken connections to the land and culture, Big-Canoe and Richmond list "ruptured social and cultural systems and intergenerational trauma" and posit that this disconnection can be a contributing factor in youth suicides (2014, p. 128). Implementing land-based programming across Treaty Three can be a positive step towards strengthening social and cultural ties.

Where do we want to go?

Article 14 of the United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples asserts that "Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning" (United Nations, 2007, p. 7). Taking this statement as a guide, we want to outline one possible vision for the future of land-based education in Treaty #3. Although land-based education is happening at many levels across Treaty #3, we are asking: how can these practices be supported and strengthened? To answer that question, it is helpful to look to the past. In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood released a paper titled *Indian Control of Indian Education*, in which they advocated for the creation of Cultural Education Centres that would enable students to learn ways "to apply traditional beliefs, values and skills to survival .in modern society … and to make up for deficiencies in other educational programs" (p. 16).

What would a Cultural Education Centre (or multiple Cultural Education Centres) in Treaty #3 look like? We argue that offering hands-on learning opportunities for students from kindergarten to adulthood would be an essential component of such a centre. Such a centre would also be connected explicitly to the land, with opportunities to learn about various traditional practices, including harvesting and preparing food and medicines, travelling across the land and water in different seasons, creating different buildings and shelters, and making different crafts. Such a centre would also offer learning opportunities in a wholistic way, foregrounding relationships and engaging students physically, spiritually, intellectually, and emotionally. Finally, it is essential that elders, language speakers, and knowledge keepers be

active participants in both designing programs and instructing students. Simpson (2002) asserts, "'Being out on the land' is the place where Elders are often most comfortable teaching and interacting with students" (p. 19). Thus, having multiple opportunities for elders and students to be together on the land would be a primary goal of a land-based education centre. As well, land-based learning offers multiple opportunities to learn from the skills and values embedded in *Anishinaabemowin* (the language).

As we consider how to implement such a centre, we draw upon the words of past Treaty #3 leaders to guide us. According to the account of treaty commissioner Alexander Morris, during the negotiations for Treaty #3 in 1873, the Lac Seul Chief said, "If you give what I ask, the time may come when I will ask you to lend me one of your daughters and one of your sons to live with us; and in return I will lend you one of my daughters and one of my sons for you to teach what is good, and after they have learned, to teach us" (1880, p. 63). The vision expressed here is one of reciprocity – where settlers and Anishinaabe people share knowledge in a mutually beneficial way. It is this vision that guides our thoughts on how to conceive of a land-based education centre.

In addition, there are many models of Indigenous land-based education across Canada that we would seek to learn from. For example, Alfred (2014) outlines a cultural apprenticeship program in the Mohawk community of Akwesasne that he describes as,

> a land-based and language-infused cultural apprenticeship program that gives learners the opportunity to apprentice with master knowledge-holders to learn traditional, land-based, cultural practices, including hunting and trapping, medicinal plants and healing, fishing and water use, and horticulture and black ash basket making. (p. 135)

This program could serve as a useful guide for some of the activities that we would like to see in a land based education program in Treaty #3.

The land-based healing program developed by the Cree Nation of Chisasibi also provides a promising model. Established in 2012, this program "recognizes the healing power of nature and the 'return to the land' as a way of connecting individuals to Cree culture and language; as promoting intergenerational knowledge transfer; and offering a safe space in which individuals can share personal experiences and detoxify (when necessary)" (Radu, House & Pashagumskum, 2014, p. 93). Delivered by two elders, the Chisasibi land-based healing program emphasizes the relationships between land, language, culture, and knowledge, and promotes individual and community healing through the strengthening of these relationships. The Chisasibi model invites us to foreground the role of land-based pedagogies in language learning and revitalization. Being out on the land gives teachers and students opportunities for learning the skills, values, and knowledge embedded in the language.

Conclusion

Given the 2009 Grand Council of Treaty #3 report's finding that there continues to be a limited inclusion of First Nation content within education programs both on and off reserve in Treaty #3, it seems an opportune time to implement land-based pedagogy across the region, with the potential for a cultural education center. In the twenty-first century, Indigenous peoples across Canada face increasing pressures due to unprecedented ecological changes, the intensifying activities of extractive industries, and ongoing colonial relationships with multiple levels of government. In this environmental, social, and political context, educators need to ask: How do we best prepare students and ourselves to look thoughtfully, critically, and creatively at these realities in a way that empowers them to engage in the world as agents of change?

Land-based pedagogies foreground Indigenous knowledges, languages, epistemologies, traditions, spiritual beliefs, and relationships with human and non-human others. Land-based education can contest ongoing colonization in education and privilege Indigenous worldviews and pedagogies. We contend that strengthening land-based educational opportunities for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students can lead to a better understanding of Indigenous culture, sovereignty, and relationships, and responsibilities to the land.

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Highlighting the Voices and Aspirations of Māori Families and Children on Ka Puananī o Te Reo Māori, their Unique One-Day Language Programme

Kelli Te Maihāroa

Abstract

Ka Puananī o te reo Māori is an innovative one-day a week Māori language immersion programme (Level 1), which addresses access to quality Māori language education in mainstream schools for years 1-8. This research focused on why the participants chose this programme as a successful model for the delivery of quality te reo Māori education, and what aspects of the programme supported this choice via 'interviews as chats', with nine children and 11 family members, using semi-structured questions. Ka Puananī families identified three initial assumptions underpinning the programme; that students will greatly increase their skills in te reo Māori me ōna tikaka Māori language and culture within this enrichment environment, participants would form new linkages between the children and families across the city, and the creation of a potential new cohort of young people, the next generation of Māori speakers. The outcome from this research produced three major themes: engagement, whanaukataka relationships and cultural identity. The majority of participants reported that they were happy with the programme, that the children were learning and using more Māori language, including reading and writing skills in the target language. All of the families and half of the children identified the theme of whanaukataka as important. There were numerous cultural benefits identified, such as increased emotional wellbeing, self-esteem, and developing a stronger sense of pride to 'be Māori'. Families also reported wider cultural affiliations, strengthening their links with Kura Kaupapa Māori ki Ōtepoti Māori immersion primary school in Dunedin, whānau, hapū sub tribe, and iwi tribal members.

Keywords: Te Reo Māori, language immersion programme, engagement, relationships, language and culture, cultural identity, language revitalization.

Ka Puananī o Te Reo Māori One-Day Māori Language Programme

The quality and fluency levels of te reo Māori language in mainstream educational settings is concerning for families committed to raising their children within a Māori speaking home environment, and remains a critical issue for Māori educationalists (Bishop, Berryman, & O'Sullivan, 2010; Hutchings, Barnes, Taupo, Bright, Pihama, & Lee, 2012; Penetito, 2010). Families recognized the transition from te reo Māori speaking homes to the local mainstream schools, signaling a gap between family aspirations of seamless Māori language education and the confidence and capacity of kura auraki (English medium) schools to meet these needs. Initial discussions were held between families, Māori speaking community, Kāi Tahu iwi (local tribal) representatives, and the Ministry of Education in 2009, to explore an alternative option for children whom had attained a high level of Māori language fluency within their home but also desired to attend their local English medium school. This paper outlines the benefits and

challenges that families and children self-identified from their participation within the first year of implementing a pilot programme named Ka Pauananī, the One Day School of Te Reo Māori excellence.

Ka Puananī o Te Reo Māori is a family-led solution to access quality te reo Māori language education in Dunedin, situated in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The name 'Ka Puananī o te reo Māori' was suggested by a local tribal member and can be loosely translated as 'the wind-blown seeds of te reo Māori'. The dandelion is the adopted metaphor for this programme, because when nurtured to maturity is dispersed into a broader environment with analogies made between children sharing their Māori language skills amongst the wider community. This model was chosen because it is an accepted

Image 1: Dandelion metaphor and Ka Puananī o te reo Māori.

national and international model for delivering Gifted and Talented programmes since 1995 in Aotearoa (McAlpine & Moltzen, 2004) and because it shared the responsibility and resources for the programme between stakeholders (schools, community, Ministry of Education and K̲āi Tahu - local tribe). This hybrid Māori immersion programme takes the best from both worlds where students have access to a quality Māori language immersion option whilst also being able to attend their local community school.

How the Ka Puananī model operates.

This programme was launched in February 2010, providing a one-day school of excellence in Māori immersion for 12 young people. The one-day programme operated as a mobile satellite classroom, between four primary and two intermediate schools. The conception behind a mobile site, was important to both the families and schools, as it provided the opportunity for each school site to share, develop a sense of ownership for an immersion programme, whilst also operating as a 'Māori language outreach' site within mainstream schooling sectors and the wider communities. The initial selection process was via an expression of interest from families with Māori speaking children, an application form and a language proficiency assessment. Based on the principle 'kōrero i te reo Māori ānake' (speak only Māori), it operates as an 'enrichment' or 'extension' programme for a 'one-day' per week Māori language immersion class for children from years one to eight, who had already developed a high fluency level in Māori language, but their local school did not have the capacity or skill level to build upon and/or maintain education in te reo Māori.

Kā Puananī o Te Reo Māori, the One Day School of Māori Language Excellence

Image 2:   Representational diagram of Ka Puanani o te reo Māori as a mobile satellite classroom, delivering quality Māori language education one-day per week to children from eight primary/ intermediate schools.

This programme operates at Level 1 immersion programme (80 – 100% te reo Māori) in a highly specialized setting, where the children not only develop and extend their vocabulary in academic subjects, but they also enhance their thought patterns within the target language in a culturally authentic setting (Hinton & Hale, 2001). Senior Research Analyst for the University of Otago, Dr. Katarina Ruckstuhl, states that Ka Puananī offers expertise in Māori language to support both families and schools for whom Māori is the first language at home. She identified Ka Puananī as an "integrated pilot Māori language programme, based around language development and extension… [where the] focus is on developing excellent language skills in Māori" (Lewis, 2010).

The parents of Ka Puananī made three initial assumptions about possible outcomes of the programme: that the students in this programme would greatly increase their skills in te reo Māori me ōna tikaka (Māori language and culture); that there would be increased links across the city for te reo speaking community; and the building of a cohort of tamariki to be te reo Māori leaders of the future. The aim of this research supported these whānau objectives, by exploring this initiative as a 'potential model of success' for teaching te reo Māori from the perspective of whānau and tamariki. It was decided by the parents of Ka Puananī, and subsequently supported by the teachers, that the children would not be subjected to any formal language tests as the parents identified that their children's active participation and enjoyment

in the programme represents success to them. This study focused on why the participants chose this particular programme as a successful model for the delivery of quality te reo me ōna tika<u>k</u>a (Māori language and culture)*,* and what aspects of the programme supported this choice.

Ka Puananī is grounded within Indigenous knowledge frameworks, inspired by the Atua (deity*)* Tane, who ascended to the heavens to pursue the twelve baskets of knowledge. The once a week daily programme, is co-delivered by a classroom teacher and resource teacher of Māori, with an inclusive open door policy extended to parents and Māori community. The pou (posts) represented below, signify the various components of the programme, philosophically drawn from the multiple dimensions of te ao Māori (Māori worldview), but also regionally tailored to represent the local stories and knowledge drawn from Te Kete o Rakaihautū (ancestral knowledge of Rakaitautū).

Image 3:   Mātauranga Tūhāhā, Indigenous Knowledge Base adopted by Ka Puananī o Te Reo Māori Programme (Maniapoto, 2011**,** slide four)

This overarching framework for this study is derived from a kaupapa Māori (Māori themed) research framework, reflecting the evolving process from which the research was instigated, and as a natural 'cultural fit' within Māori research (Bishop & Glyyn, 1995; Smith, 2003). Ka Puananī is initiated by Māori, predominately for Māori, (but not exclusively), and takes for granted the legitimacy and validity of te ao Māori (Māori worldview), based within Māori philosophies and Māori cultural principles (Bishop, 1999; Smith, 2003). This approach is embedded within a kaupapa Māori framework, where research is initiated and undertaken by local, known, community-minded people, working within local settings to generate local solutions (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

There were two reasons behind the motivation to 'capture and measure the success' of Ka Puananī. The first goal was to identify and be able to reflect on, what success means for participants. The second objective related to highlighting potential on-going sustainability

issues, in relation to credibility and funding. This presented an opportunity for the researcher to document the process on behalf of, and for Ka Puananī families and children. This research project used the 'kanohi-ki-kanohi' (face-to-face) approach with the participants, through semi-structured, informal 'interviews as chats' method to elicit information (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). The researcher located herself as an 'inside-outsider' researcher (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The 'insider' perspective developed from being part of the local Māori community, sharing similar interests and concerns for things Māori; but specifically, to support the kaupapa *theme* and build an evidence base of the programme from the participants perspective (Bishop, 1999). She positioned herself as an 'outsider', due to the fact that she had emergent Māori language skills, and therefore not able to participate and/ or contribute to dialogue about the programme in the target language.

The researcher met with 11 family members and nine children at a place and time that was suitable to them at the initial and yearly end of the programme. The raw data was transcribed into interview transcripts and analyzed using a thematic analysis approach (Mutch, 2005). The researcher used this qualitative strategy to look for synergies and discrepancies between the two interviews. As the themes emerged, these were subsequently sorted, along with quotes and expressions, into piles that align (Weller & Romney cited in Bernard & Ryan, 2003). It was important to the researcher, that a coding arrangement recognized the participants quotes to remain unaltered and anonymous. Each child was allocated a number between one and nine, and under each heading the researcher identified matching quotes or transcripts of their responses for each of the five questions. The same method was applied for each family member, and ascribed a letter from A – I.

Image 4:   Three Baskets of Knowledge.

Three Kete of Kōrero Baskets of Knowledge

An outcome of the research data produced a trio of themes: engagement details within the programme, the importance of whanau<u>k</u>ata<u>k</u>a (relationships) and development of cultural identity. The discourse around engagement included the strengths and challenges of the engagement process, the role of the kaiako (teacher) and how the level of the target language impacts on the programme. The second theme discussed was the sense of connectedness through whanau<u>k</u>ata<u>k</u>a (relationships), through the process of growing relationships within te reo Māori speaking communities. The third theme of cultural identity, highlights the important role of cultural dissemination, cultural benefits realized from the programme and the wider cultural affiliations gained by participants outside of their home. Several layers of the engagement theme emerged as critical components of the programme, including levels of enjoyment and how the participants became involved in the programme, mostly because of their mother's active encouragement. Another aspect uncovered, was the challenge of a one-day a week programme, including the continuum of te reo Māori levels. Finally, the role of the teacher was discussed and their role in creating an environment conducive to an immersion environment.

There were two primary reasons why all of the children were involved in Ka Puananī: the desire of their family for them to participate and the opportunity for enrichment of te reo me ōna tika<u>k</u>a Māori (Māori language and culture). Seven of the children had developed an understanding about what they expected from the programme; such as "it helps me learn Māori and more words than the start of the year when I didn't know lots more kupu [words]" (5), and "the use of te reo is important to me" (6). The majority of the children were able to articulate potential 'measurements of success', from an increase in the amount of words known, being happy with the programme, to "he pai te mahi" (the work is good) (7). The older children identified specific reasons why te reo was important to them "to learn Māori, to do it at high school, to talk Māori again" (4), or the desire to apply their language skills "to try to use the language as much as I could" (3). These comments reflect that children are cognizant of the pivotal role Māori language has within the programme, an appreciation of the language, eagerness to learn, and the desire to develop their language skills (Hinton & Hale, 2001).

For all of the whānau, the importance of Māori language was the overarching theme for enrolling the children into the programme. One family member added "all of us as parents want our children to have te reo opportunities because it is important for them and in securing their mindset more important than anything else" (e). Families desired an authentic cultural context (Hinton & Hale, 2001) to deliver "good quality reo, creativity with language, using te reo actively, love of the reo, reo in action, different style of learning, out-and-about with the reo" (f). None of the family members referred to a language 'test' as evidence of increased Māori language levels, preferring a broader vision of what success looked like to them, such as loving it, valuing the language as a tao<u>k</u>a (treasure), or using te reo as the language of communication,

especially with their siblings. As with many second language programmes, families held high expectations of a quality Māori learning environment that validated, legitimized and normalised te reo Māori as the language of instruction. Lo Bianco (2000) argues that by 'naturalizing' the (Māori) culture, in turn, adjusts the cultural behavior to be the natural way that things are expected and performed.

The challenge of 'engaging' with a one-day a week programme was an issue for some children, especially with regards the expectation of having to 'catch up' on the loss of one days work each week, including some initial resistance from older children. Eight out of the 11 family members reported that their child/ren seemed happy with the programme; with three adults identifying that fluency levels can be a challenge. This can impact on the ability of the children to engage in the programme, which may result in a 'drop off' or withdrawal from the programme. Several family members identified that their own Māori language levels provided a challenge to supporting their children, as a majority of the families are "second language learners also" (a). "My reo is not as good as his, its holding him back, we are disappointed because of my commitment to the reo at home, we didn't support as much as we could have, should have been doing more to strengthen our te reo" (c). This reinforces the importance of continuing to use Māori as the main language within the home after their children start school, as an extension of language development, building on the foundational development years (Fishman, cited in Cantoni, 2007; King, 2009; McCarty cited in Reyhner & Lockard, 2009).

As an enrichment programme, Ka Puananī participants and stakeholders held high expectations that the programme would be of an exceptional level. With regard to the ability to engage and participate, over half of the children reported that they did not find the fluency levels difficult. These perceptions are contrasted by two family members, who expected the fluency levels to be higher: "in reality I thought that there would be a higher level of reo and a higher level of understanding, the reo isn't as strong and the difficulty is when the children only have 20-40% understanding and it makes it easy to fall out of the programme" (i). The challenge for immersion programmes, can be the lower level of fluency in the target language and/or the lack of family support, which may result in subsequent difficulties of maintaining a Māori language speaking environment (King, cited in Hinton & Hale, 2001).

The role of teacher is integral to creating a safe and secure second language environment. Several children and family members noted that teacher supported them to overcome any language difficulties and were appropriate Indigenous role models: "I have no concerns that it is going to be modeled in the wrong way, its emotionally safe for your child" (e). Overall the comments reflect that the two teachers provided a good combination of male and female, working well together and offered a well-developed programme. The teachers were a pivotal ingredient to the success of the programme, recognized for their skills, effort and knowledge, skills and proficiency in engaging the students whilst also being able to develop strong, robust,

working relationships outside of the classroom: 'the relationship between the whānau and the schools, the schools willingness to support and how much the children had accomplished, they've done a lot of mahi [work]" (i).

The theme of whanaukataka (relationships), can be explained by three interconnecting segments: whanaukataka (relationships), whakawhanaukataka (building relationships) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion primary school). One concept specifically mentioned by all of the families and four of the children is whanaukataka. One child noted what was good about being part of the programme was "being with my mate" (7), and another shared that s/he "liked being part of the whānau and looking after the younger kids" (3). The skill of being able to share knowledge and take care of those younger, is reflected in the cultural concept of tuakana/teina (younger/older) mentoring relationships. Bishop and Berryman (2006) maintain that the process of creating a culturally safe, caring, family-like environment, is the optimal ingredient in any learning environment.

Whanuakataka (relationships), play a fundamental role in connecting Māori speakers together. This traditionally based concept, embodies the 'glue' that supports inter-dependence and the drive towards a collective vision. The idea of coming together as a 'collective whānau/ family' was described by a family as: "we see each other outside of kura [school], the parents know the other parents, the parents all know the tamariki, it is a matua/whaea [male/female] situation" (e). This reinforces that the Ka Puananī families already have an established level of kinship, which aligns with King's (2001) view that Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori Language Nest) movement provided an environment where traditional values are renewed and strong kinship ties are maintained (cited in Hinton & Hale, 2001). These bonds are deeper than being just the parents of children who go to school together. Lo Bianco (2000) affirms that for some parents: "…ethnic school is an extension of the family where they can find models of good behavior and experience mutual respect and love. The teachers are often called 'Uncle' and Auntie' (Lo Bianco, 2000, p. 25).

The concept of 'whakawhanaukataka' (building relationships) was also a common thread amongst families. Whakawhanaukataka has been described as the art of establishing connections between friends and family, or the activity of building or growing whanaukataka or kin relations (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). For example, one family identified that Ka Puananī offered a much wider circle of friends and community for their child to be a part of: "At mainstream she has one friend but at Ka Puananī she thinks all of them as friends, it's a joy to go… she loves coming, loves the kaiako [teacher] and Ka Puananī tamariki, we are also friends with the Ka Puananī community, its about whakawhanaungatanga" (e).

The idea of growing a community of Māori speakers was a concept expressed by two children who had expectations that they would be spending time with "a group of children that speak

Māori and everyday their level of Māori goes up" (8 & 9). Both families and children were cognizant that if the Māori language is to survive as an Indigenous language, then there is a need to build a community of Māori speakers to keep it alive. One family member added "we have reo in our home but that's te reo between the parent and the child, not the language amongst children themselves, builds a group of friends that they can speak Māori with" (i), with another family pinpointing the programme as "a place where other tamariki who could interact in te reo, one of the purposes was to create a community of te reo speakers" (b).

For several families, the level of 'whakawhanaukataka' had grown beyond the walls of the classroom and led to more involvement within the local Māori community. One family expressed their growing participation within Māori speaking communities: "Kōhanga, Kura Kaupapa, mainstream, we are growing his involvement of te ao Māori, on Tuesday we go to mau rākau [traditional Māori weaponry] together, and for holidays we participated in the tamariki programme at Puketeraki Marae [ancestral meeting house]. We are growing our participation in the Māori community and his sense of being part of it" (f).

Several other families have also committed to extending their support networks and building their own Māori language skills. One parent has recently taken on a role as a bilingual teacher in a newly developed bilingual unit, a contributing school to Ka Puananī. Two other family members have subsequently enrolled in adult education, studying Te Ara Reo (Māori language) at Te Wānanga ō Aotearoa (Māori University)*,* and also hoping to enroll at Kura Reo (tribal based immersion weeks). The resurgence of interest in learning the Māori language, suggests that they are cognizant of extending their own levels of fluency in the home (Hinton & Hale, 2001). The commitment to immerse children within a Māori language environment goes hand in hand with the expectation that their family will also provide a Māori speaking environment within the home (Hornberger, 2008; May & Hill, 2005; Tangaere, 2006).

The next generation of te reo Māori speakers in Dunedin are attending Ka Puananī. This is a critical component as "creating a community is the hardest part of stabilizing a language" (Cantoni, 2007, p. 80). Six out of the 11 families shared that they had already been engaged in a Māori medium education setting, either attending Te Kōhanga Reo or Kura Kaupapa Māori. Ka Puananī shares a similar bonding pattern in relation to the socialization of other families that belong to ethnic schools (Lo Bianco, 2000) and the creation of a 'new space' where friendships, experiences and ideologies can be nurtured (Hornberger, 2005 & 2008; McCarty, 2008; Tangaere, 2006).

The theme of 'whanaukataka', the desire to come together to support each other and grow te reo, is an integral ingredient in keeping people connected. It was an important concept to almost half of the children and to all of the families. Families also described the process of 'whakawhanaukataka', where both families and children had a vision of uniting Māori speakers

from across the city to have the opportunity to speak Māori at school. Several families reflected on their prior experience within Maori medium education and identified a natural link to these settings. These six families highlighted the growing connections and inter-relationships between their children and the wider te reo Māori speaking community, including links to Kura Kaupapa and K̲āi Tahu.

The third theme that emerged from the data is the concept of 'cultural identity'; how people view themselves and compare themselves, relate to others and the development of cultural identity. Indigenous languages are inseparable from cultural identity (Cantoni, 2007). Similarities can be made between this and many other Indigenous programs, where the notion of cultural identity and appreciation permeates more strongly than academic considerations (Lo Bianco, 2000). This theme explores the role of mother tongue, the natural process of intergenerational transmission within the home, the holistic approaches of the programme and how Ka Puananī acts as a driver for cultural connectedness of whānau (families), hapū (sub tribe) and iwi (tribe).

The majority of Ka Puananī families are second language learners and bilingual in te reo Māori and English, with some families being multilingual. Fishman (1994) states that the home is the fundamental key in keeping the mother tongue and culture alive, making it the cornerstone to language and cultural revitalization (cited in Cantoni, 2007). The Ka Puananī families have therefore occupied their "rightful position as first teachers of the Indigenous language within their homes" (Cantoni, 2007, p. xii). Families identified their responsibility to use the language within their home, both at an individual and family level: "the reo is our responsibility as whānau, we can't expect others to do it for him, but we expect him to use the skills that he has" (g).

Several families identified the natural process of intergenerational transmission within their home, valuing te reo as a gift to be handed down to future generations. One family identified both future benefits and their role in it: "to sit around the tea table and converse in te reo would be ideal, for him to recognize and value the reo as a toanga [treasure], to be passed down and we were part of that growth" (f). The intergenerational component was also articulated by another whānau: (It's) intergenerational transmission', doing it for us, but also the bigger picture for future generations. The journey is worthwhile and successful. When I hear our kids speak to their kids in te reo and our mokopuna [grandchildren] speak te reo" (g). The fact that families identified that they are responsible for passing te reo on to their children, is a strong sign that families are passionate and committed to inter-generational transmission within their own home (Fishman, 1994 cited Cantoni, 2007; Hinton & Hale, 2001).

Ka Puananī families converyed he holistic approach within the programme to the wellbeing and security of not only their children and family, but the future health of te reo Māori (language).

One family realized the urgency and the accountable role they plan towards preserving the Māori language: "We are in a crisis situation with language revitalization, with the level of excellence and fluency of our native speakers steadily declining, its up to our generation to do something and for the next generation to carry it through" (b). This family realizes the rapidly declining status of te reo as less people speak Māori within their home and the potential loss of knowledge through the attrition of native speakers (Cantoni, 2007). Littlebear (2007) highlights the critical call to make a difference for the next generation: the responsibility for saving our language is ours and ours alone; we are the pivotal generation (Cantoni, 2007, p. xiii).

Further to this, Fishman (1994) suggests that a sense of responsibility to save one's language stems from a moral commitment which is imperative because it is kinship related, and the loss of a language equates to the loss of how your family lived (cited in Cantoni, 2007). Ka Puananī also operates on a kinship level, and became a driver for cultural connectedness of children and families. The strong links made between the Māori language and strengthening pride, cultural identity and emotional wellbeing was identified by several families: "to feel confident and competent to go on to a marae [ancestral meeting house] and do a mihi [formal greeting], to be comfortable as a Māori, to help him to be strong, to know who he is" (g) or another point of view "to be part of a unique rōpū [group], to have pride with te reo and pride in themselves, to be self confident and for their emotional wellbeing" (e). These families were able to identify that their children feel confident to participate proudly within their language and culture, which subsequently contributes to their pride, cultural identity and wellbeing. Language is an exterior symbol of a persons' cultural identity, critical to the development of and confirmation of self-identity (Duff & Duanduan, 2009; Penetito, 2010; Reyhner & Lockard, 2009).

The experience of being involved with Ka Puananī resulted with several families building wider cultural affiliations with other families and tribal members. The experience of participating within authentic Māori cultural practices developed a sense of belonging, pride and cultural affiliation between the participants: "She now has peers that she knows as a community. She loves 'being Māori' and has a sense of pride. At Manu Kōrero poroporoakī [farewell], when the waiata [song] started she jumped up and said "he mōhio au" [I know this] and ran off and joined them on stage" (e). Her participation in the programme provided the platform for her to participate because she felt confident in her own skills and expertise in this area.

For several other families, participating in Ka Puananī was an opportunity to connect with other families of similar whakapapa, to extend and widen their local tribal links. One child added that s/he was "kind of less whakamā [shy]… the language is living on and speaking more Māori… I've learnt more about my iwi and where they've lived" (1). The opportunity to learn about Tūpuna [ancestors] is a vital link to whakapapa and cultural identity, because it provides an overview on where they fit. One family added that the programme offered: "a chance to extend their knowledge on Ngāi Tahutanga [Ngāi Tahu culture], to live it and share it with others" (b).

Classroom knowledge was enhanced by family through a number of mechanisms: "they receive culture through Ka Puananī, through kapa haka [Māori performing arts] and dance, the process, mihimihi, we took a hikoi [walk] in November, we are in regular contact with Huirapa [local sub tribe], knowing whānau and there is a sense of belonging, we now have chunks of quality time instead of bits and pieces" (f).

Cultural identity is maintained and preserved for participants in Ka Puananī. Several family articulated their role in the responsibility of raising their children within a te reo Māori speaking home, the natural process for transmitting reo to the next generation and the role Ka Puananī plays in wider cultural revitalization. Both families and children appreciated the holistic approach towards wellbeing and/or cultural security, including benefits such as increased sense of pride, self-confidence, emotional wellbeing, and 'being Māori'. They also valued the opportunity to learn more about the local history and knowledge of K̲āi Tahu (local tribe), with two K̲āi Tahu families strengthening their local hapū (sub tribe), marae (ancestral building), and whenua (land).

Summary

In summary, children enrolled in Ka Puananī are learning and using more Māori language whilst also increasing their reading and writing skills in the target language. The language level was a challenge for half of the children and one third of the families, which motivated families to further develop the Māori language within their home environment. The teachers were recognized for their outstanding abilities, skills, knowledge and proficiency in engaging the students. Families clearly identified their own responsibility in the role of intergenerational transmission within their homes and the urgency of carrying te reo into the future. Some children and all of the families acknowledged the importance of 'whanau̲kataka̲' (relationships), intricately connecting Ka Puananī families and their shared experiences of 'whakawhanau̲kataka̲' (building relationships), deepening over time as a result of a collective shared vision.

The benefits of the programme ranged from an increased self-confidence, emotional wellbeing, appreciation of a sense of pride or stronger identity as 'being Māori'. Families also reported wider cultural affiliations, through the strengthening of links with Kura Kaupapa Māori ki Ōtepoti (Dunedin Māori language immersion school), whānau (families), hapū (sub tribe), and iwi (tribe). Ka Puananī is largely driven by committed families who are also community leaders in the Māori language, sharing a vision of creating a Māori speaking community for their children and for the survival of Māori language in Dunedin. These key leaders have the skills, drive, determination, expertise, commitment and experience to make a vision become a reality. Ka Puananī children and families have achieved their three initially set goals: increased in te reo me ōna tika̲ka (Māori language and cultural skills), increased greater links between the

Dunedin Māori speaking community, and established and maintained a cohort of Māori speaking children.

Image 5: Photo of participating Ka Puananī students (23 April 2010, photo courtesy of Otago Daily Times).

Ka Puananī o te reo is an effective means of te reo me ōna tikaka (Māori language and cultural enrichment) from the perspective of the children and families; it is tino rakatirataka (self-determination) in action, a Māori speaking community committed to thinking and working outside of the square to meet the educational needs of their children, thereby meeting the aspirational desires of families and ancestors. Ka Puananī has provided a portal for children and families to access and enhance their cultural and historical knowledge of the local environment and to become more involved within the local iwi and Māori community.

Glossary

Aotearoa	*New Zealand*
Hapū	*Sub tribe*
He mōhio au	*I know this*
He pai te mahi	*The work is good*
Hikoi	*Walk*
Huirapa	*Local sub-tribe*
Iwi	*Tribe*
Kāi Tahu/ Ngāi Tahu	*Principal Southern Tribe late 17th century*
Kāi Tahu whānau/ whanui/ iwi	*Family, families, tribe*
Kapa Haka	*Māori performing arts*
Kaiako	*Teacher*
Kanohi ki kanohi	*Face to face*
Ka Puananī o Te Reo Māori	*One Day Māori language programme*
Ka Puananī whānau	*Families of the programme*

Kaupapa	*Theme*
Kaupapa Māori research	*Māori research*
Kaupapa Māori framework	*Māori framework*
Kete	*Basket*
Kōrero	*Story*
Kōrero I te reo Māori ānake	*Speak only Māori*
Kupu	*Words*
Kura Auraki	*English immersion*
Kura Kaupapa Māori	*Māori immersion primary*
Kura Kaupapa Māori ki Ōtepoti	*Dunedin Māori immersion*
Kura Reo	*Tribal based Māori language week*
Marae	*Ancestral meeting house*
Mahi	*Work*
Manu Kōrero	*Māori language speech competitions*
Matua / whaea	*Male/ female*
Mau rākau	*Traditional Māori weaponry*
Mihi	*Formal greeting*
Mokopuna	*Grandchildren*
Ngāi Tahutanga	*Ngāi Tahu culture*
Rakatahi	*Teenager*
Rōpū	*Group*
Poroporoakī	*Farewell*
Puketeraki Marae	*Ancestral meeting house in Karitane*
Taoka	*Treasure*
Tamariki	*Children*
Tamaiti	*Child*
Te Ara Reo	*Māori language programme*
Te ao Māori	*Māori world-view*
Te Kohanga Reo	*Māori language nest*
Te reo Māori	*Māori language*
Te reo me ōna tikaka	*Māori language and culture*
Te Wananga ō Aotearoa	*Māori University*
Tīpuna	*Ancestors*
Tino Rakatirataka	*Self determination*
Tuakana / teina	*Older/ younger*
Waiata	*Song*
Whakamā	*Shy, embarrassed*
Whānau	*Family/ families*
Whanaukataka	*Relationships*
Whakawhanaukataka	*Building relationships*
Whenua	*Land*

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Images
Image 1: Dandelion metaphor and Ka Puananī o te reo Māori.
Image 2: Representational diagram of Ka Puanani o te reo Māori as a mobile satellite classroom, delivering quality Māori language education one-day per week to children from eight primary/ intermediate schools (created by author 20.09.2015).
Image 3: Mātauranga Tūhāhā, Indigenous Knowledge Base Adopted by Ka Puananī o Te Reo Māori Programme (Maniapoto, 2011, slide four).
Image 4: Māori Flax Kete Three Baskets of Knowledge: http://www.fromnz.co.nz/Maori-Flax-Kete-Three-Baskets-of-Knowledge-in-frame-p-2074.html
Image 5: Photo of participating Ka Puananī students (23 April 2010, photo courtesy of Otago Daily Times).

Journalism Studies for the Indigenous Sámi: From preparatory courses to worldwide Indigenous Master's Studies

Torkel Rasmussen

Abstract

Journalism studies for the Indigenous Sámi people began with one year of preparatory studies at Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino Norway in 1992. In 2000, Sámi University College launched a pilot project for a separate Sámi Journalism course. This course developed into a permanent Bachelor's program in the years to follow. Sámi language is the primary language of instruction in this program, and students are trained to function as journalists in Sámi society with special skills to work in Sámi media and with Sámi language as their working language. In January 2015, Sámi University College launched a new Master's program, the Master of Sámi Journalism from an Indigenous Perspective program. The Candidate and Bachelor's programs were developed to meet the needs of professional journalists in a growing Sámi media field prioritizing Sámi language production, and the Master's program aims to train experts with Indigenous media expertise for leadership positions in Sámi and other Indigenous media and academic institutions.

Keywords: Sámi media, media education, journalism studies, Indigenous education, language revitalization

Introduction

The main subject of this article is the establishment and development of journalism education for Sámis. I will address; 1) the history of Sámi Journalism Studies at Sámi University College, 2) how the program developed from preparatory studies to encourage Sámi students to start studying journalism in Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish colleges, 3) how the Sámi University College established a Bachelor's Program of Sámi Journalism and 4) established an international Master's program of Indigenous Journalism named "Master in Sámi Journalism from an Indigenous Perspective" in 2015.

As I will show, the development is dependent on multiple factors: individuals, innovation in one Sámi institution, decisions and allocations from Norwegian governmental bodies, cooperation with Sámi media, and support from non-Sámi academics in the field of media studies and research.

Nevertheless, it is impossible for me to write about these processes without presenting myself to the audience. Sámi media, Sámi language, and Sámi journalism studies are important parts of my life. I am a Sámi and speak the North-Sámi language. For most of my career, I have worked in Sámi media or within Journalism Studies at the Sámi University College in

Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino Norway. I hold a Master of Sámi Language from the University of Tromsø and finished two years of Journalism Studies at the Oslo University College in 1997. Since 2001, I have held a leading role within the Sámi Journalism Studies at Sámi University College and have completed a doctoral degree in Sámi sociolinguistic studies. My doctoral thesis (Rasmussen, 2013) investigates the ethnolinguistic vitality of Sámi languages and media's role in language revitalization. It is natural for me to analyze the development of Sámi media and Sámi journalism studies not only as a part of professionalization of Sámi media, democracy building, and empowering of an Indigenous minority, but also in a broader context in which Sámi media is a part of the revitalization process for Sámi languages and culture. This process started slowly after World War II, but gained strength and power in the 1990s.

Method and Theory

Empiric materials used for this article are mainly documents such as curricula from the Journalism Studies program and decisions from the Sámi University College bodies, government reports, and the work of other researchers. For the presentation of Sámi people and Sámi media, I have collected information from Sámi media houses and previous research reports (Hætta, 2003; Ijäs, 2011; Lehtola, 2001; Marklin, 2003; NRK Sápmi, 2015; Rasmussen, 2014; Skogerbø, 2000; SVT Sápmi, 2015; YLE Sámi, 2013).

Information about the initiation of Sámi journalism studies and the establishment and the first years of the Sámi Journalism Studies program are significantly detailed in Dr. Rune Ottosen's publications (Ottosen, 1996, 2009). To describe the development of the College's two year preparatory studies program in Sámi journalism into a Bachelor's of Sámi Journalism, I have used my own notes from this period, course curricula, and documents from the Sámi University College bodies. Information about the Master in Sámi Journalism from an Indigenous Perspective program are excerpted from the Master's program plan (Sámi University College, 2012a) and I also paraphrase the ideas of Dr. Lia Markelin from her presentation of the Master program (Markelin, 2014).

The liberal perspective on media is widely accepted in Scandinavian countries as it is elsewhere in the western world: media has a key task in the fight for fair forms of government and democracy. The media should be forum for public debate and dialogue, a meeting place for governing and control, and it should provide channels for information from government to citizens and from community groups to government. From the 1970s onwards, minorities worldwide have increasingly demanded access to communications and media on their own terms, not least with regard to media in their own language. Sámi media is often mentioned as playing a double role: Sámi media "shall have an inside role governing and controlling Sámi politics and bureaucracy but also at the same time governing and controlling state authorities policy towards the Sámi people" (Skogerbø, 2000, pp. 11-12).

Sámi politicians and media leaders have stressed many times how important Sámi media is and how important it is to have Sámi journalism studies to professionalize staff to work in Sámi media. Interestingly enough, the arguments for a free and vital Sámi media sector seldom operate alone in Sámi politics. Sámi politicians and activists also often point out that Sámi media plays an important role in Sámi language revitalization and identity building. The concept of language revitalization is a sociolinguistic term that includes all efforts that increase the use of a language and the number of users (Huss, 1999; Paulston, Chen, and Connerty, 1993; Rasmussen, 2014).

Sámi People and Sámi Media

Because both Sámi people and Sámi media might be unfamiliar topics to readers, I will provide a short explanation of both of them. Sámis are Indigenous people in four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. We can only estimate that there might be more than 100,000 people belonging to the group (Pettersen, 2012; Store Norske Leksikon, 2015). Several censuses and reports from authorities and researchers suggest the number of speakers of Sámi languages are 30,000 to 35,000 (Rasmussen, 2014). Among them, about 90 percent speak the North-Sámi language and the latter 10 percent speak one of nine other languages. According to UNESCOs *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger,* all 10 Sámi langauges are endangered (Sammallahti, 1998; Moseley, 2015).

Sámi Media Overview

The state of media for Sámi speakers is recognized as one of the best for such a small minority, despite the fact that about two-thirds of the Sámi population do not speak Sámi. There is a daily newspaper, *Ávvir*, published in North-Sámi. On television, there are cultural programs in Sámi, programs for children and youth, and daily news. There are also six to eight hours of daily radio transmission (NRK Sápmi, 2015; SVT Sápmi, 2015; YLE Sámi, 2013).

There are other media outlets as well that are bilingual or Sámi only. *Nuorttanaste*, a Christian newspaper, is published monthly in North-Sámi. There is also *Š – nuoraidbláđđi*, a magazine for youth, a women's magazine called *Gába,* and an academic magazine, *Sámis*, published two to six times a year. A newspaper called *Ságat,* and two magazines, *Samefolket* and *Sámi Nuorra*, consider Sámis as their main audience, but they produce their editorial content mainly in Norwegian or Swedish. Television and radio programs in Sámi languages are mainly in North-Sámi language, but South-Sámi, Lule-Sámi, Inari-Sámi and Skolt-Sámi are also regularly used (Ijäs, 2011).

Sámi TV and radio programs are produced in journalistically independent Sámi units in the Norwegian, Swedish and Finish public broadcasters NRK, SVT, SR and YLE (Markelin, 2003). These Sámi units do cooperate, especially with respect to daily TV–news producing, which are captioned into the majority languages and broadcasted throughout the three countries (NRK Sápmi, 2015; SVT Sápmi, 2015; YLE Sámi, 2013).

Sámi Media Development

Although Sámi print media has an old history that started in the 1870s and Sámi radio emerged in the years after WW2, it is fair to say that the Sámi language media sector was small up until the 1970s. Newspaper production at that time was sporadic and small. Radio transmissions were limited to five minutes per day on weekdays, and there were no TV programs. During the period 1970 to 1990, the situation changed as the National Broadcasting Companies started to build up their Sámi units and a Sámi language newspaper, *Sámi Áigi*, was established (Hætta, 2003; Ijäs, 2011; Lehtola, 2001).

Nevertheless, the last 25 years have been a period of rapid growth in the Sámi media sector. In 1990, approximately 60 people were employed in the Sámi language media sector. The biggest Sámi media house at that time was NRK Sámi Radio, which employed 50 percent of people working in Sámi media. In 2015, an estimated 200 people were working in Sámi language media, with 50 percent of this population working in the Sámi unit of NRK, although it has since changed name to NRK Sápmi. (Hætta, 2003; Ijäs, 2011; Näkkäläjärvi, 2015; NRK Sápmi, 2015; SVT Sápmi, 2015; YLE Sámi, 2013).

This rapid development during and after the 1980s was a result of a paradigm change in Sámi policy in all three countries from one of assimilation to one of support for Sámi people and their languages. These changes are also visible in the media sector as subsidies for printed media has increased, time on ear has increased both for radio and TV, and the number of employees in Sámi media houses has expanded (Markelin, 2003; Rasmussen, 2014).

Journalism Studies for Sámis

The changes in Sámi policy on the macro level was a push factor for the establishment of journalism studies for Sámis. Another factor was Sámi media's choice to use Sámi languages and especially North-Sámi language as their main language of production. Still, a report from 1991 pointed out that there was a lack of educated Sámi journalists, and Sámi media at the time expressed a need for educated journalists fluent in the language with insights related to the dynamics and nuances regarding their own society. While the journalists that were working in Sámi media were often well educated, and many of them schoolteachers, only four of 38 editorial staff members employed in Sámi media were educated journalists (Ottosen, 1996).

NRK Sámi Radio also stressed a recruitment need of approximately five journalists every year. There was also a need for more educated journalists in the other broadcasting outlets and in the Sámi newspaper and magazines (Ottosen, 2009).

Initiating face

Journalism student Magne Ove Varsi first mentioned the need for an established Sámi journalism studies program in 1983 in a small dissertation at the Norwegian Journalism College in Oslo (Varsi, 1983). Varsi, a Sámi and native speaker of North-Sámi language, later played a key role in both Sámi journalism and Sámi journalism studies. The topic reached the Norwegian public sphere in 1987, when a Norwegian governmental report on Sámi cultural rights suggested establishing a Sámi journalism studies program (Norwegian Ministry of Culture, 1987).

The Sámi University College was established extremely quickly, just two years after the governmental report was released.. However, journalism studies were not a part of the Sámi University College's studies from the beginning, as the college mainly was a teacher training college with a special responsibility for Sámi language studies. Instead, the late 1980s and early 1990s became an intensive lobbying and negotiation period for Sámi journalism studies (Ottosen, 1996).

The next step was taken by the College of Nordland, which already had a Journalism Studies program and special responsibility for Northern Norway. They established a Sámi journalism studies committee and appointed Varsi to lead the work. The committee's final report pointed out that there was a lack of educated Sámi journalists and great need for Sámi journalism studies, and they consequently recommended establishing Sami journalism studies as a three-year pilot project (Ottosen, 1996).

Pilot Project

This three-year pilot project was sanctioned by the Regional College Board for Finnmark and College Board in Nordland (Varsi, 1994, as cited by Ottosen, 1996). After allocations from the Ministry of Education's Research and Church Affairs, the pilot project started at the Sámi College in Kautokeino in collaboration with the College Centre in Bodo, Nordland. Sámi University College was responsible for organizing a training course in Sámi language and Sámi society, and the Journalism Studies in Bodo organized a two-year applied curriculum in journalism for Sámi students, with Varsi appointed to oversee the project (Ottosen, 1996).

The first cohort of 10 students were enrolled in 1992 at the Sámi University College. During the years 1992 to 1999, 28 students completed the first year of studies in Kautokeino. Unfortunately, most of them never made it to further journalism studies. I have not found the

exact numbers of students who continued and completed journalism studies, but it seems to be less than 10, which is a significant dropout rate (Ottosen, 2009; Norwegian Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2001-2002). In a report from the pilot project, Varsi concluded that there were problems with conducting an education based on two teaching environments, and it required extra motivation among students to move out of the Sámi areas to go to school in Norwegian, Swedish or Finnish cities. He proposed the creation of a journalism studies program permanently affiliated with and located at the Sámi University College in Kautokeino (Varsi 1994, as cited by Ottosen, 1996).

Candidate of Journalism

The lobbying for separate Sámi journalism studies continued in the late 1990s, and by 2000, Sámi University College received permission and grants from the Norwegian Government to start a new pilot project. This time, Sámi University College was in charge of the whole study and all education was at the campus in Kautokeino. Still, curriculum and organization for the Sámi Journalism Studies program had drawn most of its inspiration from Norwegian Journalism Studies. Varsi was appointed to oversee and lead the pilot project and Dr. Ottosen received a position as an Adjunct Professor, which he occupied from 2000 to 2003, and he played an important role in the establishment of Sámi journalism studies (Ottosen, 2009).

Eighteen students were enrolled in the first cohort in 2000, and 15 students graduated as candidates of journalism in the spring 2003. Although the program drew inspiration from Norwegian journalism studies, I would stress that it was also very different in some essential points. Sámi language was the working language in nearly all teaching, and as stated in the curriculum, the program "provides students with special skills for journalistic work in Sámi language media on topics that are particularly relevant in areas with Sámi populations [and] skills for journalistic work with minority and Indigenous issues and in multicultural societies" (Sámi University College, 2000).

On the other hand, the curricula for Sámi Journalism Studies and Journalism Studies in Oslo University College were very similar in the beginning of the third millennium (Oslo University College, 2000; Sámi University College, 2000). The program was divided into three substantive areas: Journalism with Social Sciences, Sámi Journalist Language, and Media Science. All streams aimed to provide students with basic theoretical and methodological knowledge of journalistic activities. Names, contents, and length of subjects were similar and they had the same amount of working practice in media. Nevertheless, the studies in Oslo aimed to provide students with skills to work in Norwegian media, with knowledge of Norwegian and international society and a wide range of journalistic styles in the Norwegian language. In the other part of the country, the Sámi Journalism Studies program aimed to provide students with

skills to work in Sámi media, with knowledge of Sámi society, Indigenous societies worldwide, and a wide range of journalistic styles in the Sámi language.

Crises for Journalism Studies

Towards the end of the pilot project period, Sámi University College experienced a budget crisis that also affected their Journalism Studies programs. Ottosen (2009) describes this crisis in detail, and this chapter is heavily influenced by his work.

I had taken over the role from Varsi to oversee and lead the Sámi Journalism Studies progam in 2001. Together with Ottosen, I took a considerable amount of time to ensure that Sámi Journalism Studies had enough money during the pilot project period, and that Sámi Journalism Studies could continue after the pilot project. The Ministry of Education and Research signaled at that time that it was desirable that the Sámi Journalism Studies offerings continued, but this had to be done within the framework of the existing budget. Instead of strengthening the academic community in Sámi University College as part of plans to become a scientific institution, the Ministry set various group of students and academics against each other.

For the University College, the message was clear: If we wanted to continue the Journalism Studies program, it had to be on expense of other studies at Sámi University College. The University College had on several occasions argued with the Ministry to get extra funding for Journalism Studies, but had been met with little understanding of the costs of providing academically defensible studies.

In 2003, Ottosen and I signed a demand for more resources to realize the plan to make the studies permanent. In a letter to the Ministry of Culture and Education, we pointed out that Norway was committed to offering separate Sámi Journalism Studies. In 1998, the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages came into force. In the ratifying process, Norway had voluntarily committed to offering separate Sámi journalism studies. The Charters Article 11 on media in section 1g states that the country will "support the training of journalists and other staff for media using regional or minority languages" (Ottosen & Rasmussen, 2003). Norwegian authorities were therefore warned not to consider the establishment of permanent a Sámi Journalism Studies program only as an internal affair in the annual budget meeting at Sámi University College.

The crisis in 2003 was solved in the spring of the same year, with an additional grant making it possible to plan for the future. However, it was not solved before the leadership group at the Sámi University College indicated that they would resign their offices if the Norwegian government would not allocate grants needed for the budget. Due to the chaotic situation in the spring of 2003, it was impossible to start up the studies with a new cohort in fall 2003. The

situation for funding was still uncertain, there was not enough time to recruit and enroll students in a serious way, and the majority of employees chose to resign. In the autumn of 2003, I was the only one left and my work became to prepare for a new cohort to start in autumn 2004.

Towards a Bachelor's Degree

Before the pilot project ended, we evaluated the program and reported the last three years of education in details (Sámi University College, 2003). Problems pointed out in the evaluation report included the feedback that students had not learned enough about specific Sámi and Indigenous issues during the pilot project. We would like our students to know and be able to critically analyze Sámi and other Indigenous societies and cultures, and the dynamic between Indigenous societies and majority. They should have a better understanding of Indigenous medias' situations and they should learn more about Sámi and other Indigenous peoples storytelling traditions to be able to use them in their professional work as journalists. For us, it was obvious that they could not learn this all in two years and that a third year of education was necessary.

The board of Sámi University College considered our report and gave guidelines approving the criticisms mentioned above. They decided to start a permanent Journalism Studies program in the autumn 2004, deciding there should be two years of Candidate Studies of Journalism and a voluntary third Bachelor's year. My work became to integrate Sámi and Indigenous issues in a good way in the Candidate Studies program, and to plan a third year of more advanced studies of Sámi and Indigenous journalism. In addition, I had to adjust the program and all subjects, according to the Bologna process that reshaped the entire university sector in Norway at that time. Mainly, this meant a division into shorter subjects and a new evaluation system, as we were to adopt the ECTS credit system.

The new program plan still mainly followed the same structure as the other journalism studies programs in Norway. It was nevertheless Sámi in content, and in practice. Journalistic techniques and methods were taught in Sámi, and all practical work is done in Sámi. The focus on both teaching and journalistic homework is in Sámi or Indigenous issues at the local, national, or international level. The aim for the third year of Bachelor's studies was to give the students deeper insight in Sámi and Indigenous journalism. Five subjects were specially designed for this purpose: Indigenous people in national media (10 ECTS), Storytelling– Indigenous Peoples Oral Tradition (10 ECTS), Basic Principles for Indigenous Journalism and Minority Media (10 ECTS), Indigenous and Sámi public sphere (10 ECTS), and Bachelor's thesis (20 ECTS).

Implementation of Bachelor Studies 2004 to 2005

Briefly explained, the implementation of the Sámi Journalism Studies happened smoothly at the Sámi University College in 2004. The internal bodies at the College approved the program plans for a Candidate Studies of Sámi Journalism program and a year of Bachelor's studies of Sámi and Indigenous Journalism. The Ministry allocated grants for the programs and it was possible to reengage some of the former employees. Fifteen students started in the new program and 14 students graduated as candidates of journalism in 2007. Some of them continued and achieved a Bachelor's degree of journalism in the spring of 2008, together with some of the students from the first cohort.

When the first Bachelor's Group graduated in 2008, the Sámi Journalism Studies program stopped temporarily for a year due to building of a new science building in Kautokeino named Diehtosiida. In the construction period, there was a lack of classrooms and other facilities. However, the new building offered excellent possibilities for all studies, including journalism. At the same time, there was some internal reorganization at Sámi University College, which effected the Journalism Studies program too. The College's board decided to transfer the position as sound and vision technician to the IKT unit and the Sámi language teacher to the Language faculty. Necessary resources were still available for the Journalism Studies, but there was no longer anyone responsible for media language or radio/television training. In 2009, 11 students were enrolled in the Candidate Studies of Sámi Journalism. Nine of the students graduated in 2011 and six students chose to continue for a bachelor year in 2011 to 2012.

My own engagement in Sámi journalism studies was also interrupted for a period. In 2007 to 2008, I was overseeing a project aimed to establish a Sámi radio station on the Kola Peninsula in Russia. In 2008 to 2011, I was engaged in a sociolinguistic project at Sámi University College, which gave me the opportunity to complete my doctorate degree (Rasmussen, 2013). At that time, Dr. Arne Johansen Ijäs was offered a permanent job at the Sámi Journalism Studies program and he was often assisted by a journalism teacher, Ann-Irene Buljo. Ijäs is still working with the program, and he has done some interesting research on Sámi press history and discourse analyses on Sámi issues in Norwegian media (Ijäs 2005, 2011 & 2012).

As illustrated above, the Sámi Journalism Studies' academic staff has primarily been comprised of two people. We have often been dependant upon support from other academics and experts in the fields of media and education, and we have recruited them with help of the adjunct professors or through a network established by the Nordic Cooperation Committee for Journalist Educations (Nordic committee, 2015). The scholars and researchers that have contributed to the program in presenting guest lectures have been from many colleges in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and from institutions internationally. This group of lecturers has included distinguished leaders and representatives from Sámi media who are experts in their fields within Sámi society.

These lecturers have made great contributions to the studies: Rough estimates show that guest lecturers have conducted one third of the program lectures.

The Bachelor's Program

The board of the Sámi University College made a new decision concerning the Journalism Studies program in 2012. Since then, all students in the Sámi Journalism Studies program are enrolled into a full three year Bachelor's Program of Journalism (Sámi University College, 2012b). The former system of two years of candidate studies is no longer an option.

As shown in Figure 1, the program plan for the Bachelor's of Sámi Journalism consists of subjects similar to those found in Journalism Studies. It is obviously a primary goal to prepare students for work as professional journalists in media. News Journalism, Feature Journalism, Commentary and Culture Journalism, Investigative Journalism and Editorial Work Experiences are courses that comprise important and extensive parts of the program.

Term 1	Term 2	Term 3	Term 4	Term 5	Term 6
News Journalism I (15 ECTS)	News Journalism II (15 ECTS)	Feature Journalism and Media Specializing (15 ECTS)	Commentary and Culture Journalism (10 ECTS)	Investigative Journalism (10 ECTS)	Basic Principles for Indigenous Journalism and Minority Media (10 ECTS)
Sámi and Indigenous Society Studies (10 ECTS)	Editorial Work part 1 (10 ECTS)	Media Science 10 (ECTS)	Short Interdisciplinary Thesis (10 ECTS)	Indigenous People in National Media (5 ECTS)	Indigenous and Sámi Public Sphere (5 ECTS)
			Editorial Work part 2 (5 ECTS)	Storytelling – Indigenous Peoples' Oral Tradition (10 ECTS)	Bachelor's Thesis (15 ECTS)
Journalist Language 1 (5 ECTS)	Journalist Language 2 (5 ECTS)	Journalist Language 3 (5 ECTS)	Journalist Language 4 (5 ECTS)	Journalist Language 5 (5 ECTS)	

Figure 1: Subjects of the Sámi Bachelor's of Journalism program offered during the program.

On the other hand, other subjects focus on special Sámi or Indigenous issues using normal journalistic or academic techniques and methods in teaching and student work. Course offerings with these foci include Sámi and Indigenous Society Studies (10 ECTS), Indigenous People in

National Media (5 ECTS), Storytelling – Indigenous Peoples Oral Tradition (10 ECTS), Basic Principles for Indigenous Journalism and Minority Media (10 ECTS), and Indigenous and Sámi public sphere (5 ECTS). It must also be stressed that the aim of the Media Science (10 ECTS) course is to introduce the students to the role and power of Sámi, Nordic, and Indigenous mass media. The focus on both the Short Interdisciplinary Thesis (10 ECTS) and Bachelor's Thesis (15 ECTS) must be Sámi, other Indigenous peoples, or minorities.

Sámi language as a journalistic language also has a more central position than the national language has in Journalism Studies in Nordic countries. The Bachelor's plan has taken into account Sámi language's unique situation as a threatened Indigenous language and a minority language in all countries of residence. Journalistic Language is a 5 ECTS subject in terms one to five, making a total of 25 credits throughout the program.

Master's Program

The position of adjunct professor was vacant for a short period after the second pilot project, after which time Sámi University College appointed Tom Moring from the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki to the position. In one of our first meetings, we discussed the professionalization of Sámi journalism studies and the development of an academic environment in this field. Moring asked us how many Sámis we could get into a doctoral program of Sámi journalism and media science, and my answer was "probably none", because at that time there was only one Sámi person with a master's degree in journalism. Moring's reply was, "Well, then we have to start a master's program." If not before, the idea of a master of Sámi journalism was born.

According to Markelin (2014) the need for more education in the field of journalism had been discussed for a long time in the international Indigenous community, and had been examined at United Nations (UN) conferences on Indigenous media held in Madrid in 1998 and in New York in 2000. Indigenous media is an expansive sector and is in continuous need of educated journalists. The education of journalists demands, however, a supply of teachers in Indigenous journalism studies. Another development influencing the field of Sámi journalism studies took place in Indigenous television broadcasting. During the early 2000s, NRK Sápmi had started a worldwide cooperation with other Indigenous television broadcasting companies, and in 2008, they were active establishing the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Network (WITBN), which arranged the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference (WITBC) every second year (NRK Sápmi, 2015; WITBN, 2015).

Markelin (2014) describes these events as mind openers. The small academic environment that had been built up around Sámi Journalism studies followed the UN conferences, the establishment of WITBN, and the WITBC conferences. They realized that an expanding

Indigenous media industry would require experts and policy makers with Indigenous media expertise. There had been an increasing demand for research and statistics on Indigenous media and journalism, and as international cooperation created more Indigenous media options, increased knowledge and networks were required. However, at the same time, Indigenous journalism lacked centers for education and research.

It was not clear whether Sámi University College would take a leading position in establishing the Master's Studies of Journalism program at an international level, as the College was small and its were resources limited. However, it soon became clear that there were a few players on the field. This knowledge led to the conclusion that it might be possible to offer a Sámi Master's of Journalism program in combination with an international Master's of Indigenous Journalism. Sámi University College responded to this challenge and tasked Markelin with developing a curriculum for the Master's program of Indigenous Journalism.

Planning Process

Markelin had already made an important contribution to research on Sámi media. Markelin defended her doctoral thesis, *Media, Ethnicity and Power: A Comparative Analysis of the Nordic Sámi Media Environment in Relation to State Policies,* at the University of Bradford in 2003 (Markelin, 2003). She has held an adjunct associate professor position at the Sámi University College since 2009, and has given several lectures for the journalism students at the College.

From 2008 to 2012, during the planning process for the Master's program in Indigenous Journalism, Markelin held discussions, hearings, and presentations with and for Sámi and other Indigenous media including WITBN and WINHEC. Based on the input received, she and the planning process team wrote the draft for the Master's program. An important part of the planning team was Dr. Charles Husband, Markelin's former supervisor from the University of Bradford, who visited Sámi University College several times during this process and played an active role in developing the Master's program. Sámi media leaders were also involved (Markelin, 2014). Finally, the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT), an independent expert body under the Ministry of Education and Research, accepted the proposal for the Master's Program in 2012 (2012). The goal was to enroll 15 students every three years, with approximately five international students and 10 Sámi students (NOKUT, 2012).

Students and Organization

The first cohort of 14 students started the Master's program in January 2015. In this first cohort, 50 percent are foreign students and 50 percent are Sámi students. These students are currently

enrolled for full time studies for three semesters (90 ECTS) or four semesters (120 ECTS). Students may choose between a short (30 ECTS) or a long (60 ECTS) master's thesis. The option for four semesters of study for a total of 120 credits (ECTS) with a long master's thesis provides competence and eligibility for doctoral studies. Due to the international customization offered, it is possible to meet the course requirements in English. Because of the diversity in the intended student group and the Sámi University College's language policy to promote Sámi languages, students can complete all their written work in either Sámi or English (Sámi University College, 2012a).

Aim of the Program, Structure, and Courses

The aim of the Master's program, as pointed out in the program curriculum, is to provide Indigenous and other communities with media professionals, academics, and policy makers in the field of media with experience in an Indigenous and multicultural setting.

An important aspect of the program is to enable students to reflect upon what it means to be an Indigenous journalist, and what, if any, bearings this perspective has on journalistic practice. The program offers theoretical and research based knowledge of journalism and of the methods and skills that are required for working as journalists in advanced positions (Sámi University College, 2012a). The program structure, shown in Figure 2, consists of mandatory courses, optional courses, and two alternatives for the master's thesis (Sámi University College, 2012a).

Term 1	1. What is Indigenous Journalism? 2. Ethics, Law and Professional Identity 3. Optional course (e.g. Indigenous Societies and Structures)	(10 ECTS) (10 ECTS) (10 ECTS)
Term 2	4. Advanced Journalism Course for Indigenous Journalism/Optional course 5. Theory and Methodology	(10 ECTS) (20 ECTS)
Term 3	6a. Master's thesis writing	(30 ECTS)
Term 4	6b. Master's thesis writing (optional)	(30 ECTS)

Figure 2: The structure of the Master's in Sámi Journalism from an Indigenous Perspective program

Figure 2 shows that the program seeks to provide advanced instruction and learning in core areas of journalism and media studies. Mandatory courses include What is Indigenous Journalism? (10 ECTS); Ethics, Law and Professional Identity (10 ECTS); and Journalism Research: Theory and Methods (20 ECTS). Optional courses include Indigenous Societies and Structures (10 ECTS) and the Advanced Journalism Course for Indigenous Journalism (10

ECTS), as well as other courses that amount to 10 + 10 ECTS and that strengthen a specific area of Indigenous journalism. These courses can be focused on matters related to the Sámi language, such as Sámi language and writing, or Sámi history; Indigenous issues; Indigenous philosophy; or other Indigenous studies or media or journalism courses.

The aim of the master's thesis is to deepen the student's knowledge within the journalistic academic field and sharpen the students' analytical skills. The master's thesis can be either 30 ETCS or 60 ETCS in scope. A thesis of 60 ETCS is focused on providing scientific excellence with an aim to prepare the student for further academic training at postgraduate level. A thesis of 60 ECTS leads to competence for doctoral research.

Conclusion

The Journalism Studies program at Sámi University College was established to meet the need in Sámi society for professional journalists in Sámi media. Since 2000, three cohorts of students, 38 in all, have graduated as Candidates of Sámi Journalism, and 12 of them have graduated with a Bachelor's of Sámi Journalism. Despite the fact that only one-third of the Sami population speaks Sámi, Sámi media has prioritized Sámi language production. On the basis of that fact, the development of Sami media can be interpreted equally as part of a language revitalization process as it is democracy-building and empowering to Indigenous peoples.

Sámi journalism studies, from preparatory studies to master's studies, has heavily depended on the work of both Sámi individuals and non-Sámi academics, resource allocation and permission from governmental bodies in Norway, and innovation at a Sámi institution for higher education. The necessity for governmental approval and support might be interpreted as a lack of Sámi self-determination because it was not possible for any Sámi body to start journalism studies at any level when Sámi society had identified the need for education. The dependence on non-Sámi academics in the initial phase of Sámi journalism studies is understandable, as there have been very few Sámis educated for professional media work, and even fewer possess an academic background in the fields of media or journalism.

The Master's in Sámi Journalism from an Indigenous Perspective program has just started, and it is too early to draw any conclusions on the effect it might have on Sámi, on academia, and on Indigenous media. The years to come will show if we are able to recruit students to our programs and succeed in building up a core of academics with Sámi and other Indigenous backgrounds to take leading positions in media and journalism studies.

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Indigenous languages of the North: A comparative analysis of the language situations in Topolinoe in Sakha and Guovdgeaidnu in Sápmi

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Abstract

This article examines the situations of two Indigenous languages in two Indigenous communities of Topolinoe in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) of the Russian Federation and Guovdageaidnu in Norway. The goal of this research was to assess the present situation of the heritage languages in these communities, which include the Even language in Topolinoe and the Sámi language in Guovdageaidnu. The materials analysed in this article were collected using questionnaires, which contained questions about the level of language proficiency, language use and linguistic identity. We also conducted freestyle interviews with seven informants in Topolinoe. The article is of comparative nature, and we consider similarities as well as differences in these communities.

Introduction

Topolinoe

Topolinoe is a rural settlement located at a distance of 700 km northeast of the capital city of Yakutsk of the Sakha Republic in the Russian Federation. The main occupation of the population is reindeer husbandry, which employs about 60% of the population[1]. In 2014, there were 913 residents in the village[2]. According to the information received from Nadezhda Klysheyko-Kladkina, the mayor of Topolinoe, the Evens, an Indigenous people of the Sakha Republic, make up 82% of the total population of the village. The construction of the village began in late 1960s (Ulturgasheva, 2012). In 1976, the village was officially recognised as the centre of the sovkhoz (state farm). Before that time, there was a village called Tompo[3], which was set up by the state for reindeer herders and was located 25 km west of Topolinoe. Tompo

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[1] Oral information received from Nadezhda Kladkina-Klysheiko, the mayor of the village

[2] Oral information received from Nadezhda Kladkina-Klysheiko, the mayor of the village

[3] The settlement was named after the river. The traditional name of the river in the Even is Tomkoruk, but the Soviet authorities perceived this name as Tompo and it was entered on the map becoming the official name of the village and the river. Topolinoe is a Russian name.

residents were resettled in Topolinoe, the relocation occurred until the mid-1990s (Ulturgasheva, 2012).

Guovdageaidnu

Guovdageaidnu is a municipality in Finnmark, the northernmost county of Norway. In the municipality, there are several settlements, the largest of which has given its name to the municipality. Guovdageaidnu is the centre of the municipality. According to the Central Statistical Office, 2,914 residents were registered throughout the municipality (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2015). In 2012, there were 377 effort-years among herders in Guovdageaidnu[4] (Totalregnskap, 2013). A large percentage of the municipality's population is Sámi. In a survey conducted from 1998 to 1999, 93.2% of junior high school students in the municipality replied that the language of communication with peers was the Sámi language, and 88.8% of those surveyed responded that Sámi was the first or one of the first spoken languages in the family (Dannemark and Johansen, 2001). Most of those who speak the Sámi language also speak Norwegian and are bilingual at a level where they can use both languages in all necessary situations. In 1997, Nils Øivind Helander suggested that, "Today, the majority of those who speak Sámi are bilingual because they also speak Finnish or Norwegian or Swedish or Russian [and] in the border areas many speak three languages" (p. 151).

Statement of purpose

Belolubskaya (2012) describes the situation of the languages of the indigenous peoples of Sakha and concludes as follows[5]:

In the current context exists serious problems in the current linguistic situation:
1. Languages of minority peoples of the North are close to extinction;
2. A lack of a center of communication;
3. A decrease in interest of the language and the culture, deterioration of the value of the role of national languages for the preservation of the ethnicities of the North;
4. Loss of the links between generations which has an impact on the functioning of the language;
5. A decrease in the number of elementary schools which results in children using a different language for communication as of a very young age;
6. The language is only preserved by older generations;

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[4] Data as of this writing (08/19/2015)

[5] English translation based on French text.

7. In elementary schools there is a decrease in the number of schooling hours for the supposed reasoning of optimization in general schooling". (Belolubskaya 2012: 218E)

The language is a unique value, it's the only type of formative culture of the people to which it belongs, because it keeps its history, its secular mythology, and its ancient traditions. Because, simply, without language there's no ethnicity.

Fishman (1991) defines eight stages in describing the state of languages in society based on observations of the various approaches to language revitalization. Stage 8 is particularly vulnerable, while the language of the Stage 1 is the least vulnerable:

Stage 8: The language is used only by elders and it is not used in everyday life.
Stage 7: The language is used in everyday life in the existing society but only by elders.
Stage 6: The language is the natural language of communication between children and adults.
Stage 5: Some can read and write the language.
Stage 4: The language is used in primary schools and in the media.
Stage 3: The language is used in workplaces as well as in the presence of those who do not speak the language.
Stage 2: The language is used in the local record keeping.
Stage 1: The language is used at all levels of public life but there is no security that can be given by the political independence.

Fishman and Belolubskaya point out many of the same factors. Belolubskaya writes that the more traditional Sámi languages are used only by elders and that the lack of communication between generations leads to languages becoming vulnerable (points 4 and 6). This linguistic situation corresponds to stage 7 on Fishman's scale, as the language is used in everyday life in the present society but only by the elders. Belolubskaya also mentions the lack of media using the languages of the peoples as well as the weak position of the languages in preschool education and schools due to a reduced number of native language preschool education institutions and a reduced number of lessons instructed in the native languages in other schools. These factors are listed in Fishman's stage 4. Fishman says that if the language is not being passed on from one generation to another, the language naturally becomes very vulnerable. If the language is not transferred in a natural way, the possibility of implementing public measures in order to achieve a level of language vitality where the language can be used in office work, professional fields, and the media becomes limited. Such measures have more chances to succeed if the language is a natural way of communication between children and adults and is at one of the stages from 6 to 1 according to the Fishman's scale. It follows that it is worth working on language

communication between generations if possible: This, in turn, will effectively make strengthening the language usage in the media, schools, and preschool education more effective.

Belolubskaya also writes about attitudes towards the languages and notes a very low interest in languages and cultures and the role of language in the preservation of the peoples (2012). Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) examines the role that attitude can play in determining bilingualism and puts attitude as one of four types of criteria to use in assessing bilingual people. According to Skutnabb-Kangas, the fact that a person may identify himself or herself with a language that he or she speaks is a criterion of bilingualism. In the Sakha Republic today, it is undesirable and particularly unrealistic to have an Even monolingual environment. In order to be part of a larger society, it is necessary to know the Russian language, though it is also desirable to speak the Sakha language. Thus, the development of bilingualism or multilingualism is the only possible way to save the Even language and, according to Skutnabb-Kangas, bilingualism provides a sense of belonging to the language. Such views mentioned by Belolubskaya and Skutnabb-Kangas are not included in the Fishman's theory of stages.

We wanted to find out whether Belolubskaya's description of the language situation of the Indigenous peoples of Siberia can be applied in respect to Topolinoe. We also wanted to compare the linguistic situation in Topolinoe and Guovdgeaidnu, and to discover similarities and differences in these two populations. We hope that such comparative studies may inspire work on the development of the Even and Sámi languages and promote their usage in everyday life.

Methodology

We interviewed three Even high school students and four adults to gather information on the language situation in Topolinoe. The adults are the directors of the school in Topolinoe, a representative of the older generation, and include a reindeer herder and a schoolteacher. We received written parental permission to interview the students. We produced a questionnaire in order to discover whether the views of the interviewed students were common among other young people and to obtain information about the spoken language, their attitude towards the language, and the use of the language among young people. We used a questionnaire developed by Johansen (1986) as a basis. Dannemark and Johansen used this questionnaire in 2001 as well. We developed a new version of the questionnaire in Norwegian and had this version translated into Russian.

We compiled the following table[6] to gather information about the informants' level of language proficiency as well as the occupation of their parents. This table is not a part of Johansen's questionnaire (1986) or the questionnaire by Dannemark and Johansen (2001).

	My command of understanding oral speech					My command of speaking				
	Very high	High	Fairly high	Poor	Very poor	Very high	High	Fairly high	Poor	Very poor
Even										
Sakha										
Russian										

	Yes	No
Mother works in reindeer husbandry (tick 'yes' or 'no')		
Father works in reindeer husbandry (tick 'yes' or 'no')		

Table 1:   Language proficiency and parents' occupation[7]

All students at the school study Even, Russian, and Sakha, and therefore, we decided not to include "no command at all" of understanding and speaking any of the three languages as an optional answer. In order to get information about the languages spoken daily, we asked the following questions[8]:

- – What language / languages do you speak with your friends?
- – What language / languages do you speak with your sister(s) / brother(s)?
- – What language / languages do you speak with other children and young people?
- – What language / languages do you speak with your mother or another person replacing her?
- – What language / languages do you speak with your father or another person replacing him?

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[6] See appendix

[7] The students were given questionnaires in Russian. See appendix

[8] The students were given questionnaires in Russian. See appendix

- What language / languages do you speak with your grandparents?
- What language / languages do you speak with other adults?
- Which language do you feel most belonging to?
- What language / languages did your mother or person replacing her (with whom you have lived most of your life) speak as her first language(s)?
- What language / languages did your father or a person replacing him (with whom you have lived most of your life) speak as his first language(s)?
- What language(s) will be spoken in Topolinoe in 50 years?
- What language(s) will be used most often? Number the languages in order of priority, if you choose more than one language.

The school principal in Topolinoe permitted 15 students to participate in the survey and distributed questionnaires to these students. These students were from six different classes of the high school. All the classes were to be represented, and we wanted the number of girls and boys to be equally represented. Apart from these conditions, the distribution of the questionnaires was random. All 15 of the students completed and returned the questionnaires. We received parental permission that the students could complete the questionnaires and that the results could be used in our scientific research and published.

We used the same questionnaire, with minor modifications, to collect information about the command of the language, the attitude towards the language, and language use among junior high school students in Guovdgeaidnu. The school principal gave permission to conduct the survey, and we had written parental consent for the students to participate in the survey and for the results to be used in our scientific research and published. The students in Guovdgeaidnu received a Sámi version and a Norwegian version of the questionnaire[9]. The students themselves chose which version they would like to complete. Two questions in the Sámi version were formulated slightly different from the Norwegian version. One of the questions in Norwegian version was as following: *Hvilket språk / hvilke språk fører du størst tilhørighet til?'* which translates to, 'Which language/languages do you feel greater belonging to?'. In the Sámi version, the following wording was used: *Guđe gillii/gielaide dovddat gullevašvuođa?* which could be translated as, 'Which language/languages do you feel belonging to?' Thus, in the Sámi version there is no degree of comparison added to the word 'belonging'. It means that it may be difficult to compare the answers directly. However, we believe that the answers still give us important information about the students' sense of belonging. At the same time, we must realize that those informants who responded to the questionnaire in Norwegian perhaps feel a sense of belonging to other languages than those mentioned in the questionnaire. The last question in the questionnaire is formulated in Sámi as follows: *Guđe giela/gielaid jáhkát geavahuvvot eanemusat? Nummiraste gielaid jus jáhkát eambbo go ovtta geavahuvvot,* meaning, "In your opinion, what language / languages will be used most? Number the languages in order of

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[9] See appendix

priority, if you think that more than one language will be used". The Norwegian formulation runs like this: *Hvilket språk / hvilke språk tror du vil bli brukt mest? Nummerer språkene hvis du tror flere enn ett språk vil bli brukt*, which reads, "In your opinion, which language will be used the most? Number the languages in order of priority, if you choose more than one language". The prospect of the future is only expressed in the case with the Norwegian wording. We also see that some informants understood the question differently than we did when we made the questionnaire. Our intent was to learn how informants would picture the situation in 50 years from now, but the formulation in the Sámi version suggests that we are asking about the situation today. From the responses, we see that one part of the informants understand the question the way we intended, and the other part of the informants understand the question as if asked about the current situation. Due to these differences in the understanding of the questions, we decided not to include the responses to the last question in the discussion of the subject.

Results

Use of the Even language

In the aforementioned freestyle interviews with three students of the school in Topolinoe, we particularly asked whether they speak Even, and if so, who they speak Even with. We also asked whether they think the Even language will be used in a lesser or greater degree in the future. All three students said they spoke Even with their grandmothers, and one of the students named other adult family members (their mother and grandfather) with whom they spoke Even in the family. All three students said they use the Even language during the Even language classes, and one of the students also referred to Even culture classes. All three students indicated that they speak Russian with their friends. One of the students said that he speaks Even with his friends occasionally. All three students said they are interested in continuing to learn the Even language. All three students identified their belonging to the language. One student said, "that it is important to be able to speak the native language". Another student said, "that he does not want not forget his native language", and the other student said, "that it is very important to be able to speak the language". One of the two students who used the term "native language" also stated that they speaks Even with his mother. Another student, who used the term "native language", answered that he speaks Even only with his grandmother, and his parents speak Russian. All three students explained their wish to continue learning the Even language because they feel a belonging to the Even language despite the fact that only one of them speaks Even as their first language.

We interviewed four adults in Topolinoe, including the school principal, a teacher of traditional Even crafts, one herder aged between 40 and 50 years, and one representative of the older generation. All four believe that the Even language will be used in the settlement in the future,

they also expressed their strong desire for active use of the Even language. All four stated the importance of the relationship between people and their language. The oldest informant of the group put it this way: "If we lose our language, we will disappear as a nation, and that would be a great tragedy". The reindeer herder who was interviewed said that today people are proud that they are Evens, and that this is a condition for keeping the language in the future. The oldest informant's opinion is that young people experience, "a psychological barrier" to start speaking the Even, and that they do not take the Even language seriously. In her opinion, it is necessary to break this barrier before children begin to speak the Even language: "We have to work with this psychological barrier, and start speaking the Even language, then the language can be transferred". The school principal stressed that when the Even language is used in preschool education and in school, it leads to the Even language not being something unfamiliar to the younger generation of Topolinoe. She said that many consider the Even language to be their mother tongue, and she gave examples of how young people have started to speak Even in an environment where the majority speak Even even if they have not used Even as a language of communication in Topolinoe. According to her, the fact that the youth start speaking Even is a result of the Even language having a definite place in the preschool education institution and in school.

Information from the questionnaire

The questionnaire provided information about the students' command of language and the occupations of the informants' parents in Topolinoe.

	My command of understanding oral speech					My command of speaking				
	Very high	High	Fairly high	Poor	Very poor	Very high	High	Fairly high	Poor	Very poor
Even	1 g	3 g 1 b	2 g 4 b	1 g		1 g	1b	4 g 1 b	2 g 1 b	
Sakha	1g		2 g	1 g 2 b	2 g 1 b	1 g			2 g 2 b	3 g 2 b
Russian	8 g 6 b	1 b				7 g 4 b		1 b		

	Yes	No
Mother works in the reindeer husbandry (tick)	4 b 1 g	3 b 7 g
Father works in the reindeer husbandry (tick)	4 b 2 g	3 b 4 g

The table includes the information based on the selected choices, with abbreviations g = 'girl', b = 'boy'.

Table 2:   Information provided by the informants from the school in Topolinoe about command of language and occupation of parents.

Information about occupation

The 15 informants from Topolinoe were asked about the occupation of their parents or guardians and whether or not they are engaged in reindeer husbandry. Three boys indicated that both of their parents are engaged in reindeer husbandry. One boy and one girl pointed out that only their mothers are engaged in reindeer husbandry, and one boy and two girls pointed out that only their fathers are engaged in reindeer husbandry. Thus, eight informants in total indicated that either one or both of their parents are engaged in reindeer husbandry. None of the parents of the seven other informants is engaged in reindeer husbandry. As noted above, about 60 percent of the population is engaged in reindeer husbandry.

Self-evaluation of the command of languages

Fourteen out of 15 informants answered that they understand spoken Russian and speak Russian at a "very high" level. One informant said that his level of spoken Russian is "high" and that his understanding of spoken Russian is "high". Twelve out of 15 informants indicated their level of understanding the Even language, and 10 informants indicated their level of speaking the Even language. One of the informants said that she understands and speaks Even at a "very high" level. Four informants said that they understand Even at a "high" level, six informants said that they understand Even at a "fairly high" level, and one informant said that she understands Even at a "poor" level. One informant said that she speaks Even at a "high" level and three informants said that they speak Even at a "poor" level. Nine out of 15 informants assessed their level of understanding of the Sakha language and 10 informants assessed the level at which they speak Sakha. One informant said that she understands the Sakha language at a "very high" level, two informants said that they understand the Sakha language at a "fairly high" level, three informants said that they understand Sakha at a "poor" level, and three informants said that their proficiency of understanding is "very poor". One informant expressed that she speaks Sakha at a "very high" level, and this was the same informant who said that she understands Sakha at a "very high" level. Four informants stated that their fluency in Sakha is "poor" and five informants stated that their Sakha fluency is "very poor".

Responses show that, except one informant, all the informants who assessed their levels of all three languages indicated that their level of proficiency in Russian is higher than that of the Even and Sakha languages. This applies to both understanding and speaking the languages. One of the informants pointed out that she has "very high" command of all three languages. The students evaluated their level of knowledge of the Even language higher than their level of knowledge of the Sakha language.

An aim of schooling in Topolinoe is that after high school, students master the Even language at such a level that they are able to communicate in Even in all situations. In our study, seven out of 15 informants assessed their knowledge of the Even language to be at least "very high". Two informants said that they speak Even "poorly" and none of the informants indicated that they speak "very poorly". Six of the informants who rated their level of both speaking and understanding Russian as "very high" have not specified their levels of the Even language. When these students do not assess their knowledge of the Even language, it can be assumed that they do not find their knowledge of the Even language to be satisfactory. Based on responses to the survey, we can say that the aim set by the school has not been achieved. There is a big difference in the assessed level of knowledge of Russian language and of Even. However, about half of the informants assessed their mastering of the Even language as a means of communication as satisfactory.

Language of communication

The students' responses give the following information about the language of communication amongst the different participants of communication:

	Speak Even with both parents	Speak Even with only one parent		Speak Even with siblings	Speak Even with one or more grand-parents	Speak Even with friends
		With mother or an adult replacing her	With father or an adult replacing him			
Girls	4	1		3	3	1
Boys	1	1			5	1
Total	5	2		3	8	2

Table 3: Language of communication of the informants from the school in Topolinoe according to informants' responses.

Twelve of the 15 informants indicated that they speak Even with others. Five informants reported that they speak Even with one or both parents. Six informants speak Even with a grandparent but not with their parents. Of those informants who speak Even with their grandmother or grandfather, two of them (a girl and a boy) also speak Even with their friends. This girl also speaks Even with her siblings.

Linguistic identity

The question "To which language / languages do you feel belonging?" was included in the questionnaire because we wanted to find out whether the following statement from Belolubskaya can be applied to Topolinoe: "baisse d'intérêt pour la langue et pour la culture, dénigrement de la valeur et du rôle des langues nationales pour la preservation des ethnies du Nord"[10] (Belolubskaya 2012, pp. 218-219). Ten informants indicated their belonging only to one of the three languages. Five of them indicated the Even language, one indicated Sakha, and four indicated Russian. Three informants indicated their belonging to two languages, one of them indicated Even and Sakha, and two others indicated Even and Russian. Thus, eight informants indicated the Even language to be the only one or one of the two languages to which they feel a greater sense of belonging.

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[10] Lack of interest in the language and culture, underestimation of the value and the role of languages for the preservation of northern peoples

Six out of eight informants indicated that the Even language was their first or one of the first languages they started to speak at home. One informant indicated that both parents speak Even at home, three informants said that only their mothers speak Even at home, and one informant expressed that only their father speaks Even. Two other informants, who were not taught Even by their parents, answer that they speak Even with their grandparents. Two informants, whose one or both parents have taught them to speak the Even language at home, indicated that they feel stronger belonging to the Russian language. Three informants learned Russian as their first language at home from their parents. These informants indicated that they do not use the Even language in the situations specified in the questionnaire. None of these three informants feel a greater belonging to the Even language. Thus, there seems to be a correspondence between languages that have been spoken in families traditionally and the languages the informants feel a greater belonging to.

In the school of Topolinoe, all subjects, except the classes of the Even language and Even crafts and culture, are taught in Russian. The principal of the school spoke of the barriers to teaching the Even language more extensively:

> The plan was to teach all subjects in the Even language, but we do not have enough resources, and thus we had to stop the project. In addition, we employ teachers who come from other regions who do not speak the Even language. Moreover, the state requirements say that in order to teach school subjects in Even, we need textbooks in the Even language. Today, we don't have such books.

The principal explained that they are developing Even language lessons as a language of communication in daily life. For the time being, the Even language is taught in a conventional manner, as a subject. In Even language classes, Even language and literature are taught, and communicating in Even is not focused upon.

Informants from Guovdageaidnu

We asked all the students of junior high school (aged 12 to 15) in Guovdageaidnu of the academic year 2014 to 2015 to take part in a survey similar to the one conducted in the school in Topolinoe. We did not ask them about the occupation of their parents, but all other questions on the questionnaire are identical to the ones we used in Topolinoe. We excluded the question about the occupation of their parents as the principal of the school requested this. She pointed out that it was undesirable to focus on the occupation of parents, and we followed her advice. 56 junior high school students of Guovdageaidnu responded to the questionnaire. There are 100 students in that school and all of them were invited to participate in the survey. We do not know the reasons why some of the students did not participate in the survey. We can assume the

following: 1) The students had no desire to participate, 2) Parents did not allow their children to participate, 3) Students were not at school on the day of the survey. We still believe that the results provided interesting information about language preferences of young people in Guovdageaidnu. Out of 56 responses, 25 were given by girls and 27 were given by boys.

It is not possible to determine the gender of four of the informants: One wrote "who knows", two others wrote "other" and one indicated both genders "boy / girl". Just before the time of survey, the issue of gender identity was widely discussed in the Norwegian media in connection with the Norwegian Ministry of Health publishing a report regarding gender (Rett til rett kjønn[11], 2015). The report indicated that some people find it hard to identify their gender using the traditional gender categories. This event may explain why these four students decided not to answer "boy" or "girl". We had formulated the question in such a way that informants could give other possible answers unforeseen by us. If we had included only two options to tick off, we would not have known that some students wished to respond differently. In the table below, we introduce the three gender categories, "boy", "girl", and "not identified".

Self-assessment of the level of language proficiency

	My command of understanding oral speech					My command of speaking				
	Very high	High	Fairly high	Poor	Very poor	Very high	High	Fairly high	Poor	Very poor
Sámi language	40 (18 g, 19 b, 3 n)	12 (6 g, 4 b, 1 n)	3 (1 g, 2 b)			35 (16 g, 17 b, 2 n)	14 (5 g, 8 b, 1 n)	3 (3 g)	2 (1 g, 1 b)	
Norwegian language	36 (18 g, 15 b, 3 n)	12 (4 g, 7 b, 1 n)	2 (2g)	1 (1b)		30 (15 g, 12 b, 3 n)	11 (5 g, 5 b, 1 n)	8 (3 g, 5 b)		1 (1 b)

The table shows information from the completed questionnaires, with abbreviations g = 'girl', b = 'boy', n = 'not identified'.

Table 4:   Self-assessment of the level of language proficiency of high school students in Guovdageaidnu[12]

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[11] The right of a correct gender identity

[12] The questionnaire has parallel text in Norwegian and Sámi. See appendix

Forty of the 56 informants rated their understanding of the Sámi language as "very high", 12 informants rated their understanding of the Sámi language as "high", and three rated their understanding of Sámi as "fairly high." None of the respondents answered "poor" or "very poor". Thirty-seven informants sais they speak the Sámi language at a "very high" level, 14 at a "high" level, two at "poor", and no one answered "very poor".

We cannot know how each informant understands the various levels of language proficiency, but it is possible to assume that those who live in a bilingual society and rate their proficiency of the spoken language as "fairly high" are able to communicate in this language in various situations. This is confirmed by the answers to other questions in the questionnaire. All three informants who responded that their proficiency of spoken Sámi is "fairly high", also said that they speak Sámi with different groups, "with friends", with "other children", and with "other adults". One of the informants indicated that she speaks Sámi with her mother; one speaks Sámi with her father, grandmother, and/or grandfather; and one speaks Sámi with her grandmother and/or grandfather. One of the informants rated his proficiency of spoken Sámi as "poor", even though he said that he speaks no language other than Sámi with his mother. Out of the 56 informants, only one does not speak Sámi with others. Twenty-seven out of 56 informants say that they understand spoken Sámi and Norwegian equally well, 25 of them understand spoken Sámi and Norwegian at a "very high" level, and two of them understand both languages at a "high" level. Twenty-two informants indicated that they speak both languages equally well, 21 at a "very high" level, and one at a "high" level.

Language of communication

	Speak Sámi with both parents	Speak Sámi with one of their parents	
		With mother or other adult replacing her	With father or other adult replacing him
Girls	19	5	3
Boys	14	4	3
Non-identified gender	3		1
Total	36	10	7

Table 5:   The number of informants from Guovdageaidnu who indicate that they speak Sámi with their parents.

All informants identified what language they speak with their parent(s) or guardian. Fifty-four of the 56 informants in Guovdageaidnu indicated that either one or both parents speak Sámi with children at home or that Sámi was one of the first two languages at home. One boy and one girl indicated that both parents speak a different language at home; in this case, we are referring to the Norwegian language. 53 informants say that they speak Sámi with one or both parents. Thus, except in one case, all parents who have acquired the language as children have passed it to the next generation. The informant who said that he does not speak Sámi with his parents even if they both have Sámi as a first language said that he speaks a language other than Norwegian with his parents. The same informant said that he speaks Sámi with others and with his grandmother and/or grandfather, but does not speak Sámi with his parents. Fifteen informants reported that they grew up in a bilingual environment speaking Sámi with one of their parents, and another language with the other parent. According to the responses from the informants, the sex of the Sámi speaking parent seems to be of no importance for the transition of the language. The informants reported that they speak Sámi with this parent regardless of their gender.

Linguistic identity

Feeling of belonging						Language situation in a family				
1 language only			2 languages		3 languages	Monolingual			Bilingual	
S	N	OL	S+N	S+OL	S+N+OL	S	N	OL	S-N	S-OL
17 b						17				
	3 b					1			2	
		1 b							1	
			4 b			1			3[13]	
				2 g				1[14]		1
15 g						11			2	1
	4 g						2		2	
			5 g			3			2	
					1 g					1[15]
1 n						1				
			3 n						3[16]	

S - Sámi, N - Norwegian, OL - other language not Sámi or Norwegian.

Table 6:　　　Sense of belonging to the language of the informants from Guovdageaidnu.

Fifty-five out of 56 informants indicated their linguistic belonging. Twelve informants felt a sense of belonging to both Sámi and Norwegian. None of these informants come from a home where Norwegian is the only language in use. Eight of them (three boys, two girls, and three of unspecified gender) indicated a Norwegian-Sámi bilingual family background. Four informants that indicates their linguistic identity as Sámi and Norwegian expressed a Sámi language family background, including one boy, three girls, and one of unspecified gender.

Forty-eight informants feel belonging only to the Sámi language, or to the Sámi language and one other language. Seven informants feel belonging only to the Norwegian language. These seven informants filled the Norwegian version of the questionnaire. As the question of linguistic identity is formulated differently in the Norwegian and Sámi versions (see para. 1.3), it is possible to assume that those who indicated their belonging only to the Norwegian language may have responded differently if the question was worded in the same way as in Sámi version. In any case, these seven informants indicated that they feel a stronger belonging to the Norwegian language. Only two informants out of seven, both of them girls, responded that they come from families where Norwegian is the only language in use. Both girls feel a belonging to the Norwegian language; four out of the seven informants (two boys and two girls) who reported that they only feel belonging to the Norwegian language expressed that they have Sámi Norwegian bilingual family backgrounds. One of the informants who said that they feel belonging to Norwegian has a monolingual Sámi family background.

Neither of the two girls with a Norwegian monolingual language background reported a feeling of belonging to the Sámi language. The number of respondents is too low for any direct conclusions.

Discussion

In Topolinoe the Even language is used as a natural language of communication in some families. However, the most common language of communication in the families is Russian. Four of 15 informants speak Even with one or both parents, and another two informants speak Even with one of their parents: in both cases, they speak Even with their mother or the person replacing her. Thus, six out of 15 informants indicated that the Even language is used as a natural language of communication between their parents and adults in the family. Six informants reported that they speak Even with their grandmother and/or grandfather. Ten informants indicated that they live in families in which the Even language is used as a natural language of communication between children and adults. Based on this information, we can assume that, in some families, the Even language is passed from older generations to younger generations. According to Fishman (2001) when the language is passed down from adults to children, it is easier to maintain than if the language spoken only by the elderly. The role of some of the grandparents also seems to be important in the transmission of the language to the younger

generation. This means that the language is passed from adults to children even in cases where parents do not speak the same language with the children. Based on the information obtained from the questionnaires, we can assume that the Even language in any case is not at a more vulnerable stage than stage 6.

All students in the school in Topolinoe learn to read and write in Even. The Even language is not used in other subjects, except for the Even language lessons and the Even crafts and culture classes. In the Even language lessons, the degree of its application as a language of communication and not only as an object of study varies. We visited a few lessons of Even language in different classes, and the way of instruction varies greatly in different classrooms. In some lessons, the instruction focused on the oral use of the Even in teacher-planned activities, whereas in other classes, all oral communication was in Russian. In the latter case, the Even language was an object of study, not a spoken language. The crafts classes are designed only for girls and nothing of the same kind is offered for boys. Children from reindeer husbandry families are enrolled in nomadic schools near the reindeer herds in certain periods of the year. In the nomadic schools, the Even language is used as a natural working language to a greater extent than in the main school. In these schools, the boys are trained in traditional reindeer husbandry classes, where the Even language has a strong position. Thus, students from reindeer husbandry families receive more in-depth training of the Even language than those students who do not have access to the nomadic school. In the interviews with the teacher and the principal of the school in Topolinoe, we learned that there is a desire to make Even language the language of instruction in school subjects too, but the situation with school textbooks has not allowed it. In Soviet times, there were still some textbooks in the Even language. Today, according to the answers of some informants, it is very difficult to get books published, even if there are manuscripts of books ready to be published. The reason for this is that the publication of textbooks is not funded by the state, as in Soviet times. The publication of textbooks is funded by the profits from the sales of books, and the publication of textbooks in Indigenous languages is not profitable. The Even language is a school subject, and is the language of instruction in crafts and culture classes, but the Even language is not used as a language of communication in other lessons in the school of Topolinoe. This form of teaching is, by Baker's definition, a weak form of bilingual education, since this form obviously is not sufficient to achieve functional bilingualism or multilingualism (2006). Based on the information obtained from interviews, questionnaires, and our observations, we can conclude that in this respect the Even language is at stage 5 by the Fishman scale.

Fishman (2001) uses the term 'heritage language' in referring to the language a person has a close relationship with but does not necessarily speak as a first language. This term is also used in translation in other languages (Johannessen and Salmons, 2012). Even if a person does not master a language, he or she might feel belonging to it if the language is spoken, or used to be spoken, in the family. Such languages can also be called heritage languages. Van Deusen-Scholl

(2003) notes that those students who have a strong sense of cultural attachment to the language because the language was used or is used in the family may have a great interest in learning this language. She uses the term 'heritage motivation' for this special kind of motivation. In his study of the revival of the Sámi language in Norway in the 1990s, Todal (2002) found that many parents who wanted their children to learn the Sámi language in school attributed their desire to their historical attachment to the language. Todal uses the term 'the continuation motive' (*kontinuitetsmotiv*) for this reasoning.

In research on multilingualism, two kinds of learning motives are often pointed out: an integrative motive and an instrumental motive (Todal, 2002). The integrative motive involves a desire to "høyre til ei viss språkgruppe[13]" (Todal, 2002, p. 108), whereas the instrumental motivation refers to the desire to get the "economic, career, and school benefits from the project" (Todal, 2002, p. 102). The desire to learn the language in order to remain ties with one's family, both former generations and living members of the family, can be attributed to the integrative motive, since the purpose of learning a language is a desire to belong to a group which speaks the language or used the language in the past.

The interviews with three students in Topolinoe point to the fact that they see the value of a language for «la preservation des ethnies du Nor"[14] (Belolubskaya, 2012). While learning the language, they maintain contact with the ethnic group to which they belong, and learning the language of the group strengthens their belonging to the group. One might assume that they consider Even to be their native language, but this also applies to those who do not speak Even as their first language. It also seems that the interest in the Even language in Topolinoe is greater than what Belolubskaya describes as typical for the Indigenous languages of the Sakha Republic. These three students seem to demonstrate an understanding of the value of the language to its people, the value which, according to Belolubskaya, is underestimated by the Indigenous peoples of the North of Sakha. This understanding was also demonstrated by the four adults who we interviewed.

Responses to the questionnaire, completed by 15 informants, indicate that some of the young people in Topolinoe feel close connection with the heritage language in the settlement. Janet Holmes (2001) writes that,

> … there are certain social factors which seem to retard wholesale language shift for a minority language group, at last for a time. Where language is considered an important symbol of a minority group's identity, for example, the language is likely to be maintained longer. (p. 64)

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[13] belong to a certain language group
[14] Preservation of the peoples of the North

Thus, the Even language seems to have promising possibilities for survival in Topolinoe. However, the number of our informants is small and thus we cannot say how representative our findings are. Dannemark and Johansen (2001) have analysed the language situation in Guovdageaidnu based on questionnaires answered by junior high school students in Finnmark from 1982 to 1983 and from 1998 to 1999. These questions were similar to the questions that were asked in Topolinoe and Guovdgeaidnu in 2015.

In 1998 to 1999, 93.3% of the informants used the Sámi language as the only or as one of two or more languages when communicating with friends. As of 2015, this number was 91.1%. The response rate in 2015 was lower than in the assessment conducted from 1998 to 1999, and thus the numbers cannot be compared directly. However, the responses in the 2015 assessment indicate that the language situation is stable. In 1998 to 1999 survey, informants were asked what language or languages they had acquired as their first language or first languages at home. In 2015, the informants were asked to specify what language they speak with their parents or guardians. Questions asked in 1998 and 1999 compared with those asked in 2015 are not identical, but we think that the answers give comparable information. In 1998 and 1999, Sámi was the only first language or one of the first languages at home for 88.8% of the informants. In 2015, 91.2% of the informants spoke Sámi with at least one of their parents. Thus, it seems that the number of informants who speak Sámi at home had increased in 2015. As the numerical data appears to be stable, we can assume that the conclusion of Dannemark and Johansen (2001) are still valid: "Dersom vi forholder oss til lover og regler, kan samisk i det samiske forvaltningsområdet i dag plasseres inn på stadium 1 i Fishmans skala[15]" (2001, p. 61). Dannemark and Johansen compared the situation in 1998 and 1999 with the situation of 1982 and 1983, saying "Mens den første informantgruppa [ungdomsskoleelever 1982/83] hadde vokst opp i et samfunn der samisk først befant seg på stadium 5 og så på stadium 4"[16] (Dannemark and Johansen 2001, p. 61). Dannemark and Johansen further wrote that "Selv om en utifra offentlige lover og regler kan si at samisk i dag befinner seg på stadium 1, er det likevel nødvendig å ta visse forbehold med hensyn til de stengsler som språkholdninger setter. Fremdeles er det slik, som Joks og Andersen nevner (Joks og Andersen, 2000), at det ikke fullt ut er akseptert av alle at samisk skal ha status på linje med norsk i alle sammenhenger[17]" (2001, p. 61). This also applies to the state of the Sámi language today.

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[15] If we adhere to laws and regulations, the Sámi language in the Sámi administrative area belong at stage 1 of Fishman's scale

[16] (…) whereas the first group of informants [senior students of 1982-83] grew up in a society where the Sámi language in the beginning of the period was at the fifth stage, and then at the fourth stage.

[17] Even if existing formal rules and laws may give reason to conclude that the Sámi language is at the first stage, language attitudes form limitations that must be taken into account. Not everybody accepts, as described by Joks and Andersen (Joks and Andersen 2000), that the status of the Sámi language should be totally equal to the status of the Norwegian language in all contexts.

Sámi in Norway and Evens in Russia are defined as Indigenous peoples. Annexation of the Sámi lands to the Norwegian State and the lands of the Evens to the Tsarist Russia can be seen as colonization. The Norwegian government has stated that the Norwegian state has been established on the territory of two peoples, Norwegians and Sámi while the ethnic relations in Tsarist Russia were much more complex (Haarmann, 2000). During the reign of Ivan the Terrible, Russians started an expansion of territories outside the Russian lands that until then had formed the Grand Duchy of Moscow (Haarmann 2000). The result was the emergence of a multi-ethnic society in which Russian chauvinism appeared (Haarmann 2000). In Tsarist Russia, church and state were regarded as united, and conquering new souls for the church became an important task for the expanding state and, according to the dogmas of the regime, turning people into Christians also meant turning them into Russians (Haarmann, 2000). Ethnic Russians soon started to regard the Russian language, culture, and way of life as superior to languages and cultures of other peoples in the new multi-national state. In this multi-national state, the only possibility to improve one's social status was to become assimilated into Russian culture and the Russian language (Haarmann, 2000). Standardisation and consolidation of the linguistic norms of the Russian language in the 18th and 19th centuries created preconditions for the Russian national language to occupy more and more new domains at the expense of languages of other peoples of Russia (Haarmann 2000). In the 18th century, Russia started to focus more on Western Europe, and, as elsewhere in Europe including Norway, history and the construction of historical traditions in order to create a national culture became an important task (Haarmann 2000). As Haarmann notes, "die historische Dimension in der Identität des Russentums stärkte das kulturelle und sprachliche Selbstbewußtseins"[18] (2000, p. 778). The ethnic composition of Russia was much more complex than in other European countries, and in the conquering of new lands in the 19th century, the ethnic Russians formed the minority. Despite this, the ethnic Russians were perceived as the constituent people in the country, and the national self-awareness of Russians led to an increased assimilation process of non-Russian peoples of the Empire (Haarmann, 2000). In the period before the First World War, the cultures of the peoples of Russia began to flourish. In the post-revolutionary period, much was done to strengthen the regional cultures, and languages that had previously been non-literary then became written standards. For Vladimir Lenin, the equality of peoples and their writing was a condition for a state without social differences (Haarmann, 2000). The Russian language was not considered the state language, but it remained the language of communication between the peoples of the state (Haarmann, 2000). After Lenin's death in January 1924, the Soviet Union became more centralised, and Lenin's ideas about equality of peoples started losing ground. The Cyrillic alphabet was introduced into the languages that used the Latin alphabet during Lenin times, and the Russian language was introduced as a language of instruction in all educational institutions.

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[18] The historical dimension of the identity of Russianness strengthened the cultural and linguistic self-conscience.

In Norway, as well as in Russia, the main policy was a nationalistic policy, the purpose of which was the establishment of Norwegian as the only language. In Norway, after World War II, the government renounced the policy of Norwegianisation. After 1961, it became legal to teach the Sámi language as well as to teach in the Sámi language. Nevertheless, the Sámi language has retained its position as the dominant language in everyday conversations up to the present days in Guovdageaidnu. The Even language was the dominant language in the old village of Tompo despite continued policy of Russification. In the 1970s, despite the fact that the policy of Norwegianisation was weakened and officially was over, the Sámi language in Guovdgeaidnu and the Even language in Topolinoe continued to destabilize. However, we know that youth from both monolingual Sámi and bilingual Norwegian-Sámi families used to speak Norwegian more than now. This fact is often explained by the negative attitude to bilingualism among researchers on multilingualism. At the same time, this period also coincides with the time when the Norwegian language prevailed due to the presence of a mine and military base in Guovdgeaidnu. Thus, the Norwegian language was the language that was used in a completely different way and much more in the public sphere compared to before and after that time. Strangely enough, this coincided with the introduction of the Sámi language in schools as the language of instruction and as a school subject. Strengthening the position of the Sámi language in schools did not lead to a simultaneous strengthening of the Sámi language as the language of communication in the village. Perhaps it was easier to identify with the Norwegian language because many people spoke Norwegian in the village. In the 1980s, the situation in Guovdgeaidnu changed since the number of soldiers at the military base were reduced and the mine was closed.

In Topolinoe as well as in Guovdageaidnu, there is a wide spread notion that the language depends on the reindeer husbandry. In Topolinoe, the majority of those who we interviewed think that the strengthening of reindeer husbandry is needed to maintain the language. In Guovdageaidnu, Sámi is the language of everyday communication, even for the majority of those who are not engaged in reindeer husbandry. The Sámi language is used in public areas, since many municipal employees of any profession speak Sámi language and, therefore, can speak Sámi with colleagues and customers (Dannemark and Johansen 2001). This applies, for example, to service areas like shops, schools, childcare centres, hospitals, churches, banks, and municipal offices. If those who speak the Sámi language had continued to work only in the primary industries, the Sámi language would not have won new fields of communication. Today, proficiency of the Sámi language gives employment opportunities in many other areas, rather than just in agriculture and reindeer husbandry, and the fact that many members of other professions speak the Sámi language probably strengthens the position of the Sámi language in the society. Hyltenstam, Stroud and Svonni (1999) write:

> En befolkning vars språk och kultur är starkt sammankopplad med en enda livsstil, dvs en starkt homogen grupp, är språkligt och kulturelt sårbar och känslig för hastiga förändringar. Om gruppens kultur är uppbygd kring ett enda näringsfång eller en viss

religiös riktning och om denna "kulturbas" överges, kan hela kulturen riskera att slås ut. En livskraftig minoritet i dagens moderna sasmhälle behöver en viss grad av heterogenitet; deltagande i varierade aktiviteter møjliggjör en allsidig använding av språket[19]. (p. 75)

In an interview with a woman who is a reindeer herder in Topolinoe, we asked if she thinks that the inhabitants of Topolinoe would speak Even in 20 years. She replied, "Everything depends on education. I think it depends on how the training will take place and whether there will be a sufficient number of teachers who speak the language and teach the language". The Even and Sakha languages are taught in the school of Topolinoe, but the level of knowledge of the Even language is higher than that of the Sakha language. This can be explained by the fact that the Even language in Topolinoe has a very different place than it does the Sakha language. Therefore, it is easy to assume that the strengthening of the language as the language of communication in the village is a necessary part of the work on the revival of the language, along with the strengthening of the language in the school.

Conclusion

The languages that adults speak very little or do not speak at all with their children is strongly threatened. We see a clear difference between Topolinoe and Guovdageaidnu in how the heritage language is the language of communication between the generations. The Even language has fewer domains in Topolinoe than the Sámi language in Guovdageaidnu and therefore, the Even language is more threatened. Living in an environment where there are two or more languages leads to many situations where one has to choose a language. If one language is selected more often than the others, this can lead to a loss of language proficiency, and this will weaken the use of the spoken language. A language that is used in many different social and academic domains or spaces has, of course, a better chance of survival than a language with fewer social and academic domains and spaces. It is also likely that introducing the language to new academic domains will strengthen the language. In teaching models where the purpose is to teach a language other than the heritage language, the heritage language is often perceived as an obstacle that distracts and delays the learning of the language of the majority. Also, in cases where the heritage language is used as an auxiliary language, the heritage language ceases as soon as the student begins to understand another language without translation. When trying to strengthen the links between new knowledge and the heritage language, the heritage language will be involved in many cognitive processes. Those who are accustomed to using their heritage

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[19] The people whose language and culture are strongly linked with a particular way of life, i.e., a strong homogeneous group is linguistically and culturally vulnerable and sensitive at times of rapid changes. If the culture of the group is built only on a specific industry or religion, then the whole culture may crash if the cultural base disappears. A strong minority in modern societies requires a certain degree of diversity; participating in various aspects of society allows extensive use of the language.

language in order to understand phenomena of a new language will develop a better proficiency of the heritage language and also gain a deeper metalinguistic understanding.

To save a heritage language as a functional language in all spheres, all means taken to achieve this goal can help to achieve this objective in the long term. In speaking of schools where the first language of the pupils is a language other than English, Cummins writes that "even in an English-medium instructional context, teachers can create an environment that acknowledges, communicates respect for, and promotes students' linguistic and cultural capital" (2006, p. 63). Our impression is that administration and teachers of the school in Topolinoe really want to make the Even language and culture an important part of the daily school life. The Even language and symbols of Even culture are used on signs and posters in the school, as well as on costumes, and in other cultural phenomena. In the junior high school of Guovdageaidnu, the language is strengthened by the fact that the training is conducted in the Sámi language. Both schools share the desire to preserve and strengthen the language, and students support this commitment.

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Book Review: *And Grandma Said . . . Iroquois Teachings as Passed Down through the Oral Tradition*

Book Author Tom Sakokweniónkwas Porter

Transcribed and edited by Lesley Forrester. Drawings by John Kahionhes Fadden.
(Acton: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2008. 441 pp., ISBN 978-1-4363-3565-2).

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I feel deeply honoured and humbled in being asked to review Tom Porter's book, "And Grandma Said… Iroquois Teachings as passed down through the oral tradition". At a time when there is great interest being shown in the development of a more astute cultural framework around the historical and contemporary experiences of Indigenous Peoples, Porter's book is socially and politically well-timed and informative.

The book presents a detailed and comprehensive insight into the spiritual beliefs and culture of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) First Nations Peoples of the USA and the historic and contemporary impact that colonisation has had on their cultural, social and economic way of life. Tom Porter courageously utilizes his own journey to provide the reader with an analysis of issues that have impacted severely upon the engagement of the Haudenosaunee people within society following the aftermath of colonization.

From the outset, Porter fills the reader with a sense of enquiry as he skilfully utilizes the teachings of his Elders to explore an ideological and theoretical overview of the cultural and social experiences of his people. Through his poignant and articulate insight into the cultural foundations of the Haudenosaunee Peoples, he leads the reader on an emotional journey that articulates the historical and contemporary manifestations of colonization. He provides an analysis of the deep seated colonial influences on the Iroquois people, with his words resonating the experiences of Indigenous peoples around the world.

Porter in his 'matter of fact style' addresses the legacy of colonisation from his own personal perspective and speaks of the influence that his Grandma's teachings have had on overcoming the effects of this imposition on his own wellbeing. At a time when the spiritual, social, economic and political wellbeing of Indigenous peoples continues to present a worldwide concern this ethnographical analysis is not only timely, but inspiring and encouraging on many levels. The use of his own experiences to provide an analysis of the oral teachings of the Haudenosaunee Peoples offers a critical teaching tool for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous readers.

The author provides an articulation of issues that will enable Indigenous people from other Nations to review their own familial and community legacies of colonisation and examine the impact of their own cultural teachings as a medium to address the colonial influences in their lives. For Indigenous and non-Indigenous readers interested in developing a more intense understanding of the integral role of oral history for the Haudenosaunee Peoples, this book provides an intrinsic understanding of the teachings of the Elders and its effects on the articulation and of colonisation on Indigenous wellbeing.

Porter makes no attempt to profile himself as a scholar, teacher or advocate, although he would be able to make claim to such titles. Rather he humbly presents the knowledge his Grandma taught him and examines it within the context of his own life's journey whilst respecting and honouring his cultural heritage, ancestors, and his Iroquois spiritual beliefs and experiences.

Tom Porter, a respected Elder of the Mohawk people, has become one of the most respected cultural teachers among the Iroquois, a spiritual leader welcome across the continent for his sincerity, wit and knowledge. He summarizes the ancient customs and traditions of the Mohawk people using his distinctive teaching style which blends together charm, humour and a remarkable command of aboriginal [Iroquois] culture. In giving life to the origins of the book, Porter shares with the reader his dream where his Grandma beckoned him to write down all of her teachings as a means of protecting and securing the traditional values and cultural heritage for future generations of the Iroquois people.

When reading the book, one becomes mesmerized by the poetry of the words utilized by Porter as he leaves one with a sense of engaging in an individual conversation where both the author and the reader explore and analyse a raft of issues pertinent to colonization and the teachings and experiences of the Haudenosaunee People. The book provides an easy to read articulation of issues and experiences of Indigenous people and the impact of colonization. Much of what is written is socially and culturally transportable as it could resonate the awe in which a child of any culture may view the teaching of his/her Elders. An example of this is demonstrated in the following passage

> So I always listened to my grandmother and the Chiefs and the old people like Grandpa Bero; I always listened 'cause he was my Grandpa. But I didn't really take it as if it was *really* true because I had learned [through colonisation schooling] not to believe it. It was no use hearing it. It was useless until the 1960s when we had the White Roots of Peace. (p. 33)

The use of photographs and diagrams compliment the textual richness and quality of the book. The glossary of Mohawk words and their meaning utilized by Porter enhances the scholarship and social astuteness of the publication. Although Porter's intention was to have his Grandma's teachings recorded for future Iroquois generations, the content will have far broader

significance. The book will prove to be an invaluable educational resource for anyone interested in the impact of colonisation on the cultural, social and spiritual traditions and values of Indigenous people.

Throughout the book, the author cleverly interweaves western social discourse with his own cultural teachings, creating a new theoretical space where neither is dominant or subservient. The author cleverly provides a cultural framework that is easy for the reader to digest, enabling them to query their own preconceived suppositions and ideas. Tom Porter's writing provides a knowledge framework that will enable non Indigenous professionals to be better equipped to interact and engage with the people of Indigenous nations. For Indigenous people the book speaks to the level of resilience, strength and pride maintained by Elders in their battle to protect the cultural heritage and values of their children.

When reading *"And Grandma Said"* a new insight into my own understanding of history and culture became apparent. By reading Porter's book, I have realised that colonisation does not only harm and deprive the colonised but it also deprives the colonisers of access to the wealth that is embedded in Indigenous knowledge (Aboriginal Elder, 2015). Tom Porter takes the reader on a personal and intellectual journey of confrontation, cultural ignorance and reform, providing a unique challenge to stereotypic meanderings often expressed about Indigenous people suffering the impositions of colonisation.

> Even today the ideology of colonisation is alive and well. Colonisation is more than the physical act of building colonies and dispossession/invasion; it incorporates an internalised process of colonisation of the coloniser's culture and the denigration of the colonised culture. (Muller, 2014, p. 16)

"And Grandma Said" is a story of cultural survival, resilience and the significant role that the oral traditions of Indigenous peoples have had on their ability to overcome the impact of colonization. Porter's book is an important reminder to Indigenous peoples that they have the ability to overcome the effects of colonization through the foundations established by their Elders. Porters book will help transcend social and cultural boundaries by providing the non-Indigenous reader with an insight into the plight of Indigenous people in their struggle to overcome the traumas of colonial influences. Porter's account of his own experiences will enlighten the minds of many as his words will help them to challenge and crystallize misunderstandings and perceptions regarding of the Haudanasian people.

Porter bravely explores and exposes the unique and interconnectedness of western theoretical discourse with his own cultural analysis which emanated from the cultural teachings of his grandma and other Elders throughout his life. Porters' writing will contribute to the development of a new theoretical dialogue where western and cultural knowledge is seen to be

neither dominant nor subservient to each other, but highly relevant when living in a multi-cultural society. Tom Porter skilfully profiles the specificities, the intersections and similarities between the two theoretical frameworks, treating the reader to an intricate analysis of bicultural theoretical discourse.

Porter also provides non-Indigenous readers with a look at colonisation through an Indigenous lens, affording them an insightful understanding of how the aftermaths of historical events continues to effect Indigenous people today. For Indigenous readers he has provided a framework that will help them work through the psychosocial and colonial manifestations affecting their families and communities.

The historical and social prominence of this book will be evidenced by its impact as an important educational tool for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples alike, profiling the awareness of the unique scholarship of First Nations knowledge systems, theoretical frameworks and world views. Whether the reader is a professional or layperson, scholar, student, community member or Government representative, "And Grandmother Said" will prove to be a cathartic and inspirational read.

References

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About the Contributors

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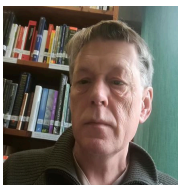
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