

A Critical Examination of the Ethics in Research Involving Indigenous Peoples

A Thesis

Submitted to the

College of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Education

In the Indian and Northern Education Program

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon

By

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Spring 2000

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of
my mother, Mary Ermine,
who greatly encouraged my pursuit of knowledge
and guided me into the values of respect,
honesty,
and independence.

Mistahi kinanâskomitin ihtâ ka takohtâyikohyan ki kiskinohamâkêwin.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend deep gratitude to my family. To my wife Gloria without whose love, patience, and moral support, this thesis work would have been greatly compromised. To my son Charles whose hugs and kisses throughout the project kept me grounded in reality. May you continue to inspire love and laughter. To my daughter Robyn who lifted my self-esteem through her astonished reactions to the heaps of papers and books as testimony to my 'hard work.' May you find purpose in your own path of knowledge. To Dallas who is embarking into university studies, I wish you inspiring thoughts. My family's inspiration is reflected in this work. It is through you that I can glimpse a vision of the possible.

I greatly appreciated the guidance and enthusiastic support of my thesis committee, Dr. Marie Battiste, Dr. Len Findlay, and Verna St. Denis. A special acknowledgement is extended to Marie Battiste who has supported my thoughts and guided me to where I am today. I will always be indebted to her gift of mentor-ship. To Dr. Robert Williamson, I thank you for serving as the external examiner.

To find the time to do this thesis required the professional support of colleagues at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. Much appreciation goes to Esther Sanderson and Jo-ann Thom who found the administrative ways for me to take research time. I thank you Esther for your deep interest in the work I set out to do. To Suzie Bear for all her support from the library. I really do thank you all.

Thank you silence...For your inspiration

ABSTRACT

This study examines the ethics of Western research involving Indigenous Peoples. The primary aim is to uncover the discursive strategies that impede Indigenous Peoples' social and political empowerment and the ethical issues revolving around such scholarship. The objective of this thesis is to uncover the assumptions, motivations, and values of Western research and scholarship involving Indigenous Peoples. The research addresses the distinction between assumptions about Indigenous Peoples as evidenced in the research process and the political, historical, and social reality of Indigenous Peoples. These distinctions are fundamental to the objective of negotiating an ethical order in knowledge production and research that impacts cross-cultural relation. The crucial positioning at the confluence of two worldviews enables a negotiation through counter claims as a process of developing an alternate model of knowing that illustrates a different perspective on researching.

Critical theory is utilized as a methodology to analyze the existing power structures and social inequalities that play a role in the nature of research involving Indigenous Peoples. This study does this by theoretical and qualitative writing that employs literature resources such as articles, documents, and books written by an increasing number of social critics from various fields and backgrounds. Numerous critical programs within the theory are used to provide avenues of critique and to pursue the development of alternate knowledge through the theory's language of possibility. In this respect, the author's voice is woven into the body of the methodology to introduce elements of primary research and as a bridging process to develop alternate views on knowledge and the research process from the Indigenous Peoples' perspective.

This thesis explores the basic principles of Western knowledge production to identify contradictions that would suggest inappropriate foundations for programs of research and discourses concerning Indigenous Peoples. A critical reading of literature highlights the body of critique in regards to the nature of Western research and discourses circumscribing the Western encounter with Indigenous Peoples. The introduction of the Indigenous worldview into the theoretical process illustrates a different and contrasting perspective to the idea of knowledge and its production. The encounter of these contrasting worldviews creates an ethical space, a place between worldviews, where the intentions of each are submitted for negotiation. The conceptual development of the ethical space opens up the possibility for configuring new models of research and knowledge production that is mutually developed through negotiation and respect in cross-cultural interaction.

The role of Indigenous scholars, along with non-Indigenous allies, will be important in the formation of ethical processes of research that contemplates crossing cultural borders. The Indigenous scholar's position at the confluence of worldviews is crucial in the work required to assert and realign perspectives about Indigenous Peoples and their knowledge. Developing and disseminating Indigenous Peoples' perspectives about society and knowledge is crucial in advancing not only critique, but also in developing new forms of knowledge. The perspective of Indigenous Peoples represents a gaze on the Western world that reflects the nature of its being in moral and ethical terms.

Through this thesis work, I have found it is necessary to place critique within a proper and broader context that includes alternate knowledge paradigms. Critical thought with links to Western paradigms and structures cannot properly accommodate the full range of desire to develop new systems of knowledge production. The language of

possibility envisioned by the theory offers the avenue to pursue alternative models of knowing in trying to achieve the goal of emancipation. The goal of emancipation for Indigenous Peoples will require the assertion of Indigenous perspectives within a theory of the possible and as a transition to an Indigenous research methodology.

Understanding Western social structures and systems, and the role of education in the process of knowledge and cultural transmission, is a vital necessity in coming to terms with research involving Indigenous Peoples. The system of knowledge production and its dissemination in the West has vestiges of influence from a history of colonialism and imperialism. These vestiges of colonialism translate as appropriation and exploitation of Indigenous Peoples' knowledge in the modern context. Current waves of research projects from Western institutions, under global economic auspices, threaten to continue the appropriation and exploitation of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property. Confronting these neo-colonial practices requires a broad and protracted process of conscientization about research ethics, cultural imperialism, and the protection of Indigenous Peoples' knowledge. This can be partially achieved through curricula in universities and research institutions. Apart from protecting and enhancing solid and culturally respectful research, any new research involving Indigenous Peoples should immediately cease to allow for a full ethical debate. Only in this way can there be ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples.

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CHAPTER ONE

UNRAVELING RESEARCH THREADS AND INTENTIONS

Subjective method is the patient unravelling of the contradictions inherent in the idea of two objectivities in one society: one objectivity excluding the human being from the totality and the other insisting that he should be included in it. If subjective critique does not very soon begin to show its successes, the dreaming spirit in love with totality will itself bring down our science and our society in fragments (p.139).

Roger Poole
Towards Deep Subjectivity

Introduction

I was born into a period in our family history when the flame of my family and my community was at one of its lowest, with the threat of being extinguished. The spirit and optimism of my community had been chipped away piece by piece by the relentless fury against our Indigenous existence by church and state through many seasons before my time, wreaking havoc on our vitality. Day by day, the memory of my peoples' flame and history was dangerously being pushed more and more into the obscurity of a linear past. As destiny would have it, the road that was marked for my journey was to inflict its own deep set of scars not only on myself, but also on the memory of a wonderful family and community promise, hidden underneath the imposed confusion. There would be many hazards and burdens awaiting my weary footsteps as I traversed the wintry path set out for me to travel. In time I had to take up the flame that sustained my family over many

other tribulations and carry it forward to the best of my ability. For this, I had to go through a delicate process of renewal that continues today in many ways. In this chapter, I would like to establish why I want to do this study. I bring to the picture two sets of experiences from two worldviews that inform my desire to understand the nature of forces that so threatened the dancing flames of my family and community. The force that I speak of is not a strange phenomenon, and can be understood by many people around the globe who have experienced imposition and disruptions in their lives. The basic aim of this chapter is to start unraveling the nature and origin of these forces that have caused complications at the encounter of Indigenous Peoples and the Western world.

Two worlds

In the course of my own experiences, I have been privileged to walk two charted paths of knowledge distinguished by their worldviews and established patterns of production and dissemination. I find deep significance in and continue to retain and emulate the ethos of my ancestors so as to understand the content of knowledge and system of education that so passionately oriented my people over many years. From this awareness flows my self-identification and much more because, like my ancestors that found purpose and inspiration in that milieu suited to their circumstances, this heritage also affords me substantial resources and a good standpoint to gauge and view the unfolding of the world relative to my time. I am also indebted to Western-based education for the ability to function within the Euro-Canadian context. I retain many memories from having attended one of the infamous residential schools as the genesis of my colonial schooling under the auspices of the priests and nuns that were entrusted with our non-community education at the time. These early years of schooling were followed by further

exposure to Western curricula during my attendance at a day school and a high school. I also have other experiences in Western style education through my studies at a provincial technical institute and most recently with my university studies. These experiences in the two forms of knowledge and particularly my exposure to the nuances of Western education gave me a fair indication that all was not well at the confluence of the two societies and the critical juncture where the Indigenous mind meets with Western thought. It became increasingly apparent that there was a pervasive false consciousness weighing heavily at the encounter and the unnerving suspicion that there existed an unholy correlation between the lived experiences of Indigenous Peoples in interaction with broader society and the pervasiveness of dominant practices that compromised such interaction.

Through processes of remembering, community testimonies, hindsight, and research, it soon became very clear to many of the world's Indigenous Peoples that there was a systemic process underwriting Western expansion into their life spaces. This process entailed the superimposition of Eurocentric assumptions, interests, and values onto Indigenous Peoples' life-worlds in classic patterns of colonialism and imperialism. The task, it would seem for the colonizer, was as simple as fancy penmanship to change the political, economic, and social consciousness of Indigenous Peoples through a climate of dominance. Through a process of legislative colonialism and cognitive imperialism, the anguished design was to expunge Indigenous Peoples from their lands, their resources, their knowledge, their identity, and their will, in the name of Western 'progress' as authorized under the imperatives of power, laws of nature, and the

will of God (Noël, 1994). Research discourses have played a central role in the implementation of the systemic aggression towards Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous cultures are among the most studied anywhere in the world (Cajete, 1994). In this respect, Linda Smith (1999), a leading theorist on decolonization of Maori in New Zealand, reminds us that research is “an encounter between the West and the Other” and that the research enterprise implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s Indigenous Peoples.

It is my contention from having walked two charted paths of knowledge, that a schism still exists in understanding between Indigenous Peoples and the Western world. At certain moments in my journey, I naively thought that the discourses of the West, as brokered by university education, were simply lacking the appropriate voices of Indigenous Peoples to narrow the schism between the two. But through the processes of self-reflection and the application of a critical mind to the nature of social and educational mechanisms that support mainstream intellectual continuity, I sensed a much deeper social problem that continually engulfed any attempts at cross-cultural understanding. This is a sense that any bridges that have been built in attempts to facilitate cross-cultural understanding have effectively been appropriated by an established consciousness of Eurocentric thought that is intolerant of pluralism and difference as represented by Indigenous Peoples. It is now my perception that the lingering memories of alienation, developed and computed in the course of events and experiences in my encounter with the Western world, were a microcosm of much wider global experience of displacement by Indigenous Peoples wherever and whenever the West overextended its welcome.

This Western worldview, unleashed as the singular world history and consciousness, has evolved into an intellectual system now known as Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism is an established mode of scholarship that works in a discursive sleight of hand to leave no apparent trace of its existence at the same time as it assumes the role of supreme programmer (Noël, 1994). Robert Young (1990), in White Mythologies: Writing History and the West, states that “such knowledge is always centered in the self even though it is outward looking, searching for power and control of what is other to it” (p. 4). In this way, university research, as an arm of Western knowledge production, penetrates and extracts Indigenous thought only to reformulate and regurgitate as a distorted representation of Indigenous Peoples’ reality and as scholarship under the label of Western truth. This predatory activity goes unchecked, unquestioned, and continues to influence the standard of academic research activity directed at Indigenous Peoples.

My research is motivated by a desire to understand the intellectual undercurrents informing Western movements into Indigenous Peoples' spaces and the issues that cause dissidence in its wake. The central task of this thesis will be to challenge the Western intellectual covertness as a process of its self-imposed task of appropriating Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property to suit its interests. The research enterprise, as a prominent arm of Western knowledge production, is one of the readily apparent locations that I feel can be examined in attempts to uncover underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform Western expansion and the attendant scholarship circumscribing the encounter. The premise is that the continuing attempts to make the

research enterprise inclusive and amiable to Indigenous Peoples still adheres to the fundamental Eurocentric process of appropriating Indigenous knowledge into Western conventions and interests. The legacies of Euro-centricity, with its baggage of ethnocentric assumptions and metanarratives that imbue and shape discourses and representations about Indigenous Peoples so intrinsic to colonialism and imperialism, are still embedded in processes that drive the academic research enterprise. In this way, the diffusion of Euro-centricity still defines formulations to better collect, classify, and represent Indigenous Peoples through research so that issues of difference and the questionable relations of social power remain annulled in the continuing development of Western knowledge. One of the implicit objectives of this study will be to swing attention to the nature of research within the perimeters of Eurocentric discourses and the role they play in influencing social practices and customs that impact Indigenous Peoples' lived experience. The Indigenous scholar Linda Smith (1999) asserts that practices linked to the past centuries, "are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self determination, to the survival of our systems for living within our environments" (p. 1). This continuation of research practice based on systemic and obtrusive designs to thwart Indigenous Peoples' assertion of identity and self-determination is a cause for concern and one that launches the whole issue of research involving Indigenous Peoples into the moral arena of ethics. Therefore, in this study, I intend to examine the nature of research as an instrument of Western knowledge production with the primary aim of uncovering the discursive strategies that impede Indigenous Peoples' social and political empowerment and the ethical issues revolving around such scholarship. The proposed research will address the distinction

between assumptions about Indigenous Peoples in dominant modes of knowledge production through research and the political and social reality of Indigenous Peoples as a fundamental objective and condition for the negotiation of an ethical order in cross-cultural research. This study will do this by theoretical and qualitative research employing literature resources such as articles, documents, and books written by an increasing number of social critics from various fields and backgrounds about the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples. Critical theory is utilized as a methodology to uncover the inconsistencies of Western knowledge production in order to identify the problematic motivations for scholars and researchers to pursue research without a complete understanding of the ethics involved. A growing body of literature that critiques unequal social relations is utilized to identify the concerns about underlying modes and interests of dominant knowledge production. Many pieces of literature by various critical thinkers are analyzed to reveal categories and themes about problematic research and the potential solutions to those concerns. Establishing this argument about problematic issues in Western knowledge is necessary in order to emphasize the avenues for emancipation and to highlight a theory of the possible as discussed within critical theory. The language of possibility from the Indigenous Peoples' perspective is enabled by a broad understanding of knowledge that responds to the social, environmental, and metaphysical realms of existence. This perspective is brought out by the thoughts of Indigenous scholars along with aspects of primary research that examines paradigms within Indigenous Peoples' worldviews. In this respect, I use critical theory because it provides me the opportunity to position myself within the critical discourse through the technical weaving of my voice in the methodology. This task is accomplished by inserting elements of primary research

and the use of subtext in parts of the thesis where reflection and voice is considered appropriate.

The term 'discourse' refers to formal and lengthy written or spoken expressions derived from a comprehensive repository of thoughts, attitudes, values, ideals and experiences. This is the 'archive of knowledge and systems, rules and values' that Linda Smith (1999:42) writes about that is unleashed as the single narrative of world consciousness. These characteristics in turn are used to will into being the intellectual, political, economic, cultural, and social constructs of mainstream Western society. The term 'discourse' includes the processes of reasoning, the accumulated knowledge, and standing dominant views of a society that is the wellspring for expression as language, education, and scholarship in a complex praxis of cultural transmission. Further, the system of institutions founded on Eurocentric ideals latent in Western discourses is the "material bedrock of race and class structuring which has served to anchor race privilege in [white] existence" (Frankenberg, 1996:4). It is within this artificial context of beliefs, assumptions, and values, latent in dominant discourses, that we find imaginative creations of Indigenous Peoples for society's consumption. It is my contention that the imprints of Euro-centricity with an 'eye to exploitation' (Rosaldo, 1989) are still embellished throughout the canon of research scholarship continuing the work of naturalization, inferiorization, and exclusion (Mills & Torres, 1998) of Indigenous Peoples.

In this study, I try to position my self firmly at the intersection where the two worlds of Indigenous and Western Peoples meet and where two sets of intentions about the other

have been brought to the encounter. It is sometimes a gift as much as a curse to see the two worldviews simultaneously, but perhaps it is necessary to have this positioning to be able to articulate an ethical research process that speaks in a language of higher possibilities than what is standard in established academic scholarship. Poole (1972) has remarked in his book *Towards Deep Subjectivity* that there exists an “ethical space” when two sorts of space interact. Ethical space is created when the intentions of two entities structure space between them in two different ways, and when the sets of intentions confront each other then “ethical space is set up instantaneously” (Poole, 1972:5). This ‘ethical space’ is potentially a productive and appropriate position from which to express and negotiate an ethical order in research that crosses cultural borders. It is also perhaps the only positioning that allows me to be as objective as I can get, because, as Jarvie said, “there is nothing especially privileged about the observation of a parade made by those in it” (cited in Jones, 1970, p. 255). However, even though I locate myself at that juncture where the *Nehiyaw* (Indigenous) world and the Western world meet, admittedly my critical gaze and attention is more focussed on Western academia because I cannot deny that my basic loyalties and identification are with the Indigenous community.

In the course of my own reflection about issues of knowledge, power, and discourses, I am drawn to the memories of Ni wākomākanak (relations) and our community base of knowledge. I come from a *Nēhiyaw* (Cree) community called Sturgeon Lake that is situated in the northern part of Saskatchewan. The proper name we call ourselves in this community is *Nēhiyawahk* and we are a part of a larger linguistic group with homelands that span the country from the east to the west. In turn, as a nation of people, we are part of the much more pervasive group of Indigenous Peoples that span

the globe. From this self-definition as *Nēhiyawahk* flow our identity and the social, political, and historical consciousness about our existence and place in the universe. This community consciousness is in essence the continuum of a story, a history, that is largely unwritten in any text but indelibly etched in our oral narratives as told by the old people and in our spiritual observances of song, dance, art, and ritual still performed in our community. This is a heritage from our past that not only informs us of our roots to antiquity and the rights to a knowledge tradition entrusted to our people, but it also reminds us of what is important in life as we collectively negotiate the future. In this sense, the continuing significance of this community for me is that it harbors, within its people, the esoteric knowledge crafted and fine-tuned by capable minds much earlier in our continuum. It is this knowledge that I use as a cultural mirror to view the broader society. Co-existing with this trust of knowledge is the continuity of a community ethos as the inviolable spirit, standard of morality, and aggregate of community norms that are dynamic blueprints for our families to adjust and live in the varying contexts imposed by time. Therein lies the foundation of our confidence that our presence on this earth is valid and imbued with purpose and hence our cultural/political claims revolving around not only language and identity but to issues of knowledge and power. With this perspective, I have witnessed disturbing patterns of distorted representation concerning our existence being bandied about with more than a tinge of social and political construction from outside our borders. My suspicion is that the socially constructed and historically situated forces that impacted our community resulted from a pervasive logic to subordinate not only *Nēhiyawahk* but also other Indigenous Peoples through the implicit social engineering of research discourses. The pursuit of Eurocentric intellectual and academic hegemony has

influenced dominant social and institutional practices that leave an impact on Indigenous Peoples' development. For this reason, the fruit of colonialistic assumptions leave a complex array of inequalities within structures, systems, and in the modes of knowledge production.

Knowledge production and dissemination in the West, founded on the ideals of Eurocentricity, were circumscribed in discourses of universalism (Rosaldo & Ratansi, 1992), logico-scientific paradigms, (Goody & Watt, 1968), objectivity (Hekman, 1990), and truth claims about the innocence of academic knowledge (Flax, 1992). Dichotomies (Hekman, 1990; Young, 1995) were constructed in evolving Western thought that enshrined a language of intolerance and these became tenets of discourses in creating illusions of Western superiority to the imagined 'other' (hooks, 1992; West, 1995; Fanon, 1986). Blaut (1993) states that "the really crucial part of Eurocentrism is not a matter of attitudes in the sense of values and prejudices, but rather a matter of science, and scholarship, and informed and expert opinion" (p. 9). The promises of freedom for all peoples on the globe "where fiction over knowledge and power would be overcome by grounding claims to and the exercise of authority in reason" (Flax, 1992:447) were postulated as fancy discourses supported by truth but were empty of the rewards for Indigenous Peoples. In this way, dominant discourses only served as an established enterprise for elitism, creation of the 'other', an artificial world, and indeed the ingrained notion and portrait of the imaginary Indian (Francis, 1992). The unfolding Western world was in the throes of an artificial existence with no apprehended reality outside of its own contexts.

As evidenced through the work of contemporary observers, there are many levels of concerns extant in research involving Indigenous Peoples. One of these levels according to Linda Smith (1999), the author of *Decolonizing Methodologies*, is "concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices" (p.20). In this regard, Indigenous peoples' and other critics' responses to research matters "have created a moral discourse" (Cove, 1995:174) over the implicit goals and modes of Western research and how it should be conducted, especially in contexts where it involves Indigenous Peoples. Pertinent here is the notion that emancipation and transformation must encourage a researcher's self-reflection and in-depth understanding of ethics from multiple perspectives as a process of circumventing inherent assumptions and misconceptions in dominant forms of research practices. The task, it seems to me, is to transform scholarship beyond the colonial and the neocolonial mind-games and commit to work at the cutting edge of knowledge production that enshrines the potential of all peoples and worldviews. It is one assumption that only Indigenous Peoples are affected because these discourses also inhibit transformation of non-Indigenous Peoples. As Linda Smith (1999) indicates to us, "there is unfinished business, that we are still being colonized (and know it), and that we are still searching for justice" (p. 34). Unless the underlying assumptions that drive academic research processes are exposed and dispelled, there can be no inquiry that is respectful, empowering or transforming and no ethical research involving Indigenous Peoples.

Discourse in itself is not the issue. The issue is what Donald & Rattansi (1992) term the 'discursive strategies' that are deployed in Eurocentric scholarship. These strategies work as a process of social engineering to

construct a single European narrative of world history in configuring a centered notion of humanity in which certain people enjoy “unearned advantage and conferred dominance” (McIntosh 1988: 168). Those that do not conform to the Western notions of superiority are considered problematic. The fallout from Indigenous Peoples’ encounter with the West highlights the project of Eurocentrism for what it is – an agenda of oppression in its various forms as “marginalization, exploitation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence” (Iris Young, 1990: 40). These discursive strategies work to position the Western world as the defining center that prescribes universalism and hegemony in its political logic of assimilation (Donald & Rattansi, 1992). In order to maintain this power structure, new stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples people have been created, as the need has arisen (Larocque, 1991:74) in a changing nexus of representation, discourse and power (Rosaldo, 1989; Donald & Rattansi, 1992).

The Inquiry

The significance of this study is that it attempts to reorient the institutionalized academic focus from anything other than itself to one where these forms of ethnocentrism are made problematic and debated openly. This is to say that the current debate in academia on research involving Indigenous Peoples does not disengage the institutionalized mindset to view Indigenous societies as natural ‘objects’ of inquiry by the research community. I feel there is an urgent need to re-channel the focus of inquiry to the role that Western institutions play in perpetuating asymmetrical relations in research and other areas of knowledge production. A realigned paradigm would submit Western research institutions to closer public scrutiny and accountability in terms of the ethics in

research involving Indigenous Peoples. This study attempts to contribute to this reorientation by pursuing three questions. These are as follows:

1. What are the principal issues of ethics in institutional research involving Indigenous Peoples?
2. What principles of Western knowledge production are problematic in the pursuit of an ethical research order that is cross-cultural and one that involves Indigenous Peoples?
3. What conditions postulate an ethical and emancipatory research process for Indigenous Peoples?

In pursuing these questions, this study will be conducted with one eye to the research community where it perhaps needs to be heard the loudest and can possibly make the most impact. Because many more Indigenous students are coming to the university in pursuit of research knowledge and skills, it is imperative that respectful research programs and opportunities for dialogue are in place that address the implications of the research enterprise in its various dimensions upon the lives of Indigenous Peoples. In many respects, previous research examining ethics has largely been framed in ways to better penetrate Indigenous Peoples' spaces without questioning or examining the hidden Western agenda of interests in such practices. My fundamental claim is that research has not benefited Indigenous Peoples and there exists a challenge to the research community to seize on an opportunity to create conditions so research can be empowering and transforming not only for Indigenous Peoples but all communities of peoples. In so doing, a protracted project of emancipation can act as a model for the overall development of higher standards of research in the human community. There is currently very little material from an Indigenous Peoples' perspective on the issues surrounding the research

enterprise. In its own way, this study attempts to contribute to the base of Indigenous literature that addresses the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples. Another implicit objective of this thesis is that the whole research enterprise in the academy will be subject to closer academic scrutiny in terms of latent deficiencies in scholarship and methodologies that inhibit emancipation and compromise excellence of scholarship for the research community. As Seiber (1992) points out, we study ethics to learn how to make social research 'work' for all concerned. The ethical researcher creates a mutually respectful relationship in which people are pleased to participate openly and which the community at large regards as constructive (cited in Blesse, 1997, p. 3).

I need to state clearly that the following thoughts are mine as much as they are the words of many people. I write these words in self-reflection with a great need to express a point of view but there is no intention on my part of professing any great insight because always there are others with greater things to tell. I include here the disclaimer that the source of any Nēhiyaw understanding that I write about is from the Cree body of knowledge or in the collective ethos of my community which I am privileged to have access to. This kind of knowledge I cannot claim as my own, but I recognize that I am part of that participatory mind and a social product of that knowledge community. I also recognize that there are multiple and distinct nations of Indigenous Peoples in the world and therefore any reference to an Indigenous knowledge is founded on the commonality of principles that guide Indigenous Peoples' worldviews and these form the base of my confidence in conducting this study. This clarification will highlight my responsibility to give recognition to this multiplicity and also the protection of Indigenous knowledge as a sacred trust that functions outside of and beyond the perimeters of individualized scholarship.

The guidance of two Indigenous educators at the University of Saskatchewan led me to what I want to say here. The work of Marie Battiste and Verna St. Denis in promoting and establishing a critical base of knowledge in graduate studies led to the challenging exercise of decolonizing the text. The product of this critical mind is that this study will highlight what happens when the researcher becomes the researched. If you will, take what you can from these thoughts and reflect on them.

Summary

The basic aim of this chapter was to start unraveling the nature and origin of the forces that have caused complications at the encounter of Indigenous Peoples and the Western world. This chapter did this by first identifying two sets of experiences from two worldviews that inform the author's perspectives about knowledge and power as they play out in research. Subtexts are utilized to provide a venue for reflective voice and to initially single out multiple perspectives regarding the research enterprise and the nature of discourses circumscribing the movement of colonialism and imperialism into Indigenous Peoples life-spaces. The researcher's position in relation to the encounter of worldviews, identified as the confluence, informs the relative perspective from which the study is undertaken. From this perspective, a schism of understanding between the Western world and Indigenous Peoples is evident. This misunderstanding is not natural, but is influenced by specific forms of knowledge that inform and influence social practices of intolerance. Literature from a variety of social critics such as Indigenous scholars, feminists, and post colonial thinkers, is utilized to highlight the nature of critique relevant to research involving Indigenous Peoples. The basic aim of the chapter is to introduce the parameters of the inquiry, which includes the identification of assumptions, motivations, and values of

dominant research and how these practices breach ethics from the perspective of Indigenous Peoples.

Setting the Terms

Community is the system of relationships in which the nature of person-hood is identified. This system of relationships not only includes family, but also extends to comprise the relationships of human, ecological, and spiritual origin. Community is a structure of the support mechanisms that include the personal responsibility for the collective and reciprocally, the collective concern for individual existence. Cajete (1994) suggests that, "the community is the place where the forming of the heart and face of the individual as one of the people is most fully expressed" (p. 164). It is the primary expression of a natural context and environment where exists the fundamental right of person-hood to be what one is meant to be. Movement within this community context allows individuals to discover all there is to discover about one-self. David Bohm (1996) refers to the idea of participatory thought as a process that everything partakes of everything else. He recognizes participatory thought as a people's participation in some of the things they saw and that one cannot be part in something unless that thing in some sense accepts one's participation. In this sense, community is participatory thought in action.

Critical theory is defined by Welton (1991) as "a theory of history and society driven by a passionate commitment to understand how societal structures hinder and impede the fullest development of humankind's collective potential to be self-reflective and self-determining" (cited in Razack, 1993, p. 44). It is the framework by which criticism is levied on social organization that privileges some at the expense of others (Bogdan and

Biklen, 1998). The attributes of critical theory are its willingness to examine asymmetrical power relations, commitment to conscientization, seeking emancipation, and capacity to promote personal reflexivity. These features of the theory give vision and direction, inscribed in a language of 'possibility', towards a place of utopia for humankind. The sense of utopia for Indigenous Peoples is that colonization and imperialism will forever be enshrined to the past and all the necessary redress for historical experiences of injustice enacted.

Ethics are the values, principles, intentions, personal sense of responsibility, and self-definition that guide behaviors, practices, and actions towards others. Linda Smith (1999) states that ethical codes of conduct "serve partly the same purpose as the protocols which govern our relationships with each other and with the environment (p. 121). Respect has been consistently used to underscore appropriate relationships and ways of understanding other historical actors of the universe. Giroux (1992) states that ethics is "a social discourse that refuses to accept needless human suffering and exploitation" (p.74)

Ethical Space is the abstract location or space that connotes an area of encounter and interaction of two entities with two sorts of different intentions. These intentions are guided by a past that includes memory, values, interests, and the actions validated by our communities. Ethical space is created when the intentions of two entities structure space between them in two different ways, and when the sets of intentions confront each other then "ethical space is set up instantaneously" (Poole, 1972:5). This space affords the opportunity to be reflective about personal convictions and how these formed perceptions

influence our intentions about the 'other'. This confrontation of worldviews sets up the conditions by which negotiation is necessary in order to arrive at ethical interaction.

Eurocentrism is the notion that European civilization, or the 'West', has some special quality of mind, race, culture, environment, mind or historical advantage which gives this human community a permanent superiority over all other communities (Blaut, 1993). These qualities would seem to confer on this community the special duty of advancing and modernizing the rest of the world. As Blaut (1993) continues, "the really crucial part of Eurocentrism is not a matter of attitudes in the sense of values and prejudices, but rather a matter of science, and scholarship, and informed and expert opinion" (p. 9). Henderson (2000), states that Eurocentrism is a "dominant intellectual and educational movement that postulates the superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans...it has been the dominant artificial context for the last five centuries and is an integral part of all scholarship, opinion, and law" (p.58). Although understanding that Eurocentrism has a complex nature, J. M. Blaut succinctly states that, "Eurocentrism is quite simply the colonizer's model of the world" (p. 10).

Imperialism is the practice of extending local authority by establishing cultural hegemony over other national communities. This is a sense of establishing a presence and social dynamics that enable 'progress' and the onward and upward march of the Western spirit into new territory and intellectual spaces through time. Said (1993) states that imperialism at some basic level "means thinking about, settling on, controlling land that you do not possess, that is distant, that is lived on and owned by others" (cited in Graveline, 1998, p. 24). Defining imperialism as the unsolicited takeover of property must also be extended to include its mechanisms that enable the appropriation of cultural,

spiritual, and intellectual property of Indigenous Peoples. Linda Smith (1999) states that imperialism can be seen by how the West “can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas” (p. 1).

Indigenous Peoples are the Tribal peoples in independent countries whose distinctive identity, values, and history distinguishes them from other sections of the national community. Indigenous Peoples are the descendants of the original or pre-colonial inhabitants of a territory or geographical area and despite their legal status, retain some or all of their social, economic, cultural and political institutions. Linda Smith (1999) states that the term 'Indigenous Peoples' “internationalizes the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples” (p. 7).

Nēhiyaw is the proper name the Cree people have assigned for themselves. From this definition flows the identity and the social, political, historical and spiritual consciousness about Cree existence in the universe. Nēhiyawahk are part of a larger linguistic group that spans the North American continent from east to west. As nations of people, Nēhiyawahk possess language, territory, spiritual observances, knowledge and all the particular systems that contribute to a national identity. In turn, Nēhiyawahk are part of more pervasive group of Indigenous Peoples that span the globe.

Ni wāhkōmākanak is a Cree word that describes the system of relations in Nēhiyaw society. It is one of the words that constitute the whole concept of relationships as established in the Cree community and its worldview. These are relations, as envisioned by expanding concentric circles, which include the immediate family, extended

family, community, and nation. The system of relations also includes the relationships that have human, natural, and spiritual origin.

Western refers to a mind-set, a worldview that is a product of the development of European culture and diffused into other nations like North America. Means (1980) states that "people are not genetically encoded to hold this outlook; they are acculturated to hold it" (cited in Graveline, 1998:23). Munnich (1990) argues that Western discourse is the "dominant meaning system" of Western society and is the primary expression of that culture. It is therefore the comprehensive repository of the Western experience that wills into being intellectual, political, economic, cultural, and social constructs of Western society and is therefore embedded within all the standing disciplines of the Western academy. Graveline (1998) states that although the terms "European, Western, and White may be used interchangeably, it is not the race that is targeted" (p. 23). Stuart Hall (1992) points out that the "West is an idea or concept, a language for imagining a set of complex stories, ideas, historical events and social relationships" (cited in Smith, 1999:42). Further, Linda Smith (1999) states that the term 'Western' is representative of an "archive of knowledge and systems, rules and values" (p. 42) extracted from and characteristic of Europe and the western hemisphere.

Worldview is the principles or codes we acquire and utilize to construct our reality of the universe and to interpret and make sense of the world around us in a holistic way. Worldview provides people with a sense of location and identity in the cosmos and with a set of values as a cognitive map that generates and guides behavior and lends form, direction, and continuity to life.

Organization of Thesis

This thesis is arranged in chapters. Chapter one provides the context of the study by way of an introducing the reasons why I want to do this study and starting the unraveling of discourses that circumscribe research processes involving Indigenous Peoples. Chapter two provides the study methods by reviewing literature on critical theory as a methodology and a description of the research procedures as a method for this study. Chapter three initiates the discussion on the research problem by examining some basic principles of Western knowledge production that influence research assumptions. Chapter four contains a critical reading of literature regarding the concerns of critics about the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples. Chapter five examines alternate knowledge as a paradigm that can contribute to research models in promoting the transformation of knowledge and the emancipation of the human community. Finally, chapter six provides the summary of findings, conclusions of the study, and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

CRITICAL THEORY, METHOD, STUDY PROCEDURES

Prophetic critics and artists of color should be exemplars of what it means to be intellectual freedom fighters, that is, cultural workers who simultaneously position themselves within (or alongside) the mainstream while clearly aligned with groups who vow to keep alive potent traditions of critique and resistance (p. 167).

Cornel West
The New Cultural Politics of Difference

Introduction

I have chosen to use critical theory as the umbrella framework for the purpose of examining the ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples. As a theoretical framework, Welton (1991) offers a definition of critical theory as follows:

Critical theory is a theory of history and society driven by a passionate commitment to understand how societal structures hinder and impede the fullest development of humankind's collective potential to be self-reflective and self-determining historical actors (cited in Razack, 1993, p. 44).

My explicit goal in this inquiry is to expose the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values underpinning Western research that contribute to the distorted perceptions of Indigenous Peoples. The distorted understanding of Indigenous Peoples contributes to

ethical breaches in the form of exploitation and appropriation of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property rights. The project does this by critiquing aspects of knowledge production and the social systems that constrict the full human potential of self-reflectivity and self-determining historical action for all people. As Bogdan and Biklen (1998) indicate in *Qualitative Research for Education*, critical theory is "critical of social organization that privileges some at the expense of others" (p. 21). It is the experience of Indigenous Peoples that the social organization of dominant knowledge and its established influence on research practices has been largely detrimental to Indigenous Peoples. Accordingly, Henderson (1997), an Indigenous scholar and author of *The Mikmaw Concordat*, wrote that postcolonial theory and critique seek to end the "privileged position of Eurocentrism and colonial thought in modern society and create parity in modern thought" (p. 23). To be able to articulate this position in this study requires a research methodology that draws on a wide range of critical positions and programs.

The application of critical theory will draw on numerous critical programs to support and give guidance to ideas in this sociocultural analysis of existing power structures and social inequalities. Because of the nature of the study and the multiple contested sites in the research process, critical discussion will be supported by Indigenous Peoples' critique (Smith, 1999), feminist research, Freirian "empowering" research (Lather, 1986), post-colonial theory, and postmodern critique. Smith (1999) states that "critiques by feminist scholars, by critical theorists, by black and African American scholars have provided ways of talking about knowledge and its social constructions, and about methodologies and the politics of research"(p. 5).

First, this study will utilize Indigenous Peoples' critique. As Graveline (1998) states in her book, *Circle Works: Transforming Eurocentric Consciousness*:

Aboriginal writers across tribal affiliations share a common and universal critique: the history of "Indian" and white relations, commonly referred to as "fact" in the textbooks, is socially constructed as an act of colonial privilege and power and must be challenged and reconstructed in the voices of Aboriginal Peoples (p. 38).

Secondly, this study on ethics in research will draw on the work of feminist research that critiques the knowledge informed by Enlightenment metanarratives such as universalism, objectivity, rationality, and construction of dichotomies and the implications of these discourses for social views of difference, gender, race and class. As McIntosh (1998), a feminist writer, states, "to redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions" (p. 168). Third, the study utilizes ideas and concepts that derive from Freirian "empowering" research (Lather, 1996). In this respect Giroux (1992) states that "the base assumption of radical education is a language of possibility. It goes beyond critique to elaborate a positive language of human empowerment" (p. 10). This study on ethics in research attempts to identify conditions that restrict humanity from achieving its full potential. Fourthly, the study is also informed by Postcolonial Critique. In this sense, Henderson (1997) states that "postcolonial theory is an intellectual strategy of colonized Aboriginal scholars and writers... It is a criticism that confronts the unequal process of representation by which the historical experience of the colonized Aboriginals comes to be framed in Eurocentric scholarship" (p. 23). Finally, this study utilizes the work of the post structuralists. Linda Smith (1999) tells us that "post structuralists have

focussed on the characteristics and understandings of history as an enlightenment or modernist project" (p. 29). Further, according to feminist scholar Hekman (1990), who writes about the relationship of postmodernism and science with knowledge in *Nature and Culture*, "the most relevant contribution of postmodernism is its critique of the rationalist philosophy of science" (p. 106). These critical approaches under critical theory pose questions about the relationship between colonialistic powers and Indigenous Peoples. Linda Smith (1999) explores through her research the various manifestations of asymmetrical relations in knowledge production built up over many years. Her astute insights about research involving Indigenous Peoples contribute the understanding that there is a broad array of issues to be addressed to make research an ethical enterprise. Clarity about the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples requires serious examination of the "relationship between knowledge and power, between research and emancipation, and between lived reality and imposed ideals about the other" (L. Smith, 1999, p.165).

Researcher Positioning within Critical Theory

I position myself at a confluence of two worldviews for the purposes of this study because of my experience, insights, and the context of having walked the charted paths of Nēhiyaw and Western learning. This position allows me simultaneous identity through the retention of my Indigenous perspective and also as a researcher trained in the Western tradition. The relationship between positioning and the nature of the study is supported by Stokes' (1985) contention that "what is important and essential is that the researcher can operate comfortably in both cultures, is bicultural and preferably bilingual" (p. 9). This positioning at the intersection of two worldviews is crucial to understanding the claims from

both sites involved in the examination of research. As Foucault (1983) states, “the things which seem most evident to us are always formed in the confluence of encounters and chances, during the course of a precarious and fragile history” (p. 37). It is my positioning, with my experiences of and insights into what happens at the confluence of two worldviews that is theoretically significant in a study on ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples. This positioning at the confluence of worldviews is understandable by many Indigenous scholars in many nations of the globe that find themselves in similar situations. This places an awesome responsibility for these scholars in scholarly and ethical contexts to provide insight for the appropriate negotiation of cross-cultural inquiry. In this way critical theory also provides me, as an Indigenous researcher, the opportunity to position my voice within the critical discourse through technical weaving in the methodology. As researchers, Bogdan and Biklen (1998) state that it is necessary to “acknowledge that no matter how much you try you can not divorce your research and writing from your past experiences, who you are, what you believe and what you value” (p. 34). This is a necessary process in the creation of voice and the development of some form of historicity and critical deployment of the role of research in the Indigenous world. Further, Kushner and Norris (1981), in *Interpretation, Negotiation, and Validity in Naturalistic Research*, state that “within ethical space, artificially created and procedurally governed, participants in the research process can make honest statements...without prejudice to the research enterprise or themselves” (p. 31). In this respect I trust that the data taken from various perspectives in critical theory will inform my thinking and my positioning will enhance my capacity to shape thought in studying ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples.

Attributes of Critical Theory

The decision to utilize critical theory for this study on the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples is informed by its distinguishing features. These features include its willingness to critique power relations and dominant discourse in a framework of Eurocentrism (Foucault, 1977; Noël, 1994; Young, 1990; Smith, 1999), engagement in conscientization (Freire, 1970), goal of emancipation from forces that inhibit humanity (Giroux, 1992), and its capacity to promote reflexivity (Lather, 1986). The features of critical theory given here are by no means exhaustive of the distinguishing elements of critical theory but they are some of the central concepts discussed in this examination of ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples. Foucault (1988), in an article entitled *Practicing Criticism*, states that “a critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest” (p. 154). This study proposes to uncover these assumptions as they relate to research and Indigenous Peoples. As Foucault (1988) continues, “criticism is a matter of flushing out that thought and trying to change it” (p. 155). Research that distances itself from known assumptions that create dominant/subordinate power relations, or is tactically conscious of such matters during research will go a long way towards establishing ethical research that safely crosses borders. As Giroux (1992) states, “an ethical discourse needs to be taken up with regard to the relations of power, subject positions, and social practices it activates” (p. 74). This study on the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples attempts to add to the ethical discourse. It attempts to do this by the researcher’s positioning at the confluence of cultural encounters that may be a crucial location from

which ethics can be established. As Larson (1988) states in an article titled *Ethnopolitics and Research Ethics for the non-native Researcher*, "difficult ethical questions need not be viewed as dilemmas, but as resolvable issues, if the theoretical and methodological reference parameters we bring to establishing a code of ethics in the first place do not engender social separation or divided consciousness" (p. 12). In this sense, this study adheres to Maori scholar Graham Smith's (1997) rationale for using critical theory in his statement that critical theory "accommodates an appropriate framework for analyzing differential power relations between dominant and subordinate interests" (p. 116). Graham Smith's (1997) thesis examines significant and multiple sites of struggle for the Maori People in political, educational, economic, and social contexts. The complexity he encounters in unraveling differential power relations between dominant and subordinate interests is understood in the context of this study.

Conscientization and Emancipation

According to Freire (1972) 'conscientization' refers to "the process in which [humans], not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness of both the socio-cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality"(cited in Graveline, 1998, p. 191). The reality is that Western research has not benefited Indigenous Peoples but is, in effect, complicit in subordination of the Indigenous Peoples' reality. This study proposes that raising consciousness about the research process involving Indigenous Peoples will lead towards a reflection about the degree of personal complicity in problematic research and the ethical actions thereof not only for Indigenous Peoples but also for the academy of researchers. Freire (1970) writes about

two stages of pedagogy in dominant/oppressed relations that contribute to conscientization. He states that:

[In] the first stage this confrontation occurs through the change in the way the oppressed perceive the world of oppression; in the second stage, through the expulsion of the myths created and developed in the old order, which like specters haunt the new structure (p. 40).

There is no true word that is not at the same time praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world (Freire, 1970). As well, it is the intent to identify the points of agreement at the confluence of cultures where understandings can be worked on in the pursuit of emancipation and the social realization of the human potentiality. Horkheimer (1937) states that [critical theory's] goal is man's [sic] emancipation from relationships that enslave him" (cited in Benhabib, 1986, p. 3). The idea of emancipation in this study is that, as awareness or 'conscientization' develops about the hidden curriculum of cross cultural research, a transformation into newer modes of thought and action will take place in the research process involving Indigenous Peoples. This is the "language of possibility" that Giroux (1992) writes about that can promote self-awareness through the critical understanding of one's political, social, and historical context. As St. Denis (1992) states, the awareness is used to "develop emancipatory knowledge, which is necessary for radically improving and transforming social reality" (p. 54). This is knowledge in the form of reflexive and critical self-consciousness about social reality (St. Denis, 1992). In this study, emancipation from constricting paradigms of research is conceived as a process of conscientization about its assumptions, reflection on degree of complicity, and action that

contributes to transformation into a new research relationship between cultures. Freire (1970) states that "with the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed – even in part – the other immediately suffers" (p. 75). This study is an action taken because of reflection regarding the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples.

This study proposes that the praxis of theoretical construction can contribute to a liberation of thought as part of the emancipatory project of critical theory. In this regard, Foucault (1988) states:

[T]he intellectual ... works specifically in the realm of thought ... to see how far the liberation of thought can make those transformations urgent enough for people to want to carry them out and difficult enough to carry out for them to be profoundly rooted in reality (p. 155).

The multiple dimensions of research that are contested by Indigenous Peoples necessitate alternate theoretical considerations and formulations that strive to achieve emancipation from dominant systems and transformation in research processes. In this sense, emancipation also involves creating new currents of thought that flow in different directions or overrun the old ways of thinking (Noël, 1994). In this study, emancipation also includes Freire's (1970) idea as captured by the statement that "it is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free their oppressors" (p. 42). This examination of ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples strives to contribute in making those conditions possible as part of a broader utopian vision. This utopian vision, where all peoples are explicitly involved in historical human action, can be closer to

achievement if there exists the acceptance of differences and application of ethics in cross-cultural understanding.

Self Reflexivity in Critical Theory

Critical theory also supports the 'human agency' position (G. Smith, 1997). In this sense, this study acknowledges and works on 'human agency' and self reflexivity as the media and venue in which individuals and groups are able to gain new perspectives that not only resist oppressive structures and knowledge but free them from complicity in unethical practices. For Giroux (1992), ethics is a practice that "broadly connotes one's personal and social sense of responsibility to the Other" (p. 74). In this study, a sense of responsibility for the other connotes a struggle for human rights and against inequality brought on by domineering systems and discourses. As Robert Young (1990) writes, there is "deep complicity of academic forms of knowledge with institutions of power" (p. 127). This examination of ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples revolves around the issue of how academic forms of knowledge brokered by university education are complicit in the concerns Indigenous People have expressed about the research enterprise. In the same light feminist writer Linda Alcoff (1994) states for example that [Indigenous Peoples] "can (and do) think about, criticize, and alter discourse and, thus, that subjectivity can be reconstructed through the process of reflexive practice" (p. 110). Linking subjectivity, as a process in personal development, with social criticism enhances the possibility that identification of enslaving social relationships can occur. Understanding the links between subjective awareness and social impediments enables resistance and the appropriate action to foster a just society. In this instance, subjectivity becomes a part of the broader picture of critical theory because the idea of subjective

relations implicates human ethics as a gauge in evaluating discourse and social practices like research. This study is done with an eye to the academy and its degree of institutionalized inequalities that will require deep self-reflection on the part of proponents of the academic status quo. This study is an attempt at “researching back” or “writing back” (L. Smith, 1999:7) as much as it is a reminder to the academy that all is not well in research involving Indigenous Peoples.

Critique of Critical Theory

Critical theory has not been free of its own critique. According to Bishop (1994), a Maori writer, critical approaches to research have in fact failed to address the issues of communities. He states that development of alternative approaches by [Indigenous Peoples] reflects a form of resistance to critical theory. Linda Smith (1999) stated that the feminist critique voiced concern “in terms of failure of critical theory to deliver emancipation for oppressed groups” (p. 166). This criticism may be couched in terms of what the expectations are of critical theory. Criticism and the effective utilization of critical theory may require establishing appropriate linkages between theory and practice. In this sense, criticism must move beyond the conception of critique and enter into domains of discussion where the ‘possible’ becomes the unifying paradigm for creating new relationships. Finding little significance in the theatre of ‘possibility’ offered by critical theory improves the changes that emancipation will languish in discourses of critique. This situation would ensure complicity in neo-colonial structures of knowledge production and prompts writers like Moore-Gilbert (1997) to state that critical theory and specifically post-structuralist theory is “thoroughly complicit in the disposition and operations of the current, neo-colonial world order” (p. 153). According to Moore–Gilbert (1997), in his book

Post Colonial Theory, post-structuralists do this by “a practice which appropriates the cultural production of the Third World, and refines it as a commodity for the consumption of the metropolitan elite” (p. 153). From the perspective of Indigenous Peoples, this appropriation of cultural products comes in new waves of research in its contemporary forms. Accordingly, Linda Smith (1999) states that, “ the global hunt for new knowledges, new materials, new cures, supported by international agreements such as the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) brings new threats to indigenous communities” (p. 25). The complicity of critical theory in this instance may lie in its capacity to critique the conditions of cultural appropriation Indigenous Peoples face, but flounders in generating visions of the ‘possible’ that would lead the way out from such contexts. Blaut (1993) states that critics of Eurocentric diffusionism failed to grasp the full implications of their critique. He writes that:

While criticizing the diffusionists for their rejection of the principle of the psychic unity of mankind, the antidiffusionists nonetheless believed that cultural evolution has been centered in Europe, and they therefore accepted the idea—explicitly or implicitly—that Europeans are more inventive, more innovative than anyone else (p. 13).

Criticism of critical theory centers on the notion that the paradigm is complicit in the very knowledge it purports to critique and its utilization contributes to Eurocentric diffusionism as indicated by J. M. Blaut. The position of this thesis on the matter of critical theory is that, it is appropriate as a stepping stone to the broader project of the ‘possible’ which may well bring about emancipation. Additionally, it would appear that the West has not adequately appropriated from Indigenous Peoples the capacity to critique, which properly

means that the 'West' does not hold any monopoly on critique. This is brought out by the degree of criticism evident from Indigenous scholars and other post colonial thinkers in many parts of the globe.

Method

Due to the exploratory and academic nature of the proposed research the first consideration was to identify a research method which would facilitate my desire to know something from a certain position in my research. As Bogdan & Biklen (1998) state, "people do not reason or conceptualize outside of the self's location in a specific historical time and body; hence, this [postmodern] perspective emphasizes interpretation and writing as central features of research" (p. 21). In this study I unravel the discourses that circumscribe research involving Indigenous Peoples. The method includes identifying the two solitudes of Indigenous Peoples and Western worldviews at times distinguished in this study by the use of subtexts. The articulation of Indigenous perspectives is brought out by the utilization of Indigenous literature and the technical weaving of some elements of primary research by the author. Models are used to summarize the worldviews to enhance their distinctiveness.

The introduction of a common space configured at the confluence of two worldviews illustrates the concept of an ethical space that opens channels for the negotiation of ethical cross-cultural interaction. This ethical space represents a way to examine a language of the possible by which a new relationship in research can be developed. The ethical space assigns the appropriate knowledge production that is respectful of alternate knowledge.

As Bogdan & Biklen (1998) state, "rather than taking writing in the form of text in papers, manuscripts, articles, and books for granted, postmodern qualitative researchers make it an object of study" (p. 21). I have chosen to use literature resources written by Indigenous writers and other critics from different countries to demonstrate the degree of concern about ethics in research that involves Indigenous Peoples. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) state:

Every book, every magazine article, represents at least one person who is equivalent to the anthropologist's informant or the sociologist's interviewee. In these publications, people converse, announce positions, argue with a range of eloquence, and describe events or scenes in ways entirely comparable to what is seen and heard during field work. The researcher needs only to discover the voices in the library to release them for his analytic use (p. 163).

This requires a method that will enhance my capacity to analyze many pieces of literature for the purpose of developing categories and themes in determining the concerns of research involving Indigenous Peoples. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) state that "data analysis is an ongoing process in qualitative research" (p. 128). The nature of this study is that it is ongoing; therefore, this discussion of method alludes to and describes the different aspects of data analysis followed in the thesis. The basic procedure follows the process of analytic induction as a procedure for verifying theory and propositions based on qualitative data (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984).

Categories were developed according to recurring concerns expressed about research involving Indigenous Peoples within the critical reading. In this sense the

researcher's familiarity with data is supported by the individual's insight and intuition in establishing recurring themes in data (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four guidelines for developing categories. These are:

- (a) the number of people who mention something or the frequency with which something arises in the data indicates an important dimension
- (b) One's audience may determine what is important – that is, some categories will appear to various audiences as more or less credible
- (c) Some categories will stand out because of their uniqueness and should be retained
- (d) Certain categories may reveal areas of inquiry not otherwise recognized or provide a unique leverage on an otherwise common problem. (cited in Merriam, 1988, p. 95)

Next, all the data collected were reviewed and units were sorted and assigned to the categories. Units that are selected from documents such as articles and books serve as the basis for defining categories of concerns in research involving Indigenous Peoples. These units satisfy the criteria that Lincoln and Guba (1985) outline. These two criteria are:

- (a) it should be heuristic – that is, the unit should reveal information relevant to the study and stimulate reader to think beyond the particular bit of information
- (b) the unit should be the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself – that is, it must be interpreted in the

absence of any additional information other than a broad understanding of the context in which the inquiry is carried out (cited in Merriam, 1988, p. 345).

Aspects of primary research were used to present Indigenous perspectives from the Cree People and to buttress other perspectives from Indigenous Peoples' literature. Illustrations utilized serve to highlight differences of perspectives and to visually support the theory that Western research paradigms are in contradiction to Indigenous Peoples' perceptions about knowledge production.

CHAPTER THREE

EXAMINING THE PRINCIPLES OF DOMINANT KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

The distinction between what is real and what is mere thought and therefore imaginary or illusory is absolutely necessary, not only for success in practical affairs but also if we are in the long run even to maintain our sanity (p. 56).

David Bohm
Wholeness and the Implicate Order

Introduction

The intent of this section is to examine the foundations of how dominant knowledge is produced. The way Western knowledge is being characterized and disseminated by the academy assumes that its basic foundations for constructing a model of human knowing have long since been established through consensus, with its principles unquestionably valid. It is the common social view that the paradigms used in this body of knowledge are the most appropriate lenses to be used in the continuing struggle to understand human existence and the social conditions that would postulate the achievement of the human potential. However, Western claims about the validity of its knowledge base and the singular world consciousness it presumes to represent are now increasingly being challenged for their inherent assumptions, interests, and motivations. For example, the practical value of 'reasoning' in fostering human awareness and

understanding is being challenged because of its contribution to a minimal and fragmented view of reality. This 'rational' view of reality has largely been constructed within the perimeters of an enclave of human society with particular interests and motivations for a particular world order of knowledge. According to Foucault (1983), "what different forms of [Western] rationality offer as their necessary being...reside on a base of human practice and human history" (p. 37). His argument is that since the Western form of knowledge is essentially a product of human construction, it can be untangled as long as we know how it was made. Part of this challenge is evident through the unraveling of the discursive world of the artificial context in order to identify dominant scholarship's location in historical and political developments in the world. It is the case now that the Western world has to account for its claims on the universal and, as part of the process, it is required to answer basic questions relating to its interpretations of reality. I concur with White (1987) that Western texts "must now be 'deconstructed', their 'blindness' specified and their 'representativeness' brought under question" (p. 187).

The intent of this chapter is to deconstruct the principles of Western knowledge and examine the process of knowledge production as it is brokered by the university. It is my contention that this knowledge is an order of thought with links to the Enlightenment where Western knowing took a decidedly nasty and self-deceiving tangent to turn into an established and refined intellectual system that now continues the work started centuries ago. Dominant knowledge is an order of thought with links to the Enlightenment where values such as universality, reason, science, power, and the inherent superiority of Enlightenment culture originated. These values were embellished with high validity and given power through truth claims and processes of abstraction and the mystification of

such knowledge. This chapter will do this by first identifying how the artificial context is created through constructions of propositions that are said to represent the Real. Secondly, there is a discussion on how these propositions, as symbols, have been made to appear as absolute truths about reality as it is. In this sense, the constructions of propositions by scholars as an effort to represent the Real are identified as skewed practice in a larger process of knowledge production that respects all humanity. Thirdly, there is an examination of textual practices like modes of reproduction and dissemination that place high value in Western propositions about reality. The ensuing discussion relates how these discursive practices of re-creating and re-circulating archaic knowledge undermine the validation of Indigenous Peoples and their systems of knowledge. This practice is a symptom of imprisoned or a 'caging' mentality that not only binds Western knowledge into fragmented thinking but also traps Indigenous Peoples and their image forever within Western texts. This entrapment then sets the stage for the final appropriation and the conditions for total control of Indigenous Peoples, along with the knowledge and everything else that they represent. Current research Western practices, many under the brokerage of university disciplines are deemed implicated in this process.

The Artificial Context

The imprints of Western thought losing its clarity through its reasoning process seem to point to the process of truth-making found in Western philosophy as one of the roots of a self-deceiving turn in knowledge production. What is required is a complete rethinking, as Minnich (1990) states in her book *Transforming Knowledge*, "first of the basic models of reality, truth, and meaning in the dominant tradition, and then of all the

knowledge predicated on them" (p.28). Flax (1992), a feminist writer, discusses how Western philosophy occupies a legitimating role within the metanarratives of the Enlightenment (reason, history, science, knowledge, power, and the inherent superiority of Western culture) in ways that continue to structure Western culture. She states in *The End of Innocence*, that philosophers are caught in the spell of "metaphysics of presence" by taking as their central task the construction of a philosophical system in which "something Real would and could be re-presented in thought" (p. 451). Western thinkers like René Descartes have attempted to understand and articulate rationality by arguing that the real can be understood in terms that are foreign to sense experience. Looking at rationality through the subject-centered world of Descartes posits a fragmented view of the universe where there are divisions of separate parts. Hekman (1990) states that Descartes accomplished two things in defining himself as a subject and, as such, the source of all possible certainty. She states, "first, he turned that which is not subject, object, into something external to himself" (p. 117). This essentially creates the object/subject dualism and positivism that is now the mainstay in natural sciences. Reese (1996) writes that Wittgenstein also influenced the development of logical positivism and fragmentation where empirical science or 'empiricism' is used to view the world as elementary facts that are independent of each other. Positivism is the attitude that objective, value-free, and scientific process are valid for observing and making sense of human realities. The Real is an external subject or substance that exists 'out there' and is independent of the knower, and it is the philosopher's desire to "mirror, register, mimic, or make present the Real" (Flax, 1992:451) and that truth would be understood as correspondence to it. Therefore, all knowledge of objects and the truth of their being are

essentially knowledge of the propositions about these objects. Wittgenstein's other view is that the language can be used to state facts by a process of picturing. When a fact is pictured there is correspondence between the language used and what is pictured. As Reese (1996) states, Wittgenstein's thesis is that any proposition that fails to picture a fact, is nonsense and "metaphysics and ethics fall into this category" (p. 839). In this sense, the symbolism constructed by philosophers to represent the Real, a superficial re-creation, becomes the principal achievement of the human mind and is validated as knowledge in the Western intellectual system. A statement made by Rank (1958) regarding this form Western rationality is worth quoting at length. He states:

All our human problems, with their intolerable sufferings, arise from man's [sic] ceaseless attempts to make this natural world into a man-made reality, thereby hopelessly confusing the values of both spheres. In this sense, all human values no matter how real they are to us – as, for example, money – are unreal, which paradoxically enough does not mean irrational. The rational and the irrational both human values are not equivalent to the real and unreal representing natural values. The result of this confusion manifests itself in the paradox that the reality in which we live is determined by the unreality which we believe to be real because it is rational (cited in Gamble, 1986, p. 22).

There are a large number and diversity of people who have attempted to understand and articulate rationality. The distinction between being rational and the 'desire' to be rational, however, has never developed unanimity amongst scholars

(Henderson, 2000, personal communications). This disagreement has not discouraged the promulgation of Western rationalists' views from being given prominence in dominant discourses and debates about knowledge. Structuring of knowledge under principles of rationality, inscribed into text, places great disadvantage to other forms of knowing. The mechanistic view under the object/subject dualism compromises human understanding because it does not account for processes of subjectivity and participatory thought. In this sense, the symbolism turned abstraction in Western accumulated knowledge replaced the actual world of reality found in human experience of natural and supernatural domains. Symbolizing the Real also obfuscated the value of direct experiences, as subjectivity, as the foundations of truth and personal relationships in constructing knowledge. Discourses under this Western rational format then become what Tafoya (1987) terms 'cages for ideas' about reality and the conditions where truth starts to flounder in the abstract (cited in Whitt, 1995). Bohm (1988), a distinguished theoretical physicist, reminds us that abstraction is created when we lose the original intent of symbolism as a form of insight to illustrate reality and start to make the symbols "appear to be the absolute truths about reality as it is" (p. 22). What we are left with in place of reality are the scholar's symbols with the expectation we will acknowledge their validity in the absence of examining and experiencing reality itself.

As I stand at the confluence of the Indigenous and Western worlds, I can readily see two very different forms of knowledge being brought forward to the encounter. The West brings with it a fragmented and objective version of existence as constructed by its own seers of knowledge. The Indigenous Peoples

bring with them a knowledge that is grounded in subjective relationships with a spiritual universe. The Western seers would not and could not relinquish their belief that human rationality is the basis of universal truth because this would undermine their power and privileged position in knowledge production.

Indigenous Peoples, on the other hand, can not abandon their sacred trusts to uphold holism and the sensibility for the natural and metaphysical because therein lies the basic hope for human discourses of justice and emancipation from forms of intellectual tyranny in the present.

Placing high validity in Western forms of abstraction as the necessary process of knowing followed the initial phase of substituting the symbol for the Real in Western knowledge production. For example, Minnich (1990), author of *Transforming Knowledge*, writes that the ideals of Greek culture placed the study of higher things, the liberal arts, at a premium while the study of useful subjective knowledge was relegated to 'others' presumably of a lesser intellect. In this case, the Latin language was pursued as some form of initiation into the world of prescribed high knowledge even if there was no knowledge value in this act by itself. The only thing this prescription created was an "abstract philosophical scheme of worth" (Minnich, 1990) that, as an idea, was adopted into the Western principles of 'intellectualization' and processes of education. As a result, the abstraction of reality within the artificial context was reified and embedded as a tenet of high education in the West. However, this very act of removing 'useful knowledge' and replacing it with an elitist language of 'higher things' is rather like the approximation process found in objectivity. Kierkegaard (1846), a nineteenth century existentialist writer,

has said that the existing individual who chooses to pursue the objective way enters upon the entire 'approximation process' for understanding. I would concur with Kierkegaard on this point because the notion of objectivity involves mental reasoning and does not appropriately include other human faculties such as knowing through the affective domain. The approximation process in objectivity is further handicapped because Western propositions about knowledge are not tested or triangulated to other forms of knowledge nor to the orders of natural and metaphysical relationships beyond what 'science' states is real.

One of the most contentious issues for Indigenous Peoples indeed has been how research is conducted within the perimeters of scientific thought and discourse. As Linda Smith (1999) tells us, positivist science has a connectedness at the common sense level for those in society who "take for granted the hegemony of its methods and leadership in the search for knowledge" (p. 189). There is a concern though that Eurocentric assumptions pervade much of 'scientific research' because ideologies are sometimes smuggled in under the cover of devotion to the ideals of science (Sorbo, 1982). For example, objectivity is a tenet of Western science that is used to make claims that research involving Indigenous Peoples is done in an objective manner free of bias and misrepresentation. The conceptual validity of the detached observer in scientific research, if uncontested, would nevertheless harbor the ideological and value-laden perspectives of the researcher. As a specialist field of knowledge, a researcher is able to simply discard phenomena and data that do not fit their specialist area and still receive the stamp of scientific approval because it is 'rational'.

This system of selectivity and validation of specific knowledge may be an appropriate method of Western knowledge production, but it fails on one crucial basis from the perspective of Indigenous Peoples. The validity of this 'scientific' knowledge only exists through the formal rules of individual scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms and has not been triangulated to other systems of knowledge or to the natural and metaphysical realms of reality. Subjecting Western knowledge to the validating processes of other views of knowledge and to physical and metaphysical principles of validation should expose the ridiculous assumption that the knowledge is authorized under the imperatives of power, laws of nature, or the will of God as a Judeo-Christian social arbiter. We therefore have not only a process of turning the Real into the unreal but also what is now a twice-removed objective stance from reality that forms the system of knowing within the Western world. Research under the cover of scientific inquiry is then also really questionable. To reiterate Linda Smith's (1999) idea, scientific research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is being regulated and realized.

I remember my mother telling me that there is indeed a reality in unseen forces. She was trying to explain to me the nature of spiritual existence and how such a nebulous force animates people and their circumstances. The words she used to describe this force are "i'kin anima." These words translate as "it does really happen." I continue to think about these words and the significance of the message where elements of Western rationality and understanding are put to task. What Western processes are available that can respond once its devised theories and views of understanding the world of living are turned upside down? Is there

an excessive spin to this concept of a reality that precedes human constructions of reality or are there some elements of Indigenous worldviews and the ancient world of our people that are worthy of deeper consideration? These Cree words premise a very deep understanding of what the metaphysical is and how we are immersed in some form of pervasive reality and one that we can draw on for understanding, guidance, protection, and other assorted tenets for human existence guided by reality. The underlying context of these words also postulates processes of learning and knowledge that are grounded in a real existence and to truth that is beyond the immediate understanding of the human and therefore also human manipulation.

The centrality given to the propositions and representations within the Western knowledge structure of contexts and discourses within a system of inappropriate validation processes makes it identifiable as a virtual universe of thought. Henderson (1994), an avid critic of Eurocentricity, has argued that an 'imaginality' exists within Eurocentric thought that rests upon assumptions that an elitist population can be the sole and privileged representative of truth and total human knowledge. The illusion of Western dominance mirrored in the structure of knowledge in the Western world, as brokered by university education, can also be properly called an artificial context because of its disengagement not only from reality but also from the lived experiences of a vast majority of people. Roberto Unger (1978), in *Passion*, states that artificial contexts are the social worlds others have imagined, built, and inhabited, and from the "lawlike forces that have supposedly brought these worlds into being" (p.5). He continues that if a context allows people to move within it to discover everything about the world freely, it is a natural

context. If the context does not allow such movement, it is artificial. For Indigenous Peoples, there has historically been very little room to maneuver within the devised structure of the dominant systems, much less discover everything they could about the world from its limited and restrictive knowledge milieu. This may be understandable because these social worlds that Roberto Unger speaks about are built from the deep roots of Western education, where the role and perspectives of the Christian Church are inextricably linked. These institutions have occupied a major role in the colonization and imperialism in Indigenous Peoples' life-worlds.

The body of critique that has latched on to this artificial context of the West also highlights the incapacity of this body to engage in alternate perspectives to find value in multiple and inclusive forms of knowledge as alternate possibilities in social organization. Within this repressive form of human knowledge, minority populations such as Indigenous Peoples, women, the aged, and the handicapped are discursively constructed and have a caged existence that remains invisible and powerless when compared to the mythical norms established in the Western world. In contrast, conforming and certain identifiable people are elevated by values, interests, and motivations validated through Eurocentric standards to enjoy and reap the benefits of unearned advantage and conferred dominance in society. This promotion of certain elitist values and interests in Western thought makes questionable the validity and relevance of any generated knowledge that is assumed to represent the rest of humanity. In this respect difference, as represented by Indigenous Peoples, is best viewed through the self representation of Indigenous Peoples and not from the prewritten and imposed script of propositions latent in the dominant Western tradition as brokered by the university. This self representation, as a feature of

self-determination, ensures that Indigenous Peoples will not languish in the discursive cages constructed in the West.

There is a danger in discourses and scholarship being grounded in the artificial context. Individuals within the society may recognize the systemic flaws latent in the body of Western knowledge and aspire to check the inequities that colonial discourse creates, but the forged systems that uphold the knowledge system have an embedded doctrine that is largely resistant to resistance itself. The problem with the Eurocentric text is that it goes on telling the same thing forever even in face of new knowledge. Minnich (1990) states that, "old assumptions, built into our modes of thought, our standards of judgment, our institutions and systems, keep inappropriate discrimination functioning long after many have consciously and seriously renounced, even denounced it (p. 18). The perpetuation of intolerant discourses built upon ideals of Eurocentricity and mystified as high knowledge may be a truly classic scheme of colonization in itself. In this regard, discourses work to manipulate the attitudes and consciousness of people that would imprint Eurocentric illusions of power while portraying Indigenous Peoples as impervious to the processes of colonization and imperialism. The danger with such messages of Indigenous acquiescence portrayed by dominant discourses is that they derail larger issues of Indigenous Peoples' political, economic and historical claims to identity, land, and intellectual and cultural property rights of the present. There is reason to believe that Indigenous Peoples the world over recognized the deception and believed in

their hearts that their survival depended on knowledge much more profound than that conceptualized from propositions about reality made in the West.

Supplanting Narrativity

How the West came to impose its language of totality from whence it identifies itself as the center of humanity and privilege may be followed further with the example of how narrativity was supplanted by the ideology of the written system in the West. The text lent itself to the selectivity and validation of certain forms of information and set the stage for narcissistic forms of recording in Western accumulated knowledge. Dominant discourses were embellished with values and assumptions in the inscription of the virtues of reason, universalism, history and the power of the written word in subsequent intellectual developments. From the earliest moments of Greek literacy, the oral tradition in the Aboriginal Mediterranean was under attack from the early scribes. Goody and Watt (1968) indicate that "Greek writing in about the seventh century challenged the orthodox cultural tradition of Greek stories as 'ridiculous'". There was pre-Socratic criticism of the oral tradition by Xenophanes of Colophon (540 BC) as 'fables of old men' (cited in Goody, 1968, p.46) and Cornford's (1923) contention that stories were 'contemplated with reserve as mysterious myth too dark for human understanding' (cited in Goody 1968, p. 46). Needless to say, the mythological mode of understanding the past, present and future was to dissipate quickly with the advent of discursive knowledge. With the diffusion of textual practices and the validation of old-world thought, arose the attitude that narrativity's role perpetuating cultural understanding and continuity was inconsistent. The spread of Western literacy diffused a Western idea that a logico-scientific paradigm captured in text provided the answers to the immediate present and that the knowledge process of the oral

tradition and narrativity were made problematic in creating objective knowledge and were subsequently tarnished because of this. The establishment of the logico-scientific paradigm as a way to understand the human condition shifted into discursive gear at about this time in the evolution of Eurocentric thought and the Enlightenment dream of superiority. In this respect, Sandra Harding (1986) states that, "neither God nor tradition is privileged with the same credibility as scientific rationality in modern cultures (cited in Shiva, 1993, p. 12). Logico-scientific paradigms of objectivity, reason and universalism, and the claims of truth were incorporated as operatives of Western knowledge production while narrativity languished outside of Western intellectual circles. Vandana Shiva (1993) states in *Monocultures of the Mind*, that:

By elevating itself above society and other knowledge systems and by simultaneously excluding other knowledge systems from the domain of reliable and systemic knowledge, the dominant system creates its exclusive monopoly (p.12).

According to White (1987), "narrativity could appear problematic only in a culture in which it was absent – or, as in some domains of contemporary Western intellectual and artistic culture, problematically refused" (p. 1). For Indigenous Peoples, discrediting the role of the mode of oral tradition, in processes of knowledge production and dissemination has immense negative effects because our resources for reaffirming our identities and establishing our places in history are enabled by such a tradition.

The point with this discussion is that there exists a reality according to Indigenous Peoples that is accessible through Indigenous Peoples' forms of knowing and dissemination such as the valuing of subjective experiences. The question of access to

this reality is the issue, because Western notions of accessing reality are problematic and the world of the Indigenous narrative has rich potential for new, often forgotten paradigms of knowledge that have the potential to benefit all of humanity. Examination of Indigenous learning traditions can enhance the Western understanding of the real nature and origin of knowledge that requires the total awareness of individuals and the commitment to personal relationships. Indigenous Peoples' search for subjective knowledge in order to arrive at insights into existence needs to be assessed for its value as one process of knowing that does not succumb to urges of domination nor enters the field of knowledge with fragmented views of the universe. The basic assumption is that individuals and society can be transformed by identifying and reaffirming learning processes based on an epistemology founded on holism.

I have heard somewhere, the exact location and the time is not important, that the mind is something like a dog chasing its tail. The mind, or reason, is constantly trying to understand in a reactive way what the heart knows only too well. The high value placed on the mind and in 'rationality' in the fragmented schemes of Western knowledge is in contrast to holistic perspectives emphasized in Indigenous Peoples' learning processes. When the Old Ones in our communities speak of the more profound and unforgettable mystical encounters that everyone experiences from time to time, one understands that these are subjective accounts of someone's personal encounter with reality. Cajete (1994) reminds us that Indigenous Peoples "perceived multiple realities in Nature - that experienced by our five senses was only one of many possibilities" (p. 75). With this understanding, the guides of the Indigenous world crafted an education

system that instilled a sense of wonder in young minds and sought to encourage them to recognize and affirm mystery aesthetically and spiritually. Beck, Walters & Francisco (1992) state that “a knowledgeable human being was one who was sensitive to his/her surroundings. This sensitivity opened him/her to the Grand mysteries and to the possibility of mystical experiences, which was considered the only way to grasp certain intangible laws of the universe” (p. 164). The Old People used systems of knowledge that taught the young how to attain self-knowledge and to start the process of independent learning. The Old People pointed to the mysteries in the world and the universe and provided the young people with the questions, not the answers, about the mysteries. Self-learning and subjectivity, with a grounding in reality, would teach and transform the young in ways that no person could. There exists a higher level of existence but discourses of objectivity and other scientific ‘truths’ dissuade us from coming to grips with it.

The underlying assumptions, values and interests embedded in dominant knowledge and its continuing production have had an influence in the way research is conceptualized and conducted with Indigenous Peoples. The principles of knowledge production as brokered by university disciplines continue to skew the knowledge about Indigenous Peoples and the social practices founded on such understanding. Henderson (2000) states that:

The inviolability of that ‘other’ against which European identity if formed was secured by elevating some kinds of knowledge and suppressing others. All Indigenous peoples are viewed as people in the state of

nature, and collectively they suffer from defects. Because of these defects, they are doomed to extinction in the face of an imported civilization. According to the dominant society, only Euro-Christian values are a remedy for their defects, and often only words on pieces of paper – called laws – can protect their existence (p. 70).

There are tangible effects on these practices, most prominently through the marginalized condition of Indigenous Peoples in the economic and social sphere of the knowledge economy. The articulations of Indigenous and other critical scholars brought out in the next section serve as a ray of hope that all research is not mindless nor heartless to the conditions imposed by a history of dominant research, discourses, and social practices on Indigenous Peoples. These critical discourses call out to the academic communities to commit to conscientization and reevaluate substantive and lingering assumptions in evolving thought as a response to the human issues entailed in research.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRITICAL READING OF LITERATURE ON THE ETHICS OF WESTERN RESEARCH

[The] things which seem most evident to us are always formed in the confluence of encounters and chances, during the course of a precarious and fragile history. What reason perceives as its necessity, or rather, what different forms of rationality offer as their necessary being, can perfectly well be shown to have a history; and the network of contingencies from which it emerges can be traced (p. 37).

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Critical Theory / Intellectual History

Introduction

A cursory examination of Indigenous Peoples' issues internationally often reveals very similar experiences of cultural disparity in the meeting with Western worldviews and lifestyles. In that international context, it is not uncommon that we see a reflection of the Western world's historical intent of manifest destiny by imposing their own forms of understandings, knowledge, and research processes onto Indigenous Peoples' life-spaces in the name of 'progress'. Western knowledge, with its flagships of research and programs of social sciences, advances into Indigenous Peoples' communities with little regard for the notions of Indigenous worldviews and self-determination in human development. As a result, advancing Westernization in virtually all locations of the globe from north to south reads like a sordid script of relentless disruption and dispossession of

Indigenous Peoples with the resulting common pattern of cultural and psychological discontinuity for many in the Indigenous community. Henderson (2000) tells us that “to strip Indigenous peoples of their heritage and identity, the colonial education and legal systems induce collective amnesia that alienates Indigenous peoples from their elders, their linguistic consciousness, and their order of the world”(p. 65). As the same script is replayed from nation to nation, reaction by Indigenous academics and other critics of the West will vary. Critique of research processes serves as a ray of hope that the intellectual community is not oblivious to the conditions imposed by research that crosses cultural borders. There exists a growing body of perceptive writers that provide the avenues of thought in de-colonizing the researcher text. For example, Indigenous scholars, with the professional support of non-indigenous critical analysts from many Western institutions, contribute a much needed injection of academic guidance in these matters of research. This critical reading of literature is intended to highlight the body of dissension expressed by various critics to the nature and ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples. In the first instance, a cursory survey of the concerns drawn from the literature reveals the broad scope of critique that stands as a testimony to the ethical breaches in the history of research involving Indigenous Peoples in many parts of the globe. Following this survey, the critical reading identifies crucial aspects in the research enterprise that, in their present configuration, have a cumulative bearing on the ethical issues and concerns expressed about research involving Indigenous Peoples. These highlighted aspects of research involving Indigenous Peoples are (a) the established order of research, (b) the sentinels of the old order, and finally, (c) the research conditions at the confluence of worldviews.

A Cursory Survey

There is an existing body of scholarship by Indigenous Peoples and various other social critics that questions the ethics of research involving Indigenous Peoples brought on by misguided interests, motivations, and assumptions of an old order of scholarship. Various disciplines within the Western academy are implicated in embodying various types of research practices and knowledge claims that contribute to these concerns about ethics. Some of these disciplines that are implicated in concerns include anthropology (Cove, 1995; Barsh, 1996), archaeology (Yellowhorn, 1996; Lewis & Bird Rose, 1985), psychology (Darou, Hum, & Kurtness, 1993), American Indian history (Fixico, 1998), and the social sciences more generally (Deloria, 1980, 1991). Similarly, problems in different contexts and levels of research involving Indigenous Peoples have been discussed: including northern Canadian research (Usher, 1994; Gamble 1986), Cree People (Darou, Hum & Kurtness), Maori (Bishop, 1994; L. Smith, 1999), Greenlandic Inuit (Peterson, 1982), Ecuador (Kothari, 1997), Saami-Norwegian (Larson, 1988), and Indigenous Peoples generally (L. Smith, 1999). Furthermore, Indigenous communities in many parts of the globe are reminding and openly challenging the research community (L. Smith, 1999) to be wary of research practices based on exploitation, racism, ethnocentricity, and harmfulness. These practices, where and whenever they have surfaced in the Indigenous community have undermined Indigenous Peoples' empowerment and self-dependance. Finally, lest the critical focus be centered on academia and specific contexts alone, Deloria (1991), an avid critic of the West, warns that lodging cumulative resentments solely against social scientists allows "freelance writers, bureaucratic educators, economists, and religious groupies [to] go scot free" (p. 457). The variation of expressed concerns cuts a

wide swath through human discourse that is implicated in problematic ethics latent in Western research involving Indigenous Peoples. It would therefore be problematic to limit this examination of research to a particular university discipline in the field of Western knowledge because of the pervasiveness of Western thought in society and its institutions. Arguably, the fragmentation brought on by focussing on one discipline might diminish the narrative of the full impact effect of Eurocentricity in the wider focus of Indigenous Peoples' existence. With these issues in mind, Indigenous Peoples are now poised to assert the Indigenous perspective on research and reclaim a voice that contributes to the dismantling of an old order of research practice. This dialogue from the margins will help usher in a new research relationship that is modeled on emancipation and a human vision of transformation.

The Old Order

A body of knowledge exists that is always centered in the self. Due to the gravity of this cultural narcissism, this body is largely incapable of envisioning and transforming beyond the confines of its constructed context. Perspectives from this body flounder in their own recreated knowledge and in their own immediate existence with the foundations of its own being becoming largely invisible to itself (Noël, 1994). But even though this knowledge is centripetal and self absorbed, it is also outward looking searching for power and control of what is other to it (R. Young, 1990). Like an insatiable maelstrom, the Western body's real desires of power and dominance over other perspectives of knowledge are most poignantly felt once the unsuspecting mind is caught within the grips of its discursive vortex. The discursive vortex is the established consciousness of universal thought drawn from "an 'archive' of knowledge and systems, rules and values

which stretch beyond the boundaries of Western science to the system now referred to as the West" (L. Smith, 1999, p. 42). This Western body of knowledge unleashed to the world as the singular world consciousness and evolutionary history that presents itself as all encompassing and impartial has grown into an intellectual knowledge system that is now known as Eurocentrism. Henderson (2000) states in "Postcolonial Ghost Dancing," that Eurocentrism is an institutional and imaginative context. This context "includes a set of assumptions and beliefs about empirical reality. Habitually educated and usually unprejudiced Europeans accept these assumptions and beliefs as true, as propositions supported by 'the facts'" (p. 58). Further, Blaut (1993), the author of *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, states that "the really crucial part of Eurocentrism is not a matter of attitudes in the sense of values and prejudices, but rather a matter of science, and scholarship, and informed and expert opinion" (p. 9). The dominant intellectual movement of Eurocentrism, with its assumptions, values, and motivations and its denial of "anything other than that based on the European soul" (Whitt, 1995, p. 240) is also the principal venue by which an imagined superior existence becomes animated in the West. As such this body of knowledge evinces narcissistic tendencies and refuses to interrogate the grounds of its own cultural narration and its sense of location in the broader world of existence. As Hayden White (1987) states, Eurocentric discourse wishes to 'speak the truth' but in order to do this, "it must mask from itself its service to desire and power, must indeed mask from itself the fact that it is itself a manifestation of the operation of these two forces" (p. 111). The scope and breadth of the diffusion of old order thought and its degree of continuing influence in the contemporary research contexts really needs serious

and rigorous consideration. Exposing this tangled web of Western thought is formidable and challenging for its critics.

Indigenous Peoples' considerations regarding the Western research enterprise include the identification of the various pitfalls and snares that exist in the dominant forms of knowledge production and dissemination. The point of contention is that an archaic order of thought can continue to influence university research in a manner that can be recognized by some as the operation of a "time lagged colonial moment" (Bhabha, 1991a, p. 211). There is increasing recognition that Western values, motivations and interests, in an unholy alliance with the conditioned diffusion of Eurocentricity, still define formulations to better collect, classify, and represent Indigenous Peoples in amassing its knowledge of human society through the research enterprise. In the pursuit of this objective, subtle claims of a centralized authority and a single narrative of history positioned in the Western world are postulated as the basic guiding principles of conducting valid and recognized research. In this sense, Shiva (1993) argues in *Monocultures of the Mind* that:

The first level of violence unleashed on local systems of knowledge is not to see them as knowledge. This invisibility is the first reason why local systems collapse without trial and test when confronted with the knowledge of the dominant west. The distance itself removes local systems from perception. When local knowledge does appear in the field of the globalising vision, it is made to disappear by denying it the status of a systemic knowledge, and assigning it the adjectives 'primitive' and 'unscientific'" (p. 10).

As Blaut (1993) also reminds us, Europeans collected and used information taken from Indigenous Peoples to meet their own needs, "explaining and justifying the individual's act of conquest, of repression, of exploitation. All of it was right, rational, and natural" (p. 26). This unilateral assumption of a universal model of research with a central authority in knowledge production largely went unchallenged until Indigenous Peoples started to create a discourse around such practices. For Indigenous Peoples, these practices of research were reminiscent of all other experiences with colonialism and imperialism in the West's drive for dominance and where Eurocentrism was imposed as the appropriate and only vision of the universal. Central to the issue of a singular world consciousness postulated by Eurocentric discourses is the particular discursive strategies and socially determined practices that engender a universal model of human society. Herein lies one of the faulty generalizations of Eurocentric discourses in identifying and establishing humans of a particular kind as the most significant of all peoples and ones who can set standards for all the rest of humanity (Minnich, 1990). This form of cultural narcissism in the West is postulated as universalism. As Best (1989) stated, "the flip side of the tyranny of the whole is the dictatorship of the fragment" (p. 361). The principles or objectives of this Enlightenment dream of universalism are such that "one category/kind comes to function almost as if it were the only kind, because it occupies the defining center of power...casting all others outside the circle of the 'real'" (Minnich, 1990:53). The same society also has discourses that have embedded paradigms and content that puts forward the Western world as a model of progressive humanity that is evolving into higher states of truth where its knowledge can encompass all there is to understand and know in the world. Battiste (1996) reminds us, though, that this form of universality "is really just

another aspect of [Eurocentric] diffusionism, and claiming universality often means aspiring to domination" (p.11). In this praxis, Indigenous and other minority peoples, along with their knowledge, are relegated to the periphery as some form of lesser existence.

Accordingly, Noël (1994), in *Intolerance* states:

Whatever the field of thought or the activity considered, the established discourse puts the dominator forward as the ideal model of humanity and thereby justifies the subordinate relationship that the dominated is called upon to maintain with him. These dynamics are at work in learning, art, and language and derive from the official interpretation of the constraints imposed by History, Nature, and even God (p. 45).

These European systems, rules, and values that make up the Western worldview and are espoused as the only reality in the world lack concepts by which the experiences and reality of other cultures can be justly named, described, and understood. People with other intellectual traditions and knowledge are welcome in this milieu, of course, but their knowledge can only occupy a secondary or marginal position in relation to the West. This is due to the social-systemic structuring of institutions and what is conceived as appropriate knowledge within a colonialistic framework. Therefore, adherence to the structures of knowledge production that are complicit in intolerance are not relevant for the pursuit of emancipation. These systems of education will, in effect, prescribe the recreation of the very social conditions that marginalize Indigenous Peoples. This is the national heritage of the modern university and

forms a large portion of the lifeblood of its continued dominance in matters of knowledge.

Modes of research prescribed from this 'archive' of established Eurocentric thought are a continuing concern for Indigenous Peoples because informational resources derive from "Europeans with very definite points of view, cultural, political, and religious lenses that forced them to see 'natives' in ways that were highly distorted" (Blaut, 1993:24). An old-world order with a narcissistic set of values and principles really did not correspond well with Indigenous Peoples' worlds because of the different interpretations to reality. As Wax (1991) states, "investigators and the Indians do not share a common framework ... for the parties do not share a common moral vocabulary nor do they share a common vision of the nature of human beings as actors within the universe" (p. 432).

In terms of research, the 'center' that is presented as the standard and norm of society and which Indigenous Peoples' worldviews are compared to usually refers to "white, middle class culture" (Darou, et. al. 1993). This cultural comparison, often used inadvertently in research projects, is inappropriate and can have a negative outcome for Indigenous Peoples because it assumes that the same terms of reference for understanding Eurocentric life are applicable to Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Peoples do not have to dig deep to uncover instances of how ethnocentric comparisons depreciate or totally misrepresent the reality and value of Indigenous cultures, history and knowledge in formation of human knowledge. As Linda Smith states, "the negation of Indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly 'primitive' and 'incorrect' and mostly because they have challenged and resisted the mission of colonization" (p. 29). The established norms of

knowledge production and dissemination originating from this dominant culture fail to account for Indigenous Peoples' worldviews and history and thereby circumvent Indigenous Peoples' claims to intellectual and cultural property rights. Claims to knowledge and the protection of these intellectual products have been framed within Western concepts of property and rules of knowledge production. However, as Henderson (1997) states, "to assume that the Aboriginal past or knowledge can be adequately explained from a totally foreign worldview is the essence of cognitive imperialism and academic colonization" (p. 23). This is essentially the context that requires a critical makeover to ensure research involving Indigenous Peoples is pursued from a context of ethical practice.

Other Indigenous Peoples' concerns about research include the reluctance of old order researchers to address issues of historical and social processes that contribute to the marginalization of Indigenous Peoples. The neglect of these processes in formulating research objectives plays an important role in biasing knowledge about Indigenous Peoples (Ashford, 1994). For example, researchers trained in Western institutions do not have an adequate understanding of how dominant social systems interface with Indigenous communities and how these can affect cross-cultural research ethics. Researchers in this situation and with projects in Indigenous communities have tended to frame their research in ways that assume that the locus of a particular research concern is the individual or community rather than other social or structural issues that mitigate social conditions for Indigenous communities (Smith, 1999). Seeing 'problem' in Indigenous Peoples is a central theme in all imperial and colonial attempts to deal with Indigenous Peoples. Perhaps in a sense of duty and goodwill, the Western researcher's first impulse

is to provide remedy to the problem. As another control mechanism, the assigning of 'problem' on any dealings with Indigenous Peoples tactically realigns the focus away from the role of Western institutions and systems in creating the 'problem' in the first place. The result of this is that it creates an industry where the 'Indigenous problem' is mapped, described in all its different manifestations, getting rid of it, laying blame for it, talking about it, writing newspapers about it, and researching about it (L. Smith, 1999). Another prime example is the Western scientific theory of evolution which is used as a convenient framework for viewing minorities (Deloria, 1980). This framework leads to the documentation of differences in races in research data that leaves in its wake the creation or reinforcement of negative stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples (Sohng, 1994). In this regard, Duran and Duran (2000) state in *Applied Postcolonial Clinical and Research Strategies* that:

The problem of irrelevant research and clinical practice would not be so destructive to Native American people if institutional racism did not pervade most of the academic settings for research and theoretical construction. These institutions not only discredit thinking that is not Western but also engage in practices that imply that people who do not subscribe to their worldviews are genetically inferior (p. 93).

This ethnocentric framework projects Indigenous Peoples as 'culturally deprived' and 'inferior' to the progressive Europeans and therefore sentences them to a limbo of social pathology, cultural deprivation, and functional inadequacy. In other cases, researchers' concerns and competition for allocated funding from government or industry are responsible for the negative depiction of Indigenous Peoples. The outcome of such

intentions is the overt misrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples because as Wax (1991) states, "in the effort to secure grants for research or for services and programs, writers are driven toward magnifying and dramatizing the problems of the local community" (p. 433). In this sense, as Linda Smith (1999) states, "the word research is believed to mean, quite literally, the continued construction of Indigenous Peoples as the problem" (p.92). The 'Indigenous problem' is a recurrent theme in all imperial and colonial attempts to deal with Indigenous Peoples and this theme finds a comfortable home in old order research. As Linda Smith (1999) continues, "it originates within the wider discourses of racism, sexism, and other forms of positioning the Other" (p. 90). Within these intolerant discourses, Indigenous peoples may find themselves described in derogatory terms regardless of the progress they believe they have made and see around them (Deloria, 1991). For Indigenous Peoples, all the knowledge that exists of Indigenous Peoples, all that is heard, seen and read in colonial ideologies and intolerant discourses is the result of "white interpretation of Aboriginal being" (cited in. Fourmile, 1989, p. 4).

Negative images and attitudes about Indigenous Peoples, perpetuated and recreated through the scholarship of an established Eurocentric consciousness, continue to have influence well beyond their spatial and temporal origins. Deloria (1991) states that "after the commotion has subsided, the book remains in the library where naïve and uninformed people will read it for decades to come...so they take the content of the book as proven and derive their knowledge of Indians from it" (p. 459). In this regard, King (1989) states that "the public, politicians and policy makers have accepted the prepackaged images of who we are" (p. 4) and these images become influential in the conditions Indigenous Peoples are to encounter in broader society. It is inconceivable that

dominant research can meet the needs and aspirations of Indigenous Peoples because of the unresolved issues of Western self-perpetuation and its self-enclosed system that recreates and diffuses Western hegemony (Deloria, 1980). Reser & Barlow (1986) state that research needs to be based upon people in varying and multiple living contexts and adjusted to the realities of those contexts, "rather than operating on cultural stereotypes which are not applicable" (p. vii). Creating the conditions that are respectful of the multiple readings of the world hinges on recognizing the limitations of an old order and going beyond the mechanisms that maintain that order. As Giroux (1992) states, "an ethical discourse needs to be taken up with regard to the relations of power, subject positions, and social practices it activates" (p. 74). One critical point about research processes raised by Indigenous Peoples is the established idea of uncontested individual initiative in the pursuit of Western scholarship.

Sentinels of the Old Order

One of the claims made by university researchers, perhaps as justification for cross-cultural research activity involving Indigenous Peoples, is the inalienable right of an academic freedom to research and publish. This is a proclaimed right of scholars that is embedded within the university institution and is one of the backbone principles of scholarship and intellectual freedom. However, as Linda Smith (1999) states, "for Indigenous Peoples universities are regarded as rather elite institutions which reproduce themselves through various systems of privilege" (p. 129). The claims to academic freedom, individual initiative, unfettered intellectual leadership are no more than elitist aspirations of researchers to keep themselves distinct and distant from the communities they study and as a way of maintaining their positions of "unearned advantage and

conferred dominance' (McIntosh, 1988). Linda Smith (1999) also writes that disciplines maintain their boundaries and develop independently and therefore the "concepts of 'academic freedom', the 'search for truth' and 'democracy'...are vigorously defended by intellectuals" (p. 67). Battiste (1996) states, however, that "these disciplines have been drawn from a Eurocentric foundation, an ultra theory that shapes and supports the production driven research while it has negated or exploited Indigenous Peoples, their language and their heritage" (p. 6).

Indigenous Peoples and other critics contest Western researchers' claims to the inalienable right to research and publish because these are the venues that have led to the systemic infringement of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual property rights. Unwarranted research encroachment into Indigenous Peoples' intellectual spaces is overtly predacious whether subsumed under the rubric of scholarship or by any other title (Maddocks, 1992; Lewis & Bird Rose, 1985; Wax, 1991; Deloria, 1980). Indigenous Peoples, who have long been the 'objects' of Western research, see the defense of concepts such as uncontested researching and publishing rights as a questionable policy used by Western academics because it positions them in power with an unearned advantage and conferred dominance over marginal groups. Battiste (1996) states that "Eurocentric academics believe they have the power to research and interpret differences and this belief shaped the institutional and imaginative assumptions of colonization and modernism" (p. 11). With the security of this positioning, the inalienable right to research and publish remains uncontested for what it is - a stamp of approval and guise for continued opportunistic activity in Indigenous Peoples' life-worlds.

The claim of an inalienable right to research and publish is also consonant with the principle of career specialization as an aspect of individual recognition within the Western knowledge field. Since career concerns of academics in various Western disciplines account for a substantial portion of research in Indigenous societies (Stokes, 1985; Deloria, 1980), various writers express discomfort that the 'specialization of labor' inevitably leads to the creation of non-indigenous experts on Indigenous Peoples. For Indigenous Peoples, the creation of experts is closely linked with colonialism and imperialism because, through this process, the interpretation of Indigenous Being is left squarely in the hands of non-indigenous people and their interests. In this situation, university 'experts' are left with the academic freedom to propagate their imaginations of Indigenous Peoples, speak for Indigenous Peoples, and effectively continue to silence Indigenous Peoples' voices in the process. Institutional disciplines are just as implicated in the predacious policy of unfettered intellectual freedom because as Wax (1991) states, "the disciplinary norms are that you milk a project for as many publications as you can" (p. 443). However, Linda Smith (1999) states that these publications by experts came to be seen "by the outside world as knowledgeable, informed and relatively objective...with their chronic ethnocentrism viewed as a sign of the times" (p. 83). For Indigenous Peoples, 'experts' have been variously labeled as "no more than peeping toms [and] rank opportunists" (King, 1989:2); "interested only in furthering their careers" (Stokes, 1985); "predator" (Maynard, 1974); "dishonest in research intentions" (Darou, et. al., 1993), and unable to distinguish between 'public' and 'private' knowledge (Stokes, 1985). Pertinent here is the ability to understand the notion of collective and private knowledge that exists paradoxically in the Indigenous worldview.

Research at the Confluence

It soon became very evident for many of the world's Indigenous Peoples that there were emerging patterns resulting from Western contact and that a system was underwriting Western expansion into their life spaces. In the minds of Indigenous Peoples, there was a clear correlation between the changing conditions in their communities and the nature of Western thought and action brought to the encounter of the two societies. The implications of this encounter between two worldviews, with its two sets of intentions, are highlighted by the dissidence expressed by Indigenous Peoples after the dust had settled from the initial impact. Freire (1970) has described a process of cultural invasion. He states:

[I]n this phenomenon, the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression (p. 150).

Henceforth, a concerted Western effort exists to bring Indigenous Peoples into the evolutionary narrative of Western existence in a discursive process of creation, subjection, and the final appropriation of Europe's 'others' (Young, 1990:2). Another record that exists of the encounter and its aftermath is in the attendant academic scholarship that stands as a record of the assumptions, attitudes, motivations, and values circumscribing the historical patterns of Western movement into Indigenous Peoples' existence. The articulated Indigenous memory, coupled with the examination of the discourses accompanying the encounter, are a sufficient record to disclose what happened at the

confluence of the Indigenous and Western contact. The legacy of that meeting speaks of "racist practices and attitudes, ethnocentric assumptions and exploitative research" (Smith, 1999:9).

These dominant discourses have established processes that first imprint a stamp of the universal through systems of classification and representation and then look outwardly, searching for power and control of what is other to it. Linda Smith (1999) states that this process of classification and representation enables dominant knowledge systems to retrieve different fragments of traditions to be "reformulated in different contexts as discourse, and then to be played out in systems of power and domination" (p. 44). For the Indigenous peoples, the accumulation of Eurocentric discourses from a vast array of writings by missionaries, explorers, colonial officials, settlers, imperial administrators and scholars in their contacts with Indigenous Peoples left a record that continues to be an implicit reference point from which we are reconstructed time and again. As Fourmile (1989) states, "being captives of the archives [is a] reality for Aboriginal people, a reality we share with American Indians (p. 1). It is also the location where discourses of diversity and difference revolving around the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples into Western frameworks of knowledge have been argued in. As Chow (1993) relates, "the image is implicitly the place where battles are fought and strategies of resistance negotiated" (p. 29). However, this image is not a very good reference point because as Francis (1992), the author of *The Imaginary Indian*, reminds us "the Indian is the invention of the European" (p. 4) and any discussion of our Being within Eurocentric discourses must remain problematic. He continues:

The Indian began as a White man's mistake, and became a White man's fantasy. Through the prism of White hopes, fears and prejudices, indigenous Americans would be seen to have lost contact with reality and to have become "Indians"; that is, anything non-Natives wanted them to be (p.5).

It is therefore not far fetched that the various rules of practice that constitute Western knowledge production and dissemination have manifested the entrapment of Indigenous Peoples' identity within discursive cages. These documented representations of the 'Indian', have invariably led to our 'essentialized' identities being captured in what King (1990) has termed the 'linguistic cages' of academic discourses. The implication for Indigenous Peoples is that we have lost our most precious of all human rights – the freedom to be ourselves. As Indigenous Peoples, our discursive identities within the Eurocentric world are a product of a particular scholarship that evolves from what Hekman (1990) states as "identifiable social and historical influences"(p. 109) brought on by colonialism. Within this view, Eurocentric discourses reduce Indigenous Peoples existence to a meaningless, untruthful and marginal part of a broader society and an existence that is caged and therefore silent and ultimately controllable. As long as the image of the 'Indian' is enshrined in dominant discourses, the fate of Indigenous Peoples will always rest in the hands of non-indigenous scholars and their discursive manipulations of Indigenous Peoples' images for social consumption.

Noël (1994) states that "the dominator is somebody's 'other'" (p. 149). It may be appropriate at this juncture of human knowledge development for the exposure of the European soul. Where is the European soul? What are the soul roots of these European

people that are deceived by their own discourses of Eurocentrism, homogeneity, and the artificial context, that masks itself as worldly knowledge? Surely within all this artificial consciousness, there exists the seed of an interest for the 'other' to find its soul origins and to see where their knowledge went deceptive and to see where it is leading them now. What conditions are required for the emancipation of the European soul? Before they start talking about 'others', they should really embark on a reflective journey to find out and state clearly who they are.

It is the view of many writers that, at its lowest common denominator, research brought to the encounter has not benefited Indigenous Peoples (Bishop, 1994; Fourmile, 1989; Trimble, 1977; King, 1989; L. Smith, 1999; Kothari, 1997). Linda Smith (1999) writes that "at the common sense level research was talked about both in terms of its absolute worthlessness to us...and its absolute usefulness to those who wielded it as an instrument" (p. 3). Indeed, how this has played out in research has been through the process of exploiting populations of Indigenous Peoples as 'client populations' rather than as contributors to research (La Fromboise, 1983; Deloria, 1980; Darou et. al., 1993). In this sense, any benefits accruing from research activities have gone to the researcher (Bishop, 1994), the non-Aboriginal (Fourmile, 1989), Europeans (Lewis & Bird Rose, 1985), intellectuals and students (King, 1989), bioprospectors (Kothari, 1997), Anthropologists (Cove, 1995), governments & scientists (Peterson, 1982), psychologists (Darou, Hum & Kurness, 1993), industries & universities (Usher, 1994). It is understandable why Indigenous Peoples would feel exploited and mistreated in this peculiar situation where benefits of research activities have accrued only to outsiders. This issue is manifested in multiple processes including advantages to institutions in terms

of funding under the name of Indigenous research with little or no benefit to the communities in terms of programs or problem solving (Trimble & Medicine, 1976; La Fromboise, 1983). These are continuing issues that attest to the Western attitude in regard to the intellectual property rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The issue of ownership of knowledge obtained from Indigenous societies is perhaps the most contentious of all the concerns regarding research involving Indigenous Peoples. Because of unresolved historical issues like ethnocentric assumptions and exploitative practices in Western dealings with Indigenous Peoples, continuing research into Indigenous spaces of knowledge is seen as the continuation of cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism is described by Robert Young (1992) as a form of oppression by a dominant society and has the result of assimilating or securing the subordinated status of cultures and is usually characterized by economic profitability. In this way, research lends itself to the appropriation of Indigenous knowledge for purposes of Western gain, power, exploitation and domination (L. Smith, 1999; Henderson, 1996; Whitt, 1995). As Paredes (1994) states, "the parallels between the dispossession of native peoples' land and dispossession of their intellectual products are riveting" (p. v). The language of imperialism and colonialism may have changed over time but the unavoidable perception is that these realities, borne of domination in history, have never been effectively discounted and still exist in their various modern forms and contexts that affect Indigenous Peoples (L. Smith, 1999). Indigenous societies find themselves poked, probed, examined and exploited with each new wave of research undertaken by Western institutions. This situation is particularly offensive to Indigenous Peoples when these same institutions and governments continue to ignore and prevent Indigenous Peoples from developing and

protecting their own cultural property. As Henderson (1996) states, " at its core, the Euro-centric research methods and ethics are intellectual and cultural property issues" (p. 83). For Indigenous Peoples throughout the world, intellectual property rights consist of efforts to assert access and control over Indigenous knowledge and to the things produced from its application. Various dangers exist for the release of Indigenous knowledge because as Fourmile (1989) states, "information we give to researchers becomes their intellectual property protected under Copyright Act" (p. 4). Greaves (1994) states that "the very cultural heritage that gives Indigenous Peoples their identity, now far more than in the past, is under real or potential assault from those who would gather it up, strip away its honored meanings, convert it to a product, and sell it" (p. ix). Lewis & Bird Rose (1985) state that it is a common belief among Indigenous Peoples that "white people do not do anything without the possibility of financial gain" (p. 39). In this sense, research projects are treated as other forms of colonial developments that go into Indigenous communities with complete disregard for the broad variety of Indigenous claims (Usher, 1994). For example, research that gains access to Indigenous Peoples' communities and their artistic designs is used as part of a broader process to turn the Indigenous creations into commodities to be consumed in main stream Western society. In this respect, Deloria (1991) states the obvious question that "if the knowledge of the Indian community is so valuable, how can non-Indians receive so much compensation for their small knowledge and Indians receive so little for their extensive knowledge?" (p. 466). Battiste (1996) states that "neither law nor research ethics has kept pace with these commercial developments to protect Indigenous knowledge from unauthorized taking of reproductions in intellectually, culturally, and spiritually sensitive knowledge" (p. 5). One of the responses

to the expressed concerns about research involving Indigenous Peoples has indeed been to implement ethics guidelines in research involving Indigenous Peoples and other minorities. Although guidelines are in place within many disciplines, concerns continue to be expressed about ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples (Usher, 1994). The interpretation of ethics in one society may not necessarily be the ethics of another society with a different worldview. Ethics in research must include research, thinking, and writing in a respectful manner that calls for rethinking of professional ethics and scholarly responsibilities.

As it is now, university research, as an arm of Western knowledge production, continues to formulate processes to better penetrate and extract Indigenous thought through the research enterprise. With the gazing eye of Western science, and the mental aptitude of Western philosophy, information obtained from Indigenous spaces is reformulated into propositions which stand as the symbols that represent the reality of Indigenous Peoples' lived experience. These propositions, as interpretations and value-laden judgements of Western scholars, then stand as the dominant view about Indigenous Peoples for the eventual consumption of society and the eventual inscription into history. Fortunately, as Noël (1994) states, the "divine, natural, or historical laws that espoused such narrow designs became suspect...it eventually came to mind that these laws were pure creations of a group wishing to legitimize its privileges" (p. 149). Again, it is the use of discursive smoke and mirrors that obscure the real intent of domination. The European constructions of knowledge about other cultures through a "web of interrelated writings" was fabricated for the eventual and real intent of domination (Young, 1990). This concerted process of creating and subjecting Indigenous Peoples to the evolutionary

narrative of Western existence is the convoluted stage for the final appropriation of Indigenous Peoples as one of Europe's 'others'. The final appropriation also means total control.

Notice how I keep getting pulled into an agonizing language as I survey the nature of these dominant discourses. It appears to be the nature of the Western intellectual system to capture minds in the traps of its rationality that it becomes a real struggle to break free of its 'linguistic cages' and narcissistic dialogue. Though I wish to speak a language of possibility, a vision of a higher consciousness, the pitfalls and snares of Western intellect keep pulling me into the vortex of its anguished discourses. These are discourses, much like whirlwinds or tornadoes that feed on the power of what they absorb with complete disregard for what they destroy along the way. The very outward rim of the spiral is the large circle that metaphorically constitutes the populace that have been sucked in by the vortex and are being controlled like puppets to be spun forever in the momentum and pull of the spiraling center. Many of the 'other' who occupy the fringes have been flung out from the swirling main as deviants to end up in the extreme ghettos of society either as the wretched of the earth or as the extremists and the abnormal.

The current debate and continuing attempts to formulate research that is respectful to Indigenous Peoples still conforms to the fundamental Eurocentric orientation of fitting Indigenous knowledge into Western frameworks and interests where it can be controlled. The way research is talked about assumes that all research is properly undertaken from the perspective and under the auspices of Western centers of authority.

Not only is there a willingness to exploit Indigenous Peoples of their intellectual property but by extension the exploitation of natural and supernatural knowledge developed over many centuries. However, research conducted into Indigenous spaces, as a legitimated process of academic freedom, is seen as problematic process of ethics for Indigenous Peoples because of the latent biases, inherent misconceptions, and outstanding issues of power and control. Much of the academic interest in Indigenous knowledge is not to highlight its value to Indigenous Peoples nor for a sudden turn of heart to be inclusive as many would like to believe. Eurocentric academics occupying various positions in university disciplines have an interest in Indigenous knowledge, but this interest rests on the pure and simple fact of opportunism and control of what is 'other' to him. As a critical thinker, Len Findlay (2000) asserts that

[The] greatest challenge ...is for them to admit to their own inescapable self-interest and to discover its compatibility with the agenda of the Aboriginal 'Other.' Significant numbers of Euro-Canadian scholars have become remarkably good at critiquing the pretensions and practices of modernity and defending marginalized groups, but they do so within institutions among whose faculties Aboriginal people are minimally represented (p. x).

For Indigenous Peoples, the living with and sharing of knowledge with the outside world has had predictable repercussions. Testimonies by many Indigenous Peoples regarding the conduct and standard of research recognize, as Weber-Pillwax (1999) states, "that much of what we have offered as beautiful and life giving to the incoming peoples was transformed into brutality and destruction for us"(p. 35). It is still an implicit practice in

Western academia to extract Indigenous intellectual and cultural property under the guise of intellectual freedom only to reformulate the knowledge to meet Western values and regurgitate that knowledge in ways that reflect Eurocentric interests. Notions of an ethical order in research involving Indigenous Peoples will continue to be problematic and deceptive unless the embedded designs that motivate predacious activity are unmasked and issues of power and control are properly addressed. This perhaps would be closer to being achieved if higher learning institutions injected curricula into research programs that examine systemic bias against Indigenous Peoples. The deconstruction of colossal unseen forces that underpin desire and control will ensure that biases and misrepresentations are not recreated and that an ethical order in research will drive the eventual pursuit of empowerment and justice for Indigenous Peoples. As Deloria (1991) stated, apart from protecting the quality and accuracy of work already done, there is "no useful purpose for any additional research or writing on [Indigenous Peoples]" (p. 461). In this regard it is also necessary to closely re-examine the paradigms that we use in our efforts to chart a unique path to true Indigenous Peoples' development and a moral order of inquiry that crosses cultural borders. Have we truly defined and developed our own unique tribal strategies that correspond to our systems of consciousness? The suspicion is that we may be latching our hopes and attempts for redemption on to inappropriate frameworks of development and frustrated by processes that cannot and will not provide prescription for Indigenous Peoples' empowerment.

My own method in seeing through the mystification of academic discourses is to invert everything being discussed and see what the inversion produces. What complications would the Western scholar face to discourse from

the other side, from the side of the 'other' which they proclaim to know so much about? What is the 'native' perspective? What knowledge and skills would the academic scholar need in order to write something of substance from the other side? Would their new positioning in the 'other-side' induce their silence much like a subaltern? What would it be like for them to have to learn a language from the 'other' side in order to speak the other side's truth? Would the western academic scholar appear like a 'subaltern' sitting in the sun: waiting wordlessly, perfectly still, waiting for the 'native' signal? What if the discourse of the 'native', the voice of the 'native' and the language of the 'native' were the requirements needed in the halls of academic learning? Tânisî ka isitonâmo awa wâpiski-wayâs kîspin nêhiyaw mâmitonêyihcikan êkwa mîna nêhiyawêwin ka âpacihtât e mâmiskôcikât? Ka pakwanawahtâw ci? For non-Cree thinkers, this selection interprets as "What would the Western/white/European talk about if he/she was to speak from the Cree language and subjected to think from the Cree mind in a setting of discussion? Would her/his knowledge not flounder in silence and incomprehension"? What questions would arise about the 'non-native' experts who now pretend to speak for us? What does this say about asymmetrical relations?

Summary

Critical reading responds to the research question of what concerns about ethics exist in research involving Indigenous Peoples as embodied in expressed views of various writers on the subject. The critical reading further identified crucial locations in the research enterprise that have a cumulative bearing on how research processes are

translated into issues of ethics by Indigenous Peoples. First, Eurocentricity, along with its principles and paradigms, was identified as the foundation for the established order of research that enjoyed uncontested diffusion and one that historically worked at cross-purposes with Indigenous Peoples self-determination. Second, Western universities along with the disciplines and the expert scholars were identified as the sentinels of the old order. Broadly based claims to truth and the law-like adherence to principles like all knowledge is public and the ideal of individualism are used in this elitist circle to maintain unearned advantage and conferred dominance in the field of research. Finally, the conditions that exist at the confluence of two societies in relation to research were discussed.

The issues of research uncovered in this critical reading are as follows:

A). A deconstruction of the research text must begin within educational institutions to identify the scope and breadth of the diffusion of old order thought and its degree of influence in contemporary contexts. Ideas such as universalism, that postulate a defining center of authority, must be disengaged from any research involving Indigenous Peoples.

B). Researchers must begin to see beyond Western frameworks that problematize various aspects of Indigenous Peoples' existence and experience. This tactic of placing 'problems' on Indigenous Peoples effectively orients the focus of inquiry away from social systems and structures built on colonial foundations.

C). Deconstruct the text that recreates and harbours stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples.

D). Recognize that the notion of academic freedom to research and publish constitutes an ethical breach of cross-cultural relations when unilaterally extended from and beyond the boundaries of Western culture. These Western academic principles have given privilege and dominance to Western researchers in cross-cultural settings.

E). Research that is informed by the constructions of Indigenous Peoples' image in Western texts do not constitute ethical practice. This practice contributes to the continuing manipulation of Indigenous Peoples' identity in social frameworks.

F). Research involving Indigenous Peoples must benefit Indigenous communities. Research in Indigenous communities that benefits only outsiders is seen as exploitation.

G). Appropriating Indigenous knowledge for economic gain, power, and domination is a vestige of colonialism and imperialism. An explicit recognition of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property rights and the protection of those rights will alleviate this concern.

H). Research involving Indigenous Peoples must align itself to the perspective of Indigenous Peoples. Research from outmoded paradigms subjects researchers to the processes of colonial appropriation of Indigenous knowledge.

I). An ethical order in research requires the concerted effort to place the focus of intellectual inquiry to the systems and institutions that promote and conduct research. Aspects of Indigenous Peoples' empowerment requires scrutiny of the social processes that impede progress and emancipation.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRANSFORMATION AND EMANCIPATION

Those who have been excluded are not, after all, the enemies of civilization. We are, as we have always been, essential to its very possibility: the world needs to hear all our voices. Transformed knowledge should help us all envision and actually experience moments in which the possibility of the intimate, universal communication that is the transforming heart of publicly responsible learning comes alive (p. 187).

Elizabeth Minnich
Transforming Knowledge

Introduction

Bridging of understanding between worldviews of Indigenous Peoples and the Western world has been attempted. This has involved some creative suggestions of reconciliation between the two systems. However, in instances where Western paradigms are used to orient the reconciliation, the nature of discourse is often so convoluted. The language is mystified that readers are damned if they understand what it is trying to say, and more importantly, where it is trying to lead them. In the words of Vine Deloria (1995):

[The] people who run the barricades in science, religion, and politics [and education] have one thing in common which they do not share with the rest of the citizenry: they are responsible for creating a technical language, incomprehensible to the rest of us, whereby we cede to them our right and responsibility to think" (p. 35).

Apart from the language of academic inquiry, discourse on the evolving nature of Indigenous Peoples' experience is also susceptible to being routed by the university with its paradigms that stream dialogue into scientific intellectualization and validation processes where Indigenous thought may languish because of its disparity. The danger of routing Indigenous discourses exclusively into Western social science doctrines is that the more inclusive context of the Indigenous Peoples' experience and the right of Indigenous People to name their own experiences according to their worldview will once again be marginalized. Indigenous people acknowledge with the fundamental insight that all existence was connected and that the whole enmeshed the human being in its inclusiveness. In Indigenous thought, therefore, an immanence is present that gives substance and meaning to existence and that the immanence is perceptible to the human through the various relations with ecological and metaphysical realms of existence. The immanence is a mysterious force that connects the totality of existence - the forms, energies, or concepts that constitute the outer and inner worlds. Couture (1991) has described this immanence as "the pervasive, encompassing reality of the life force, manifest in laws - the laws of nature, the laws of energy, or the laws of light" (p. 208). This form of knowledge and personal understanding is enhanced by the notion of subjectivity very rarely evidenced in Western thought. The Indigenous construction of reality is all too often pulled too far into the objective realm by academic forces in the commendable act of trying to align Indigenous Peoples' reality with Western understandings. However, as Duran and Duran (2000) state, "the objectification of science is nothing but ongoing social control and hegemony" (p. 88). In this regard, Indigenous thought serves as a ray of hope that there are alternative avenues to knowing and that Indigenous Peoples are not mindless of and heartless towards the human condition.

Research involving Indigenous Peoples has been presented as Western mono-culture at work (Colorado, 1988). Implicit here is the notion that the mono-culture of the West, as a form of cultural narcissism, is a storehouse of colonialist and imperialist ideologies that structure knowledge, texts, and social practices in ways that variously and negatively impact Indigenous Peoples. Taken from another angle, ideas around research in the university education has been framed around Western mono-culture that suggest "one public sphere, one value, one conception of justice that triumphs over all others" (McLaren, 1994, p. 208). By imposing his specific characteristics on the universal, the dominator has occupied this public sphere virtually alone. In this sense the call for a broader effort in decolonization must appropriately include changes in Indigenous Peoples' attitudes about research and to start asserting differences and an alternate language on the universal that makes problematic an archaic and restrictive order of knowledge found in the West.

The Models

At this crucial juncture of this study on research involving Indigenous Peoples, I present a diagram that illustrates two contrasting knowledge systems. By illustration, this comparative diagram represents two disparate systems of knowledge production and how each is structured to reflect its respective views on the purpose, nature and origin of knowledge that is important in that system. The first model, the colonizer's model of the world, summarizes what has been discussed thus far in this inquiry. The Western model has been variously discussed as the dominant or Eurocentric model of knowledge where segments of human society are presented by top-down discourses as the model of humanity and its knowledge as the singular consciousness towards all human knowing. This elite is represented at the top of the diagram as the pinnacle example of all human

possibility in this established and archaic order of knowledge. Knowledge emanating from this model is mystified so that Western constructions of the features which define the human “mask over the assimilation of the human itself with European values” (Young, 1990, p. 122). Further, knowledge production in the West is characterized by a language of dominance and legitimated by discourses that circumscribe Western reason, history, science, knowledge, power, and the inherent superiority of Western culture under the imperatives truth, power, laws of nature, and the will of God.

The masses of people, of all colors, are represented at the center of the diagram. These are the marginalized people that strive to achieve the benefits of power and affluence but are construed to exist only for the continued privilege and dominance of the elite. These multitudes of peoples live caged existences. This whole constructed world of the colonizer is circumscribed in an imaginative language discursively asserted as the one true reality. In this way, this Western reality may be further summarized as the artificial context because propositions made within the system of knowledge are perceived as the Real even though they are abstract symbols mirroring or mimicking a reality – a reality that does not exceed the rational constructions of it. Sentinels of an old order continuously promulgate this colonizer model of the world by enacting the kinds of thinking they welcome, and discarding and/or discrediting the kind they fear (Minnich, 1990) and therefore maintaining total control. Maneuverability in this context is limited for Indigenous Peoples because of its preconceived and imposed script that endeavours to dictate the limits of every thought. The epistemological horizon at the bottom of the diagram is not any more flattering because the model shows very restricted opportunity for the creation of new knowledge under this paradigm. Alternative models that contrast this worldview can mirror the very limits of this dominant meaning system and offer it the opportunity to

confront the fundamental truths about its own character. The colonizer's model of the world is shown in figure 1.

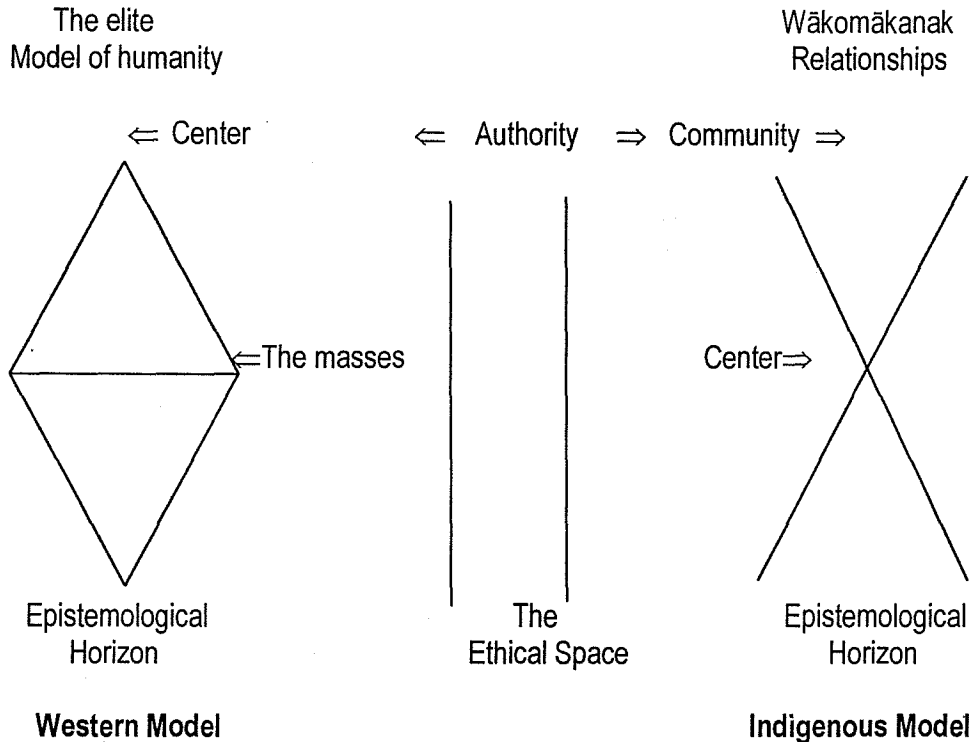


Figure 1. A comparative diagram showing the colonizers model of the world and the Indigenous model of the universe.

Indigenous Community: Space of Transformation

There exists a body of knowledge that is outward looking searching for understanding and wisdom from a universe in its multiple manifestations. Perspectives from this body flourishes through the creation of knowledge in ways that gives honor to the Being because it is founded on human, natural, and supernatural realms of existence. In this way, as Cajete (1994) writes, "every situation provided a potential opportunity for learning, and basic education was not separated from the natural, social, or spiritual aspects of everyday life" (p. 33). These foundations teach that learning is a subjective

experience and therefore in this system of knowledge living and learning were fully integrated. Paradoxically then, even though this knowledge is collective and outward looking, it is always centered on subjectivity and the lived reality of individuals as the main venue for knowledge production. This is a form of knowledge that interrogates the grounds of its own narration and its own sense of location in physical and metaphysical contexts. This body of knowledge is a community reality held commonly by Indigenous Peoples in many locations of the globe. This is Indigenous Peoples' knowledge.

The Indigenous model of the universe illustrated in Figure 1. presents an alternative paradigm to the dominant meaning system within Eurocentric knowledge. The basic premise behind the illustration is to show an oppositional paradigm to the Western model. The Indigenous model of the universe illustrates a new way of knowing and seeing from the Indigenous worldview. This new way of seeing and knowing may help dislodge entrapped thought from dominant perspectives. The diagram illustrates a common worldview and mode of knowledge production held very commonly by Indigenous Peoples in many parts of the globe. This worldview attaches significance to relationships and therefore knowledge under this system is triangulated through a system of human, community, ecological, and metaphysical validation. Any 'propositions' made within the Indigenous community were subject to scrutiny and validation by not only human but also ecological, and supernatural intelligence. This is a belief in the unity and interrelatedness of all things in the universe. This is the ground of Indigenous knowledge.

This model represents the Indigenous community as the space which enables and promotes new ways of knowing and seeing reality and the production of knowledge that brings honor to all its constituents. This community knowledge has become the space of hope and possibility for Indigenous Peoples in the aftermath of the darkest hours of the

mind-numbing ideology wrought by Christianity and its attitudinal derivatives that have been imposed on us for the last five hundred years. Eurocentric thought does not understand the elegance of Indigenous thought that sees intelligence in all life-forms and does not question the negative myths of colonialism (Henderson, 1999). Ryser (1984) sums up these negative myths of colonization in the following manner:

If indigenous people will only reject their own history, intellectual development, language, and culture and replace these things with European values and ideals, then the indigenous people will survive (p. 28).

It becomes necessary to detach our selves from colonizing paradigms in order to start hearing our inner voices and to start understanding the ecological and supernatural realities of our spaces. This retreat enables the transformation of knowledge based on our collective vision and our social and historical experiences. As Linda Smith (1999) states:

To resist is to retrench in the margins, retrieve what we were and remake ourselves. The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages, and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope (p.4).

The Indigenous concept of community and its epistemological underpinnings represent spaces from which it is possible to re-theorize the universal and legitimize models for ethical social relationships that benefit all of humanity. New frontiers of knowledge that have been ignored and suppressed through the 'time-lagged colonial moment' are observable from alternate spaces of knowledge represented by the Indigenous community.

These are spaces constituted by discourses in Indigenous languages, worldviews, and community aspirations for an ethical order in society – a knowing that contrasts with Western notions of the universal. Reclaiming voice and reclaiming subjectivity through community models become necessary processes for us as Indigenous Peoples to re-establish a sense of true identity and to be able to assert the Indigenous mind and discourse in ways that bring honor to the community. In short, this means asserting the sense of our difference to Western norms and to disassociate ourselves from the images constructed of us in Western texts.

The Language of the Community

Indigenous knowledge, safeguarded within communities by a multitude of First Peoples the world over with their distinctive identities, histories and values represents the idea of a natural world order. There are established protocols and community education systems in place in our communities that guide the transmission and transformation of worldview to succeeding generations that we must pay attention to. In this way we can assert our systems as a means of protecting our intellectual and cultural property, and our knowledge, from exploitation and appropriation. This knowledge has withstood the test of reality, including the worst excesses of Western imperialism, and gave survival and honor to a humanity that espoused it in its various dimensions. Our communities are very important for the protection, enhancement and promotion of this knowledge.

Community is the system of relationships in which the nature of person-hood is identified. This system of relationships not only includes family, but also extends to comprise the relationships of human, ecological, and spiritual origin. Community is a structure of the support mechanisms that include the personal responsibility for the collective and reciprocally, the collective concern for individual existence. Cajete (1994)

suggests that, "the community is the place where the forming of the heart and face of the individual as one of the people is most fully expressed" (p. 164). It is primary expression of a natural context and environment where exists the fundamental right of person-hood to be what one is meant to be. Movement within this community context allows individuals to discover all there is to discover about one-self. David Bohm (1996) refers to the idea of community as a process of participatory thought that accommodates seeing that everything partakes of everything else. He recognizes the participatory thought as a people's participation in some of the things they saw and that one cannot be part in something unless that thing in some sense accepts one's participation. In this sense, community is participatory thought in action.

The community represents the synthesis of many peoples' search for knowledge at the conjunction of physical and metaphysical realities. The knowledge of many people developed through this process of experiencing totality, a wholeness, in inwardness, effectively created a unified consciousness that transformed the community into a participatory organism known as community. In doing so, the community, through its subjects, became empowered as the 'culture' of accumulated knowledge. The people became the community, and the community became the worldview. The knowledge of the people was the glue that held the community together and moulded the ethos that the people would live by. For this reason the community ethos is inviolable as timeless knowledge because of its reflection on human, natural, and supernatural realities. For our teachers, the old people of the community, establishing and maintaining personal relationships with life force were paramount because the nature of the relationship is what transformed the individual. Each person had to establish the relations in their own special way through the personal development.

The old people's legacy is that they saw the spirit in everything and had blind and unassuming faith that the spiritual worked for good in those that honor it. Part of the duty and inheritance entrusted to our generation by the ancestors and is the ability to see the world as the numinous place that it is. For the old people, the world made sense to think of the intelligence that exists at anyplace and at anytime around us. We need to reaffirm that there are many things happening in our world that we are unable to see and there are many spiritual influences around that we do not detect because we are not normally given those powers of the spirit. This is not say that we cannot acquire those gifts.

This knowledge system encompasses all the aspects of an Indigenous Peoples' learning tradition and provides for the appropriate venues for its dissemination. Although this knowledge is largely unwritten in any text, it remains indelibly etched in our community ethos and in the narratives that that so passionately oriented generations of our ancestors. As Battiste (1983) writes, "history, literature, philosophy, mythology, astrology, and genealogy were all oral disciplines in Indian culture" (p.44). Additionally, that there is a growing body of literature attests not only to the presence of a vast reservoir of information regarding plant and animal behaviour within Indigenous knowledge but also the rules of sustainable use of those resources. Martha Johnson (1992) states that the knowledge is variously labeled as "folk ecology, ethno-ecology, traditional environmental or ecological knowledge, indigenous knowledge, customary law, and knowledge of the land" (p. 3). This knowledge and holistic understanding of the universe derives from praxis of human, ecological, and metaphysical relationships enacted through community knowledge systems. Whitt (1995) succinctly describes what constitutes a knowledge system. She writes:

[A] knowledge system can be defined in terms of four characteristics: epistemology, a theory of knowledge giving an account of what counts as knowledge and how we know what we know; transmission, dealing with how knowledge is conveyed or acquired, how it is learned and taught; power, both external (how knowledge communities relate to other knowledge communities) and internal (how members of a given knowledge community relate to one another); and innovation, how what counts as knowledge may be changed or modified (p. 231).

Community Narratives

The world of Indigenous Peoples' knowledge is largely still embedded in the practical and dynamic order of community education systems that in large part includes the oral tradition. Indigenous community education systems occur in holistic fashion that includes processing experiences in mental, affective, physical, spiritual domains of personhood. Subjectivity played an important role in the system because of the recognition that learning can occur in relationships formed with social, natural, and spiritual realities. Cajete (1994) informs us that "the living place, the learner's extended family, the clan and tribe provided the context and source for teaching" (p. 33). He states that living and learning were fully integrated within the educational foundations of spirit, environment, the mythic, vision, art, affection, and community. The corpus of tribal narratives is also an Indigenous response to the need to know and they represent the 'archives' of centuries of learning and synthesis of human, ecological, and spiritual knowledge by the people. In many cases Indigenous knowledge is only accessible through the understanding of a

complex nexus of sacred oral narratives and communal spiritual practices. As Goody and Watt (1968) state:

Literate society, by merely having no system of elimination, no 'structural amnesia', prevents the individual from participating fully in the total cultural transmission to anything like the extent possible in non-literate society (p. 57).

As the flagship of the Indigenous Peoples' oral tradition, communal narratives are valuable. For reasons of their ubiquitous nature, they are vital to maintain as a way to understand the worldview and the embedded array of knowledge and blueprints for social continuity encased in their structures. Hayden White (1987) states that "narrative might well be considered a solution to a problem of general human concern, namely, the problem of how to translate knowing into telling" (p. 1). Narratives within each Indigenous community provide for the development and continuance of specific Indigenous knowledge for its caretakers in ways that have depth and meaning within human-world relationships. For this reason, they become rich resources and the models by which Indigenous Peoples can speak meaningfully about the Indigenous existence and the political, social, economic, and historical consciousness of its being. As Hayden White (1987) continues, the "refusal of narrative indicates an absence or refusal of meaning itself" (p. 2). As previously discussed, the supplanting of narrativity by the knowledge production through textual means has had a negative influence on the acceptance of narratives as 'archives' that contain important aspects of knowledge. Although the neglect of narrative in the Western world is widespread, its absence in Indigenous Peoples' worlds would greatly compromise continuity of Indigenous knowledge.

The voices of the Old People and the historians of our communities tell about continuity of life-worlds and those life experiences of the ancient ones that still echo rich information related to contemporary knowing. Joseph Couture (1991b) states that "Indigenous knowing and knowledge, as in past eras, remains necessary to the survival and enhancement of Native personal and communal identity" (p. 55). Learning about community, human, natural, and supernatural relationships in the context of the knower are also processed through community formulas of turning knowing into telling. Cajete (1994) described the process in the following terms:

In the Indigenous communities the elders, the grandparents and grandfathers, hold the stories of their families and their people. It is they who give the stories, the words of good thought and action to the children. They tell the children how the world and their people came to be. They tell the children of their experiences in their life. They tell them what it means to be one of the people. They tell them about their relationships to each other and to all things that are part of the world. They tell them about respect - just as their grandparents told them when they were children. So it goes, giving and receiving, giving and receiving stories - helping children remember to remember that the story of their community is really the story of themselves (p. 169)!

The narratives told within the communities of their origin serve to bring out reflections about our contemporary condition and how well we are maintaining continuity with our rightful inheritance, knowledge traditions, and the reality of what the ancestors of our communities knew as truth preceding the moment of colonization. One of the tenets of our learning traditions that will guide the restoration and construction of an Indigenous reality is

the Indigenous language itself. Indigenous languages serve as a community system of synthesizing centuries of knowledge founded on human, ecological, and metaphysical realms of experience. As Peat (1994) writes, "songs, ceremonies, traditional ways, and all the trappings of Indigenous science can be found enfolded within the language" (p. 219). Indigenous languages can continue to inspire insights into the intricacies of Indigenous Peoples' worldview and to describe and understand the processes governing Indigenous reality. Battiste (1996) has posited that Indigenous languages work at a deeper level of meaning as a system of knowledge where it becomes possible to identify the appropriate human actions congruent with the flowing wholeness in nature. She states:

The reconstruction of knowledge builds from within the spirit of the lands and within Indigenous languages. Indigenous languages offer not just a communication tool for unlocking knowledge, it offers a process orientation that removes us from rigid noun-centered reality and offers an unfolding paradigmatic process for restoration and healing (p.18).

For example, one way of gaining insight into the social and spiritual realities that constitute our identities and uniqueness as a community of Beings is through the unfolding of embedded concepts found within our languages. Uncovering the Indigenous Being within community praxis can be accommodated by giving our inquiries to our ethos and specifically to our ancestral languages to see what meanings and responses are unveiled. Cajete (1994) discussed Paulo Freire's approach to group communications about their world and stated that in this process the words that evoke thoughts, feelings and reveal historical pictures are discussed to "unpack" their meaning. Cajete (1994) states:

Since the words and symbols being used come from the language, cultural, or historical experience of the group, the people begin to reflect

on their collective stories. They do this in ways that stimulate new insights about themselves, their situations, and solutions to problems they face. Motivation, meaning, and researching their cultural roots to find models for viewing their problems are elements built into the culture circle (p. 216).

Within this act lies the process of creating our own unique knowledge as it is enfolded in our languages and in the ways of human conduct as our ancestors have always understood and honored them and embedded them into community ethos. How the language can be utilized to capture the Indigenous world view and describe the processes governing the Indigenous reality of relationships is exemplified by use of the Cree word *wākomākanak*. *Wākomākanak* is a Cree word that describes the whole system of relationships in Cree society that includes the human, natural, and supernatural realms of existence. Many Indigenous Peoples will have similar words that describe their systems of relationships on the human, ecological, and spiritual levels. The following diagram of concentric circles illustrates the concept of community development and how the support system of relations manifests in the Indigenous community.

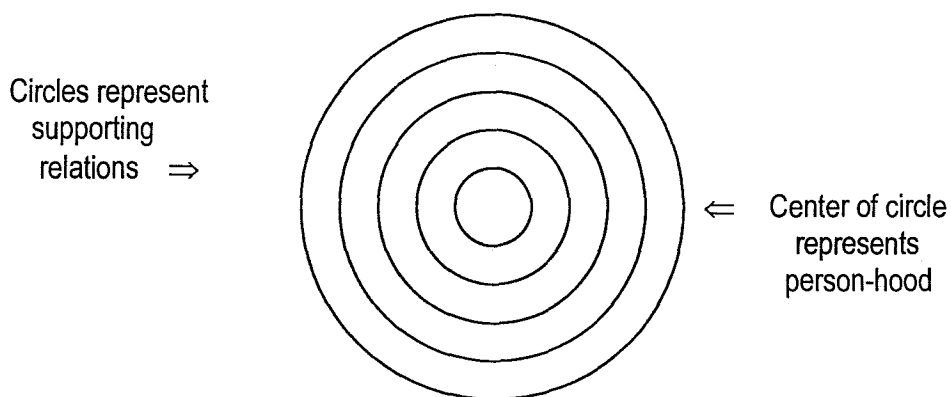


Figure 2. Diagram illustrating idea of community and the location of the Being in the center.

The individual who occupies the abstract center is seen to have a support system that nurtures its human development on a holistic level. This support recreates itself with larger and repeating circles of protection, support, and guidance from a complex array of relations and allies. Within this structure of community relationships is a nucleus that represents not only the individual but also, what Cajete (1994) states as the "recognition that there is a knowing Center in all human beings that reflects the knowing Center of the Earth and other living things" (p. 210). The nucleus is an abstract location occupied by individuals within the context of community and is descriptive of an inner space. The various aspects of community are in turn represented by a system of concentric circles to illustrate repeating patterns of support and responsibility of the human, natural, and supernatural collective to nurture person-hood. These concentric circles of the Indigenous model may in the end be a very massive system of individuals, family, extended family and indeed the entire community of Indigenous Peoples. As Ermine (1995) writes, "the community became paramount by virtue of its role as repository and incubator of total tribal knowledge in the form of custom and culture. Each part of the community became an integral part of the whole flowing movement" (p.105). The structure and concept of *wākomākanak* captures the fundamental principles and processes necessary in not only community development of a participatory mind but also an epistemology that governs human conduct and orients the individual human towards the realm of possibility.

The Individual

The model of the Indigenous Peoples' universe as represented by Figure 1 contains an important concept in the pursuit of emancipation and justice for Indigenous Peoples. The interesting paradox in the concept of the Indigenous collective is the degree of recognition placed on the knowing individual within the community. Within the concept

of community and the relationships represented by concentric circles is the idea of the Indigenous center where the individual is accorded the rightful place as the knowing subject and the touchstone of all community knowing.

As with many other cultures around the world, the holy people and the elder philosophers among the Indigenous Peoples tried to gain understanding of the many mysteries of the universe for the processes of self-actualization. The Old Ones, and the community culture they developed, understood that the knowing individual was an invaluable asset to the community and sought to manipulate the external so that knowing might happen. This act established the contours of knowledge production in the community. They understood that the human being, in relation to the whole of creation, possessed intriguing and mysterious qualities that provided insights into existence and origin and nature of knowledge. Therefore, in their quest to find meaning in physical space, the scientists of the Indigenous Peoples turned to the inner space of the individual. In this way the individual within the community is an acknowledged entity that can benefit the group through the capacity to create knowledge inspired by the human, natural, and supernatural realms of knowing. For example, Lewis & Bird Rose (1985) state that a “supernatural connection establishes personal rights of ownership” (p. 39). This reason alone disavows the banking concept of education found in the knowing processes of the West that dictates paths and perimeters of knowing. Paulo Freire (1970) has written extensively about banking education and has stated in his book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

The educator’s role is to regulate the way the world “enters into” the students. His task is to organize a process which already occurs spontaneously, to “fill” the students by making deposits of information

which he considers to constitute true knowledge....Translated into practice, this concept is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors, whose tranquillity rests on how well men fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it (p. 62).

The banking concept of education has served the oppressors well, but is ill fit to sustain Indigenous knowledge and transform knowledge in the wider context.

The individual in the Indigenous collective is intrinsic to and inseparable from its community. As Graveline (1998) writes, "the individual is only knowable as a member of a specified community, and communities are only recognized through their constituents" (p.57). Within this community was the accommodation for the individual to experience her own life. It was ultimately through subjectivity and the idea of person-hood that Indigenous Peoples discovered great resources for coming to grips with many of life's mysteries. Recapturing this central theme of community relationships propagates a vast horizon of knowing. As Cajete (1994) states:

Relationship is the cornerstone of Tribal community; the nature and expression of community are the foundation of Tribal identity. It is through community that Indian people come to understand the nature of their personhood and their connection to the communal soul of their people. The community is the place where the forming of the heart and face of the individual as one of the people is most fully expressed. Community is the context in which the Indian person comes to know the nature of relationship, responsibility, and participation in the life of one's people (p.164).

The quest latent in Indigenous centering is to create more questions through self knowing so that individuals and eventually the whole community are fully conscious of the need to develop a reality and worldview apart and different from the West. Within each of our spirals of individuals, families, and communities, exist sensibilities of particular social and historical realities that prescribe the paths into a future of human responsibility and ethics. It is imperative as Indigenous Peoples that we re-center and validate our present realities by first recapturing and asserting our presence. Paulo Freire (1989) states that:

[S]ince men [sic] exist apart from the world, apart from reality, the movement must begin with the [human]-world relationship. Accordingly, the point of departure must always be with the men in the 'here and now,' which constitutes the situation within which they are submerged, from which they emerge, and in which they intervene. Only by starting this situation – which determines their perception of it – can they begin to move (p. 73).

By starting with the 'now' and reclaiming the past, Indigenous Peoples will uncover the missing pages of history and uncover the missing links in identity and continuity that was displaced through the years of colonialism. In doing this, Indigenous Peoples have a stake in developing family and community histories and genealogies and appropriately reconstructing knowledge that speaks from the perspective of the Indigenous spiral of reality.

The frameworks and models for Indigenous Peoples' emancipation and development are enfolded within the ethos of our communities, in our languages that describe our worldviews, and within our individual and family consciousness and narratives of that consciousness. Our own processes for emancipation must be enacted and this

entails a re-centering of our historical and social awareness and to recover the integrity of our individuals within the rubric of our communities. We are talking about a world of ideas, a knowledge system and an intellectual tradition, once so widespread within Indigenous Peoples' contexts. The ideas are about human awareness and consciousness of a co-existing intelligence found in not only human interactions but also in the natural and supernatural realms. Ritual, ceremony and metaphysical idioms of song, dance, and meditation were the venues for spiritual development. In this way, understanding the knowledge, the sublime messages of human potential and the freedom to think in the mode of magic and mystery opens the mind to higher possibilities. Additionally, this kind of knowledge opened the doors of understanding about the world and lent itself to naming of the world from the perspective of the community's need to know. As an example, the concept of sacred narrative in Nēhiyaw worldview refers to the story of the spiritual world and the place of people in cosmology. These ideas are about knowing and the human freedom and capacity to know. This is Indigenous knowledge.

The Indigenous Peoples' Gaze

Indigenous Peoples and their knowledge, one supported by centuries of synthesis grounded in human, ecological, and metaphysical relationships, represent an alternative awareness to Western forms of consciousness. This is an awareness that refused to be dislodged from the lifeblood of its own epistemology despite centuries of assault by Western colonialism and imperialism. This awareness also represents a perspective or a 'gaze' upon the Western world and the nature of existence. This is a mind-full gaze that not only precedes the moment of colonization but also exceeds any pretense that this is the response of some preconceived glare within the Western constructions of Indigenous Peoples' image. As Chow (1993) states that "this is not the gaze of the native-as-subject,

nor the gaze of the anti-imperialist critic; rather it is a simulation of the gaze that witnessed the native's oppression prior to her becoming image" (p. 51). The continuation and understanding of this gaze and particularly the paradigm or conception of knowledge that enables it is necessary in order to put the body of Western knowledge into a proper and more encompassing human perspective. To the Western subject, this gaze represents an opportunity to identify problematic chapters in constructed perspectives and to examine the partiality of formed views and relationships towards Indigenous Peoples and other marginalized groups. Similarly, it is the space that allows one to see how the myths of Western knowledge contribute to their bondage to the structures and systems that impede the human potential. Sartre (1976) has observed this bondage and called for a decolonization of the European soul. He states:

That is to say that the settler which is in every one of us is being savagely rooted out. Let us look at ourselves, if we can bear to, and see what is becoming of us. First we must face that unexpected revelation, the striptease of our humanism. There you can see it, quite naked, and it's not a pretty sight. It was nothing but an ideology of lies, a perfect justification for pillage; its honeyed words, its affectation of sensibility were only alibis for our aggression (cited in Young, 1990, p. 121).

This is a gaze that cuts to the heart of the 'European soul' uncovering its fantasies, deepest desires, and a long repressed spirit that wants to speak in higher dimensions of actualization. This is a longing to transcend the repression born out of a caged existence. Walker (1979) suggests that it is time that researchers examine [Western] society itself" (cited in Bishop, 1994, p. 178) as a way to stir the European soul and through this act to be able to transcend its own frontiers and go beyond the things in which it has based itself.

Within the gaze of the Indigenous Peoples, it is the Western subject that needs to resist the shackles that bind. Erica-Irene Daes (2000), Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on prevention of discrimination and Protection of Minorities, states that:

Europeans themselves have had the disease of oppressed consciousness for centuries, and, as a result, they have grown so used to this experience that they do not always appreciate the fact that they are ill. Indigenous peoples, by comparison, are much closer in time to the experience of spiritual independence and therefore are generally far more aware of the extent to which the symptoms of the disease persist" (p. 4)

McIntosh (1998) writes about white privileges in society and expresses the view that white people should examine those structures that provide them with unearned advantage and asserted dominance over minority groups. It is understood that there may be pain in confronting bedrock assumptions about superiority and the recourse exists to continue clinging to the social structures that confer privilege but Indigenous Peoples do not have such options nor privileges in the broader society. It then can be asked, what does it take to change society? When and how will the paradigm shift so that all human beings are respected for who they are and what institutional conditions will be necessary for cultural/political democracy as Donald & Rattansi (1992) ask? Indigenous models of community and epistemology may help in this regard including the decolonizing methodologies that Linda Smith (1999) talks about. If non-Indigenous researchers want to appropriate something from Indigenous Peoples they can appropriate the methodologies of research that talk about reclaiming, re-

centering, re-naming nations and all the methods that would emancipate European peoples from the grips of colonialism's mentality. Freire (1970) affirms that it is the duty of the colonized and the marginalized to free the colonizers from their condition because the colonizers cannot free themselves. This is moral and ethical duty for Indigenous Peoples, to find ways to emancipate Western researchers from the grips Western research frameworks and discourse that inhibit their humanity. In this instance, mutual rejection for emancipation is an advancement because this would suggest coming to terms about the processes that have divided worldviews. Mutual rejection for emancipation would place an enormous strain on human consciousness not knowing what the implications might be to the human soul.

In this way it is expected that the Western subject henceforth becomes self-conscious, that is, uneasy and uncomfortable, in his own environment. This is an environment that has restricted and suppressed not only the Indigenous voice but also the free expression by the Western subject for its soul needs. As Fourmile (1989) states, the non-Indigenous community "must confront fundamental truths about its own character ... they have no mortgage on civilized behaviour" (Fourmile, 1989, p. 7). Conversely, the emancipation of Indigenous Peoples can take place only with the help of an educated understanding of the Western community in which the subject and object of European culture are made problematic. This may be a subject of curriculum where the problematic aspects of all cross-cultural appropriation and colonial situations should be studied equally.

The substitution of the abstract for the Real does not correspond very directly with common experience. The abstractness of the artificial context, for example, of its very nature disregards the individual's social experience and immediate personal context and

the compartmentalization of knowledge similarly restricts the kind of connections which the individual can establish and ratify with the natural and social world. Subjectivity, or existence, constitutes the highest interest of the existing individual, and the personal interest in the individual's existence constitutes the reality of the individual. The essential way of elitist thinking in Western literate culture with its textual representations is fundamentally at odds with the daily life and common experience of most people in the world. Indigenous Peoples have intellectual traditions that include matters of spirit, and matters of heart in a holistic fashion that are largely untapped in the promotion of human knowledge. There awaits an opportunity for non-Western research to learn from Indigenous Peoples how to move away from objectivity and abstraction and start to engage with human, natural and supernatural realities as a basic principle of emancipation and knowledge production. As Spivak (1990) states, this involves "the unlearning of one's privilege. So that, not only does one become able to listen to that other constituency, but one learns to speak in such a way that one will be taken seriously by that other constituency" (cited in Giroux, 1992, p. 27). Reser & Barlow (1986) state that this could be accomplished in two ways (a) to be conducted on the basis of introspection, and subjective assessment rather than as an objective investigation of external phenomena, and (b) to rely on intuitive thinking rather than on a 'universal' logic or reason" (p. xii). The artificial mode that permeates Western education and thought is still distanced from the holistic perspective that is the touchstone of Indigenous Peoples' education system. As Snider (1996) reminds us in *Scholarship, Morality and Apologies for Empire*, that "knowledge which does not inform the heart is not knowledge at all"(p.38). His argument is that objectivity and detachment in academic discourse are a false science equated with truth because they have the tendency to de-contextualize and mystify the subject. In this

sense, a de-contextualized and mystified discussion moves the focus away from coming to grips with the consequences of colonialist and imperialist thinking. The intellectualization created by de-contextualized discourses not only conceal power relations and social inequities endemic in society but also is not congruent to the holism required in human emancipation. Erica-Irene Daes (2000), in "The Experience of Colonization around the World," asserts:

I submit that Indigenous peoples are the closest to an understanding of oppression and to the sources of their own healing and renewal. To continue the medical analogy, they may become the vaccine for a disease that is as old as humanity (p. 4).

There is no action, no dialogue that takes place in intellectualizations uninformed by the heart that would foster a commitment to action. In this sense intellectualization falls prey to debate in academic circles where discussion is subject to the logic of measurement and the consensus of a "happy medium" (Noël, 1994). That 'words' are insufficient transformation is brought out by Freire (1970). He states:

Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed—even in part the other immediately suffers....When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well; and the word is changed into idle chatter, into verbalism, into an alienated and alienating "blah." It becomes an empty word, one which cannot denounce the world, for denunciation is impossible without commitment to transform, and there is no transformation without action (p. 76).

Shift to Subjectivity

The process of emancipation will also involve considerable efforts by the Western constituency to establish the necessary conditions and processes for inclusion of multiple perspectives in knowledge production that claims universal appeal. This effort may consist of reexamining structures that promote asymmetrical relations and removing the barriers that restrict multiple perspectives of human knowing. As Giroux (1992) states, "a dialogical encounter between these discourses offers cultural workers the opportunity to reexamine the partiality of their respective views" (p. 21). From this act of deconstruction comes the opportunity for reflection not only about localized impediments to a broader range of knowing, but also to the possibility of establishing new identities and new knowledge-power relations that are inclusive and exciting on a global level. The encounter and confluence of worldviews offers the opportunity for communities and universities to dialogue about partnerships to enact unified efforts towards the understanding of human concerns and the pursuit of the human potential. This process may also highlight the differences of perspectives and points of pressure about how knowledge can be structured to reflect its status as a heritage and responsibility of total humanity. This process may also involve the realignment of perspective that recognizes human subjectivity and therefore the personal responsibility to advance knowledge for the safety and good of all humanity. This is a shift from the limitations of objectivity in academic forms of knowledge to a subjectivity that is more in line with understanding reality from the personal encounter and knowing within human, ecological, and metaphysical relations. As Talbot (1991) states:

A shift from objectivity to participation will also most assuredly affect the role of the [Western] scientist. As it becomes

increasingly apparent that it is the experience of observing that is important, and not just the act of observation, it is logical to assume that scientists in turn will see themselves less and less as observers and more and more as experiencers...A willingness to be transformed is an essential characteristic of the participatory scientist (p. 298).

Knowledge production and a system of understanding founded on European "imaginality" has no subjective value to the individual. Those of vision know the meaning of "personal knowledge, the relationship of the knower to the known, the passionate participation of the knower in the act of knowing", writes Du Bois (1983: 113). Imaginality, as constructed within a large part of Western text, not only contributes to misguided notions about human development and also removes human participation, contribution, and responsibility for developing caring societies. Human knowledge based on imaginality and the personal acquiescence to that system means the negation of reality as a guiding principal in human development.

Participatory Thought

The very concept of *thinking* and our ideas of what is involved in the *thought* process may also need a re-examination in terms of understanding subjectivity. In this instance, understanding the processes of holism and the human capacity to create meaning through the imperatives of heart, mind, and spirit will play an important role. Plato has said that thinking is a 'voiceless colloquy of the soul with itself'. We find similar sentiments and concepts embedded in the Cree language when we look at the root Cree word that express the concept of *thought*. For example, the Cree word for thought is

"mâmitonêyihta". If we can break this word down and examine the root meanings, we find that "mâ" is the equivalent in English to "do repeatedly" and "mitonê" is a root meaning for being or doing thorough. The third root "yihta" has spatial and temporal connotations that may be best described as the context of the here and now in relation to the subject. Taken as a whole, "mâmitonêyihta" may be translated into English as "to do a thorough subjective analysis of the context and place where you are at this moment". The examination is a reflective process that involves processing many simultaneous experiences in inwardness. The context, past experiences, and future aspirations are all variables taken into consideration for the individual to arrive at meaning making at any time in the course of Being. If we look further at other concepts of thought and thinking, we find that the Cree term for thinking "itêyihcikan" contains the root word for heart "têh". The relationship of root words that characterize the emotional domain with cognition is to suggest that in the Cree worldview, the process of thinking is also an involvement of the emotional dimension. Thought and thinking involve a thorough process of intellectual and emotional rationalization, in subjectivity, for the purpose of meaning making. The emotional realm is not limited to feelings. As expressed by Katz & St. Denis (1991), this 'heart' involves "the total person as he or she operates in her deepest essence" (p. 28). The concept seems to describe an internal dialogue, a "voiceless colloquy" where the thinking individual processes meaning with all the instruments of inwardness including the emotional, physical, mental, spiritual, and contextual aptitudes. The point with this discussion is that subjectivity is in effect participatory thought in action. This participation is internal to the whole of the person as well as being external in terms of associating with human and cosmic community. The person-hood that acknowledges subjective relations understands morality and ethics through the affective domain whereas rationality finds complexity in

these concepts. The Western subject has been restricted by a fragmentation that restricts the kind of connections an individual can pursue and establish with the social, natural, and supernatural world. In this way, the rational academic in Western culture is fundamentally at odds with that of daily life and common experience (Goody & Watt, 1968).

Understanding the value of the participatory 'thought' is important if ethical relations are to be negotiated at the encounter of worldviews envisioned in the ethical space. Beyond anything else, the virtues of respect and compassion for the human spirit will guide the process of understanding across cultures.

Towards Ethical Research

As Cove (1995) has so perceptively stated, "the ethics of research were of less concern when there was normative consensus" (p.190). Continuing attempts to define an ethical and therefore just and respectful research process that involves Indigenous Peoples still seem to suggest there were a normative consensus in research. This is a consensus that speaks from an unquestionable ethical order in research. It is the status quo where the real issues of social, economic, and political parameters of cross-cultural research can be thrown into the arena of debate or best left unexamined. These processes disengage personal and institutional responsibility to act on the real issues that can alleviate mistrust and questionable practices in social relations. Maintaining Western processes of knowledge production like the debate enterprise in attempts to understand ethics also means the maintenance of status quo perspectives and interests where the real ethical concerns of Indigenous Peoples regarding research continue to languish. There are at least two views from this Western perspective that seemingly respond to the assertions that research ethics can be problematic when carried into cross-cultural contexts. One is that ethical research that 'empowers' Indigenous Peoples can be a

dangerous precedent because it fosters 'anti-intellectualism' (Cove, 1995, p. 194). These cries from the guardians of the old order of thought, question the right of Indigenous Peoples to participate and to renegotiate the way research is conducted because such claims strike at the heart of academic privilege and dominance in research matters. This is the same elite that cry foul when they are challenged to examine their own ethics at the same time as their writings claim to represent Indigenous Peoples' perspective. This is an academia that insists on the intellectual freedom to research, the uncontested dissemination of results, and deplores any attempts to stifle publication, commercial advantage, or national self-interest. The other is that the problem of research ethics involving Indigenous Peoples can be satisfactorily addressed by laying out respectful methods of research. Indeed, one of the professional responses to the skepticism about research Indigenous Peoples has indeed been to implement ethics guidelines in research. Although guidelines are in place within many Western disciplines, concerns continue to be expressed about ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples that go beyond the guidelines. As Deloria (1980) states, "construction of ethical codes of ethics is generally a means of ensuring that no action will be taken outside the discipline, rather than establishing a moral relationship with society as a whole" (p. 271). Several reasons for the ineffectiveness of ethical guidelines in research have been offered such as: the exemption of agencies and types of research from the process; inadequate publicity and enforcement; and the problem of any central agency ensuring appropriate involvement at the community level (Usher, 1994). Additionally, the interpretation of ethics in one society may not necessarily be the ethics of another with a different worldview. For example, in a study that examined ethical issues in research, Wax (1991) stated that:

[T]he investigators and the Indians do not share a common framework. While both researchers and researched have standards for assessing conduct, in most cases these standards are incommensurable, for the parties do not share a common moral vocabulary nor do they share a common vision of the nature of human beings as actors in the universe (p. 432).

Ideology

It therefore seems necessary to expand the margins of how ethics are examined in research. This suggestion would entail the viewing of ethics in research within a broader context of ideological discourses that work at cross-purposes to Indigenous Peoples' empowerment and self-actualization. Present practices of research involving Indigenous Peoples do not adequately convey the notion that the continuing Western interest in Indigenous communities and knowledge is not linked to colonialism and imperialism. In the minds of some people, colonialism may have ended and the rationale for paternalism disappeared, but the social relations between the former occupying power and the 'subject' population have not changed, particularly in Indigenous Peoples' life-spaces where the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history. It is prudent that any discussion of ethics coming from a society gripped in a history of colonialism and imperialism is viewed with great suspicion and must remain largely problematic. Young (1990) makes the statement that:

[The] formation of the ideas of human nature, humanity and the universal qualities of the human mind as the common good of an ethical civilization occurred at the same time as those particularly violent centuries in the history of the world now known as the era of Western colonialism (p. 121).

The nexus of imperialism with current structures of research can be summarized as something akin to a time lagged colonial ideology. As Ashford (1994) states, "ideology plays a far more important role in biasing our knowledge about minorities than does the use of empirical methods (p.28). This is to say that the problems of research involving Indigenous Peoples cannot be rectified by the sole attention to methods in research because this limits the debate to one that does not address ideological issues born in an old order of thought. Ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples is better framed as a problem of ideology and therefore must include rethinking of professional ethics and scholarly responsibilities on a much wider moral continuum. This means the clear understanding and deconstruction of asymmetrical relations born of a colonial order where there is a fundamental difference between the opportunities of two groups and concepts like equality and justice remain in discursive limbo. The problematic image of the dominant/university researcher interviewing Indigenous Peoples, for example, is a result of asymmetrical relations and within "the very existence of privilege that allows the research to be undertaken" (Patai, 1991, p.137). In a sense, Indigenous Peoples have created a moral discourse over how the research enterprise and the discourses of Eurocentricity have maintained asymmetrical relations.

Ethics in research for Indigenous Peoples implies a respectful process that must continually engage in issues on behalf of the Indigenous community and perform from the perspective of its historical consciousness and its difference. This is easier said than done because at the heart of Indigenous Peoples' social, historical, political, and economic claims to self determining research and knowledge production is the issue of commodification of knowledge. The attraction for researchers to Indigenous knowledge continues to be its value to Western interests as a commodity with a quantifiable value.

This quantifiable value of knowledge makes understandable university academics' craving for clear and protected rights like research access and right of publication. The economics involved in knowledge through its production and dissemination and the professional recognition of results in scholarly pursuits place tremendous pressure on academics to transgress ethical processes in research. These economic pressures along with slack ethical guidelines, when carried over into research involving Indigenous knowledge, commit a clear ethical breach of cross cultural relations from the perspective of Indigenous Peoples.

Collective Ownership

Another related issue is the disagreement between the West and Indigenous Peoples on the concept of collective ownership. The Indigenous relationship to knowledge is through a complex nexus of communal, natural, and spiritual orders. Knowledge is in many ways only obtainable through spiritual observances that are practiced communally and in the dynamic and evolving relationship between humans, the ecology and the universe. In a United Nations resolution (Resolution 1993/44 of 26 August 1993), the Sub-Commission on Prevention of discrimination and Protection of Minorities endorsed recommendations relating to collective rights of Indigenous Peoples. This recommendation states: "Indigenous Peoples' ownership and custody of their heritage must continue to be collective, permanent and inalienable, as prescribed by the customs, rules and practices of each people" (p. 4). This heritage of knowledge is also encased in Indigenous languages, inscribed in family narratives, in our sacred oral narratives, relationships with land, flora and fauna and in supernatural relationships. These are instances where it becomes problematic to define personal scholarship and a personal claim to knowledge when dealing with Indigenous knowledge. The collective nature of

community knowledge leads to the collective ownership of knowledge in Indigenous communities. Apart from the individualism and the individualistic sense of personal scholarship, in some non-Indigenous societies, collective ownership meant “no ownership” (Peterson, 1982). This has led to the rationale that since there is ‘no ownership’, say of Indigenous Peoples cultural and intellectual property, that this opens the door to ‘state ownership’. The political implication of this rationale is that the assertion of collective knowledge within Indigenous societies has been interpreted by the state to mean ‘no ownership’ because collective rights are not broadly recognized in Western society. In terms of knowledge production within the university world, this rationale has translated into the concept of state or public ownership of all knowledge. Hence we see the line-up of Western academics at the doors of Indigenous Peoples' cultural spaces with disregard for Indigenous Peoples' claims to intellectual, cultural, and property rights and the need for protection of these rights.

Consent

Consent to research in and by itself is problematic if these larger issues of unresolved differences are taken into consideration. In this sense the ethic of informed consent is to be gauged by other processes that satisfy basic questions in research requests. For example, obtaining consent from individuals in Indigenous communities can be problematic for a number of reasons. As Henderson (1996) has observed, “no single individual can ever be aware of all the cultural concerns that may exist in the community” (p. 83). These concerns may revolve around the issue of releasing information that is private and any disclosure of such information is a moral transgression against families and the community. Maddocks (1992) expresses a similar view and warns of ‘picking off’ gullible or uncomprehending individuals for opportunistic study. The Western paradigm of

individualism that recognizes the right of the individual to give knowledge through 'informed consent' is contradictory to the concept of collective ownership understood by Indigenous Peoples. Linda Smith (1999) states:

Indigenous groups argue that legal definitions of ethics are framed in ways which contain the Western sense of the individual and of individualized property – for example, the right of an individual to give his or her own knowledge, or the right to give informed consent. The social 'good' against which ethical standards are determined is based on the same beliefs about the individual and individual property (p.118).

Deloria (1980) also states that “breaking the specialist stranglehold over racial minorities is a critical problem, and this aspect of social science alone makes the discussion of 'informed consent' irrelevant” (p. 270).

Unless these contradictions inherent in cultural differences are resolved, research from Western paradigms conducted in Indigenous communities will continue to be regarded with great suspicion as opportunistic and exploitative. Apart from this kind of respectful scholarship, there will be problems if the interests of research continue to be identified, implicitly or explicitly, as the interests of the dominant society alone. Bishop (1994) states that empowerment for Indigenous Peoples through research means “decision making from a position of shared strength and wealth, not from a position...of relinquishing one's language and culture in order to participate in the mainstream” (p. 177).

In many ways an ethical order in research involving Indigenous Peoples includes processes of asserting the Indigenous concept of the universal that speaks in a language of a group mind and human possibility in ways that refuse to accept needless human suffering and exploitation. As Giroux (1992) reminds us, “traditions are not valued for their

claims to truth or authority, but for the ways in which they serve to liberate and enlarge human possibilities" (p. 122). This is not just research, but also research that empowers alternate ways of knowing (Colorado, 1989) and is demystified as such.

Indigenous Researchers

The master narratives of the West and the effect of the colonial order in Eurocentric education have seemingly corroded and discouraged the appropriate attitude for Indigenous Peoples to assert and take control over their own destiny and to transform knowledge through the research process. As Weber-Pillwax (1999) states, "Indigenous scholars today cannot perceive themselves as researchers at the margins of another larger and somewhat better society" (p. 44). In this sense the call for a broader effort in decolonization must appropriately include changes in Indigenous Peoples' attitudes about research. Indigenous Peoples are required to start asserting a different and alternate language on the universal from the community perspective that makes problematic an old and restrictive order of knowledge found in the West. This is the basic requirement in understanding that the West does not have a monopoly on knowledge and its production. To think that Indigenous Peoples and research, and indeed knowledge, are not compatible is a fallacy because as Collins & Poulson (1991) state, "before white men came...Aboriginal people were researchers and investigators" (p. 6). Chrisjohn (1986) insists that Indigenous Peoples should develop a "willingness to begin" (p. 37) to do their own research. His argument rests on a matter of attitude in overcoming the "myths" of research that impede thoughts and actions about research and the volition to generate Indigenous research programs grounded in the socio-cultural reality of Indigenous Peoples.

Although there are constraints in place within the Western system for the self-determination of Indigenous researchers and perhaps the development of an Indigenous research methodology, various alternatives for the enabling of Indigenous research have been suggested. King (1989) articulates the need for Indigenous researchers to do research using Indigenous Peoples' models and concepts. He talks about research constructs and interpretations being carried out according to Indigenous languages and worldviews and that research should focus on Indigenous Peoples' knowledge and ways of knowing. Redhorse, et. al. (1989) state that Indigenous scholars "tease out cultural norms, tribal customs, and intellectual traditions" (p. 268) as an alternative research agenda. Stokes (1985) regards land and language as crucial elements in the survival of Indigenous People and indicates that these should be priorities of research. Whatever the approach Indigenous Peoples decide on, the research programs should realign the purpose and focus of research from frameworks which support Eurocentric values and interests towards models of research that empower and enable multiple communities to establish their own centers of knowledge. This is an Indigenous research agenda that takes into account not only the values and reality of Indigenous societies but also places front and center the protection of Indigenous knowledge (Stokes, 1985; King, 1989; Darou, et. al., 1993; Redhorse, et. al., 1989).

Critically conscious Indigenous scholars have a role to play in developing the conditions required for appropriate research discourses and transformational programming in educational institutions. Indigenous scholars are perhaps in the best position to chart the appropriate pathways to emancipating and transforming knowledge. The critical Indigenous scholar can readily occupy the ethical space that is characterized as the confluence of two worldviews. This position honors not only the Indigenous Peoples'

perspective on knowledge but also recognizes the very needs of the Western subject to find their own soul roots. As it currently stands, however, these Indigenous academics, who might otherwise be rich resources for Indigenous communities, are continually being overburdened with other academic agendas dictated by university interests (Lafromboise, 1983). The heavy academic involvement of Indigenous scholars with university interests and priorities denies and unfairly limits Indigenous communities access to their own resources for research programming and development. The role of the Indigenous scholar has to be to confront the established order of the university and grapple with the political, social, economic and historical issues surrounding research and knowledge involving Indigenous Peoples. The struggle should entail dismantling of the 'master's narratives' because as Giroux (1992) has stated, "not only do totality and foundationalism not lead to the truth or emancipation; they actually lead to periods of suffering and violence" (p.120). The broad task for Indigenous scholars is to transform research scholarship beyond the colonial and neocolonial standards that are now the established order and to work at the cutting edge of knowledge production through empowering discourses and paradigms that model and enshrine the human potential of all peoples. In this way the Indigenous scholar and researcher can provide the opportunities to the university itself to support research programs grounded in social, political and historical realities of Indigenous Peoples.

The Ethical Space

The intersection where two or more worlds meet and overlap is an interesting and perhaps a significant location in terms of theorizing an appropriate research solution. The confluence where the two worlds of Indigenous and Western Peoples meet and where two sets of worldviews are brought to the encounter can also theoretically represent a space of flux where nothing is yet formed or understood. In abstract terms, the encounter of

cultures at a space where no definitive rules exist to guide interaction can appropriately represent an opportunity for understanding and the place of negotiation for cross-cultural activity. This 'ethical space' is potentially a productive and appropriate position from which to assert and negotiate an ethical order of research, production, and dissemination of knowledge. In keeping with a language of possibility, this space would afford the opportunity for 'naked humanity' to prevail where all assumptions, biases, and misrepresentations about the 'other' are brought to bear. This will entail the examination of structures and systems in attempts to remove all vestiges of colonial and imperial forms of knowledge production in any research that contemplates crossing cultural borders.

The ethical space, or the place of convergence of two societies with two worldviews, can also represent a location from which a meaningful dialogue can take place between communities towards the negotiation of a new research order that ethically engages different knowledge systems. These are knowledge systems embedded in communities under different political, historical, social, and economic realities.

The new order of research configured in the ethical space lends itself to the production of human knowledge based on respectful methods of inquiry and assurance that concealed outside interests do not taint research processes. This may mean interrogating the imperialism of theory itself in processes of research. In this way the space can also support the development of research curricula that are both inward looking and expansive through the integration and synthesis of a broader pool of human knowledge. The ethical space therefore can establish itself as the appropriate place from which to transform knowledge because it offers a view of alternate knowledge systems in simultaneous fashion. Working towards the respect and understanding of different and multiple readings of the world captured in alternate worldviews can enhance the human

capacity to create knowledge. An epistemology based on participatory consciousness and personal experiences with human, natural, and supernatural relationships can be an exciting frontier enabled by cross-cultural understanding and unified knowledge production. This capacity leads not only to self-reflection but also to the capacity to see other forms of knowledge for their value in self actualization of the individual. Research strategies like reclaiming, renaming, restoring, and reconstruction become the code words for the restructuring of knowledge modeled on the human being's relationships with social, ecological, and metaphysical realms. This location represents a place where skills and knowledge about respectful research are used to establish new orders of society. For Indigenous Peoples, ethics in research demands no less than this respect.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A Synthesis

This thesis has shown that the Indigenous Peoples' encounter with the Western world has been one characterized by terror. Many Indigenous Peoples have died in the terrorism and many yet remain in the cages of domination. The push by the West to conquer the Indigenous mind and soul has variously manifested in society through laws and the systems and institutions that the colonizers have constructed to cement their presence on Indigenous soil. Our children continue to see the effects of the institutionalized mentality through the education system and the rules of engagement in cultural genocide as seen through the violent practices of residential schools and de-spiriting work of missionaries. Where did humanity go wrong? What feeds this insatiable thirst for intolerance, control, and domination? Examining memory, testimonies, research and continuing experiences of alienation and external control by Indigenous Peoples starts to unravel the nature and origin of the forces that have caused disastrous complications at the encounter of Indigenous Peoples and the Western world. The research addresses the distinction between the assumptions about Indigenous Peoples as evidenced in the research process and the political, historical, and social reality of Indigenous Peoples. These distinctions are fundamental to the objective of negotiating an ethical order in knowledge production and research the impacts cross-cultural relations. Centuries of knowledge production in the West, which would assume an eventual modification of

perspectives, has not alleviated the degree of cultural violence that social and political practices continue to inflict on Indigenous Peoples. This thesis argues that in many respects, this is because of the systemic process of asymmetrical research and dominant forms of knowledge production that underwrite Western expansion into Indigenous Peoples' life-spaces. Previous research has largely been framed in Eurocentric practices to better penetrate and extract Indigenous knowledge without the appropriate critique of the hidden Western agenda and interests involved. The continuing attempts to make the research enterprise inclusive and amiable still maintain a fundamental Eurocentric orientation of circumscribing Indigenous knowledge into Western conventions of knowledge production for purposes of total cultural assimilation, appropriation of knowledge, and the continuing control of Indigenous Peoples. The researcher's position in relation to the encounter of worldviews, identified as the confluence, informs the relative perspective from which the study is undertaken as elements of primary research by the writer. This thesis did this by first identifying two sets of experiences from two worldviews that inform the author's perspectives about knowledge and power as they play out in research. The crucial positioning at the confluence of two worldviews enables a negotiation through counter claims working towards the objective of developing an alternate model of knowing that illustrates a different perspective about research. From this perspective, a schism of understanding between the Western world and Indigenous Peoples is identified. This misunderstanding is not natural but is influenced by specific forms of knowledge that informs and influences social practices of intolerance. One of the objectives and parameters of this inquiry was to identify assumptions, motivations, and values of dominant research and how practices of discourse breach ethics from the perspective of Indigenous Peoples.

Critical theory was used as the umbrella framework for the purpose of examining ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples. This framework allows the unfolding of this project to critique aspects of dominant knowledge production and the social systems that constrict the realization of the full human potential. This study does this by theoretical and qualitative writing employing literature resources such as articles, documents, and books written by an increasing number of social critics from various fields and backgrounds. Numerous critical programs within the theory are used to provide avenues of critique and to pursue the development of alternate knowledge through the theory's language of possibility. In this respect, the author's voice is woven into the body of the methodology to introduce elements of primary research and as a bridging process to develop alternate views on knowledge and the research process from the Indigenous Peoples' perspective. Foucault (1988) reminds us that "criticism is a matter of flushing out thought and trying to change it" (p. 155). These are perhaps the necessary discussions that need to take place first in order to enhance an appropriate Indigenous research mechanism that henceforth articulates a new way of seeing the world and a new universal language that praises humanity, difference and diversity. Utilizing critical theory's distinguishing attributes of critique, conscientization, goal of emancipation, and capacity to promote reflexivity allow this research to identify assumptions, values and motivations of dominant research as they impact on Indigenous Peoples. Conscientization promotes the idea that humans, as knowing subjects, can achieve a deepening awareness of socio-cultural reality that shape lives and have the capacity to transform that reality. Emancipation conveys the concept that new modes of thought and action configured on a language of possibility will lead to knowledge that improves and transforms social reality for all people. The goal of emancipation can be realized in its higher stages of research

development brought on by Indigenous Peoples' critique and contribution of ethical insights. This possibility represents an alternative view of knowledge or an alternate way of seeing the world that has potential to rescue our basic humanity. Self reflexivity is the human agency or subjectivity that grounds individuals in ethical thought about research and discourses that contemplate crossing cultural borders. As Noël (1994) reminds us, "the further research advances, the more critical it will become" (p.157). Through using critical theory, I have found that it is necessary at this juncture of developing an Indigenous research methodology that critique and alternative theories about research involving Indigenous Peoples have to be placed in the proper context. In the current absence of an Indigenous research methodology, critical theory is available as a venue to articulate the real nature of university practices in research involving Indigenous Peoples. Critical theory can also be the bridge to the objective of developing an Indigenous research methodology. I think that critical theory can also take us to the door of the 'possible' where a 'possibility theory' can be developed that all humankind can participate in construction of utopia. It is this possibility, the 'what ought to be', which presumably does not exist as yet, at least in Western forms of knowledge, that needs to be articulated and conceptualized in later stages of human research. The elements of critical theory assign the possibility that alternative models of research can be uncovered as long as we stay on the mental track of this possibility and do not succumb to floundering in the quagmire of Western knowledge paradigms.

This thesis examined the foundations of Western knowledge production in attempts at uncovering embedded inconsistencies that continually recreate outmoded thought and action in cross-cultural social relations. This thesis explores the basic principles of Western knowledge production to identify contradictions that would suggest

inappropriate foundations for programs of research and discourses concerning Indigenous Peoples. Dominant knowledge is an order of thought with links to the Enlightenment where values such as universality, reason, science, power, and the inherent superiority of Enlightenment culture originated. These values were embellished with high validity and given power through truth claims and processes of abstraction and the mystification of such knowledge. In this sense, the constructions of propositions by scholars as an effort to represent the Real were identified as skewed practice in a larger process of knowledge production that respects all humanity. This symbolism turned abstract in Western accumulated knowledge replaced the actual world of reality by making the propositions appear as absolute truths about reality as it is. This translates into an artificial context where Indigenous Peoples have found very little room to maneuver in. Academia then represents the continued construction of the conditions that place high validity in Western propositions through textual practices that replaced the value of narrativity in producing knowledge. Attempts to uncover assumptions, values, and motivations that could shed light on the real nature and intent of Western interest in Indigenous Peoples implicates the research process and the discourses that circumscribe research. Therefore, this thesis research addressed the distinction between the unquestioned assumptions of dominant researches and knowledge production with the epistemological and social reality of Indigenous Peoples as a fundamental contradiction that negates possibility of an ethical order in cross-cultural study. The repercussions for Indigenous Peoples through this form of knowledge production have been not only the marginalization of their knowledge but also to the subjection of manipulated identities in dominant discourses. The caged image of Indigenous Peoples along with their knowledge within Western texts sets the stage for the final appropriation and total control of Indigenous Peoples by academic interests.

Current research understandings and processes, as brokered by the university, are complicit to this appropriation and control. A general lack of understanding about Indigenous Peoples issues and perspectives contribute a large part to this complicity.

A critical reading of the literature highlights the body of critique in regards to the nature of Western research involving Indigenous Peoples and the discourses circumscribing the process. The pursuit of understanding research involving Indigenous Peoples draws on the observations of many social critics from various fields and backgrounds such as Indigenous Peoples' critique, feminist research, Freirian 'empowering' research, and post colonial theory. Many observers of the Western tradition highlight the structuring of knowledge under one public sphere, one way of understanding the universe, as a dominant intellectual and meaning system that is now known as Eurocentrism. These critical discourses have provided intellectual pathways to deconstructing Western intellectual systems to expose assumptions, values, and interests that lie at the heart of its campaign of colonialism and imperialism. When examined with a more critical eye, the various claims made by Western proponents often end up exposed for what the body of knowledge really represents: theoretical constructs sanctioned by the very groups whose privilege it serves. Practices of Eurocentric research informed by an archaic order of knowledge with links to the European Enlightenment are reminiscent of other forms of colonialism and imperialism experienced by Indigenous Peoples. This old order is also identifiable as an archive of knowledge with systems of classification and representation that inform social and research practices played out as venues for power and domination. Subtle assumptions of a centralized authority and a single narrative of history are postulated as the basic guiding principles of conducting research. This system recognizes a vanguard of academics and scholars that work to protect and disseminate an

order of knowledge in the process of maintaining the privilege of unearned advantage, conferred dominance, and control of knowledge in non-Indigenous spheres. This vanguard of intellectuals sees all knowledge as part of the public domain and insists on the intellectual freedom for cross-cultural research and dissemination of results without the appropriate consideration to ethical implications in these practices. Negotiating ethics through the Western lenses and frameworks of knowledge production will continue to be problematic and is adverse to the prescription of an ethical order of research involving Indigenous Peoples. The issues of research uncovered in this critical reading are as follows:

A). A deconstruction of the research text must begin within educational institutions to identify the scope and breadth of the diffusion of old order thought and its degree of influence in contemporary contexts. Ideas such as universalism, that postulate a defining center of authority, must be disengaged from any research involving Indigenous Peoples.

B). Researchers must begin to see beyond Western frameworks that problematize various aspects of Indigenous Peoples' existence and experience. This tactic of placing 'problems' on Indigenous Peoples effectively orients the focus of inquiry away from social systems and structures built on colonial foundations.

C). Deconstruct the text that recreates and harbours stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples.

D). Recognize that the notion of academic freedom to research and publish constitutes an ethical breach of cross-cultural relations when unilaterally extended from and beyond the boundaries of Western culture. These Western academic principles have given privilege and dominance to Western researchers in cross-cultural settings.

E). Research that is informed by the constructions of Indigenous Peoples' image in Western texts do not constitute ethical practice. This practice contributes to the continuing manipulation of Indigenous Peoples' identity in social frameworks.

F). Research involving Indigenous Peoples must benefit Indigenous communities. Research in Indigenous communities that benefits only outsiders is seen as exploitation.

G). Appropriating Indigenous knowledge for economic gain, power, and domination is a vestige of colonialism and imperialism. An explicit recognition of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property rights and the protection of those rights will alleviate this concern.

H). Research involving Indigenous Peoples must align itself to the perspective of Indigenous Peoples. Research from outmoded paradigms subjects researchers to the processes of colonial appropriation of Indigenous knowledge.

I). An ethical order in research requires the concerted effort to place the focus of intellectual inquiry to the systems and institutions that promote and conduct research. Aspects of Indigenous Peoples' empowerment requires scrutiny of the social processes that impede progress and emancipation.

Through its positioning between the functioning of two worldviews, this thesis has supported a negotiation and development of a space from which ethical research can be re-theorized and one that would include Indigenous Peoples as equal partners in research matters affecting them. The introduction of the Indigenous worldview into the theoretical process illustrates a different and contrasting perspective to the idea of knowledge and its production in areas concerning research. The encounter of these contrasting worldviews creates an ethical space, a place between worldviews, where the intentions of each are

submitted for negotiation. The conceptual development of the ethical space opens up the possibility for configuring new models of research and knowledge production that is mutually developed through negotiation and respect in cross-cultural interaction.

Despite centuries of tyranny from Eurocentric systems of knowledge, Indigenous Peoples' sense of social, historical, political, and educational consciousness in matters of knowledge remains intact. This consciousness, one supported by centuries of synthesis of knowledge grounded in human, ecological, and metaphysical relationships, represents an alternative awareness and assessment about universal ethics to those from Western standards of consciousness. This awareness also represents a perspective or a 'gaze' upon the Western world that identifies and highlights its real location in human history and the real nature of its existence relative to the rest of humanity. To the Western subject, this gaze represents a mirror to examine the partiality of their respective views not only towards Indigenous Peoples in general but also to see how institutional structures and relationships contribute to their bondage as well to the myths of dominant knowledge and discourses. Revolving thought around personal experiences and linking issues of knowledge around subjectivity will reveal complicity in unethical practices and the appropriate venues for transformation. Europeans have had the disease of oppressed consciousness for centuries and have grown so used to the experience that they do not always appreciate the fact that they are ill. This illness extends into the systems and institutions constructed to convey the European culture. The fact of the Indigenous Peoples gaze reminds Europeans of long suppressed spirituality. It is also a way to stir the European soul to reactivate its long repressed impulse to self actualize and for it to transcend its own frontiers and go beyond the things which it has based itself.

Research involving Indigenous Peoples assumes that there exists a consensus about research processes. This thesis has shown that despite the intellectual efforts of many people to create an ethical order in research involving Indigenous Peoples, for example ethical guidelines, many of the same problems of intolerance remain. Lingering issues like the commodification of knowledge, collective versus individual ownership of knowledge, and control of research need negotiating mechanisms. Any suggestion of ethical practice coming solely from a society gripped in a history of colonialism and imperialism must remain problematic for Indigenous Peoples. By correcting the prevailing errors of perception in research and asserting Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous Peoples can offer a research paradigm that models human emancipation and one that does not stymie human knowing. Channeling the successes of these two pathways into curricula for university research programs is necessary so that a critical mass of allies can be developed in the pursuit of human emancipation and the transformation of knowledge.

Indigenous scholars are perhaps in the best position to chart the appropriate pathways to emancipating and transforming knowledge. The Indigenous scholar can readily occupy the ethical space that is characterized as the confluence of two worldviews as a position from which to confront the established and archaic order of the university and grapple with the political, social, economic, and historical issues surrounding research and knowledge involving Indigenous Peoples. The broad task for Indigenous scholars is to transform research scholarship beyond the colonial and neocolonial standards that are now the established order and work at the cutting edge of knowledge production through empowering discourses and development of paradigms that model and enshrine the human potential of all peoples. Many compassionate and knowledgeable non-Indigenous

scholars have allied themselves to the cause of emancipation and respect across cultures. Indigenous Peoples' vision of the possible will require the assistance of these intellectuals.

Recommendations for Further Study

While it is true that research has brought many benefits to human society, it has also been a negative experience for many of the world's Indigenous Peoples. How research that involves Indigenous Peoples will take shape into the future will depend primarily on the degree of assertion Indigenous Peoples make about their knowledge systems and how they hold accountable the whole of the research enterprise to the practice of ethics. How Indigenous Peoples assert their knowledge and what kind of knowledge will be released from communities to the outside world needs to be understood within perimeters of benefiting Indigenous communities and the protection of cultural and intellectual property from needless exploitation. As Indigenous Peoples' research advances, the more critical it will become and perhaps more recognized for its value in transforming knowledge. However, this tactic alone will not be the legacy that imprints Indigenous research into the ethical history books. Rather, it is how far Indigenous Peoples' research can liberate thought and make the transformations urgent enough for people to want to carry them out and difficult enough to carry out for them to be profoundly rooted to reality that will make the difference. The current order of research established from archaic modes of thought requires more than a gentle nudge of a radical paradigm shift. This shift in consciousness will not and cannot be manifested through the lenses of Western thought alone. It will require models of new knowledge from different worldviews. For the West, not only must the discourses of intolerance be allowed to implode under the weight of their own reasoning, but alternate venues of expression have to be offered in the place of their own deficiencies. Alternate paradigms that envision higher standards of

human creativity are required. Apart from this quest, which the Western institutions must undertake in cooperation with Indigenous Peoples, there is no reason why Western research should continue to infringe on Indigenous Peoples' spaces. In this regard, further conceptual development needs to take place in regards to an ethical space as the appropriate venue for the expression of an ethical research order that contemplates crossing cultural borders and how new paradigms of research can be created. The conceptualization of the ethical space includes the assertion of a universal language that evolves from a respectful negotiation and interaction of differences brought to the confluence of worldviews. It is in the ethical space that the negotiation of ethical orders in research will take place. Kushner and Norris (1981) remind us that within ethical space, mutually created and procedurally governed, participants in the research process can make honest statements, without prejudice to the research enterprise or themselves. A concrete conceptualization of the ethical space, as a meeting place of worldviews where excess baggage of interests and hidden agendas are left behind, will further enhance the visualization of an ethical research methodology. Ethical space is also has the potential for the creation of a 'possibility theory' in ongoing human research.

Curricula need to be theorized that evolve from the negotiations at the ethical space. The development of the Kaupapa Maori Research is leading Indigenous Peoples' example of how the assertion of jurisdiction and autonomy in research can enhance the development of Indigenous Peoples' knowledge and the proper and ethical handling of that knowledge under community protocol. Kaupapa Maori Research is a model that significantly advances the notion that traditions are not valued for their claims to truth or authority, but for the ways in which they serve to liberate and enlarge human possibilities. In this sense, curricula that organizes Indigenous Peoples' research into appropriate

methods such as renaming, reclaiming, and remembering community existence, must be one of the priorities in Indigenous Peoples' research and one that research programs must make explicit.

Curricula of White Studies needs to be developed because there is something at stake in looking at, or continuing to ignore, white racial imagery (Dyer, 1997; McIntosh, 1998; Frankenberg, 1996). As Dyer (1997) reminds us, as long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as a human norm. In this sense it is prudent to expand the parameters of the Indigenous Peoples' gaze on the White society and to develop the appropriate venues for that society to see their way out of their own repressed existences. These studies must confront the disease of colonialism at the core of society and within the institutions and systems set up from its mentality. Aimé Césaire (1994) states:

[We] must study how colonization works to *decivilize* the colonizer, to *brutalize* him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, racial hatred and moral relativism (p. 173).

Models of community and the respectful understanding of human, ecological and metaphysical realities need to be developed to model the free expression of the human spirit within real contexts for the use of this society. This may mean the enacting the responsibility of researchers to research their own communities to find their resources for healing and transformation. It may also mean making researchers available for the benefit of Indigenous communities and other marginalized peoples that have experienced the full violence of colonialism and nevertheless have maintained the vision of the possible.

Models of community and models of the appropriate relationships with the human, natural and supernatural worlds need to be conceptualized through the respectful inquiry into Indigenous languages. That Indigenous languages can be archives of knowledge not only for the survival of the human species, but also for the envisioning of human possibilities that is respectfully tuned to the human, ecological, and metaphysical realities of our existence. The organization of research around Indigenous languages will bear the fruit of concepts that can model alternate forms of social organization and knowledge about the deeper issues of ethics and morality. This may entail research and discourse in Indigenous languages and the creation of appropriate committees to over-see new forms of knowledge production that this process would entail.

On going efforts by scholars and political groups to formulate the parameters of national copy right laws and the protection of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property rights must take extreme urgency. Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property is under ever increasing danger of appropriation and exploitation through new waves of research in the global economic sense. The appropriation of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property that entails a wide array of human, natural, and spiritual creations that are the exclusive property of groups such as the family, community, tribe, or nation is continuing at an astounding pace in new waves of neo-colonialism and imperialism. This property entails special relationships with the natural and spiritual world manifested as knowledge of plants, herbs and other natural substances. The origin of such dangers as exploitation and appropriation of Indigenous knowledge often lies with university-sponsored research as enacted through funding agreements, scientific initiatives, and social and political developments brought on by economic globalization. Protection and recognition of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property rights

must be part and partial of university research curricula within all disciplines and as an ethical requirement in all research that contemplates crossing cultural borders. This is not to say that the right to the protection of intellectual and cultural property is given to the institution. Indigenous communities will assert their rights to cultural and intellectual property and formulate the rules of ethical research conduct because it is Indigenous Peoples' right and duty to develop their own cultures and knowledge systems. It is responsibility of institutions and governments to adapt to these principles in any research involving Indigenous Peoples. In a United Nations resolution (Resolution 1993/44 of 26 August 1993), the Sub-Commission on Prevention of discrimination and Protection of Minorities endorsed recommendations relating to collective rights of Indigenous Peoples. A complete copy of the recommendations is included in the appendix, but I incorporate some these recommendations to this section.

1. To protect their heritage indigenous peoples must also exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their peoples as subjects of study.
2. Any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples' heritage must be revocable and ensure that the peoples concerned continue to be the primary beneficiaries of commercial application.
3. In the event of a dispute over the custody or use of any element of an indigenous peoples' heritage, judicial and administrative bodies should be guided by the advise of indigenous elders who are recognized by the indigenous communities or peoples concerned in having specific knowledge of traditional laws.
4. Governments, international organizations and private institutions should support the development of educational, research and training centres which are controlled by

indigenous communities, and strengthen these communities' capacity to document, protect, teach and apply all aspects of their heritage.

5. All researchers and scholarly institutions should take immediate steps to provide indigenous peoples and communities with comprehensive inventories of the cultural property, and documentation of indigenous peoples heritage, which they may have in their custody.

6. Researchers and scholarly institutions should return all elements of indigenous Peoples' heritage to the traditional owners upon demand, or obtain formal agreements with the traditional owners for the shared custody, use and interpretation of their heritage.

7. Researchers and scholarly institutions should decline any offers for the donation or sale of elements of indigenous peoples' heritage, unless they have first contacted the peoples or communities directly concerned and ascertaining the wishes of the traditional owners.

8. Researchers must not publish information obtained from indigenous peoples or the results of research conducted on flora, fauna, microbes or materials discovered through the assistance of indigenous peoples, without identifying the traditional owners and obtaining their consent to publication.

9. Professional associations of scientists, engineers and scholars, in collaboration with Indigenous Peoples, should sponsor seminars and disseminate publications to promote ethical conduct in conformity with these guidelines and discipline members who act in contravention.

Understanding Western social structures and systems, and the role of education in the process of knowledge and cultural transmission, is a vital necessity in coming to terms with research involving Indigenous Peoples. The system of knowledge production and its

dissemination in the West has vestiges of influence from a history of colonialism and imperialism. Current waves of research projects from Western institutions, under global economic auspices, threaten to continue the appropriation and exploitation of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual and cultural property. Confronting these neo-colonial practices requires a broad and protracted process of conscientization about research ethics, cultural imperialism, and the protection of Indigenous knowledge through the curricula of universities and research institutions. Only in this way can there be ethics in research involving Indigenous Peoples.

Final Research Considerations

The basic purpose of this thesis was to establish arguments that a protracted and fully executed study of the research enterprise is required in terms of inherent assumptions, values, and motivations in research involving Indigenous Peoples. This project envisioned avenues of inquiry that have the potential to create distance from Western forms of critique through the language of possibility. A theory of the 'possible' needs to be articulated that disconnects from Western thought and engages to a constructive dialogue about formulating an Indigenous research methodology.

Another line of inquiry that can flow from this study is the conceptualization of the ethical space as an abstract location that lends itself to the negotiation of ethics in any research that cross cultural borders. The construction of this ethical space, in theory, leads to the creation of new knowledge based on respectful relations and realigning knowledge through the new frontier of emancipated thought.

A further line of inquiry would be the development of concrete arguments and concepts that articulate the need for Western society and institutions to commit to forms of healing from the ills of colonial thought. Models of healing would assist Western society in

pursuing programs of rehabilitation and educational curricula that emancipate the human spirit from the confines of caged existence. This follows Freire's (1970) assertion that the colonizer cannot free himself and that his freedom requires the guidance of alternate models of knowledge and emancipation.

Another line of study might include an appropriate framework of study that would argue and subject Western culture and the knowledge tradition to account for the violence its systems and institutions have inflicted on Indigenous and other minority peoples.

A curricula for university studies that outlines all the various manifestation of intellectual and cultural appropriation of Indigenous knowledge is required. This curricula will outline the modern contexts of colonialism and the pursuit of research into areas as medicine, plants, and genes that have implications for Indigenous Peoples in economic and social terms.

Finally, in the spirit of this thesis, Western research institutions such as the university must immediately cease any Western-initiated research that is oriented to and involves Indigenous Peoples and their knowledge. The various structures of knowledge production and the rules of practice of creating dominant knowledge in Western institutions are not adequate to be given responsibility for Indigenous knowledge.

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APPENDIX A

Draft UN Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of Indigenous Knowledge

UNITED
NATIONS

Economic and Social Council

Distr.
GENERAL

E/CN.4/Sub.2/1994/31
8 July 1994

Original: ENGLISH

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
Forty-sixth session
Item 15 of the provisional agenda

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Protection of the heritage of indigenous people

Preliminary report of the Special Rapporteur, Mrs. Erica-Irene Daes, submitted in conformity with Sub-Commission resolution 1993/44 and decision 1994/105 of the Commission on Human Rights

Introduction

1. In accordance with Economic and Social Council decision 1992/256 of 20 July 1992, the present Special Rapporteur prepared a study on the protection of the cultural and intellectual property of indigenous peoples (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/28), taking into account information made available to her by indigenous peoples, and relevant international standards. Indigenous peoples commented on the report during the eleventh session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (see E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/29, paras. 163-176), and in the light of these comments the Working Group recommended that further work be undertaken.
2. In its resolution 1993/44 of 26 August 1993, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained in the study of the Special Rapporteur and requested her to expand her study with a view to elaborating draft principles and guidelines for the protection of the heritage of indigenous peoples, and to submit a preliminary report containing such principles and guidelines at its forty-sixth session. The mandate for an expanded study was endorsed by the Commission on Human Rights in its decision 1994/105 of 4 March 1994.
3. The Special Rapporteur wishes to express her appreciation to all the indigenous peoples' organizations and governments which have contributed thus far to her study.

Discussion

4. In the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development stressed the "vital role" that indigenous peoples may play in achieving sustainable development "because of their knowledge and traditional practices" (A/CONF.151/26 (vol. I), annex I, principle 22). The Conference also called on Governments and intergovernmental organizations, "in full partnership with indigenous peoples", to take measures to recognize traditional forms of knowledge and enhance capacity-building for indigenous communities based on the adaptation and exchange of traditional knowledge (A/CONF.151/26 (vol. III), para. 26.3). It is the view of the Special Rapporteur that these conclusions and recommendations not only apply to indigenous knowledge which is narrowly biological, botanical or ecological but - in view of the special relationship that exists between indigenous peoples and their territories - to all aspects of indigenous peoples' heritage.

5. The Special Rapporteur has also been particularly mindful of the principle that "every people has the right and the duty to develop its culture", adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in article 1 of the UNESCO Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation (4 November 1966). The central role of traditional forms of cultural transmission and education has been stressed in the guidelines set out in the annex to the present report in the belief that this will be the most effective means of ensuring that indigenous peoples control the further development of their own heritage, as well as its interpretation and use by others.

6. In elaborating the principles and guidelines, contained in the annex to this report, the Special Rapporteur has drawn extensively on the Kari-Oca Declaration of the World Conference of Indigenous Peoples on Territory, Environment and Development (Kari-Oca, Brazil, 15-30 May 1992, and the Mataatua Declaration of the First International Conference on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Their own conception of the nature of their heritage and their own ideas for ensuring the protection of their heritage are central to the "new partnership~ with indigenous peoples symbolized by the International Year of the World~s Indigenous People in 1993.

7. The Special Rapporteur wishes to underscore the fact, emphasized by the Mataatua Declaration, that indigenous peoples have repeatedly expressed their willingness to share their useful knowledge with all humanity, provided that their fundamental rights to define and control this knowledge are protected by the international community. Greater protection of the indigenous peoples' control over their own heritage will not, in the opinion of the Special Rapporteur, decrease the sharing of traditional cultural knowledge, arts and sciences with other peoples. On the contrary, indigenous peoples' willingness to share, teach, and interpret their heritage will increase.

8. In developing the principles and guidelines, the Special Rapporteur found it useful to bear in mind that the heritage of an indigenous people is not merely a collection of objects, stories and ceremonies, but a complete knowledge system with its own concepts of epistemology, philosophy, and scientific and logical validity. The diverse elements of an indigenous people's heritage can only be fully learned or understood by means of the pedagogy traditionally employed by these peoples themselves, including apprenticeship, ceremonies and practice. Simply recording words or images fails to capture the whole context and meaning of songs, rituals, arts or scientific and medical wisdom. This also underscores the central role of indigenous peoples' own languages, through which each people's heritage has traditionally been recorded and transmitted from generation to generation.

9. The Special Rapporteur also considers it fundamental to recognize and renew the central and indispensable role of land as the classroom in which the heritage of each indigenous people has traditionally been taught. Heritage is learned through a lifetime of personal experience travelling through and conducting ceremonies on the land. Much or all of an indigenous people~s traditional

territory must therefore remain accessible to and under the control of the people themselves, so that they can continue to teach, develop and renew their knowledge systems fully by their own means of cultural transmission. Indeed, ceremonies and traditional artistic works are regarded as means of renewing human relationships with the land, even as ~deeds~ to the territory, so that they can never be detached geographically, and used elsewhere, without completely losing their meaning.

10. This special relationship is not merely with the physical aspects of the land, but is conceived of as a direct and personal kinship with each of the species of animals and plants that co-exist with people in the same territory. Biological, zoological and botanical knowledge is not simply a matter of learning the names, habits and uses of species, but of carefully maintaining and periodically renewing ancient social and ceremonial relationships with each species. An indigenous person does not only harvest medicinal plants, for instance, but visits them, prays with them and, through ceremonies, helps them. For this reason, indigenous peoples do not believe that their knowledge of ecology, the uses of plants and animals, rituals or medicine can ever be alienated completely. Like human family relationships, these forms of knowledge are permanent and collective. They can be shared, however, under the right circumstances, with properly initiated persons.

Recommendations

11. The Special Rapporteur recommends that the Sub-Commission decide to request the Secretary-General to submit the attached principles and guidelines to indigenous peoples' organizations, Governments, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned for their comments. On the basis of these comments and those of the members of the Sub-Commission, the Special Rapporteur should be entrusted with presenting her final report to the Sub-Commission at its 47th session, in 1995, for the Sub-Commission to consider and adopt these principles and guidelines, as a first formal step towards committing the United Nations to the protection of indigenous peoples' heritage. With the support of indigenous peoples, these principles and guidelines may be transmitted to the General Assembly, through the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council, for adoption.

12. In the context of developing the programme of activities for the United Nations Decade of the World's Indigenous People, proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 48/163 of 21 December 1993, the Special Rapporteur encourages the convening of a series of practical workshops in this field, with the participation of professional, academic, and scientific experts and indigenous peoples, as previously recommended by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/29, para. 225), as well as in her study (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/28, para. 181). Such workshops could be aimed at increasing awareness of and respect for indigenous peoples' heritage among researchers, scholars, legislators, representatives of Governments, business and industry, and educators, and at the development of model national legislation.

Annex

PRINCIPLES AND GUIDELINES FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HERITAGE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

PRINCIPLES

1. The effective protection of indigenous peoples' heritage will be of long-term benefit to all humanity. Cultural diversity contributes to the adaptability and creativity of the human species as a whole.

2. To be effective, the protection of indigenous peoples' heritage should be based broadly on the principle of self-determination, which includes the right and the duty of indigenous peoples to develop their own cultures and knowledge systems.

3. Indigenous peoples should be recognized as the primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, arts and sciences, whether created in the past or developed by them in the future.

4. International recognition and respect for indigenous peoples' own customs, rules and practices for the transmission of their heritage to future generations, and for the sharing of their heritage with others, is essential to these peoples' enjoyment of human rights and dignity.

5. Indigenous peoples' ownership and custody of their heritage must continue to be collective, permanent and inalienable, as prescribed by the customs, rules and practices of each people.

6. The discovery, use and teaching of indigenous peoples' knowledge, arts and cultures is inextricably connected with the traditional lands and territories of each people. Control over traditional territories and resources is essential to the continued transmission of indigenous peoples' heritage to future generations and its full protection.

7. To protect their heritage indigenous peoples must control their own means of cultural transmission and education. This includes their right to the continued use and, wherever necessary, the restoration of their own languages and orthographies.

8. To protect their heritage indigenous peoples must also exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their people as subjects of study.

9. The free and informed consent of the traditional owners should be an essential precondition of any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples' heritage.

10. Any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples' heritage must be revocable and ensure that the peoples concerned continue to be the primary beneficiaries of commercial application.

11. The heritage of indigenous peoples is comprised of all objects, sites and knowledge, the nature or use of which has been transmitted from generation to generation, and which is regarded as pertaining to a particular peoples, clan heritage of an indigenous people also includes objects, knowledge and literary or artistic works which may be created in the future based upon its heritage.

12. The heritage of indigenous peoples includes all moveable cultural property as defined by the relevant conventions of UNESCO; all kinds of literary and artistic works such as music, dance, song, ceremonies, symbols and designs, narratives and poetry; all kinds of scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge, including cultigens, medicines and the phenotypes and genotypes of flora and fauna; human remains; immovable cultural property such as sacred sites, sites of historical significance, and burials; and documentation of indigenous peoples' heritage on film, photographs, videotape or audiotape.

13. Every element of an indigenous peoples' heritage has traditional owners which may be the whole people, a particular family or clan, an association or society, or individuals who have been specially taught or initiated to be its custodians. The traditional owners of heritage must be determined in accordance with indigenous peoples' own customs, laws and practices.

Transmission of heritage

14. Indigenous peoples' heritage should ordinarily be learned only by the means customarily employed by its traditional owners for teaching the specific knowledge concerned. Each indigenous people's rules and practices for the transmission of heritage and sharing of its use must be recognized generally in the national legal system.

15. In the event of a dispute over the custody or use of any element of an indigenous people's heritage, judicial and administrative bodies should be guided by the advice of indigenous elders who are recognized by the indigenous communities or peoples concerned as having specific knowledge of traditional laws.

16. Governments, international organizations and private institutions should support the development of educational, research and training centres which are controlled by indigenous communities, and strengthen these communities' capacity to document, protect, teach and apply all aspects of their heritage.

17. Governments, international organizations and private institutions should support the development of regional and global networks for the exchange of information and experience among indigenous peoples in the fields of science, culture, education and the arts. This may include electronic networks where feasible and appropriate.

18. Governments, with international cooperation, should provide the necessary financial resources and institutional support to ensure that every indigenous child has the opportunity to achieve both fluency and literacy in his/her own traditional language.

Recovery and restitution of heritage

19. Governments, with the assistance of international organizations, should assist indigenous peoples and communities in recovering control and possession of their moveable cultural property and other heritage.

20. In cooperation with indigenous peoples, UNESCO should establish a programme to mediate the recovery of moveable cultural property from across international borders, at the request of the traditional owners of the property concerned.

21. Human remains and associated funeral objects must be returned to their descendants and territories in a culturally appropriate manner, as determined by the indigenous peoples concerned. Documentation may be retained, displayed or otherwise used only in such form and manner as may be agreed upon with the peoples concerned.

22. Moveable cultural property should be returned wherever possible to its traditional owners, particularly if shown to be of significant cultural, religious or historical value to them. Moveable cultural property should only be retained by universities, museums, private institutions or individuals in accordance with the terms of a recorded agreement with the traditional owners for the sharing of the custody and interpretation of the property.

23. Under no circumstances should objects or any other elements of an indigenous people's heritage be publicly displayed, except in a manner deemed appropriate by the peoples concerned.

24. In the case of objects or other elements of heritage which were removed or recorded in the past, the traditional owners of which can no longer be identified precisely, the traditional owners are presumed to be the entire people associated with the territory from which these objects were removed, or where the recordings were made, or the direct descendants of that people.

National programmes and legislation

25. National laws should guarantee that indigenous peoples can obtain prompt, effective and affordable judicial or administrative action to prevent, punish and obtain full restitution and compensation for the acquisition, documentation or use of their heritage without proper authorization of the traditional owners.

26. National laws should deny to any person or corporation the right to obtain patent, copyright, or other legal protection for any element of indigenous peoples' heritage without adequate documentation of the free and informed consent of the traditional owners to an arrangement for the sharing of ownership, control and benefits.

27. National laws should ensure the labelling and correct attribution of indigenous peoples' artistic, literary and cultural works whenever they are offered for public display or sale. Attribution should be in the form of a trademark or an appellation of origin, authorized by the peoples or communities concerned.

28. National laws for the protection of indigenous peoples' heritage should be adopted following consultations with the peoples concerned, in particular the traditional owners and teachers of religious, sacred and spiritual knowledge, and wherever possible, should have the consent of the peoples concerned.

29. National laws should ensure that the use of traditional languages in education, arts and the mass media is respected and, to the extent possible, promoted and strengthened.

30. Governments should provide indigenous communities with financial and institutional support for the control of local education, through community-managed programmes, and with use of traditional pedagogy and languages.

31. Governments should take immediate steps, in cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to identify sacred and ceremonial sites, including burial sites, and protect them from unauthorized entry or use.

Researchers and scholarly institutions

32. All researchers and scholarly institutions should take immediate steps to provide indigenous peoples and communities with comprehensive inventories of the cultural property, and documentation of indigenous peoples' heritage, which they may have in their custody.

33. Researchers and scholarly institutions should return all elements of indigenous peoples' heritage to the traditional owners upon demand, or obtain formal agreements with the traditional owners for the shared custody, use and interpretation of their heritage.

34. Researchers and scholarly institutions should decline any offers for the donation or sale of elements of indigenous peoples' heritage, unless they have first contacted the peoples or communities directly concerned and ascertaining the wishes of the traditional owners.

35. Researchers and scholarly institutions must refrain from engaging in any study of previously-undescribed species or cultivated varieties of plants, animals or microbes, or naturally-occurring pharmaceuticals, without first obtaining satisfactory documentation that the specimens were acquired with the consent of the traditional owners, if any.

36. Researchers must not publish information obtained from indigenous peoples or the results of research conducted on flora, fauna, microbes or materials discovered through the assistance of

indigenous peoples, without identifying the traditional owners and obtaining their consent to publication.

37. Researchers should agree to an immediate moratorium on the Human Genome Diversity Project. Further research on the specific genotypes of indigenous peoples should be suspended unless and until broadly and publicly supported by indigenous peoples to the satisfaction of United Nations human rights organs.

38. Researchers and scholarly institutions should make every possible effort to increase indigenous peoples' access to all forms of medical, scientific and technical education, and participation in all research activities which may affect them or be of benefit to them.

39. Professional associations of scientists, engineers and scholars, in collaboration with indigenous peoples, should sponsor seminars and disseminate publications to promote ethical conduct in conformity with these guidelines and discipline members who act in contravention.

Business and industry

40. In dealings with indigenous peoples, business and industry should respect the same guidelines as researchers and scholarly institutions.

41. Business and industry should agree to an immediate moratorium on making contracts with indigenous peoples for the rights to discover, record and use previously-undescribed species or cultivated varieties of plants, animals or microbes, or naturally-occurring pharmaceuticals. No further contracts should be negotiated until indigenous peoples and communities themselves are capable of supervising and collaborating in the research process.

42. Business and industry should refrain from offering incentives to any individuals to claim traditional rights of ownership or leadership within an indigenous community, in violation of their trust within the community and the laws of the indigenous peoples concerned.

43. Business and industry should refrain from employing scientists or scholars to acquire and record traditional knowledge or other heritage of indigenous peoples in violation of these guidelines.

44. Business and industry should contribute financially and otherwise to the development of educational and research institutions controlled by indigenous peoples and communities.

45. All forms of tourism based on indigenous peoples' heritage must be restricted to activities which have the approval of the peoples and communities concerned, and which are conducted under their supervision and control.

Artists, writers and performers

46. Artists, writers and performers should refrain from incorporating elements derived from indigenous heritage into their works without the informed consent of the traditional owners.

47. Artists, writers and performers should support the full artistic and cultural development of indigenous peoples, and encourage public support for the development and greater recognition of indigenous artists, writers and performers.

48. Artists, writers and performers should contribute, through their individual works and professional organizations, to greater public understanding and respect for the indigenous heritage associated with the country in which they live.

Public information and education

49. The mass media in all countries should take effective measures to promote understanding of and respect for indigenous peoples' heritage, in particular through special broadcasts and public-service programmes prepared in collaboration with indigenous peoples.

50. Journalists should respect the privacy of indigenous peoples, in particular concerning traditional religious, cultural and ceremonial activities, and refrain from exploiting or sensationalizing indigenous peoples' heritage.

51. Journalists should actively assist indigenous peoples in exposing any activities, public or private, which destroy or degrade indigenous peoples' heritage.

52. Educators should ensure that school curricula and textbooks teach understanding and respect for indigenous peoples' heritage and history and recognize the contribution of indigenous peoples to the creativity and cultural diversity of the country as a whole.

International organizations

53. The Secretary-General should publish an annual report, based upon information from all available sources, and in particular information requested from UNESCO, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and indigenous communities, on problems and solutions experienced in the protection of indigenous peoples' heritage in all countries.

54. The Secretary-General should also prepare a note, in cooperation with indigenous peoples' organizations, on progress made and problems still to be overcome for the protection of indigenous peoples' heritage, for consideration by the World Summit for Social Development in 1995.

55. In cooperation with indigenous peoples, WIPO should bring these principles and guidelines to the attention of the member States of all of the intellectual and industrial property unions which are under its administration, with a view to promoting the strengthening of national legislation and international conventions in this field.

56. Indigenous peoples and their representative organizations should enjoy direct access to all relevant negotiations administered by WIPO and the World Trade Organization, to share their views on measures to improve the protection of their heritage through international law.

57. In collaboration with indigenous peoples, UNESCO should develop a list of sacred and ceremonial sites that require special measures for their protection and conservation, and provide financial and technical assistance to indigenous peoples for these purposes.

58. In collaboration with indigenous peoples, UNESCO should also establish a trust fund with a mandate to act as a global agent for the recovery of compensation for the unconsented or inappropriate use of indigenous peoples' heritage, and to provide assistance to indigenous peoples to strengthen their institutional capacity to protect their own heritage.

59. United Nations operational agencies, as well as the international financial institutions, and regional and bilateral development assistance programmes, should give priority to providing financial and technical support to indigenous communities for capacity-building and exchanges of experience focused on local control of research and education.