TABLE OF CONTENTS

Articles

Conference Reports

Postcolonial Directions in Education

Focus and Scope

Postcolonial Directions in Education is a peer reviewed open access journal produced twice a year. It is a scholarly journal intended to foster further understanding, advancement and reshaping of the field of postcolonial education. We welcome articles that contribute to advancing the field. As indicated in the Editorial for the inaugural issue, the purview of this journal is broad enough to encompass a variety of disciplinary approaches, including but not confined to the following: sociological, anthropological, historical and social psychological approaches. The areas embraced include anti-racist education, decolonizing education, critical multiculturalism, critical racism theory, direct colonial experiences in education and their legacies for present day educational structures and practice, educational experiences reflecting the culture and 'imagination' of empire, the impact of neoliberalism/globalisation/structural adjustment programmes on education, colonial curricula and subaltern alternatives, education and liberation movements, challenging hegemonic languages, the promotion of local literacies and linguistic diversity, neo-colonial education and identity construction, colonialism and the construction of patriarchy, canon and canonicity, Indigenous knowledges, supranational bodies and their educational frameworks, north-south and east-west relations in education, the politics of representation, unlearning colonial stereotypes, internal colonialism and education, cultural hybridity and learning in postcolonial contexts, education and the politics of dislocation, biographies / autobiographies reflecting the above themes, deconstruction of colonial narratives of civilization within educational contexts. Once again, the field cannot be exhausted.

Peer Review Process

Papers submitted to *Postcolonial Directions in Education* are examined by at least two reviewers for originality and timeliness in the context of related research. Reviews generally are completed in 30-60 days, with publication in the next available issue.

Open Access Policy

This journal provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge.

POSTCOLONIAL DIRECTIONS IN EDUCATION
Volume 6 Issue 1, 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INDIGENOUS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: GLUSKABE'S ENCOUNTERS WITH EPISTEMICIDE

Rebecca Sockbeson
University of Alberta

ABSTRACT Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM) and its embedded engagement with Indigenous Epistemology rises above and lives beyond the reach of the subjugating colonial project of epistemicide, the colonial intention to eradicate Indigenous ways of knowing and being, or epistemologies and ontologies. This paper offers a lens through which I make visible where, when and how particularly situated Indigenous epistemologies continue to thrive. I have selected two documents to provide critical context for the colonial and genocidal intentions of epistemicide, and to purposefully demonstrate the endurance of Waponahki epistemology, and through such evidence of presence, deliberately point out its critical relevance in contemporary schooling. Waponahki refers to the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and Abenaki peoples who live in Maine and the Maritime Provinces of Canada and have formed a post-contact political alliance, the Wabanaki Confederacy. In this work I discuss the concept of epistemicide from a lived understanding of Indigenous research as a way of life; a way of knowing derived from many years of accumulated experiential knowledge. In an embodied and material way, I am a part of that thread of intergenerational knowledge and both benefit from and contribute to that knowledge and empirical process. My poetic renditions appear in the paper and attempt to provide further insight into the discussion. Given the Waponahki people's continued engagement with the living Gluskabe, a spirit being and teacher in Penobscot culture, epistemicide remains an incomplete colonial project. Gluskabe's encounters with epistemicide are those very places wherein I identify or bring to light the ongoing vitality of Indigenous epistemology, which I identify as *Red Hope.*

Keywords Indigenous, Indigenous Research Methodology, Epistemology, Decolonization, Epistemicide, Red Hope

Epistemicide
The intention to eradicate our people's way of knowing &
being
It is not complete
We are still here
We are still praying
We are still being
Who our ancestors
prayed for us to be
Indigenous knowledge belongs wherever Indigenous
people are
We are our Indigenous communities
We love our people and hold them in our souls
We have the right to participate
in the academy
where knowledge is created, remembered, revitalized &
mobilized
Engagement with the epistemologies that are ancestral to
us
is a fundamental human right
Red Hope is a call for the practice of this right
Where Gluskabe thrives…
-Rebecca Sockbeson

Gluskabe in Penobscot culture is a spirit being, one who is also identified as a teacher (ssipsis, 2007). Numerous Gluskabe stories explain the creation of our people and tell how Gluskabe saves the people from drought and starvation. These stories remind us of our intricate relationship to the land, the cosmos, our ancestors, and to ourselves. Gluskabe's encounters with epistemicide occur in those very places wherein I bring to light the ongoing vitality of Indigenous epistemology, and hence the *Red Hope.* Given the Waponahki people's continued engagement with the living Gluskabe, epistemicide remains an incomplete colonial project. While the people's engagement in Red Hope is a force that is saving them from the threat of their own eradication, today the killing of Gluskabe, or the processes of epistemicide, happens in subtle, and perhaps more devastating ways when compared to those of previous epochs in Indigenous history.

Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM) and its rootedness in Indigenous epistemology, challenges the ongoing colonial project of epistemicide, the intention to eradicate Indigenous

ways of knowing and being (Santos, 2007). The original Cartesian violence separating knowing from being helped legitimate the denigration and thus erasure of Indigenous onto-epistemology. Yet, Indigenous epistemologies have survived. Through an IRM framework, I offer a lens through which processes and experiences of epistemological survival can be identified, and in some ways, understood to show that epistemicide is not complete.

The ideas and findings shared in this paper are based on a larger body of research conducted during my graduate studies as a research assistant on a Community University Research Alliance (CURA) research project entitled, "Healing through Culture and Language: Research with Aboriginal peoples in Northwestern Canada." My ongoing scholarship seeks to unearth knowledge about ancient Indigenous systems and policy-making processes, to contribute significantly to existing knowledge about incorporating Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies into educational policy-making in general, and to fuel the awakening of Waponahki knowledge into contemporary actualization and embodiment. In fulfilling these purposes in this work, policy and policy-development are shown as outcomes of Waponahki knowledge mobilization. The intersections of my personal experiences as policymaker, mother, and researcher have come together to motivate me in developing this work. This process of analysis includes interviews of tribal leaders and Elders. Their stories are based on formal interviews I conducted as well as informal conversations. I selected these tribal leaders as sources of Waponahki/Indigenous knowledge because of their integrity in important political work and their leadership roles in translating the hopes of our people into formal legislated policy.

In what is now known as the state of Maine, in the USA, the Waponahki1 people, my people, are maintaining traditions that determine and ensure the capacity of our culture to thrive in those very spaces identified as Red Hope. Thus, my illustration

————————
1 Waponahki (also written as Wabanaki) means "people of the dawn" and refers to the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and Abenaki peoples who live in Maine and the Maritime Provinces of Canada and have formed a post-contact political alliance, the Wabanaki Confederacy.

of the distinctive nature of IRM demonstrates how such analytic processes underlie the activities and events of our everyday Indigenous lives. IRM does not live because of, or in relation to, epistemicide; this recent term identifies an ancient process of knowledge acquisition and knowledge understanding (Santos, 2007). We understand and live Waponahki IRM as the foundation and source of Indigenous knowledge preservation, intrinsic to our vitality as Indigenous people. IRM lives without time/space disjuncture, just as Waponahki onto-epistemology is lived as one wholeness, individually and collectively. Understanding the wholeness of Waponahki to be both knowing and being has enabled the survival of core Waponahki teachings.

IRM provides a framework through which I study, and make sense of the epistemicide and articulate those understandings as acts of remembering and mobilizing Waponahki knowledge. My approach in carrying out this research has been informed by the work of Cree/Metis scholar Cora Weber-Pillwax, who speaks about understandings and intention with respect to the construction of an Indigenous research methodology. She offers the following principles to consider when developing such a methodology:

> (a) the interconnectedness of all living things, (b) the impact of motives and intentions on person and community, (c) the foundation of research as lived indigenous experience, (d) the groundedness of theories in indigenous epistemology, (e) the transformative nature of research, (f) the sacredness and responsibility of maintaining person and community integrity, and (g) the recognition of languages and cultures as living processes (1999, p. 31)

I agree with Weber-Pillwax's summary and I use these principles in the IRM that frames my work. In particular, "the impact of motives and intentions on person and community" is a guiding value in ensuring that my research contributes to Indigenous knowledge mobilization and the community as a whole. The significance of the term "knowledge mobilization" strikes me in the way it intimately reflects the Indigenous research principle that knowledge is to be sought primarily as a means of benefit to the people or to the collective whole from which such knowledge originates (Brown & Strega, 2005;

Kovach, 2010, Weber-Pillwax, 1999). The fact that the term has been adopted by the Canadian funding agencies to replace "knowledge dissemination" indicates that Canadian research criteria itself might be adjusting its standards towards more sophisticated and ancient ways of defining and talking about knowledge and its applications in ordinary lives. "Knowledge mobilization" has always been the perspective within the ways of the Waponahki peoples and also appears within the ways of other Indigenous peoples (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Brown & Strega, 2005).

IRM reconnects me with my ancestors, who are present in my research. Thus, I do not see myself as the creator of knowledge, however, I can help remember and mobilize Waponahki knowledge. Like many other Indigenous people, I understand that knowledge evolves, is transformed and evidenced through peoples' experience. Our Elders, through their extensive experiences, hold much of our knowledge, but even they often recognize explicitly that they are still learning (Cardinal, 1977; Ermine, 1995; Penobscot Nation Oral History Project, 1993). As Passamaquoddy Elder Wayne Newell commented, he does not see his contributions to my research as wisdom, but as energy generated during our time together. This is the source and sustaining characteristic of Waponahki knowledge, and where I understand our knowledge to be rooted in (Sockbeson, 2011).

Because I am deeply biographically implicated, my analysis is presented in first person, and necessitates that voice as I am intricately connected to the data and the related experiences I will articulate. This inhabiting of the story corresponds to Indigenous ways of situating knowledges, and prevents my removal or distancing from the research. This locating of my voice also prevents the placing of my analysis in a position of vulnerability wherein challenges of validity and credibility could arise based on the reader's misunderstanding of the significance of writer's voice in relation to the form of Indigenous academic argument and reasoning presented and represented here. I am simultaneously a part of the data and the analysis of the topics about which I am writing. However, the data must be heard and considered as data, else the analysis is nullified. Ermine (1995), a Cree scholar, connects Aboriginal epistemology deeply to the self, believing that, as Aboriginal people, we do not

need to look beyond ourselves to find our ways of knowing or epistemology. As researchers, we need to understand deeply our own relationship to our study and our own location within our research (Weber-Pillwax, 1999) – that is, we must ask and answer the question, "Where is the 'I' in my research?"

We are the data we collect and analyze
As Indigenous scholars, we are very few and relatively new to the academy, so that it becomes necessary for us to critique the dominant Western intellectual responses to our theoretical positionings, which say we are sharing only "perspectives." At the same time, I do not individually claim to be the creator of knowledge, or to be presenting an absolute Truth. The understanding within the academy that Indigenous scholars are merely offering a "perspective" serves to reduce their critical intellectual analyses to the status of an opinion and devalues their intellectual contributions. Ahenakew (2016) points out that until "deep rooted and ongoing (neo) colonial thinking" within western institutions is challenged Indigenous research methodologies exist within a very uneven playing field (p.1).

The intellectual contributions of Indigenous scholars must transcend the valuing ascribed by the academic mainstream as individual perspectives. As Indigenous scholars, we are often asked to share our "perspectives" on a particular issue; in fact, we have rightfully earned our expertise on such topics or issues through lengthy, rigorous and disciplined intellectual study. As Indigenous scholars, we have a distinct responsibility to share and mobilize such truths also identified as our findings (Deloria, 1998). In other words, we are often the very data we collect and analyze. In many ways, we are all living out the painful legacy of colonialism, and often we are intergenerational survivors of residential schools. As a consequence of colonial dispossession and its immense unresolved historical trauma, our hearts are heavy with the violent deaths of our families and loved ones. Our scholarship is carried out under the shadow of tragedies associated with the disproportionately high levels of our own constant socioeconomic distresses.

This survival space of intellectual engagement requires meta-emotional intelligence to engage in thinking that supports

us to transcend and navigate the multiple needs and crises surrounding us (Gardner, 2006; Helding, 2009). Another one of our primary responsibilities as Indigenous scholars in the academy is theorizing the experiences; often, as Linda Smith (1999) points out, we experience the theory distinctly, rather than researching in areas of intellectual interest, or outside personal experience. Smith explains that as Indigenous peoples, we have been historically and heavily researched; she asks what happens when those who have been researched are doing the research (Smith, 1999). To expand on this, I ask what happens to the research when we engage with it using our own ancestral Indigenous ways of knowing and being as we collect data and carry out analyses? My analysis is empirically grounded, the majority of what I share here is derived from my primary sensory organs; I have felt, touched, smelled and seen what I share. Additionally, I further qualify my assertions with the literature. I write for the sake of my people, the ancestors and our people to come. This work is much like a prayer; I hold my people with me as I write, and I treat my words with the utmost care and thought. I refer to this work as part of processes of social and political change.

I recognize that what we have learned through experiencing colonization heavily impacts our way of being in the world. The ways in which we come to know these truths are Waponahki epistemology, rooted in both individual and collective experiential knowledge. We use our ways of being and knowing to address epistemicide, moving us through and beyond decolonization.

Although onto-epistemologies are central to understanding Indigenous knowledge systems as ancient concepts, they are also English words used in the English dominated context of Western academia (Meyer, 2001). Indigenous scholar Dwayne Donald explains the necessary separation of epistemology from ontology was key in the colonial project (2009). The discipline of epistemology, in its inception during the Enlightenment, was motivated to define a universal "Truth" through empirical or analytical methods. "Objectivity is viewed as a necessary mindset for success in this endeavor…this epistemological turn discounts the spiritual and metaphysical realms as too subjective and irrational to garner serious scholarly consideration" (Donald, pp. 402-403). However, onto-epistemology within Indigenous knowledge systems center on interconnectedness. Donald

believes that delinking ontology and epistemology served to privilege Eurowestern ways of knowing:

> The relationships between knowing and being were confused-the distinctions became less clear-as ways of being were increasingly defined based on Eurowestern ways of knowing. This was translated into a declaration that Eurowestern ways of knowing were the only way to be. This declaration was a major principle guiding Eurowestern impetuses during the colonial era that maintained its influential power in the world to the present. (2009, p. 403)

The deep enjoinment of Waponahki epistemology and ontology is also present in our Waponahki languages (as in many other Indigenous languages), where ontology and epistemology are represented by action-oriented words. Thus, epistemology and ontology are performative, they imply a dynamic force of action, movement, energy, transformation and change. To sustain this capacity for holding and carrying energy, neither epistemology nor ontology can be separated. This state of enjoinment is central to comprehending how Indigenous philosophies and people do not conceive of themselves as separate from the land. The life of the land and its elements are central to Waponahki onto-epistemology; it is the basis of the relationship of inseparability between humans and the land.
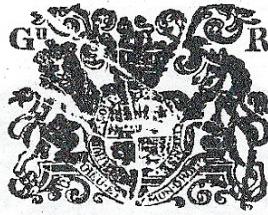
By His HONOUR

SPENCER PHIPS, Efq;

Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief, in and over His Majefty's Province of the *Maffachufetts-Bay* in *New-England.*

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the Tribe of *Penobfcot* Indians have repeatedly in a perfidious Manner acted contrary to their folemn Submiffion unto His Majefty long fince made and frequently renewed;

I Have therefore, at the Defire of the Houfe of Reprefentatives, with the Advice of His Majefty's Council, thought fit to iffue this Proclamation, and to declare the Penobfcot Tribe of Indians to be Enemies, Rebels and Traitors to His Majefty King *GEORGE* the Second: And I do hereby require His Majefty's Subjects of this Province to embrace all Opportunities of purfuing, captivating, killing and deftroying all and every of the aforefaid Indians.

AND WHEREAS the General Court of this Province have voted that a Bounty or Incouragement be granted and allowed to be paid out of the Publick Treafury, to the marching Forces that fhall have been employed for the Defence of the *Eaftern* and *Weftern* Frontiers, from the *Firft* to the *Twenty-fifth* of this Inftant *November*;

I Have thought fit to publifh the fame; and I do hereby Promife, That there fhall be paid out of the Province-Treafury to all and any of the faid Forces, over and above their Bounty upon Inliftment, their Wages and Subfiftence, the Premiums or Bounty following, viz.

For every Male *Penobfcot* Indian above the Age of Twelve Years, that fhall be taken within the Time aforefaid and brought to *Bofton*, *Fifty Pounds.*

For every Scalp of a Male *Penobfcot* Indian above the Age aforefaid, brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforefaid, *Forty Pounds.*

For every Female *Penobfcot* Indian taken and brought in as aforefaid, and for every Male Indian Prifoner under the Age of Twelve Years, taken and brought in as aforefaid, *Twenty-five Pounds.*

For every Scalp of fuch Female Indian or Male Indian under the Age of Twelve Years, that fhall be killed and brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforefaid, *Twenty Pounds.*

Given at the Council-Chamber in *Bofton*, this Third Day of *November* 1 7 5 5, and in the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *GEORGE* the Second, by the Grace of GOD of *Great-Britain, France* and *Ireland*, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c.

By His Honour's Command,
J. Willard, Secr.

S. Phips.

GOD Save the KING.

Figure 1. British 1755 proclamation offering 40 pounds for an adult Penobscot male, 20 pounds for the scalp of Penobscot woman or child. Copyright 2011 by Rebecca Sockbeson. Reprinted with permission (Sockbeson, 2011, p. 17)[2]

---

2 40 pounds in 1755 is approximately $8,869 US in 2016 dollars; 'Pounds to Sterling Dollars, Historical Conversion of Currency', Dr. Eric Nye, U. of Wyoming, https://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm

Waponahki historical context

To find the "I" it is important to understand some of the salient historical information. The Waponahki people before European invasion numbered over twenty tribes throughout what is now called Maine in the USA and in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in Easternmost Canada. Over fifteen tribes were annihilated through genocidal bounties and germ warfare; they faced 97% population depletion (Paul, 2000; Thornton, 1987). As peoples of oral tradition, the ways of knowing and being have been passed down from generation to generation of people since the history of the people began long before any European invasion; since time immemorial.

Much of the documented history has been taken up by non-Waponahki, predominantly Anglo-European anthropologists and historians, and is considered by many Waponahki to be inaccurate and biased (Paul, 2000; Penobscot Nation Oral History Project, 1993). The following dates and accounts are significant as markers that set context for my discussion of IRM as a significant means by which to address epistemicide.

According to our oral history, the Waponahki taught the early European colonials how to survive and thrive on the land and initially served as guides and hosts to the Europeans. The Waponahki values of generosity and hospitality were taken advantage of by the Europeans, who began their abusive treatment of the Waponahki as early as the mid 1500s (Prins, 1995). However, as the Europeans began taking land, kidnapping people and murdering them, the Waponahki began to defend themselves and fight back.

In an attempt to halt the decimation of the Penobscots from the scalping bounties, in 1775, Penobscot Chief Joseph Orono, accompanied by a delegation of Penobscots, pledged an alliance with the English in Watertown, Massachusetts (American Friends Service Committee, 1989). A treaty was signed by the Waponahki and Massachusetts establishing and allocating reservation lands in 1818 (AFSC, 1989). In 1820, Maine became a state, no longer a part of Massachusetts and the tribes negotiated for a representative to engage diplomatically with the State of Maine. At that time, the Waponahki of Maine were considered by the English as wards of the state (Loring, 2008).

From the early 1880s until the early 1900s, Waponahki children were sent to federally operated residential schools, primarily the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. There, the students were not permitted to speak any Native language (Francis, Leavitt & Apt, 2008). During this time, the Waponahki way of life and the traditional economic system was disrupted with the imposition of reservation life, and the people were no longer able to move throughout the region and live off the land. The dramatic shift in work and economic subsistence caused the people to move from traditional hunting and fishing to a heavier reliance on making and selling baskets, construction work, and guiding and logging (AFSC, 1989).

In 1972, the Passamaquoddy tribe and Penobscot Nation filed a lawsuit claiming two-thirds of the State of Maine (AFSC, 1989). The claim included 12.5 million acres of land granted to Maine in treaties not ratified by Congress, making them illegitimate. The lands in question thereby would fall under the continued ownership of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot. The Indian Nonintercourse Act of 1790 dictates that Indian lands can only be acquired with the approval of the United States Congress (Francis, Leavitt & Apt, 2008) and this law was being called into effect by the Penobscot and the Passamaquoddy. In 1980, the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act was passed, recognizing the illegitimate treaties not ratified by Congress. The law did not award the tribes ownership of their previous landholdings, but monetary compensation was granted so that they could buy back certain lands within their traditional territories (Ranco, 2000). Within this specific historical context, the Waponahki people began to return to their own ways of thinking/being, and to dismantle the frame of colonization that had held them tightly within institutions and systems that were crushing and overpowering them. My own story as a Waponahki woman and researcher is only one of many tributaries in a larger flow moving our people towards our own renewal.

Contemporary genocide and epistemicide at school
The intellectual gaze from deep within my experiences and soul has driven my scholarship. As a Waponahki mother of three, my children's experiences and insights have been central in conceptualizing and mobilizing my research. Sharing personal information about my child's experience with genocide and epistemicide at school is foundational to engaging in an

alternative through identifying, naming and then addressing these forms of oppression. Also, knowing about children's experiences may encourage teacher education leaders and planners to incorporate anti-racism and decolonization into their curricula. In 2005, my daughter, then in kindergarten, reported that children were playing "kill the Indians" at recess at her school in Maine, and that she had chosen not to participate. In the game, the preschool children were Indians and the children in kindergarten and Grade 1 were pirates who chased and killed the Indians.

As a kindergartener, my daughter could have been a pirate. However, she refused because, as she explained, she was a "for real" Indian, and that game was "not okay because it liked to kill Indians." Note that the younger children – those with the smallest bodies and the least power - played the Indians. Around the same time, my daughter received a card from her fourth grade-reading buddy (see Figures 2 & 3). On the front of the card was an intricately drawn picture of a ship from which light peach colored figures with yellow hair shot at a group of brown, black haired figures on the shore. Immediately in front of the brown skin people was a large bomb-like fire.

Figure 2. Front view of card. Copyright 2011 by Rebecca Sockbeson. Reprinted with permission (Sockbeson, 2011, p. 15).

Figure 3. Closer view of card. Copyright 2011 by Rebecca Sockbeson. Reprinted with permission (Sockbeson, 2011, p. 15).

The peach colored figures were clearly winning this violent battle. On the inside of the card was a thank you note from a white fourth grade student expressing gratitude for a great year as reading buddies. I asked my daughter what the picture meant to her. She said it was a picture of bad pirates killing the Indians, and that not all pirates were bad. I asked her why they were killing the Indians, and she responded by saying, "Mumma, I don't know why they want to kill us…I think it is because they do not know enough about us."

The next day, I presented the card, along with a complaint about the recess game, to the headmaster of the school. He replied by explaining that the boy was a very kind child and his family was, too. I explained in turn that I was not concerned about nor did I question the kindness of the boy and his family. I demanded that the school administrator look closely at the picture. The imagery on the card had much in common with pictures of Nazi figures putting Jews in incinerators, or men in white robes and hoods hanging black people by the necks on trees and placing them on fire. I further contextualize this story in relation to mandating anti-racist policy to teachers in my 2009 text, "Waponahki Tradition of Weaving Educational Policy" (Sockbeson, pp. 353-354).

The innocently crafted card reminded me of the painful history of genocide that my people have survived. A notice of the 1755 British bounty proclamation (Figure 1) is posted on the wall of our tribal government office, declaring a genocidal bounty on Penobscot scalps and live prisoners. The photograph (Figure 4) of my daughter's great-great-grandmother, Elizabeth Andrews portrays the humanity of the bounty document's

intended victim. Our grandmother's generation was one of the first to survive the genocidal bounty enacted over 250 years ago; amidst this legacy of attempted annihilation and Waponahki resiliency, my daughter positions herself as an Indian targeted in the recess game, "kill the Indian."

I spoke with the children in her kindergarten and first grade classes to explain that at one time this recess game was a for real game and it is hurtful to play in this way. The teacher had expressed concern about protecting children from hearing such historical facts because they might feel guilty. The adult educators wanted to erase historical facts in order to protect some students, but seemed less concerned about the feelings and experiences of my "Indian" or Penobscot daughter.

While the intention of colonialism was to wipe out the Waponahki, we are still here. The genocidal bounty on Penobscot people and scalps (Figure 1) is only one of numerous bounties placed on American Indian peoples (Martin, 1998). Before colonial invasion, there were over twenty Waponahki tribes, today there are only five (AFSC, 1989).

Figure 4. Late Elizabeth Andrews, descendant of some of the first generations to survive the genocidal bounty. Copyright 2011 by Rebecca Sockbeson. Reprinted with permission (Sockbeson, 2011 p. 18).

During the same time as I was addressing the genocidal recess game, I had the opportunity to work with other Waponahki people to define what state citizens would be required through law to learn about our people through my development of curricular resources related to the Waponahki History and Culture Law, also known as LD 291: An Act to Require Teaching of Maine Native American History. In addition to incorporating the bounty into the curricular expectations, we decided that our creation story would be shared to help others understand what is embodied in our worldview. At the same time, Indigenous knowledge mobilization was manifesting itself within my family and myself. I had explained to my daughter the previous year the story of our creation and she had accepted it without question, responding with total engagement and belief. A year passed and she reported to me that her peers in her kindergarten class (off-reservation in a predominantly white school) did not believe that we could come from the ash tree. She questioned whether or not this was really true. I let her know it was our truth, and many people have different beliefs about their origins. This story shows how our people are surviving the epistemicide and the intended eradication of our ways of knowing and being is not complete (Santos, 2007).

While the necessity for Waponahki worldview to be included in the state-mandated curricula is clear, our children need to learn something even more profound before they are able to grasp the notion that people can come from trees or other elements of the earth and cosmos. We need to understand, and teach, the power and dominance of Euro-western knowledge systems in existing curricula. Children have the critical thinking capabilities to grasp that there are multiple creation stories, all valuable and legitimate. Our own Waponahki children should understand our creation stories not as a myth or legend but as an explanation of our origins, yet another encounter Gluskabe has with epistemicide. My child's doubts about the Waponahki creation story points to the impact of systemic racism prohibiting the transfer of our knowledges, the same systemic racism that perpetuates the transfer of Western knowledge as-if superior to Indigenous knowledge, if it is even recognized as knowledge. Santos calls for the academy to value local knowledge and traditional western knowledge equally. A "monoculture of scientific knowledge" is responsible for the epistemicidal experiences of Indigenous populations (Santos, 2007, pp. 28-29).

Indigenous knowledge mobilization
IRM, with its unfolding and re-interpreting cycles, begins with creation stories as the sources of our beings and the energy sustaining our knowledge. As mentioned, in light of the vast amounts of subjugated Indigenous knowledges, the concept of Indigenous knowledge mobilization is particularly empowering. It speaks to the sense of immobility and paralysis that pervades Indigenous communities, and offers hope of movement from within ancient systems of knowledge.

Instilling this hope through such Indigenous knowledge mobilization within peoples who have lived generations of oppression and attempts to eradicate their Indigenous ways of knowing is especially meaningful. The ongoing practice of telling Indigenous stories through generations of Indigenous peoples in communities is an example of the ancient practice of knowledge mobilization where new forms of knowledge are brought to life from ancient knowledge and remembered and re-applied in new forms and contexts. Such new knowledge is not separate from the significant process of mobilization of that ancient knowledge. The Waponahki creation story as a primary source has led me back to myself, because the creation story is the source of every Waponahki.

This creation story of Gluskabe is taught in reservation schools to our young people:

> *Gluskabe came first of all into this country....*
> *Into the land of the Waponahki, next to sunrise, There were no Indians here then...*
> *And in this way, he made man and woman:*
> *He took his bow and arrows and shot at trees, The basket-trees, the Ash*
> *Then Indians came out of the bark*
> *Of the Ash-trees.*
> (AFSC, 1989)

The creation story tells us that Gluskabe is a spirit being responsible for our creation and saving the people; there are numerous Gluskabe teachings or stories, and late Penobscot Elder ssipsis, (Writer & Scholar), identifies Gluskabe as a Penobscot teacher. I first heard this at home as a young girl of seven or eight years. I was attending a Catholic school. As

one of only nine Native children in the school, I was exposed to the Catholic worldview for at least two hours each school day. I was taught both the biblical story of Adam and Eve, as well as Darwin's theory of evolution (offered as a secondary way to understand creation).

I also learned that "Indians" had legends and myths (which were presented as fictional) about creation. When I heard the Waponahki creation story I enjoyed it, but my Catholic indoctrination made it impossible for me to believe it as truth. I did not think much about it again until my university years, when I heard other Native peoples relating their creation stories. I sensed their deep belief in their origins. During this time, I was also introduced to critical theory in a feminist context and, for the first time, exposed to Native scholarship in an educational context. I learned about the colonial oppression my people had survived and continue to experience. I remember not understanding the sources of our socioeconomic stresses, reductively attributing our troubles to lack of motivation and perhaps even alcoholism. Slowly, though, I learned about our history and the legacies of colonization, genocide and racism. I became aware that not everything I read in the Bible was literally true and that Waponahki ways of knowing and identifying had been disrupted through colonization. Research consistently identifies the detrimental affects of colonization through laws and policies of domination and subordination, and I lived these effects. These effects include the highest levels of socioeconomic distress of any other racial/ethnic group in the Americas (Deloria, 1998; Grande, 2004; Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003).

Grande (2000) problematizes western theory's dominance as a "choke-hold" on Indigenous scholars, calling instead for a *Red Pedagogy* - creating intellectual space that both benefits our communities while meeting the pressures of universities. IRM moves closer toward her articulation of a *Red Pedagogy* where the scholarly mind of Indigenous academics can intellectually breathe within our own ways of knowing and being.

> We are intimidated so much into becoming their scholars rather than just using the richness of who we are; and we have something very important to say and we need to say it in the context of the way we were brought up and culturally influenced. If we

stray from that, we get caught in a trap...we need
to be careful and always be ourselves...institutions
and systems of higher education are not set up for
us...sometimes they are too arrogant to listen to us
in a welcoming way, so we really do need to have an
academic revolution.
-Passamaquoddy Elder Wayne Newell (Sockbeson,
2011)

Passamaquoddy Elder Wayne Newell speaks to the validity
of Indigenous Knowledge and the importance of Waponahki
expression in opposition to western theory's suffocating
dominance. Furthermore, we also need to be reminded that
we are so much more than the manifestations of continued
oppression (Sockbeson, 2011). Oftentimes modern Waponahki
life embodies the socio-economic distress impacts from
colonization. The resulting culture of oppression and its
associated ills, i.e. high suicide rates, addictions, poor health,
low life expectancy et cetera, are alluded to by Late Sioux Elder
Lionel Kinunwa, *"Our culture [of oppression] is killing us...we
need our traditions back..."* (personal communication, Dr. Eber
Hampton, 2015). Forgetting that the culture of oppression is
rooted in colonization and not our traditions allows victimization
to subjugate our ways of knowing and being, and to take us
further away from the people our ancestors prayed for us to
be. While engaging with knowledge about oppression, we
as Indigenous people are called by our ancestors and our
contemporary Indigenous knowledge teachers to engage from
within our own intellectual traditions, within ancient knowledge
ways. Otherwise, the possibility of oppression defining who we
are increases significantly.

Cree Elder John Crier indicates: "Our culture is a result of
ritual ceremony and *how* we choose to look at our world, *how* we
act from our belief of relationship to what we consider sacred,
thus are our ceremonies" (personal communication, 2014).
Crier is calling for the need to be aware of the relationships
between the ritual/ceremony and the culture's future;
distancing us from the oppressive understanding that the
culture of colonization determines who we are. Within the space
of dominant culture and epistemicide, we are being divorced
from us. And yet, the traditions have not been "lost," we lose
our keys or gloves not traditions (Simpson, 2004; Skutnabb-

Kangas, 2000; Sockbeson, 2009). The ancestral traditions and their respective rituals/ceremonies survive continued attempts of systematic dispossession, legislation, policy and government action and inaction, albeit with devastating impacts on our cultures (Deloria, 2003; Episkenew, 2009). Crier calls for the need to have ceremonies define the culture; we cannot afford to have colonization define who we are.

Epistemological habits of indigeneity
When we acknowledge that epistemicide is not complete in us, Gluskabe is present. Preserving these stories as teachings and as our truths helps the people to maintain our ways of knowing and being. When questioned by a peer, "What does Gluskabe have to do with oppression, genocide and racism?" I replied that Gluskabe is a central figure in any research related to the ways our people come to know and to be, and that our engagement with Gluskabe-associated traditional knowledge is the centrality from which all other knowledge spirals outward to help us understand our people's survival.

The creation story is important to the survival of our people because it is reflective of both Waponahki epistemology and ontology simultaneously, like the woven threads in a traditional ash basket.

I presented this thinking to my home community where I was invited to speak about how socio-economic distress factors are a result of colonial oppression and I decided to explain onto-epistemology and epistemicide. Upon seeing a group of Wapohnaki teenagers, I initially worried that these concepts would be too complex to use in this context. I felt their eyes and focus as I paced in the front of the conference room. I was speaking to them, and made that clear that what I had been working on was intended to benefit them. I spoke about how the low language fluency was a systemic dispossession by the government through the education system, and that low fluency was not our fault yet our responsibility. I spoke similarly about the high levels of socio-economic distress, and the epistemicidal intention to eradicate our people's ways of knowing and being.

I explained how not until very recently did I know that our people even had epistemologies. Ten years ago I would have said they did not exist. I unpacked the disruption of this

dispossession from our people and the harm that colonialism's legacy has caused, discussed its manifestation in the highest rates of suicide for our youth, drug/alcohol abuse, HIV rates, poverty rates, etc. I ended this talk with a call for Red Hope, *Cipenuk,* from the east where the sun rises first, where we come from, the reminder of all we have survived already, including 97% original population depletion. I reminded us that our ancestors prayed for us to be here, and that indeed we are still here.

After the talk, several white people approached me. I noticed in the background some youth waiting to talk with me. One non-Native woman was particularly persistent; as I explained to her I needed the washroom, she offered to walk along with me and talk. The youth at this point had shifted out to the hall, still waiting. I entered the washroom, the woman still explaining why she didn't agree with me. After I finished, even as I exited the door, she was still talking, and the Waponahki youth were still patiently waiting. I saw this behaviour as a mark of their own ancestral value of respecting those older than you and exercising patience, another reminder that epistemicide is not complete. I turned to the woman and politely asked if she could email me and excused myself so that I could talk with the youth. The epistemological habits of white supremacy can be at play during these times, as she used her privilege to assert herself and did not consider anyone else around her. I see this often after Indigenous scholars do public talks; the non-Native people are the first to assert their comments or introduce themselves. She reluctantly agreed, and I turned to the hope in front of me. There were three of them, I hugged each of them, thanked them for listening to my talk. They expressed gratitude to me and the one in the middle reached out both of his arms to me, pulled up his sleeves and showed me his cutting scars and said, "See these, thank you for what you said, these are not my fault…I understand these scars better now." He told me of the compelling family hardships he faced in his life, and that my talk helped him to realize his cutting was part of the intention to eradicate us. I often think of this interaction as evidence of our people's resistance to epistemicide, as that very space where Gluskabe is present and felt.

Our connection to our ancestors is deeply embedded in our language, and the survival of our language demonstrates the failure of the colonizing intent of epistemicide. Mi'kmaq

Elder Bernard Jerome explained to me the term for shadow, *N-jijagamij*: meaning the ones who come before us, our ancestors. Bernard explained, it is the visible reminder that we are never alone and that our ancestors are always caring for us. This meaning speaks distinctly to our worldview and cannot be replaced with the simple "shadow." Knowing our ancestors are with us, and seeing their reflection in our shadows is significant to me. As a child, Elders told me not to step on my shadow, but the underlying reasons were not explained to me. This shadow story exemplifies linguistic genocide and its connection to the epistemicide we survived.

Concluding thoughts, CIPENUK: Red Hope

As I continue to look for evidence that epistemicide is not complete, I reflect on Red Hope and believe an articulation of love and its relationship to Indigenous knowledge transfer is the height of where Indigenous epistemology lives.

My second son, Iktome, 10 years old at the time, went for a walk with me where we discussed what he was learning in science at school where they were studying the planets and universe. I asked him in that moment, "What do you believe is the most powerful force in the universe?" Without hesitation, he replied, "Love."

My three children have names in our families' Indigenous languages. All have deep meanings for us, and the names suit my children. In Stoney language, Iktome means the "medicine boss." One of his grandfathers named him while I was pregnant. His great-grandmother says his name suits him. Even when he was still a toddler, she would say to him, "Iktome, use your powers and tell us some stories!" He would always respond with a smile for her. When I was 7 to 8 months pregnant with my third baby, I did not know my due date because of complications. Iktome's older sister, Msahtawe, asked him when the baby was coming into this world. Iktome said, "August 8th." On the morning of August 8, 2007, I woke up with labor pains and delivered Peter Cipenuk Cardinal. In labor, I was lifted by the knowledge that Iktome had "used his powers." We gave Iktome three Stoney names and one Passamaquoddy name to choose from. Without hesitation, he named the baby, *Cipenuk,* meaning east, or wind from the east. Our belief in Iktome's ability to name his brother speaks to the ways associated with Indigenous epistemology.

We did not question his responsibility, which represents the significance of retained Indigenous epistemology and ontology. In our daily Indigenous lives, we are reminded that epistemicide is not complete.

A year later, I asked Elder Wayne Newell and Brenda Dana, the Passamaquoddy Language teacher at Indian Township School, how I might say "Red Hope" in our language. Wayne looked at Brenda and said "Cipenuk, isn't it, Brenda?" Brenda said, "Yes, Cipenuk." He also told me the Red, which would refer to Native people, is embedded in the word Cipenuk. I exclaimed that that was the name we had given our third child. He laughed and suggested that that must be the name of the dissertation I was working on at the time.

I work with the word *Red* as a reference to Native people, because it is word of empowerment, because it means all of my people Indigenous to both the United States and Canada. As a younger Native woman, the stories of the American Indian Movement and friends involved in Wounded Knee fueled me. I organized a grassroots organization, IRATE, Indigenous Resistance Against Tribal Extinction. It was a time in my life I felt very alive; I was living on a Red Road. I remember hearing that there was a Native way of life, and that such a journey was a Red Road, and I knew I was included in that. What I know now is that since birth, I have been living on a Red Road, by the virtue of being an Indigenous person native to the territories where I was created. This research coupled with my life experiences has shown me that which *immobilizes* us as Native people and reminds me of the necessity to research what *mobilizes* us, and I discovered that it is inclusion in something greater than us: hope. bell hooks quotes Paulo Freire at the beginning of her text, *Teaching Community; A Pedagogy of Hope*: "It is imperative that we maintain hope even when the harshness of reality may suggest the opposite" (2003, p. xiv). In my work, I readily committed myself to identifying what is mobilizing. The call for an articulation of love in relation to Indigenous knowledge transfer and mobilization is central to Indigenous epistemologies, which by nature are life-giving and uplifting of the spirit. Currently, Indigenous communities in North America are more fragile than ever, devastated with record high-rates of violent death and poverty, therefore long-term engagement with life-giving spaces is desperately needed. Love

is the height of anti-colonialism, and as Gandhi is attributed for saying, "Where there is love, there is life." Given the depths of oppression we have experienced with racism and genocide, life can easily get hopeless. Craig Womack (1999) writes:

> The process of decolonizing the mind is a first step before one can achieve a political consciousness and engage oneself in activism, this has to begin with the imagining of some alternative (p. 230).

The necessity to "imagine some alternative" led me to Indigenous Waponahki research methodologies, the methodological home of my scholarship and research, affording me opportunities to engage with data, and my life in new ways. The research process gives me a sense of hope central to our continued survival as Indigenous peoples. Without hope, we give up.

Through my Waponahki lens, Red Hope engages Gluskabe's encounters with epistemicide, with my efforts to uncover the truth of the past, to make sense of the present, and to revitalize for the future. Late Penobscot Elder, writer and activist, ssipsis once told a group of my Waponahki female peers that, "as Native people we have to think about white people every day and white people don't ever have to think about us." Similarly, western intellectual traditions are not expected to honour or privilege local Indigenous knowledges, and as Indigenous scholars it is firmly and widely expected that we are deeply familiar with and draw on western research paradigms within our own scholarship. IRM counters epistemicide and speaks to the decolonization processes, to support the thriving of Waponahki onto-epistemology at the core of our survival. "Let us put our hearts and minds together and see what life we will make for our children" (attributed to Sitting Bull). My Stoney Sioux relatives explain that in the Stoney Sioux language, this saying has a profound meaning and identifies the heart and mind as one and the same. Therein lies the expression of that core onto-epistemological space of engagement.

The Indian Contest…
Beware my children
The people are racing out there
It's the Indian contest

Best to not let the white people see this contest
They are likely to use it against us
Some call it crabs in a bucket
Climbing over each other
There's a big race to see who is more Indian
Reality is we are probably all going to Indian Hell
Not too many people are being authentic enough Indians
Some are readily pointing that out to each other
It's de-spiriting
I hope you always feel Indian enough
That your children feel Indian enough
That you pray when you feel loss
That you pray when you feel gratitude
That however you pray
You find time to pray
That you resist joining the Indian race
That you warmly
Invite others to join your liberation
From the immobility
Of the colonial project of dispossession
I Red Hope for you love, compassion and life-giving moments...
-Rebecca Sockbeson

References

Ahenakew, C. (2016). Grafting Indigenous Ways of Knowing Onto Non-Indigenous Ways of Being: The (Underestimated) Challenges of a Decolonial Imagination. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 9 (3), 323-340. DOI: 10.1525/irqr.2016.9.3.323

American Friends Service Committee (1989). *The Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritimes: A resource book about the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac and Abenaki Indians.* Philadelphia, PA: American Friends Service Committee.

An Act to Require Teaching of Maine Native American History and Culture in Maine, LD-291, Sec. 1. 20-A MRSA §4706, as amended by PL 1991, c. 655, §4.

Battiste, M. & Henderson, J. (2000). *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage.* Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing Ltd.

Brown, L. & Strega, S. (2005). *Research as Resistance.* Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars Press.

Cardinal, H. (1977). *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians.* Edmonton, AB: Hurtig Publishers.

Community University Research Alliance (2006). *Healing through Culture and Language: Research with Aboriginal peoples in Northwestern Canada.* Edmonton, AB: CURA.

Deloria, V. (1998). Intellectual Self-Determination and Sovereignty: Looking at the Windmills in Our Minds. *Wicazo Sa Review,* 13(1), 25–31.

Deloria, V. (2003). *God is red: A native view of religion.* Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing.

Donald, D. (2009). *Pedagogy of the Fort: Curriculum, Aboriginal-Canadian Relations, and Indigenous Metissage.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta.

Ermine, W. (1995). Aboriginal Epistemology. In M. Battiste & J. Barman (Eds.), *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds.* Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Episkenew, J. A. (2009). *Taking back our spirits: Indigenous literature, public policy, and healing.* Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.

Francis, D., Leavitt, R. & Apt, M. (2008). *Peskotomuhkati Wolastoqewi Latuwewakon; A Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary.* Orono, ME: University of Maine Press.

Gardner, H. (2006). *Multiple Intelligences: New Horizons.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Grande, S. (2000). American Indian identity and intellectualism: The quest for a new red pedagogy. *Qualitative studies in education,* 13(4), 343-359.

Grande, S. (2004). *Red Pedagogy.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

hooks, b. (2003). *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Helding, L. (2009). Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences. *Journal of Singing,* 66(2), 193.

Kovach, M. E. (2010). *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts.* Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Loring, D. (2008). *In the Shadow of the Eagle.* Gardiner, ME: Tilbury House Publishers.

Martin, P. (1998). Scalping: Fact and Fantasy. In B. Bigelow & B. Peterson (Eds.), *Rethinking Columbus: The Next 500 Year*s (pp. 58-59). Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, Ltd.

Meyer, M. A. (2001). Acultural Assumptions of Empiricism: A Native Hawaiian Critique. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 25*(2), 188-98.

Paul, D. (2000). *We Were Not The Savages; A Mi'kmaq Perspective on the Collision between European and Native American Civilizations.* Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Penobscot Nation Oral History Project (1993). Collaborative Research; Penobscot Nation and University of Southern Maine. Indian Island, ME.

Prins, H. (1995). Turmoil on the Wabanaki Frontier, 1524-1678. In R. Judd, E. Churchill & J. Eastman (Eds.), *Maine The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present* (pp. 97-119). Orono, ME: University of Maine Press.

Ranco, D. (2000). *Environmental Risk and Politics in Eastern Maine: The Penobscot Indian Nation and the USEPA.* PhD Dissertation, Harvard University.

Santos, B. de S. (2007). *Another knowledge is possible: Beyond northern epistemologies* (Vol. 3). London, New York: Verso.

Schissel, B. & Wotherspoon, T. (2003). *The Legacy of School for Aboriginal People.* Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

Simpson, L.R. (2004). Anticolonial strategies for the recovery and maintenance of Indigenous knowledge. *American Indian Quarterly, 28(3/4),* 373-384.

ssipsis. (2007). *Prayers, Poems, and Pathways.* Knox, ME: Robin Hood Books.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic Genocide in Education-Or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* Dundein, NZ: University of Otago Press.

Sockbeson, R. (2009). Waponahki Intellectual Tradition of Weaving Educational Policy. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research,* 55 (3), 351–64.

Sockbeson, R. (2011). *Cipenuk red hope: Weaving policy toward decolonization & beyond.* PhD dissertation, University of Alberta.

Thornton, R. (1987). *American Indian Holocaust and Survival; A Population History Since 1492.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Weber-Pillwax, C. (1999). Indigenous Research Methodology: Exploratory Discussion of an Elusive Subject. *Journal of Educational Thought,* 33(1), 31.

Womack, C. (1999). *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

LEARNING, UNLEARNING, RELEARNING WITH THE MOVEMENTS: A STUDY OF THE GREEK EDUCATION MOVEMENT AND ITS PREFIGURATIVE POTENTIAL

Spyros Themelis
University of East Anglia

ABSTRACT This paper explores the way in which education movement activists in Greece have been conceptualising and experiencing the economic crisis. Moreover, it explores the potential for learning through praxis. It is suggested that through their participation in the movement, activists would re-appropriate key terms, such as 'debt', in order to decode the crisis. As such, an unlearning of the 'dominant grammar' was attempted. This and attendant learning processes were underpinned by two mechanisms, 'naming' and 'reflective vigour', which would lead to a new reading of the crisis, more akin to the needs of the people rather than the elites who are responsible for it. The ensemble of learning processes analysed in this paper offers insights to the contribution of activism in nurturing hope amid despair. As such, the education and more generally the anti-austerity movement, constitute sites where Greece's social and political imagination is being re-moulded. This 'learning through praxis' points to the existence of possibilities 'from below' which seem powerful enough to unleash the participants' creative imagination and serve as 'counter-negations' to the negation of human dignity they have been subjected to by the crisis.

KEYWORDS: neoliberalism, Greece, social movements, education, learning, crisis.

Introduction

This paper explores some aspects of the economic crisis that shook Greece in 2009 and its continuing aftermath. It reports on findings from a research project that aimed to understand the crisis, its origins and impact, as well as its implications on the lives of education movement activists who have been agents of political, trade union and syndicalist activity. I explore the crisis through the vantage point of the educationalists with whom I spoke and interacted during the course of this project.

The questions this paper addresses are as follows:
1. How is the crisis conceptualised and experienced by participants in the education movement?

2. What learning processes occur owing to the involvement of education activists in the Greek anti-austerity movement?

In this paper, I explore how socio-economic processes, which arguably 'are only the theoretical expressions, the abstractions, of the social relations of production' (Marx, 1847/2008: 118), are articulated and perceived by education movement activists in crisis-stricken Greece. Approaching phenomena with economic underpinnings, such as economic crises, as aspects of the renewed social relations, allows me to analyse social movements as a part of the selfsame web of social relations that are being transformed in the current context. In turn, this enables me to keep with the dynamic nature of social movements and explore the learning processes that occur in the course of research participants' involvement in them. In order to achieve this, I draw on Lazzarato's (2014) reworking of Guattari, especially on meaning-making and patterns of signification within advanced capitalism, as well as on other works by these authors (e.g. Lazzarato (2006; 2011); Deleuze and Guattari (1972/2004), Guattari (1984)). This offers me a unique lens to my respondents' critique of the function of debt within Greece's contemporary political economy. According to this analysis, debt is not a threat to capitalism, but a mechanism for its revival, a technique of controlling people and governing individual and collective subjectivities. The paper is underpinned by a theoretical approach that explicates how education can serve liberation, as shown by Gramsci (1971) and Althusser (1971) but mainly by Freire (1970). As such, it underlines the prefigurative potential of the movement at hand,

that is to say of its importance as an agent of transformative action and alternative thinking and doing that could pave the way for a different future.

1. Accelerated neoliberalisation in austerity Greece

The Greek state was forced in 2010 to submit the administration of the country to a consortium of unelected technocrats from the European Commission (EC), European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (the EC-ECB-IMF or 'troika' as it is commonly known). The factors that led to this situation are multiple and any attempt to summarise them risks occluding the inherent complexity of the issues at hand. However, for the purposes of this paper, I will provide an overview in order to assist the reader with understanding the key issues I am dealing with in the remainder of this paper.

High account deficits forced Greece to borrow at much higher interest rates than the countries of the European core. This borrowing came mainly from German and French banks, who already held significant amounts of Greek government bonds and were eager to minimise their exposure to a high risk borrower such as Greece. However, fresh borrowing at high interest rates increased further public debt and made the European banks suspicious of Greece's ability to repay it. At that point, it was made clear that the safest path for Greece would be to cease raising money from the selling of government bonds in the market and to enter a protectionist state of affairs with the troika becoming its main lender through a specially designed bailout package deal. This deal was expected to offer Greece some breathing space while it was restructuring its public debt and regaining financial credibility in the international markets. Given that within the Eurozone bankruptcy is not allowed, Greece was practically insolvent but technically keeping afloat owing to the bailout agreement. However, in order to cover the cost of fresh borrowing enabled by the first bailout agreement in 2010, Greece had to sign new bailout agreements, which almost in their entirety funded debt repayment obligations and interest rates. In other words, Greece entered a vicious circle whereby ever higher borrowing increased debt and ever higher debt increased its dependency on European financial institutions.

In relation to the first bailout agreement, this came about in May 2010 when Greece received a rescue package worth

110bn euros as part of an 'Economic Adjustment Programme in the context of a sharp deteriorating in its [Greece's] financing conditions' (European Commission, 2015). The goal of this programme was 'to support the Greek government's efforts to restore fiscal sustainability and to implement structural reforms in order to improve the competitiveness of the economy, thereby laying the foundations for sustainable economic growth.' (European Commission, 2015). This wording, though, risks occluding the real aim behind the lenders' intentions, which was to help Greece balance its books but at the cost of fundamentally restructuring the country. 'Structural reforms' can be summarised in the triptych: tough austerity measures, privatisation of a country's assets and resources, and liberalisation of trade[1].

From a fiscal point of view, the reforms Greece implemented after 2010 failed to induce a positive change, even by the lenders' standards. Specifically, by October 2011 it became evident that in order for Greece to deal with the mounting debt it had accumulated anew, chiefly owing to the conditions attached to the May 2010 bailout package, its debt had to be written off by 50%. Although this was celebrated as a success by the then Greek government, even harsher austerity measures were stipulated by the troika as a trade off.

The PASOK-led government of the time was too frail to survive the pressure and a political storm ensued, which led to the imposition of an interim (and unelected) prime minister who happened to be none other than the former Governor of the Bank of Greece. To make matters worse, the Greek economy was still in grave danger as it could not meet its repayment obligations and keep functioning effectively. In order to alleviate the situation, in March 2012 another bailout agreement was signed between the imposed and therefore unelected Greek

---

1 In the past, the conditions imposed by the IMF and the impact of the reforms implemented at its behest, plunged supposedly 'rescued' countries into further recession, slowed down or even prevented growth for many years to come, dramatically increased unemployment and poverty and triggered social tensions. Chile is a case in point, but many other countries can be cited (see for example, Loewenson, 1993; Sheahan, 1997).

government[2] and the (similarly unelected) *troika*, this time worth 164.5bn Euros (in effect until the end of 2014) (European Commission, 2015). However, even this supposed lifeline failed to produce positive results and in late 2012 the troika imposed another set of measures to relieve the Greek economy from its spiralling debt (with the aim to reduce it to 124% of Greece's GDP by 2020). By this time, all governments since the onset of the crisis had had implemented four successive austerity packages that included spending cuts, tax increases, pension and salary cuts and public sector redundancies. Only in April 2013 and under pressure from the troika did the Greek parliament pass a bill sanctioning 15,000 redundancies in the public sector (European Commission, 2014).

With economic production damaged due to austerity, concomitant labour market paralysis, frozen exports and unemployment at record levels (see next section), the Greek economy was in its worst state in more than half a century[3]. This is set out in the next section where I discuss the impact of the crisis on the living conditions of the Greek people.

2. Draconian austerity and the end of post-war prosperity

Despite significant decreases in absolute poverty and a significant rise in the levels of economic prosperity for the general population between 1974 and 2008 (Mitrakos and Tsakloglou, 1998), these trends saw a rapid reversal in the post-crisis years. Indicatively, the Greek GDP shrank by over 25% between 2008 and 2015. Various studies indicate 'that the level of inequality and (relative) poverty in Greece were and remain substantially higher than in most developed countries (OECD, 2008, 2013)' (Mitrakos, 2014: 25). In the period between 2007 and 2011 alone, poverty in Greece grew by 15% (Keeley, 2014) with more than one in five Greeks (21,4%) under the poverty line[1] in 2011 (ELSTAT, 2012). However, the picture is bleaker if absolute poverty is taken into account. In 2011, there were

2 At the time, the former governor of the Bank of Greece was still at the helm of the country and he acted as the caretaker Prime Minister until the next general election.

3 Politically, with the debunking of Greek liberal democracy with its defunct parliament and with party politics in crisis, the situation reached a dangerous low with the rise in prominence of Golden Dawn, a neo-fascist organisation which in 2012 secured seats in the Greek parliament.

36% Greek people living in poverty, an increase of nearly 80 per cent in comparison to 2008 when poverty stood at 20% (Eurostat, 2012). Since then, it is estimated that poverty levels have increased at an even steeper rate.

Children have been disproportionately affected by the rising inequalities and household income loss. According to UNICEF (2014) 'in Greece in 2012 median household incomes for families with children sank to 1998 levels – the equivalent of a loss of 14 years of income progress'. This means that Greece (together with Iceland) has the highest percentage growth in child poverty and the highest overall rate (41%) (UNICEF, 2014). The demographic changes created by the crisis are profound: since child birth records became available in 1955, they have been in continuous increase, with an accelerated climb recorded between 1999-2008 (Vrachnis et al, 2014). However, after 2008 this trend has been reversing and live births dropped by 15% between 2008 and 2012 alone (Vrachnis et al, 2014). If lower birth rates point to a shrinking of the Greek population, then this finding is tragically confirmed by suicide and mortality rates.

In 2011, the then Greek Minister of Health stated in the Greek Parliament that the annual suicide rate had increased by 40%, although this might be an underestimate given the large number of unreported suicides due to religious and other reasons (Ekathimerini, 2011). A survey conducted in 2011 found that 'there was a 36% increase in the number who reported having attempted suicide in the month before the survey from 24 (1,1%) in 2009 to 34 (1,5%) in 2011' (Economou et al, 2011: 1459). A more recent study confirmed the alarming rate at which suicides have been increasing in crisis-stricken Greece (Rachiotis et al, 2015). The most likely cause of suicide is unemployment. According to another study (Duleba et al, 2012: 41) 'unemployment is an independent risk factor for both suicide and depression.' Mortality rates also registered an increase since the onset of the crisis.

According to data collected 2012, an important year in terms of the onset of the effects of austerity measures implemented since 2009, there were more deaths in that year (2012) than in 1949, a time when two successive wars had ended (namely, the Second World War and the Greek civil war) (Vlachadis et al,

2014). Specifically, 'the 2011–12 increased mortality in people older than 55 years (about 2.200 excess deaths) probably constitutes the first evident short term consequence of austerity on mortality in Greece.' (Vlachadis et al, 2014: 691).

In the health sector alone, the troika imposed a spending limit of up to 6% of the (declining) Greek GPD (Reeves et al, 2014), which has resulted in a reduction in the number of health workers, longer waiting hours, limited or unavailable resources and compromised quality in service provision. This has left about half a million Greeks without access to health care. Between 2009 and 2011, state hospital budgets decreased by 25% and public spending on pharmaceuticals dropped by over 50%.

According to Stuckler (2014, in Cooper, 2014) 'The cost of austerity is being borne mainly by ordinary Greek citizens, who have been affected by the largest cutbacks to the health sector seen across Europe in modern times'.

The figures presented in this section are indicative of the ways that Greece has become a laboratory of neoliberalism and they demonstrate how abstract policies can have concrete, material impacts on the lives of ordinary people. In other words, they show how the harsh living conditions in Greece have been inscribed within the neoliberal arrangements, which are now spreading across Europe and elsewhere. Against this background, I decided to explore the meaning education workers gave to the crisis and the ways in which they mobilise to overcome its consequences.

3. The research background and the methodology
This research began in early 2011, at a time when I was immersed in exploring social class dynamics for a study published shortly afterwards (Themelis, 2013). During the process of writing up the findings of this study, it was becoming evident that class dynamics were changing anew. Greece seemed to be undergoing a process of transformation that rarely occurs at such a fast pace. Especially, the education movement and its vigorous protests and demonstrations captured my sociological curiosity and imagination as they were taking the country by storm and were making Europe take notice. I was both intrigued and inspired by what was happening in Greece and decided to

explore this movement by talking to and interacting with some of the protagonists.

My methodological approach shares some elements with 'intervention sociology' (Touraine, 1981) which offers several advantages. First, it allows the researcher to adapt his/her methods and tools of data collection in order to adjust to the rapidly evolving reality around him/her. In addition, intervention sociology is characterised by openness in relation to the positionality and ideological position of the researcher and his/her epistemological bias. As Touraine (1981) noted, the researcher is not merely a fly in the wall in the movement s/he researches, but s/he intervenes in it in multiple ways.

This intervention has to be explicitly reported to the research participants as well as to the reader. However, my intervention was much more limited than Touraine's in several ways. First, I did not aim 'to reconstruct the field of decision-making by examining actors, and occasionally by simulating the political processes' as Touraine (1981: 140-1) did.

Second, I did not aim to 're-establish all the actions which have exerted an influence' on the movement in hand (Touraine, 1981: 140). Rather, my aim was to examine all the actions that were reported by the research participants and the literature as influential in the course of the movement under study.   I share with intervention sociology its core principle which is 'the action of the sociologist, whose aim is to reveal social relations and make them the main object of analysis.' (Touraine, 1981: 140).

Over the course of five years, from mid-2011 to late-2016, I visited Greece several times and conducted research in three urban centres. My particular location as somebody who was born in Greece and lived there for a quarter of a century before moving to the UK, and as a person well-versed in the language and culture of both places, offered me an advantage as a researcher.

During the course of the research project I maintained contact with some participants and conversed with them on numerous occasions, in Greece and the UK. The main bulk of information was gathered through informal conversations

with dozens of activists and semi-structured interviews with 18 academics and 11 secondary school teachers. From them, approximately 60 per cent were males and 40 per cent females. A small proportion, about 25 per cent, were early career educators, that is to say with less than 10 years of experience in secondary or higher education. Some of the participants who taught in higher education, were not in full employment and they were on fractional or seasonal contracts.

In several cases, activists stated that they had sustained intimidation or direct persecution by the Greek state owing to their political activity. The vast majority of activists were trade unionists, but at the same time they would occupy other positions, such as members of various organisations or political formations. Most participants belonged to political groupings affiliated to parliamentary or non-parliamentary parties or groups. Apart from the education movement, in nearly all cases, an activist would also be a member of another social movement. For example, some education movement activists were also participating in the anti-racist movement, some others had, to a greater or lesser degree, participated in the so-called Squares movement while others were actively involved in the education mobilisations against the sweeping reform in Higher Education, the law 'Athena'. I participated in conferences, workshops, events, demonstrations and various meetings in and out of educational institutions. Often, I would complement my information about events that were reported to be important, through mainstream and alternative news outlets (such as newspapers, magazines, e-zines, Greek television and radio and alternative e-news stations outside of Greece), social media and websites. The data collection for this stage of the project was completed in late 2014, though part of the literature I have used refers to the socio-economic situation up until 2016 in order to make connections with the material I gathered and the state of affairs since its collection.

4. Learning amidst the crisis: from the financialisation of the economy to the conscientisation of activists
One of the key questions this research sought to address was about the way education activists perceived the situation in Greece since 2009. In other words, I wanted to find out which factors activists themselves thought had caused the crisis and

what the crisis meant for them. For Plato[4], a highly articulate activist who is reminiscent of Gramsci's (1971) organic intellectual, the situation was a result of a shift in capitalist development:

> What has been happening in Greece has been happening elsewhere - an investment in finance. There was a big stock market crisis in 2000 [in Greece] when the stock market went from 2.000 to 6.000 units. This affected the SMEs mainly. Lately, shipyards have had less work and the banks became more dependent on foreign capital [than previously]. Big companies can move money in and out [of the country] in a day. But banks are funded by the state to the tune of 100 billion euros [refers to the 2010 bailout package Greece received].

Plato's account traces the origins of Greece's current crisis to the late-1990s when the stock market was propped by the then government as a field of propitious investment, a form of safe gamble. According to Thalassinos et al. (2006, p. 4) the '*Athens Stock Exchange (ASE) share price index rose by 102.2% between end-December 1998 and end-December 1999*'. This trend led to an unusually high number of Greek households to invest their savings in the stock market. This lens is helpful in understanding the transformation of the Greek economy into a '*zone of neoliberal experimentation*'. With the stock market's explosive growth, companies raised money very rapidly and cheaply. However, this money had no direct link to the country's production base: it was fictitious capital (Hudson, 2012). What is more, this set of processes generated the availability of cheap capital for companies which minimised their reliance on banks. The latter, though, now relied on new clients who '*turned out to be smaller companies or individuals who did not have a direct access to the financial market*' (Thalassinos et al., 2006, p. 4).

Stock market prices however started to fall dramatically: in 2000 ASE fell by 39%, in 2001 by a further 24%, and in 2002 by 30% (Thalassinos et al., 2006). The stock market collapse took down with it thousands of small investors and it comprised one of the most spectacular speculative bubbles in

---

4   All names are pseudonyms.

the Greek financial history. At the same time, it launched the period of financialisation of the Greek economy. The complex relationship between the real economy and the fictitious one of financial capital is informative about the shape the Greek political economy would take in the new millennium. A glimpse of this relationship can be gleaned through the pivotal role the banks played in the rescue packages Greece has received since 2010.

The argument Plato propounded about the Greek banks having received a big share of the bailout money, was also made by other respondents. For example, Cleisthenes, a secondary school trade unionist, lambasted the role of the banks in the bailout packages as well as the nexus of intricate relationships they had developed with the country's lenders: '*All the ECB and IMF funding that Greece received through the two memoranda of agreement went to the* [Greek and foreign] *banks'.*

With this, Cleisthenes meant that (part of) the money received through the bailout agreements was reserved for the so-called recapitalisation of the Greek banks while most of the rest was shifted into European, mainly German and French, banks which possessed high volumes of Greek bonds. This web of interdependency that the Greek (and foreign) banks had developed with the Eurozone and EU's core institutions was seen as a direct threat to the interests of ordinary people. This was because people started to realise that national debt was increasing due to the so-called bailout agreements that were supposed to relieve the country from its debt.

This process, though, carried its own significance as it allowed for the shaping of activist consciousness that brought together educators in struggle during the years of the crisis. Freire (1970) calls this process conscientisation, that is to say the process of creating a '*consciousness that is understood to have the power to transform reality*' (Taylor 1993: 52). As I show in the next sections, conscientisation was the result of deep and complex processes that the struggle of education movement activists enabled and enhanced.

5. Decoding the crisis/unlearning with the movement
Research participants often referred to the political and socio-economic situation in Greece as 'a system in crisis'. In explaining this they would use a vocabulary that referred to a medical

emergency. For example, they often said: 'we are in a critical condition', 'our survival chances are small', 'the Greek economy is gravely ill' and so on. At the same time, they often employed a technical or 'economistic' parlance, by invoking concepts such as 'debt obligations', 'global economic growth', 'insolvency' and the like. They invariably understood this vocabulary as a new discourse necessitated by 'capitalism realism' (Fisher, 2009). One of the key terms they were grappling with was 'debt'.

Debt is neither an accident nor a curse for capitalism. By contrast, as Graeber (2011) showed, it is a key historical category that predates capitalism. According to this analysis (Graeber, 2011), debt has helped the flourishing of modern European cities and the further development of capitalism. It could be argued that, in our days, debt is the key lever in the re-structuring of the Eurozone and a core mechanism in the reshaping of advanced capitalism.

5.1 Debt and the creation of possibilities for negation
In this section, I present some research findings about the participants' understanding of debt with reference to their personal lives. In a country with traditionally low private debt levels, participants were shocked by the sudden relevance and centrality of debt in their post-crisis lives. Private debt was created chiefly, though not exclusively, through a combination of drastic tax increases, salary or pension cuts, a hike in unemployment and underemployment, and a drop in house prices which forced many home owners into negative equity and into arrears with their mortgage repayments.

In the main, mortgages could not be renegotiated directly with the banks, which raised disputes with borrowers that had to be resolved at the courts. While thousands of home owners were facing foreclosures and destitution, the banks were dealing with problems of their own. These included low reserves (partly triggered by various 'bank runs' as their customers withdrew their deposits en masse when the political or economic situation was fragile), a high proportion of 'bad' (i.e. non-performing) loans to companies and individuals and, since June 2015, with capital controls. This aspect of the Greek crisis is worth focusing on as it has significant implications in terms of constructing the 'indebted person' I discuss later.

The research participants conceptualised private debt in two different ways: first, as a shortcut for the crisis and, second, as a tool used for their subordination to the elites (domestic and external ones, e.g. the troika). The second function is discussed in the next section. Here, I elaborate on the first one.

Debt as a shortcut for the crisis, seemed to have psychological and emotional implications as it triggered feelings of impotence, despair and anger. As such, it operated at the cognitive and the emotional levels, though it also sparked processes with moral implications. Unsustainable debts, therefore, that households had amassed very rapidly during the first years of the crisis seemed to connote something visible though also obscure at the same time; something tangible and vague. To be precise, the outcomes of debt accumulation were visible and irrefutable as participants could not deny their dependency on the banks (as the latter possessed their mortgages). However, the processes through which research participants (and thousands of Greeks) became indebted were still unclear and increasingly disputed. In this manner, it can be argued that debt is a key term in the new grammar the crisis generated and its meaning is embedded in the prevalent culture. In other words, debt is a *signifying semiotic*, a term not only of the post-crisis vocabulary, but also a component of the post-crisis culture as it signifies commonly understood things within a given context.

At the same time, though, debt refers to some processes which manipulate elements of the dominant culture in order to achieve ends not intended by its users. These processes refer to various transactions and activities, which we unwittingly conduct and, in the long term, seem to exert control over our lives rather than the other way around. In other words, they subvert and antagonise meaning making processes humanity has been accustomed to and they seek to rewrite the rules of human socialisation. This is the function of the so-called *a-signifying semiotics* (Lazzarato, 2014), which increasingly shape human behaviour in late capitalism (e.g. behavioural control and customer manipulation through tailored advert generation).

I propose we approach debt as a '*trans-signifying semiotic*': a term that carries elements from both signifying and a-signifying semiotics but is inherently infused with political

meaning (more on this in the next sub-section) (Deleuze and Guattari, 1972/2004; Guattari, 1984). This proposition rests on three observations. First, debt carries automatic evaluation and measurement, it refers to something comparable and measurable at one and the same time. As Athena's observations suggests:

> We are forced to enter the struggle to save our houses [from foreclosures], to save our families. My children will be the first generation to have less than mine [generation] and that's a regression [in comparison to previous generations]' (Athena, university lecturer-activist).

The struggle Athena refers to, included petitions, demonstrations, solidarity representations at court hearings for families threatened with house repossession and eviction, and acts of sabotage or active obstruction against authorities attempting to repossess private properties.

The comparative undertones are evident from Athena's account as she compares her own generation with that of her children. What is more, she seems to be using debt as a yardstick of success for the two generations: owing to her generation's inability to save their houses from the banks, her children will be less well off, they will have socio-economically regressed, as she observes. Second, and parallel to the first process, the effect of this process is the creation of a commonly understood category, namely of the 'indebted person', which is juxtaposed to that of the free-of-debt person. In this way, a hierarchically formed taxonomy of people is created: debt enables us to instantly understand what is meant by it and make comparative judgements about people around us: 'we used to be respectable, ordinary people and we've become despondent, debt-ridden "rags"' (Nora, university lecturer-activist). Third, and owing to the second premise, debt shapes people's hopes, dreams, aspirations, expectations (from themselves and others) and it transforms the way they evaluate themselves and are evaluated by others. It inflicts on people shame, impotence and guilt, it lowers self-esteem and pushes the indebted person to occupy the position of the lowest moral ground. Not only is economic position people's affected by debt, but also their subjectivity, identity and social consciousness. Debt mediates people's social relations and reconstructs their social milieu.

As Patroclos, a secondary school teacher and trade union activist, said 'debt is like a stone tied around your neck. You can't stay invisible… It's not even what you owe and to whom, it's that your life doesn't belong to you. How can I put it? You lose face, you lose dignity, [you lose] the will to live because all you will ever earn will not belong to you any more'. In the responses of these interviewees, debt is seen as the instrument of possibilities for the denial of human dignity, an instrument of negation of self-esteem and ultimately of freedom.

5.2 Debt as a trans-signifying semiotic

By contrast to the previous section, in this one I am focusing on national debt, which had a prominent role in my respondents' learning processes and attendant experiences and knowledge generated. Therefore, it carries added weight in my analysis.

For Demosthenes, a trade union activist and school teacher in a working class area in Athens, debt was deployed as a convenient strategy by the Greek and European (capitalist) elites to pass unpopular and draconian austerity measures: *'Debt is being used to change everything and Greece is used as a model for implementing austerity everywhere else in the world.'* The use of debt as an expedient way to impose tough austerity measures is explained forcefully by Lazzarato (2011: 29): *'debt acts as a "capture", "predation", and "extraction" machine on the whole of society, as an instrument for macroeconomic prescription, and as a mechanism for income redistribution'*. That is to say, debt enables the elites to phase back worker rights that were gained with struggles over a long period of time. It has the capacity to transform the relationship between state and citizens into one between debt collector and indebted individual. Consequently, debt is the creator of poverty, exploitation and destitution.

For some of my research participants, debt was the equivalent of economic subordination. In true Saussurean fashion ([1916] 1974), debt was a concept that was simultaneously empty and full of meaning: from an empty signifier of indebtedness, it became a full signifier of immoral governance.

Hollowed out from any moral legitimacy, debt was full of consequences for people's lives. However, research participants took a critical stance and invariably deconstructed it in order to reinsert a new meaning to it. Its meaning was reversed and

instead of treating it as an objective category that exists 'out there' as a natural entity, research participants approached it as a symbol of domination. For Cleo, a teacher-activist, debt was the Trojan horse of austerity, a totem of economic (and symbolic) violence worshiped by the champions of austerity, such as the two leading political parties that supported the bailout memoranda, PASOK and New Democracy', and in June 2012, formed a coalition government that implemented the attendant structural reforms imposed by the troika.

Debt, therefore, was viewed as a mechanism for subordination, the whip cracked on the Greek people in order to secure their obedience to the rules of the lenders and the elites. The reversal of signification in the meaning of debt in participants' accounts, has to be viewed as a challenge to capitalism's supremacy in meaning-making. For example, 'finance', 'credit', 'debt' and similar terms have been forced into excessive usage from the beginning of the crisis and have been habitually regurgitated as if a collective understanding about their meaning is shared. Their discursive and representational value is achieved owing to capitalism's ability to impose meaning even when this is not reached intentionally. As Lazzarato (2014: 41) discusses *'what matters to capitalism is controlling the signifying semiotic apparatuses (economic, scientific, technical, stock-market, etc.).'* Put simply, the elites who seek to reassign the meaning of terms such as debt, credit, insolvency and so on, function best when they are the sole meaning-makers, when they have the monopoly in meaning-making. However, the power of the elites stems from the way they put the process of meaning-making into action. For example, while we use terms such as debt in their renewed meaning, we unwittingly participate in the creation of our renewed conditions of subjugation. The task of integrating different understandings of debt into the same meaning is entrusted to the smooth functioning of capitalism, which appears to work like a well-programmed machine: dispassionate, efficient and effective. And this is where the indebted subjects, such as education movement activists, would turn this process on its head and make terms like debt a 'trans-signifying semiotic': debt for them had become a call for transformative action, a cry of the subordinate against the dominant. This is a crucial point and one to which I turn my attention in the next section.

6. Recoding the crisis/relearning with the movement

Notwithstanding their importance, semantics do not make history; they are employed to describe and analyse the modalities of social, economic, cultural and political life. As such, they are shaped by the prevalent social relations. These relations were often depicted by my research participants as belonging to an experiment while the Greek people were described (and at times described themselves) as a species trapped in a laboratory. Some respondents spoke of their co-patriots as 'experimental rats' on whom new products were tested, that is to say the conditions of restructured capitalism. Patroclos described this situation as follows:

> Greece is an experiment that could be implemented in all countries—this can now be seen in Portugal, Spain and Ireland. There is a widespread lie that the Greeks tax evade and so on. But this makes it seem as if the crisis is local when in fact it is global and the same medicine is being given everywhere. If they succeed in Greece, they will then apply these policies elsewhere.

This argument echoes Douzinas' (2013: 5) who suggested that '*Europe used Greece as a guinea pig to test the conditions for restructuring late capitalism in crisis.*' In this vein, striking similarities emerge between Greece and many other countries of the European periphery, but also of the core[5]. In practical terms this 'power to transform reality' enabled the participants to decode, recode and respond to the crisis. It helped them enter a process of unlearning, re-learning and learning anew which was realised in and through their struggles against austerity and consisted of the stages discussed below.

---

5 For example, one of the most oft-repeated threats used by the former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, to defend spending cuts in the UK was that Greece is the invidious example of profligacy and fiscal-management ineptitude. In order to avoid Greece's fate, Cameron claimed, the UK needed to implement tough austerity measures (Robinson, 2012). Assertions like Cameron's were also made by the leading political parties that reigned in Greece since 2009 and signed the bailout agreements and implemented the attendant austerity measures that 'entrapped' the Greek people to the experimental laboratory mentioned above. However, the research participants were aware that this language was employed in order to rapidly transform their reality.

6.1 Naming as a class act

The first stage was that of 'naming'. Naming in education activists' narratives entailed identifying the key social agents and recognising their roles in political and socio-economic terms. In so doing, participants often spoke of the lenders, the troika, as part of an organised web who, having lent money to a practically insolvent Greek state, were actively showing their solidarity to the banks. These two forces then, the Greek banks and the troika, occupied the position of the oppressor in respondents' collective consciousness. They were held responsible for having subordinated the Greek people and deprived them of a decent living: '*This kind of action* [the troika lending money to the Greek state that it then passes it onto the banks] *causes austerity. And austerity feeds the banks. The Greek government wants to sustain the* banks. *The system is in solidarity with the banks, not the people*' (Patroclos, secondary school teacher and trade union activist).

At the same time, naming enabled the participants to differentiate their position and interests from those of their oppressors. This differentiation, in the majority of accounts of education activists I spoke to, was done in social class terms. When they were referring to the elites and the banks, they were drawing a clear distinction, a class boundary, between 'them' versus 'us', or better put, 'them' against 'us'. Naming, then, was a process ingrained into the vocabulary of class struggle of education activists. To paraphrase Althusser (1971), naming was an act of 'counter-interpellation': an interpellation from below that aimed to challenge the status quo.

6.2 Reflective vigour

The process of naming was accompanied by what I call 'reflective vigour'. By this I mean the multi-layered process of searching for meaning which collides with personal and collective hopes and aspirations. In so doing, it continuously unravels aspects of the reality as it was ('life before the crisis') and its rapid transformation into 'reality as it is' ('life during the crisis/life in crisis').

'Reflective vigour' would invariably start from a description of the current state of affairs, '*the state we are in*'. It would then move on to the explanation and exploration of the past, '*the way things were*'. Both aspects were crucial in the participants'

narratives as they shed a bright light onto their understanding of their lived reality. They were serving as '*ontological anchors*' aiming to root their accounts to *time* which they felt was ticking along dangerously, though, at the same time, it had stood still: '*we are heading towards a monumental disaster; the more things change the worse they will be getting*' exclaimed Aglaia, a secondary school teacher-activist. Louiza, a fellow-activist who was gazing nonchalantly out of the window of an Athenian cafe, very close to the site where they had been both tear-gassed by the police a few weeks prior to the interview, agreed:

> – 'Yes, but *once the Titanic hits the iceberg, it doesn't matter if you survive or if you are dead*'.
> 'Is being dead the same as being alive?' I interjected.
> 'Being alive is worse!', Louiza responded.
> 'Why is that?' I insisted.
> 'Well, imagine you have hit the iceberg and you're helplessly agonising to survive; without any lifeline, in the darkness, on your own', Louiza explained.
> 'Is Greece the Titanic?' I enquired.
> 'Yes!' they both replied.
> 'We are in the Titanic, but they [the Greek government] say that we will soon reach the shore. Perhaps they never saw the iceberg coming because they had all abandoned the boat [before it had hit the iceberg]' Louiza added.

While the participants were 'agonising to reach the shore', that is to say to arrive at a better state of affairs beyond the bail out packages and the attendant draconian austerity measures, life felt like a 'prolonged torture' as another research participant told me: '*we've been through bad times in the past, but this time it feels like there is no light at the end of the tunnel*'.

6.3 Learning anew: possibilities for learning 'from below'
But what about the 'light' the struggle of those activists has been shining on their lives and the lives of others? Did education activists have a sense of achievement? Evidence shows they did though they were modest about its extent. Although in Louiza's account anger seems to prevail over hope, the importance of highlighting possibilities 'from below' should not be overlooked (Cox and Nielsen, 2014). More than this, 'stilling time' triggered the education movement activists' collective imagination to think about 'life as it should be': 'you might be pushed [down], but you

also become stronger as you work with others and think about what to do … you are not on your own, you know? You start thinking, "ok, I might be weak now, but one day things could change. Not radically, but they could change".' This process enabled them not only to resist, but also to create. The types of creation in which they partook included acts of solidarity, community organising, establishing new forms of thinking and acting about the commons and so on. For example, primary school teachers-activists from a working class area in Athens organised a 'school bazaar', something similar to a flea market, with the aim to raise money to fight a growing problem among their pupils: malnutrition owing to food insecurity in their households.

The monies raised from this initiative offered a temporary relief to a serious problem facing many students while at the same time it brought the school community closer together. In other words, it offered a glimpse of how 'spontaneous critical pedagogy' can offer some solution to material problems created by the crisis. By so doing, it pushed social relations to the terrain of solidarity and social 'experimentation from below'. That is to say, participants in this instance initiated a process of localised though time-limited counter-experimentation to the rapid neoliberalisation experiment Greece has been undergoing.

On another occasion, possibilities from below were attached to a repertoire of initiatives that formed the ensemble of praxis the participants were immersed in. This praxis consisted both of resisting austerity but also of creating alternatives to it. These small acts of negation and creation were often generative of bigger possibilities, not only for the local activists but for others too. However, in many cases these were acts with huge local importance, though little wider impact. This was the case with collective action taken in a non-urban higher education institution. When the executive committee of this institution took the decision to lay off a high number of administrative and technical members of staff, some academic-activists defied the university executive's decision and stepped in by offering support to the threatened staff. The praxis of these activists inscribed of a new grammar of possibilities, which we can analyse through the following triptych of action. In the first instance, these activists sought to persuade their university's executive committee to reverse their decision of terminating

contracts of administrative and technical staff. In the second instance, they (academic-activists) joined the strike and actively demonstrated their solidarity with their fellow-workers and their disagreement with their executive committee's handling of the situation. Finally, the activists sought to promote a new set of social relations by resisting austerity-imposed measures (in that case, redundancies) and by acting in solidarity with their threatened colleagues.

Apart from the importance of this type of praxis in terms of breaking down unnecessary distinctions between so-called 'mental' and 'manual' types of labour, it also serves as a beacon of hope through the generation of possibilities it allows for resisting, defying and responding to the negation of possibilities that the economic crisis had ushered in. For the collective struggle of academic and other staff in the specific university led to a reversal of the redundancies that the institution's executive committee had decided. This chain of events furnished activists in that university with hope and knowledge of a new grammar: that of resistance and possibility.

Numerous other examples can be offered and they evidently indicate that education movement activists are active agents in re-conceptualising the crisis and using it as an opportunity to learn anew. This type of learning is generative of promising possibilities for a new type of social relations that are premised on solidarity and transformative action for the common good. However, part of this learning comprises the local character of this important struggle. In a nutshell, education activists' accounts and struggles offer strong evidence about the ways in which they had been decoding, recoding and responding to the crisis. I suggest that this is used as an opportunity to explore the 'learning potential' the crisis carries.

Conclusions

In this paper I explored the way the crisis that has engulfed Greece since 2009 has been conceptualised and experienced by participants in the education movement. My aim was to shed light on the experiences and learning processes that occur during and because of activists' involvement in this movement. The theoretical framework for this paper lies in social theory that seeks to understand socio-economic processes within the context of rearticulated social relations the economic crisis has

introduced. In doing so, I discussed the role of the new discourse that has been brought about and its role in transforming participants' subjectivities. Decoding the language of the crisis helps us link the word with their world (Freire, 1970). It allows for connections to be made between the meaning the participants give to the terms that dominate their daily lives and the transformed reality around them. As such, it is a catalyst in the process of liberation that participation in social movements, and education more broadly, can offer.

My analysis suggests that debt's discursive potential flows both ways: on one hand, it is the 'suitable stratagem' domestic and foreign elites have used to subordinate the Greek people and make them accept tough austerity measures. In short, debt has made the rolling out of the ensemble of the neoliberal toolkit, such as privatisation, salary and pension cuts, redundancies, trade liberalisation, shrinking of the welfare state and so on, appear as necessary and unavoidable. On the other hand, evidence showed that debt has also become a symbol of resistance, a shortcut in the collective consciousness of education movement activists that triggers mechanisms of defiance and creation of new possibilities. The education movement, therefore, can be viewed as one of the most significant hotbeds of politicisation where Greece's social and political imagination is being moulded.

A space where creative destruction, the destruction of the discursive, material and other tools of subordination launched by the education movement activists, clashes with the destruction of creativity unleashed by the forces of neoliberal capitalism. Research participants seemed fully aware that the power bloc of the debt economy *'has seized on the latest financial crisis as the perfect opportunity to extend and deepen the logic of neoliberal politics'* (Lazzarato, 2011: 29). This is why they also selected the same moment to foment their critique to the neoliberal orthodoxy. Through the discussion of naming and reflecting, I illustrated how these two key processes form part of the repertoire of resistance and defiance the participants entered owing to their active role in the education movement. While this involvement is not enough to reverse the economic, ideological and political domination Greece is subjected to, it has triggered some deep processes at a personal and collective level. Throughout the previous sections, I underlined the fact that education movement activists do not only critique the status

quo. Crucially, they experiment in alternatives, in counter-propositions which have become the counter-narratives to the neoliberal hegemony. The involvement of activists in the Greek education movement offers glimpses to the existence of possibilities 'from below' which unleash the participants' creative imagination and serve as 'counter-negations' to the main negation imposed by the crisis: the negation of human dignity and a decent life they had been subjected to. Although the education movement on its own cannot mitigate the effects of the crisis, its contribution in fostering possibilities for learning, resisting and creating new meaning is suggestive of its prefigurative potential.

Bibliography
Althusser, L. (1971). 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)'. In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, Monthly Review Press.
Cooper, C. (2014) Tough austerity measures in Greece leave nearly a million people with no access to healthcare, leading to soaring infant mortality, HIV infection and suicide http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/tough-austerity-measures-in-greece-leave-nearly-a-million-people-with-no-access-to-healthcare-leading-to-soaring-infant-mortality-hiv-infection-and-suicide-9142274.html
Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1972/2004) *Anti-Oedipus*. Trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane. London and New York: Continuum.
Douzinas, C. (2013) *Philosophy and Resistance in the Crisis: Greece and the Future of Europe.* Cambridge: Polity.
Duleba T., Gonda X., Rihmer Z., and Dome P. (2012) Economic recession, unemployment and suicide. *Neuropsychopharmacol Hung.*; 14(1): 41-50.

Economou M., Madianos M., Theleritis C., Peppou L.E., Stefanis C.N. (2011) Increased suicidality amid economic crisis in Greece, *Lancet*, 379 (9801): 1459.

Ekathimerini (2011) Sharp rise in suicides amid crisis http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_ wsite1_1_30/06/2011_396649

ELSTAST (2012) Press Release, 2 November 2012. European Commission (2015) Financial assistance to Greece http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/assistance _eu_ms/Greek_loan_facility/index_en.htm

European Commission (2014) The Second Economic Adjustment Programme for Greece Fourth Review – April 2014. http://www.efsf.europa.eu/attachments/ ocp192_ en.pdf

Eurostat (2015) Unemployment statistics, http:// ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics- explained/index. php/Unemployment_statistics

Fisher, M. (2009) *Capitalist Realism.* Winchester: Zero Books.

Freire, P. (1996)[1970] *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* London: Penguin.

Graeber, G. (2011) *Debt: The First 5000 Years.* New York: Melville.

Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from Prison Notebooks.* London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Guattari, F. (1984) *Molecular Revolution: Psychiatry and Politics.* Trans. Rosemary Sheed. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Harvey. D. (2011) *The Enigma of Capital: And the Crises of Capitalism.* London: Profile Books Ltd.

Keeley, B. (2014) *The measure of poverty.* Paris. OECD Insights.

Lazzarato, M. (2006) *The Machine.* European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies. (EIPCP) http://eipcp. net/transversal/1106/lazzarato/en

Lazzarato, M. (2011) *The Making of the Indebted Man: An Essay on the Neoliberal Condition.* Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).

Lazzarato, M. (2014) *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity.* Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).

Loewenson, R. (1993) Structural adjustment and health policy in Africa. *International Journal of Health Services.* 23(4):717-30.

Marx, K. (1847/1955) *The Poverty of Philosophy*. New York: Cosimo Inc.

Mitrakos, T. (2014) Inequality, poverty and social welfare in Greece: distributional effects of austerity, Working Paper 174, Bank of Greece http://www.bankofgreece.gr/BogEkdoseis/Paper2014174.pdf

Mitrakos, T. and Tsakloglou, P. (1998) "Decomposing inequality under alternative concepts of resources: Greece", *Journal of Income Distribution* 8: 241-253. OECD (2008) OECD Insights Debate. http://oecdinsights.org/2014/06/30/the- measure-of-poverty/

Rachiotis, G., Stuckler, D., Mc Kee, D. and Hadjichristodoulou, C. (2015) What has happened to suicides during the Greek economic crisis? Findings from an ecological study of suicides and their determinants (2003-2012). *BMJ Open*; 5:3 e007295 doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2014-007295

Reeves, A., McKee, M., Basu, S., and Stuckler, D. (2014) The political economy of austerity and healthcare: Cross-national analysis of expenditure changes in 27 European nations 1995–2011. *Health Policy*;115:1–8. doi:10.1016/j.healthpol.2013.11.008

Robinson, N. (2012) *Cameron's economic hopes*. BBC News. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-18527725 (Last accessed: October 2015).

Saussure, F. de ([1916] 1974) *Course in General Linguistics* (trans. Wade Baskin). London: Fontana/Collins.

Sheahan, J. (1997) Effects of Liberalization Programs on Poverty and Inequality: Chile, Mexico, and Peru *Latin American Research Review* Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 7-37.

Taylor, P. (1993) *The Texts of Paulo Freire*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Thalassinos, E., Kyriazidis, T. and Thalassinos, J. (2006) The Greek Capital Market: Caught in Between Poor Corporate Governance and Market Inefficiency, *European Research Studies Journal*, 9, (1-2): 3-24.

Themelis, S. (2008) 'Meritocracy through Education: A Critical Approach to Social Mobility in Post-War Britain', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 29 (5): 427-438.

Themelis, S. (2013) Social Change and Education in Greece: A Study in Class Struggle Dynamics. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Touraine, A. (1981) *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

UNICEF (2014) Press release: 2.6 million more children plunged into poverty in rich countries during Great Recession. http://www.unicef.org/media/media_76447.html (Last accessed: April 2015).

Vlachadis, N., Vrachnis. N., Ktenas, E., Vlachadi M. and Kornarou, E. (2014) Mortality and the economic crisis in Greece, *The Lancet*, 383(9918): 691. http://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/ PIIS0140-6736(14)60250-6.pdf

Vrachnis, N., Vlachadis, N., Iliodromiti, Z., Vlachadi M. and Creatsas, G. (2014) Greece's birth rates and the economic crisis. *The Lancet,* 383(9918): 692-693 http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii / S014067361460252X?via%3Dihub

VOICE, REPRESENTATION AND DIRTY THEORY

Lorina L. Barker, Adele Nye & Jennifer Charteris
University of New England, Australia

ABSTRACT Australian Educational theory has drawn largely from the authoritative metropole described by Connell in *Southern Theory* (2007). In this article, the perilous nature of global north/ south power relations that are embedded in research work is given consideration. Through a collaborative process, the researchers create an assemblage of poems that embody a range of voices from their respective research fields. Drawing from contexts in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, these examples of southern theory fieldwork are used to problematise the notion that it is possible to simply bring the south to the centre. The geospatial politics inherent in Connell's attempt to categorise knowledge production is critiqued. The complexity of 'doing southern theory' is considered as one of many approaches to working with voices from the south.

Key Words: Southern Theory, dirty theory, higher education, indigenous education

Introduction

In a counterpolitics to the influential metropole advocated by Raewyn Connell (2007) in her book *Southern Theory*, we three women academics, "sink roots into the mud of [our] particular landscapes" to engage with "dirty theory" (p. 206). Dirty theory is embedded in the perspectives and geopolitical interests of the postcolonial Global South, rather than those of the North (Reed, 2013). It has been argued that knowledge hierarchies in social science are hegemonic; the geopolitical pattern of knowledge prioritising the theories generated from a constructed metropole power base or North (Nye, Amazan & Charteris,

2017). Centring the Global South, we contribute to debates on how southern theory can influence education and unsettle knowledge hierarchies. Counterpolitics explore the "everyday struggles and resistances enacted by students, teachers or others in the practices of their daily lives" (Youdell, 2011, p. 15). Furthermore, we resist the current and ongoing pervasiveness of cultural enthnology as a (neo)liberal form of multiculturalism. It represents a modern form of symbolic violence where dominant cultures try to subsume different cultures by imposing Northern standards over ethnic communities (Despagne, 2013). This can be seen in methodologies that homogenise and sanitise social and cultural differences from the research settings.

Although we centralise "dirty theory" as a theoretical framework, we recognise that we are never far from the metropole and the northern theory that has shaped our academies. In a recent publication of *Postcolonial Directions in Education*, Takayama, Heimans, Amazan and Maniam (2016) propose a set of dynamics that describe researcher engagements with southern theory. They argue that 'Doing southern theory' involves "identifying and contesting" academic knowledge production processes, "bearing witness" to the influence of the global north's "epistemic indifference", curating and/or translating neglected southern intellectual work to foreground "discredited/disenfranchised knowledges"; and "mobilizing southern experiences and knowledges as legitimate intellectual resources" (Takayama, Heimans, Amazan & Maniam, 2016, p. 11).

Grappling with these dynamics, we proceed in this article to share three accounts from our fieldwork as an engagement with southern theories. These poetic narratives, as accounts of our engagement with voices in our specific research contexts, are drawn from our research in a secondary school, higher education and in a rural community. The data poems included are constructed to provide an account of voices through poetic transcription. Rather than an uncomplicated representation of life, we see poetry as a political act in that it can never be read detached from the socio historical and political context of the field. After the accounts we explore literature on southern theory, voice, representational politics and the use of poetry as data and share how southern theory has influenced our work. The first account provides an insight into an Aotearoa/ New Zealand perspective.

Southern theory in Classroom research.

Connell (2007) argues that "one of the mechanisms constituting Northern theory was the erasure of experience from the periphery. To undo this erasure is a primary task in reworking the relations between periphery and metropole, to make a shared learning process possible" (p. 214). It must also be acknowledged that some indigenous theories have appropriated northern theory to speak back to the metropole. Graham Smith (2012), inspired by Paulo Freire, argues the merits of Kaupapa Māori as an influential theory to address the social injustice experienced by New Zealand's indigenous people. Smith challenges researchers to connect Kaupapa Māori with its critical theory origins. In doing so, there is the capacity to articulate a criticality in order to "speak back to dominant theories in education" (p. 10). Failing to recognise this genealogy robs Kaupapa Māori of its radical potential. The first researcher story is from Aotearoa draws from Aotearoa/ New Zealand based research work.

I explore an aspect of Kaupapa Māori theory to trouble simplistic conceptions of student voice. I explore my positioning as a pakeha researcher, desiring to centre Kaupapa Māori as a southern theory. Drawing from classroom research, I explore how voice as poetry allows PJ's subjectivities to be revealed. Through poetry, I produce a non-essentialised representation of the problematic of voice. While it is deeply troubling to appropriate concepts from an indigenous epistemology, Kaupapa Māori practices and protocols can inform the work of pakeha researchers (Hill & May, 2013). I argue that it is important for non-indigenous researchers not to shy away from the field and to engage in collaborations to support indigenous scholarship and onto-epistemological projects. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, this involves working alongside Māori to address the ongoing project of erasure that Connell talks about. A Kaupapa Māori framework for research is based on the concept of self-determination (Smith, L. 1997; Bishop, 1997) and prioritises Māori practices, value systems and social relations as an underpinning basis for research in New Zealand indigenous contexts (Hill & May, 2013). Writing on the ethical implications of non-indigenous researchers working within indigenous communities, Hill and May argue that

non-indigenous researchers can implement successful and beneficial projects in indigenous contexts, but only within a framework, such as Kaupapa Māori research principles...Importantly, the establishment and maintenance of reciprocal relationships between researchers and participants contributes crucially to the success of research projects in indigenous settings (p. 48).

The wider research was conducted in 4 secondary classrooms within one school where I worked as a teacher professional development provider. During the research, I observed lessons and afterwards spoke with students and teachers to find out about how they enacted learner agency in their learning during Science and English lessons. While I engaged with the voices of students and teachers, I focused on the notion of reciprocity and self determination, considering how I could support a culturally responsive approach to learner agency. It has been well documented that gathering voices for schooling improvement can serve as a mechanism of governmentality and contribute little to the students themselves (Nelson, 2017). Researching in a school where there were indigenous students in the population, I saw the importance of Kaupapa Māori protocols and practices for my interview approach. I consulted with a colleague in her capacity as Kaitakawaenga Māori (cultural advisor) to ensure that my work was culturally responsive and appropriate. I took an opened-ended approach, to learn about the students' conception of classroom events and in particular to engage them in dialogue where we co-produced the direction of the conversation. I interviewed the students in the classroom and, although it was at times noisy and distracting, it reduced the researcher imposition of taking individuals out of their context.

The following section reveals how a 14 year old indigenous student, PJ (pseudonym), takes up subjectivities in his English classroom. Subjectivities are co-constituted in and through discourses and the material arrangements of settings, in this case the sociocultural context of a classroom. By placing his voice front and centre to explore his words, I look at the work that his language does to constitute the world. Rather than pinning down PJ's student identity as a rational, autonomous, choice-maker and his voice as essentialised and representational, I elect for a research approach where I ask him to tell his story of what happened when he gave a speech to his English class.

In this process I position PJ as an agent who can take up and act upon discourse as well as being constituted through it. During the lesson I recorded PJ's speech. This video footage was gathered in keeping with research ethics and had both PJ and his teacher's oral and written consent. The speech was not used in the research and PJ appeared happy to receive a CD of his speechmaking, despite his comment that he did not want to see himself speak. Ownership of the CD gave him a chance to view his speech if, where and with whom he wanted to. Rather than confining the voice of PJ the student to a cage of interpretation, PJ's voice is decentred through poetry. PJ's words juxtapose teen peer and research discourses and illustrate the discursive complexity of PJ's positioning with his peers.

> I wasn't shy because our class were acting all normal.
> [Acting] themselves.
> I usually go shy when other people talk and I don't want to get talked about.
> That puts me down.
>
> I was talking about 'Sonny Bill.'[1] I wasn't nervous or nothing.
> Just being myself. Just got up there with a lot of courage.
> My mates….They said "come on bro you are pretty cool."
>
> I haven't said a speech to the class. Cos sometimes I am too
> Shy to get up. Other people [made me get up]….
> I don't like seeing myself videoed. It's alright to video me
> But I just don't want to see it. I don't like the feeling. Shame.
> Cos I am not really like avoiding getting videoed.
> I don't mind being videoed but I don't want to see it.
> I wanted to [get up] because I can make the class laugh.
> [I liked] them laughing and listening.
> (PJ)

---

1 Sonny Bill Williams is a famous New Zealand rugby (league and union) player and heavy weight boxer.

There are a multiplicity of subjectivities in play at any one moment in this poem; speechmaker, research participant and one of the boys. This complexity underscores three particular discursive influences within the classroom at the time, English discipline discourse, teen peer discourse, and research discourse. Firstly, English discipline discourse frames the activity, which was speechmaking. PJ says that he has never stood before his peers to deliver a speech in class. Secondly, teen peer discourse is evident when he discusses the value of making his peers laugh, their influence on his shyness and the value of their encouragement. Thirdly, the camera is a discourse tool that reminds us all of the presence of research discourse and my position within our relationship as researcher. The camera footage provides an uncomfortable paradox, as something PJ does not want see, yet gives me permission to gather.

PJ's locatedness as 'one of the boys' speaks to the importance of peers, a notion that can be linked with whakawhānaungatanga (far–car-far-know-na-tounge-ah) which can be defined as the spirit of connection that comes with a sense of a family (whānau) and an understanding of the "ways by which people come into relationship with the world, with people, and with life" (Dyall et al., 2014, p. 62). As Metge (1990) points out the notion of whānau can be aligned with a series of rights, responsibilities, commitments, obligations and support networks that are fundamental to a community. Without peer support PJ may not have taken up English discipline discourse in this manner.

Manaakitanga, or an ethic of care (Macfarlane, 2010) was important to PJ in his position as one of the boys. This subjectivity was co-constituted in relation with his peers. PJ's spoke about being rejected by his peers and there was concern about his peers putting him down. He may have evoked peer disapproval and criticism if he pushed himself forward on his peers to make the speech, and he responded to their encouragement. "Come on bro…" Humour seemed to be a central element in this relationship if he was to gain acceptance as he could "make the class laugh".

There is danger in engaging in essentialising forms of research that assume truths about participants' worlds and perspectives and I see that voice work needs to be open to

plurality. As I have illustrated above, decentring voice enables us to see PJ's voice as complex, with multiple elements. Linda Smith (2005) draws our attention to the problematic of essentialism. In places like Aotearoa/New Zealand where "there is one indigenous group, known as Māori … [there is] one common language but multiple ways of defining themselves" (Smith, L., 2005, p. 114). Through engaging with Kaupapa Māori as a "dirty theory", the importance of establishing and maintaining "reciprocal relationships" (Hill & May, 2013, p. 48) is emphasised. Although I endeavour to think with Kaupapa Māori principles, I signal the complexity and peril of appropriating indigenous words as a New Zealander from a pakeha heritage. As a researcher, I strive to avoid essentialism, yet to foreground a spirit of indigenous self-determination in my work, I see a need to unravel the blanket approach to research that was my training. Non- indigenous researchers can take guidance from colleagues and engage purposefully with the growing body of "peripheral" scholarship as a contribution to the voices who speak back to the metropole.

Historical Evidence in the Academy and Indigenous Women's Life Histories

This second story relays of the experiences of a 1990s history postgraduate; recalling her early lessons about the complexities of the history discipline and, in particular, writing about forms of evidence. Students of history are taught that historical evidence is always under contest. Northern theories would suggest understanding this is an important stage in the ontological processes of historical thinking (Rüsen, 2005, Nye et al. 2011). Southern Indigenous perspectives of Australian history might hold similar views but argue that contestation of historical evidence is more likely to be about resistance against colonialism and oppression (Kwaymullina & Kwaymullina, 2013, p. 8) and giving voice where they have been previously silenced or erased (Jackomos & Fowell, 1991, p. 5). Kuokkanen (2008) has suggested than a collective Indigenous view is that "everything is alive, everything is related and everything is participatory" (p.62). In this section I reflect on a period of personal transformative learning more than two decades ago where these ideas found resonance. As a new postgraduate student, I first started questioning historical -thinking, education and practice in light of Australian History and indigenous women's texts. My goal was to move Indigenous

historical sources from the periphery in order to centre them at the core of history pedagogy.

To do this, I revisit the late 1980s and 1990s, a period of transition in the discipline of History. I was fascinated by the different ways of thinking about teaching history, notions of evidence and representations of indigenous Australians. At this time the scholars of the metropole were undergoing a transformation under the influence of interdisciplinary ways of thinking- in particular from sociology, the linguistic and cultural turns, critical theory and postmodernism. Crucial to the discipline narrative was the introduction of new fields of History such as social histories including Oral history, Women's History, 'History from Below', Indigenous and Postcolonial histories.

As sources of evidence for the discipline, a new (arguably southern) genre of literature was concurrently emerging. This included the indigenous life histories shared by women who told the story of their lives, their community and their land. These women were, as Zierott (2005) would acknowledge two decades later, pioneers in life history writing (p. 9). Kwaymullina and Kwaymullina (2013) cite a 'quiet revolution' in Aboriginal scholarship over fifty years (p. 1). In the texts the women positioned themselves as agentic authors through the projection of their stories as authentic lived experiences. Furthermore, they conveyed a sense of personal authority as purposeful keepers of history. Moreton-Robinson (2000) described them as representative of the 'collective memories of inter-generational relationships of Indigenous women … herstories' (p. 2).

The texts did not resemble typical historical resources of the time. They often included non-academic language and structure. The book *Just Lovely* for example "evolved from stories written without capitals or punctuation, on foolscap paper by a sixty year old woman who had never been to school" (Hamilton, 1989, p.6) Some books were self published (Woodrow, 1990; Hamilton, 1989), others published by new Aboriginal publishing houses such as Magabala Books (Ward, 1988) and Freemantle Arts Centre Press (Morgan, 1987; Nannup, 1992). There were small independent publishers; Mammoth (Mum Shirl, 1981) and the Alternative Publishing Cooperative (Clare, 1978) and occasionally texts were produced by larger publishing houses

such as Penguin (Langford, 1988). This period in publishing has been described as an "Aboriginal Renaissance" (Grossman, 2006, p.3).

As an emergent scholar, I was increasingly interested in the pedagogy of history education as well as historical thinking and practice. Yet I felt troubled by indigenous disempowerment and the legacy of colonialism and how it was represented in the history discipline. I was intrigued by these indigenous women's stories and the historical narratives so clearly embedded in them. They were compelling and different to any other texts on Australian indigenous history. In hindsight, these historical narratives are recognisably southern theory histories – firmly located on the periphery of the academy, publishing circles and writing conferences. They were autobiographical and drawn from lived experience and detailed the history of families, communities and government policies and practices. To appropriate Connell's notion of "linking theory to the ground to which the theorist/author's boots are firmly planted" (p206), these texts are located in communities and lands from which they were written.

These texts were personal, political and emancipatory. In 1985 Marnie Kennedy wrote:

This story was written with the hope that white people will know and understand the plight of my people. The terrible injustice and humiliation done over hundreds of years has taken its toll on my people and crushed them to pulp. (p.1)

Marjorie Woodrow aimed to publicise the reality of her experiences after she found that government files were filled with "terrible things I was supposed to have done" (1990, p.5). Exposing the truth of the oppressive past and how many people were forced to live was at the heart of many of these texts.

The following poem is an assemblage of voices that juxtapose the paternalistic words of the protectorate (italicised text) alongside the stories of the indigenous women. The legitimacy of the women's authorship is acknowledged in the following poem. Their voices are first.

They promised us lollies and socks and shoes
(Cummings, 1990, p.103)
I thought I'd only be gone a while
I could hear their wailing for miles and miles (Morgan,
1989, p.332)
She still had her apron on, and she must have run
the whole one and a half miles (Tucker, 1994, 92-94).

I tried to teach my language
I spoke it freely
I spoke it well
I was punished every time. (Woodrow, 1990, p. 21)

This story is true
It did happen and
I was part of it. (Kennedy, 1985, p.1)

It may seem drastic
If those girls are to be rescued
From camp life
[It is] the rock upon which
[Their] lives are wrecked (Henderson, 1909, cited in
Fletcher, 1989, p. 111).

These powerful texts written by indigenous women deserved to be more than minor footnotes or afterthoughts of history education. It was imperative to interrogate why students of Australian history were not asked to query the hegemonic nature and imbalances of the discipline. As a form of resistance, I wrote a Master of Letters (M.Litt) research thesis to argue that women's life histories could contribute to the scholarship of Australian History (Anderson, 1996). The thesis sought to raise the profile of the indigenous women's stories to challenge the notion of what constitutes historical evidence. To demonstrate this I focused on the history of education and the removal of indigenous children from their families as described by the women authors. In particular, I explored how they storied policy development, education, acts of child removal and finally the impact of these on communities and individuals.

At the time this was not necessarily a new or original idea, rather it built on a growing voice on the periphery of academia (Gilbert, 1972, Shoemaker, 1989). The unrepresented, the

hidden, the silenced, the downtrodden and what we would refer now as the 'southern histories' were progressively becoming more visible in the academy. In other colonised societies and landscapes such as Latin America, Canada and the United States, a similar movement foregrounding Indigenous and other disempowered voices had begun and was gaining recognition (Quijano, 1998; Hayden, 1995; Walsh, 1987, Faderman and Bradshaw, 1969). I advocated for the privileging of Indigenous voice across the discipline. Certainly the teaching of Australian History and in particular, Indigenous history, now includes numerous major works by Indigenous authors, although much more could be promoted.

In retrospect, the notion of a northern and southern theory resonates with my early discomfort about the silencing and marginalisation of voices in that period. Connell (2007) alerts us to the importance of contesting a privileged minority's "control of the field of knowledge" (p. 231) and highlights the need for us as researchers to translate and disrupt the knowledge hierarchies in the academy. Just as Harraway (1988) desires a doctrine and practice of objectivity that privileges "contestation, deconstruction, passionate construction, webbed connection and hope for transformation of systems" (p.585), there was a desire to upturn and reinterpret the situated knowledges and vision that have shaped practices in History pedagogy. The vision, Harraway reminds her readers, is "*always* a question of power" (1988, p. 585). Accordingly, the urgency to play a part in the rupturing of the embedded vision from the uncertain but passionate postgraduate position was heartfelt.

The outcome of my research thesis in 1996 however was far less dramatic as I realised I was writing myself out of this disciplinary field. There was no place for a privileged white woman to analyse or to tell these stories. There was perhaps space enough for a historiographical analysis of the readings and some pedagogical comment but the slow erasure of my own researcher position was increasingly evident to me. I had constructed a narrative that would, by its very nature, distance itself from my academic position and deconstruct my commentator voice.

In revisiting this story through a southern theory lens, I argue that it is imperative to always question representations of

evidence of voice in post-colonial spaces. Although I completed my thesis in the 1990s, representational politics remain complex, multilayered and problematic. The uncomfortable lessons learnt at that time now occupy a professional tool box today. In my most recent research on historical evidence and the history discipline, I am reminded of the need for enduring critical reflection on the the ontological, epistemological and theorietcial mutliplicities that inhabit, what historians consititute as, evidence.

Community consent – permission giving
Reflecting on the process of making a historical documentary film, *My Grandmother's Country*, I raise questions about cultural protocols, ethics and the legal obligation for film production. These elements become problematic and ambiguous in regard to the representation of Aboriginal voices and images in film. I locate myself as a research with a multiplicity of positions . My subjectivities include positions as a Aboriginal filmmaker, academic and family/community person. These positions can be fraught as there are constant conflicts that surface through my associated decision-making.

As a PhD student researching my family and community history I sought after different ways of making my research data accessible to Aboriginal people. This meant changing how I conducted oral histories by first acknowledging that as Aboriginal people we are traditionally oral societies who have practiced oral history for millennia, but we often take oral history for granted because we live it every day, it is a part of who we are, where we come from, where it is that we belong and who we are related to. In essence oral history is living stories. I then experimented with different ways of representing Aboriginal people's voice, stories, memories and experiences in print form such as free verse poetry and 'what was particularly appealing about the use of free verse for my purpose was that it breaks with written grammar and it does not force oral speech patterns into written prose' (Barker, 2010, p.192). That is free verse permitted the use of Aboriginal English so that the written form looked and sounded like how Aboriginal people speak. I then began to explore filmmaking as another way of not only presenting my research but also a way of capturing the culture and history of my community. All three mediums: oral history, free verse poetry and filmmaking makes research data more

accessible to Aboriginal people because it is recorded in the mediums that they use and understand.

Since the 1980s there has been a significant contribution to the field of cultural protocols relating to research involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (MacInolty and Duffy, 1987; Janke and Guivarra, 2006; Johnson, 2001). From this research corpus core values and principles have emerged that govern ethical research conducted in Aboriginal communities. My discussion focuses on three key principles and limitations experienced during the production of the short documentary film, *My Grandmother's Country.* These limitations also pertain to other filmmakers entering Aboriginal communities to capture Aboriginal content. The key principles of the cultural protocols include: benefit to the community, community permission sought, and involvement of the community at all stages of the filmmaking process (Rolls, 2003). However, as Frances Peters-Little (2003) points out, these stringent guidelines are problematic for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal filmmakers and their crews because "[d]efining *what* benefits a community is not straightforward …' (Peters-Little, 2003, p.4). Equally, she notes it can be an issue to decide *who* is the community and *how* they should benefit.

Throughout the production and post-production of *My Grandmother's Country,* there was ambiguous support from organisations and individuals. By this I mean that I experienced mixed-messages when I sought verbal permission from Elders. In particular, I sometimes observed hesitation to provide written consent for the use of voices and images of family members. While some Aboriginal and mainstream organisations provided written support for the film, others failed to reply and there were those who questioned the credibility of my positioning as a filmmaker, academic and a young family/community member. They cautioned me to be culturally respectful and sensitive in the way in which I represented individual and collective images, voices and stories. One Elder thought to remind me that, "these are our old people, be careful and do the right thing."

As the writer/researcher of the documentary, *Tent Embassy* (1992), screened as part of the ABC True Story series, Frances Peters-Little (2002), recalls the myriad of difficulties she encountered during the pre-production,

especially when interviewing key players. She explains how a *Tent Embassy* representative was willing to be interviewed but was adamant that she "could record the interview sound only" and that he had requested that there was no reference to his name (Peters-Little, 2002, p. 50). Peters-Little also interviewed a high profile activist, pointing out how he became "the first in a long line of interviewees to warn me that I would need to get the story 'right'" (p. 51). More recently, filmmaker Rachel Perkins was questioned by an Elder, who was a key player and activist in the original Freedom Rides, alongside her late father, Charles Perkins. Perkins was questioned about whether she had invited key players and their descendants to be a part of the re-enactment of the Freedom Rides to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary in February 2015. Perkins was forced to make a public statement to clarify matters in a private conversation with the individual concerned and this was set out in writing to the First Nations Telegraph (Perkins, 2015). It would seem that community members are the first to question the integrity of a filmmaker or an event such as the re-enactment of the Freedom Rides, especially if there is a hint that Aboriginal filmmakers are being "too political or too different" (Peters-Little, p.44).

The following demonstrates my reflective process during the post-production stage of a film where I researched my grandmother's story of removal from country. As a historian, I collated documentary evidence, for instance letters, policy documents, archival photographs, audio sound recordings taken in the 1960s and 1970s that provide accounts of the dislocation and forced removal of the Wangkumara people.

The Northern Theory of filmmaking influenced my production process. This was evident in the film footage taken of family members and Elders in the grounds of the Old Brewarrina Mission, which reminds me of some of the haunting and expressionless photographs of Aboriginal peoples taken by Norman Tindale and other 1930s researchers and administrators (Norman B. Tindale Collection, 1938-39, SA Museum). This footage I have taken has the same framing as Tindale's work, but in this scene the individuals are active participants, or so I thought. Perhaps this was my way of convincing myself during the filmmshoot

that my participants were relaxed and looked more like a group of family members who were comfortable and willing participants in my film. Viewing this structured image on the screen and as part of the film makes me feel uneasy and uncomfortable that I allowed the staging and sterilising to happen again to Elders and family members. My decisions on the day were based on a prescriptive filmmaking process that sets up a scene to get specific answers. The production crew, particularly the Aboriginal cameraman and producer also influenced the construction of this image because of the time of day, available light and our production schedule.

As a documentary filmmaker I go in search of my preconceived answers. I reconstruct history. It is here that my other position, as family member and oral historian can come to the fore where I take control in calling the shots. I am mindful that the shot I set up will determine the stories I get from participants. More importantly, I need to prioritise what is appropriate for my family and community members. In the scene above the camera dictated what happened. However, from a 'southern' perspective that focuses on community filmmaking, the camera follows events and the stories, images and voices collected relate more closely to oral history methods and practices (L. Szabo, personal communication, 15 September, 2014). It imitates the way in which oral histories are shared from one generation to the next. This is an example of centring southern theory by taking aspects of metropolitan filmmaking processes and reconstructing them as a response to different situations and for different purposes.

There were tough editorial decisions to be made. In order to stay true to the stories and script and the time constraints of a short ten minute film documentary, footage containing historical content were selected and discarded on the cutting room floor. It was during the post-production stage that I began to feel uncomfortable, anxious and concerned about the representation and exclusion of three women Elders. I was mindful of how these decisions could impact on my relationship with participants and community/family members. The documentary release forms (informed consent) gave me as the director the power to edit the story. However, these release forms are "often not worth the paper they are written on" (Peters-Little, 2002, p.2). Peters-Little cautions that, once signed, they are a legally binding agreement

that can potentially cause conflicts and misunderstandings between the filmmaker and participants, especially if the "release forms give the [participants] the impression that they can control" the way in which their images, voices and stories are represented on film (p.3).

It was painstaking decision to risk breaking cultural tenets by removing footage of these Elders. I wrestled this decision over with the editor in an attempt to convince myself that it was in the best interest of the film and the story. I was grateful for the way that the women Elders took time out of their day to welcome the cast and crew of *My Grandmother's Country*. Without their presence and stories our experience at the Old Mission may have been different and spiritually unsettling. In saying that, however, I made no promises about who would be included in the film or unfortunately edited-out of the fine cut stage. A conflict of interest, as a filmmaker this was standard and appropriate practice.

Community politics and family indifference was the underlining reason that I thought it best to remove the footage of one of the Elders. As difficult as it was, the intention here was to protect the film from any potential embargoes now and in the future, and to prevent anyone from obtaining ultimate 'power' and decision making over the editing, promotion and release of the film. As an Aboriginal researcher/filmmaker, a family member and an insider to my community, I have to live with the possibility of offending this woman. I risk ostracism for not respecting the cultural protocols of reciprocity and respect. There is an unwritten understanding in the community that people who give up their time expect to be included in the final film. Including everyone's oral history and image is not only challenging but problematic (Smith, 1999, p. 137; Peters-Little, 2003, p. 4).

Oral histories evoke the protocol of wider involvement and I use poetry as an artform that is accessible to my community. It contextualises the stories and avoids unnecessary subtitles in community filmmaking. The following poem was generated from a telephone conversation and version of this poem also appears in Chapter 8 of my thesis (Barker, 2014 pp. 260-1). In it I explain how my grandmother, Amy Elwood learned to read and write by 'playing schools'.

I didn't learn anythin'
Tah tell yah the truth
Taught ourselves
Tah read an' write
Picked-up comics
Jam tins
Camp pie tins
Someone'd tell us the word
Then we'd repeat it
Over an'
Over again
Then we'd spell it
An' read it 'loud
The older ones
Would tell us how tah spell
Over an' over
'til we got it (Amy Elwood, pers.comm, 2010)

The poem reveals how as a result of the forced removal of her people my grandmother's education suffered. The free verse poetry captures how I hear someone speaking and it permits the use of Aboriginal English- trying to stay true to an indigenous voice and Indigenous oral history within the Global South. Although I see it as essential that filmmakers adhere to the cultural protocols of consulting with community, obtaining their support, and being inclusive, respectful and sensitive, the application of these tenets also have the extraordinary power to block the production of films. It would seem that the ethical guidelines for conducting research with Aboriginal communities are influenced by the metropole. Therefore, it is important to examine these same guidelines through a southern theory lens. One needs not simply adhere to them, but rather to engage and question the effectiveness of such principles (Rolls, 2003; Peters-Little, 2003). Metropolitan ethical processes, well meaning as they are, may paradoxically inhibit Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research.

Discussing the tensions
A simplistic treatment of voice has long been contested (Orner, 1992; Mazzei & Jackson, 2012; Groundwater-Smith & Mockler, 2014). The fullness of voice escapes "easy classification" (Mazzei and Jackson, 2009, p. 4) and as researchers we should "seek the messy, opaque, polyphonic; a voice that exceeds easy knowing

and quick understanding" (Mazzei, 2009, p. 50). Through demonstrating multiple ways of engaging in research settings, we trouble the notion of an uncomplicated representation of voices that seek this homogenisation. As Louis (2007), a Hawaiian researcher, points out

> [I]ndigenous knowledge systems are poly-rhetorical, contextually based, and rooted in a specific place and time. For Indigenous communities, their oral histories, narratives, and spiritual practices and rituals are important avenues for knowledge transmission. They contain numerous nuances that only certain community members are privileged to understand. Attempting to decipher this rich code and to represent it adequately requires that the researcher becomes an advocate of the Indigenous knowledge system and at the very least incorporates the 'Indigenous voice' in their work. (p. 134)

In a move to engage with a problematic conception of indigenous voices we recognise that any perspectives gathered through research can only ever be partial, fragmented and crystalline and do not necessarily present a 'true' picture when interpreted by the researcher or the reader (Wright, Lloyd, Suchet-Pearson, Burarrwanga, Tofa & Country, 2012). Although we take up Mazzei's (2009) call to give up on the "promise of voice" as "truth, fixity, knowledge, and authenticity" (p.47), we do not give up on voice work. In particular we highlight the importance of the 'politics of voice'. Through dirty theory we ensure that voice is not taken as representative and totalising /universalising. Voice work that homoginises groups of people can be seen as "epistemic ignorance" as the "academic practices and discourses that enable the continued exclusion of other than dominant Western epistemic and intellectual traditions" (Kuokkanen 2008, p. 60). Kuokkanen (2008) cautions us that any engagement with indigenous voices must seek to build an understanding of "ontologies, philosophies and presuppositions or conceptual frameworks through which one looks at and interprets the world" (p. 62).

Although we are advocates of "dirty theory," we recognise that our researcher positions are fraught as we engage with voices in the field. Each of us comes to this proposal from

individual perspectives as academics, an Indigenous woman, a white Australian, and white New Zealander (pakeha). Although we name our positionality we are conscious that our subjectivities reflect a multiplicity of voices. We theorise our research experiences in relation to southern theory as embodied anthropology (Esteban, 2001) where we look at our own learning. Connell (2007) conceptualises "dirty theory" as a localised response to important questions "[t]hat includes multiplying the local sources of our thinking..." (p. 207). "Dirty theory" furnishes a useful frame with which to foreground particular issues in our research contexts.

Southern Theory
The western machine that is the academy perpetuates northern power structures and knowledge hierarchies and we, as participant academics, find that through our work practices, we are often complicit in the process. We are laden with professional tools that by their very nature are part of the northern research hierarchy. We ask therefore; how can we make authentic and empowered space in our higher education pedagogy, ontology and epistemology for representations of the south that are not engulfed or consumed by the north.

Connell (2007) constructs a typology of northern theory, citing four elements being: the claim of universality; reading from the centre; gestures of exclusion; and grand erasure. While we do not explore these characteristics in depth in this article, we wonder about the claim that all northern theories have pretensions to universality. In her commentary on the northerness of general theory, Connell highlights that "there is as strong and repeated claim to universal relevance [where] the very idea of theory involves talking in universals. It is assumed that all societies are knowable, and that they are knowable in the same way and from the same point of view" (Connell, 2007, p. 44). Hence, while we acknowledge the important place that southern theory has, we are cautious not to assume universality for all northern theories.

Connell observes that Australians have contributed to "sociological theory, not as peripheral consumers of the metropole's output but as participants in metropolitan debates" (p. 84). In her tracking of social science as a discipline in Australia, Connell critiques the historical mix of north and

south theories where "[t]he result was a hybrid structure of knowledge in the new discipline, where Australian sociologists combined metropolitan theory and methodology with local data and audiences" (Connell, 2007, p. 82). In her discussion on the problematic hybridisation of southern and northern theories she argues that they purely serve the interests of the metropole as the dissemination of this work takes place in the metropole. Regardless of the locatedness of southern-based research as "dirty theory" (Connell, 2007, p. 206), the results are published in 'northern' journals replicating metropolitan norms and conventions. Therefore there is a sustained focus on metropolitan literature (Connell, 2007, p. 84). As a way forward Connell argues that the Australian context is a "spectrum of *possibilities* inherent in the geopolitical situation of a rich peripheral country and the history of settler colonialism" (Connell, 2007, p. 85).

Through the process of collaborative writing, we reoriented ourselves from the taken-for-granted northern metropolitan position to draw on southern perspectives. We have made a conscious effort to engage with southern scholarship, although this is an ongoing challenge with the weight of our northern baggage. The gathering and dissemination of voice in research, as we have alluded to above, should not be conducted without substantive engagement with the embedded power relations inherent in this act.

Discussion- Weaving it together

We acknowledge and admire the way that Connell (2007) brings to the fore theories and perspectives of the periphery. She describes erasure when the metropole refuses to contextualise itself and embark on any form of self reflective historicism. We trouble Connell's assertion that in rethinking the world of social science, we need to engage with a sense of "truthfulness" (p. 227) in order to achieve a "principle of unification" (p. 223). Although we also aspire to this social justice ontology, we are cautious about constructing false utopias.

We wonder about geospatial politics inherent in Connell's attempt to simplify knowledge production, in particular, that we can simply bring the south to the centre. In our thinking the historiography of the social sciences is not malleable in this way and theories are not cumulative, although they do respond

to and generate from each other. Connell's call to shift theories from periphery to legitimate them could inevitably conceal, reveal, or even create other fringe dwellers. Although this sounds like a Darwinian view of knowledge hierarchies, these power relations have been evident throughout history. Furthermore, Connell (2007) constructs a grand narrative of social science when she highlights the important role that research plays in theory building. She writes that the "permanent revolution in social science based on the empirical dimension in the collective learning process" is founded on a sense that "errors and distortions" can be mapped and credibility assigned to research based theories (Connell, 2007, p. 224). This empirical notion, that research outcomes can be legitimised and verified, is counterintuitive to a pluralistic understanding that knowledge is inherently contestable.

Connell articulates "dirty theory" as a located place-based research epistemology where the "theorist's boots are [firmly] planted (p. 206)... [and] [o]ur interest as researchers is to maximise the wealth of materials that are drawn into the analysis and explanation... [where we] multiply, rather than slim down, the theoretical ideas that we have to work with" (p. 207). We locate "dirty theory" outside of the metropolitan metanarrative of social science where there corrigibility and a focus on scientism as progress through mapping errors and distortions. With its origins in objectivism, this scientism prioritises "rationality, progress and the growth and accumulation of Knowledge" (Lather, 2005, p. 3). We conceive of "dirty theory," evidenced in our poetic representations, as a purposeful ontology that sits alongside others in an eclectic "proliferation" and a "wild profusion" (Lather, 2006, p. 35). This plethora can be seen in the multiplicity of voices within this text.

While we are not trying to assert a blanket model for indigenous contexts, we share our ways of working with voices. These voices are considered to be on the periphery due to their youth, their disconnection from the academy or their locatedness as perpetual subjects of the metropole-data-field, the researched. We present voice as 'data poems' that take power dynamics into consideration. These voices can be seen as unstable, multiple and nuanced by discursive positioning. Though presenting a range of voices: a student, PJ; a group of indigenous women authors; and those in a rural indigenous

community, we have sought to signal the multiple vibrations of stories, experience and memories. Rather than reduce complicated and conflicting voices to analytical "chunks" that can be interpreted free of context and circumstance", our poetic voice work takes up "dirty theory" to explore voices in our research contexts (Mazzei & Jackson, 2012, p. 745). Through this work we emphasise that researcher positioning can be inherently problematic.

Conclusion

Through our consideration of southern theory in classroom research, indigenous women's life histories and the politics of working with community, we both support existing critiques of the ethnosociology of the metropole (Reed, 2013) and offer considerations for 'doing' southern theory work. The researcher is always located: as expert academic; novice researcher; student; indigenous; non indigenous; outsider and insider; authority; fraud; young person; or elder. This influences what we produce and how we work with voice data-changing and adapting our approaches to our circumstances and groups. We contribute to the debates on how southern theory can influence education and unsettle knowledge hierarchies in a sensitive and culturally responsive manner. Although we cannot escape our personal positions and institutional cultures we work in, we can make space for alternative voices. We highlight the importance of "peripheral" scholarship that seeks to engage with dirty theories to guide fieldwork and speak back to the metropole.

References

Anderson (Nye), A. (1996). *Indigenous Women's Oral Narrative: a vital historical source*, Unpublished Master of Letters Thesis, University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia

Anderson, G. M. (2015). Ghillar's freedom ride comments. *First Nations Telegraph*, 10 January p. 1.

Barker, L.L. (2014). *Ngarraka Yaan: A Murdi history of Weilmoringle* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of New England, Armidale.

Bostock, L. (1997). *The greater perspective: Protocol and guidelines for the production of film and television on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities*, 2nd ed, SBS, Sydney.

Clare, M. (1978). *Karabran: The story of an Aboriginal girl.* Chippendale, Australia: Alternative Publishing Cooperative Ltd.

Clark, M. (2003). Mudrooroo: A likely story. Identity and belonging in postcolonial Australia (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). University of Wollongong, NSW.

http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1189&context=theses

Cohen, P., & Somerville, M. (1990). *Ingelba and the five black matriarchs.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Connell, R (2007). *Southern theory. The global dynamics if knowledge in social science.* Crows Nest, Australia: Allen & Unwin

Davis, J., Meucke, S., Narogin, M., & Shoemaker, A. (Eds.), (1990). *Paperbark: A collection of black Australian writings.* St Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press.

Despagne, C. (2013). Indigenous Education in Mexico: Indigenous students' voices, diaspora. *Indigenous, and Minority Education: Studies of Migration, Integration, Equity, and Cultural Survival, 7*(2), 114-129, DOI: 10.1080/15595692.2013.763789

Dyall, L., Kepa, M., Teh, R., Mules, R., Moyes, S. A., Wham, C., Kerse, N. (2014). Cultural and social factors and quality of life of Maori in advanced age. Te puawaitanga o ngā tapuwae kia ora tonu - Life and living in advanced age: a cohort study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ). *New Zealand Medical Journal, 127*(1393), 62-79.

Esteban, M. L. (2004). Antropología encarnada. Antropología desde una misma. Papeles del CEIC. *International Journal on Collective Identity Research, 12,* 1-21.

Faderman, L., & Bradshaw, B. (Eds.). (1969). *Speaking for ourselves.* Glenview, Il: Scott, Foresman and Company.

Fletcher, J.J. (1998). *Documents in the History of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales,* Sydney: Southwood Press Pty Ltd.

Gilbert, K. (1973). *Living black: Blacks talk to Kevin Gilbert.* Middlesex: Hammondsworth.

Ginsburg, F. and Myers, F. (2006). 'A history of indigenous futures: accounting for indigenous art and media'. *Aboriginal History, 30,* 95-110.

Grossman, M. (Ed.). (2006). *Blacklines: Contemporary critical writings by Indigenous Australians.* Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

Hamilton, J. (1989). *Just Lovely.* Maryborough, Australia: Australian Print Group.

Harraway, D.(1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial knowledge, *Feminist Studies, 14(3), 575-599.*

Harraway, D. (1991). *Simians, cyborgs and women.* New York: Routledge.

Hill, R. & May, S. (2013). Non-indigenous researchers in indigenous language education: ethical implications. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 219*, 47-65

Hobshawm, E. (1964). Labouring men: Studies in the history of labour. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson.

Huggins, J. (1993). Always was always will be. *Australian Historical Studies, 25,* 100, 459-64.

Janke, T. (2009). *Pathways and protocols: A filmmaker's guide to working with Indigenous people, culture and concepts.* Sydney: Screen Australia.

Janke, T. & Guivarra, N, (2006). *Listen, learn and respect: Indigenous cultural protocols and radio.* Written under commission for the Australian Film Television and Radio School (AFTRS), Sydney.

Johnson, C. (1985). White forms, Aboriginal content. In J. Davies, & B. Hodge. (eds.), *Aboriginal writing today* (pp.21-33). Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Johnson, D. (2001). *SBS Indigenous Protocol*, Special Broadcasting Service, Retrieved October 20, 2016, from http://www.sbs.com.au/sbsi/documentary.html

Jackomos, A. and Fowell, D. (1991). *Living Aboriginal history of Victoria.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Kennedy, M. (1985). *Born a half-caste. Canberra,* Australia: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Kuokkanen, R. (2008). 'What is hospitality in the academy? Epistemic ignorance and the (im)possible gift'. *The review of education, pedagogy, and cultural studies, 30*(1), 60–82.

Kwaymullina, A. and Kwaymullina, B. (2013). Living texts: A perspective on published sources. Indigenous research methodologies and indigenous worldviews. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies,* 6(1), 1-13.

Lang, J. (2011). Epistemologies of situated knowledges: 'Troubling' knowledge in philosophy of education. *Educational Theory, 61* (1), pp. 75–96. DOI: 10.1111/j.1741-5446.2011.00392

Lather, P. (2005). Scientism and Scientificity in the Rage for Accountability: A Feminist Deconstruction. Paper presented at the First International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry, May 5-7, 2005, Champaign Illinois

Lather, P. (2006). Paradigm proliferation as a good thing to think with: teaching research in education as a wild profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 19*(1), 35–57. DOI: 10.1080/09518390500450144

Little Nyoongah, J. (1994). "Talking with Ruby Langford Ginibi' (Interview) *Hecate, 20*, 1.

Louis, R. (2007). Can you hear us now? Voices from the margin: Using Indigenous methodologies in geographic research. *Geographical Research, 45*(2), 130–139. DOI:10.1111/j.1745-5871.2007.00443.x Retrieved from http://www.humansciences.mq.edu.au/documents/Indigenous_methodolgies.pdf

Macfarlane, A. (2010). An educultural approach to classroom management: Integrating body, mind and heart. *New Zealand Physical Educator, 43*(1), 7-11.

Macintyre, S., & Clark, A. (2003). *The history wars.* Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

Marcus, G., & Fischer, M. (1986). *Anthropology as cultural critique: An experimental moment in the human sciences.* Chicago, Il: University of Chicago Press.

Mazzei, L. (2009). An impossibly full voice. In A. Jackson & L. Mazzei, (Eds.), *Voice in qualitative inquiry: Challenging conventional, interpretive, and critical conceptions in qualitative research* (pp. 45-62). London, UK: Routledge.

Mazzei, L., & Jackson, A. (2009). Introduction. The limit of voice. In A. Jackson & L. Mazzei, (Eds.), *Voice in qualitative inquiry: Challenging conventional, interpretive, and critical conceptions in qualitative research* (pp. 1-15). London, UK: Routledge.

Mazzei L., & Jackson, A. (*2012). Complicating voice in a refusal to "let participants speak for themselves." Qualitative Inquiry, 18, 745-751.* DOI: 10.1177/1077800412453017

Mazzei, L., & Jackson, A. (2013). Plugging one text into another: Thinking with theory in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 19*(4), 261-271. doi: 10.1177/1077800412471510

Mackinolty, C., & Duffy, M. (1987). *Guess who's coming to dinner in Arnhem Land.* Darwin, Australia: Research and Communications Branch, Northern Land Council.

Mellor, D., & Janke, T. (2001). *Valuing art: Respecting culture – Protocols for working with the Australian indigenous visual arts and craft sector*, written under commission for the National Association for the Visual Arts (NAVA).

Metge, J. (1990). Te rito o te harakeke: Conceptions of the Whãnau. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 99*, 55–91.

Morgan, S. (1989). *My Place.* South Freemantle, WA: Freemantle Arts Centre Press

Nannup, A. (1992). *When The pelican laughed.* South Freemantle, WA: Freemantle Arts Centre Press,

Narogin, M. (1990) *Writing from the Fringe: A Study of modern Australian literature*, Sth Melbourne, Vic: Hyland House

Nelson, E. (2017). Re-thinking power in student voice as games of truth: dealing/playing your hand. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 25*(2), 181-194. DOI:10.1080/14681366.2016.1238839

Nye, A. & Hughes-Warrington, M., Roe, J., Russell, P., Deacon, D. & Kiem, P. (2011). Exploring Historical Thinking and Agency with Undergraduate History Students. *Studies in Higher Education,* 36(7), 763-780. DOI:10.1080/03075071003759045

Nye, A., Amazan, R., & Charteris, J. (2017). Prudentia as becoming-shame: knowledge production in Southern Theory research Practice. *Reflective Practice, 18*(1), 81-93. DOI:10.1080/14623943.2016.1251411

Orner, M. (1992). Interrupting calls for student voice in "liberatory" Education: A feminist poststructuralist perspective. In C. Luke & J. Gore (Eds.), *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy* (pp. 74–89). New York, NY: Routledge.

Perkins, R. (2015). 'Rachel's freedom ride response'. *First Nations Telegraph*, 7 January, pp. 1-2.

Peters-Little, F. (2003). 'Nobles and savages' on the television [online]. *Aboriginal History*, 27, 16-38. Availability: http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=821868189194324;res=IELAPA, [cited 20 Jan 15].

Peters-Little, F. (2003). Response to Mitchell Rolls essay 'Why I don't want to be an 'Ethical Researcher: A polemical paper, Part I & II, *Australian Humanities Review,* 1-2. http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/emuse/ethics/peterslittle2.html

Peters-Little, F. (2002). 'Yet another end of another Aboriginal filmmaker's journey': a personal account of Aboriginal documentary filmmaking in the ABC. *Hecate*, 8(1), 42-56. Availability: http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=200207591;res=IELAPA, [cited 20 Jan 15].

Peters-Little, F. (2001). The community game: Aboriginal self definition at the local level. In F. Morphy, & W.G. Sanders (Eds.), *The Indigenous Welfare Economy and the CDEP Scheme (*pp. 187-192). Canberra, Australia: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU Press.

Quijona, A. (1999). "Colonialidad ymodernidad / racionalidad." Perú indígena, 13(29). Translated as "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality." In Therborn, G. (Ed.), *Globalizations and Modernities* (pp: 137-148). Stockholm, Sweden: Forksningsradnamnden.

Reed, I. A. (2013). Theoretical labors necessary for a global sociology: Critique of Raewyn Connell's Southern Theory. In J. Go (ed.), *Decentering social theory* (pp. 157-171). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Rolls, M. (2003). Why I don't want to be an 'ethical researcher: A polemical paper, Part I, *Australian Humanities Review*, pp. 1-5. 2003http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-Jan-2003/rolls1.html

Rüsen, J. (2012). Tradition: A principle of historical sense generation and its logic and effect in historical culture. *History and Theory*, 51, 45-59.

Shoemaker, A. (1992). *Black words white page: Aboriginal literature 1929-1988.* St Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press.

Smith, G, H. (2010). Interview kaupapa Māori: The dangers of domestication. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 47*(2), 10-20.

Takayama, K., Heimans, S., Amazan, R., & Maniam, V. (2016). Doing Southern Theory: Towards alternative knowledges and knowledge practices in/for education. Special issue editorial introduction. *Postcolonial Directions in Education, 5*(1), 1-25.

Thompson, E. P. (1965). *The making of the English working class.* London: Gollancz.

Tucker, M. (1994). *If anyone cared: Autobiography of Margaret Tucker. MBE*, Sydney: Ure Smith.

Walsh, C. (1987). Language, meaning and Voice: Puerto Rico students struggle for a speaking consciousness. *Language Arts*, 64, 196-206.

Woodrow, M. (1990). *One of the lost generation.* Dubbo, Australia: Claude Smith Printers.

Wright, S., Lloyd, K., Suchet-Pearson, S., Burarrwanga, L., Tofa, M., & Country, B. (2012). Telling stories in, through and with Country: engaging with Indigenous and more-than-human methodologies at Bawaka NE Australia. *Journal of Cultural Geography, 29*(1), 39-60. DOI:10.1080 /08873631.2012.646890

Youdell, D. (2011). *School Trouble: identity, power and politics in education.* Dordrecht: Springer.

CONFERENCE REPORTS
'Decolonial connections. Practices recreating conviviality' University of Verona, Italy 19-21 May, 2016

Rosanna Cima
University of Verona

We daily experience forms of encounter and conviviality offering resistance to the regime of individualism and engaging differences, without smothering them. A conference was carried out last year to provide a forum for sharing experiences of life trajectories, creative processes and work experiences in this regard. Titled 'Connessioni Decoloniali. Pratiche che ricreano convivenza' (Decolonial connections. Practices that recreate conviviality), the conference was held at the University of Verona on the 19th , 20th e 21st May 2016.

This conference resulted from the desire to generate encounters and dialogues concerning Italian and international realities. These realities emerged from the experiences encountered by the organizers (Maria Liva Alga, Rosanna Cima, Mariateresa Muraca) in their research and political action in different parts of Italy and the world.

The conference work revolved around three thematic discussion circles: *diaries, genealogies, self-ethnographies*; *care practices*; *shared participation in knowledge contruction*; *post-exotic artistic practices*; *communal convivial practices*.

Presenters included Mari Luz Esteban (Universidad del País Vasco) who focused on the self-ethnography of the body and the pedagogy of vulnerability discussed from a feminist standpoint. Chiara Zamboni (*Diotima*, women's philosophical community, University of Verona) and Elena Migliavacca (Casa di Ramia, Verona Municipal Council) underlined the theme of genealogies emerging from relations of trust and old and sacred itineraries.

The trans-cultural artistic collective Ideadestroyingmuros and Cristina Alga (CLAC Sea Ecomuseum, Palermo) proposed actions concerning the recuperation and construction of collective memories.

The theme of care was tackled by Antonietta Potente (Theology), François Fleury (Co-founder of Centre Appartenance Lausanne), Federica de Cordova (University of Verona) and the group Archivio vivo (sociali assistants e autonomous researchers). They highlighted forms of care that foregrounded the body and emotions. Claudio Falbo (Calabrian Centre for Solidarity), Alessandro Tolomelli (University of Bologna), CreArtEducAcción Comunitaria (Valencia), Paulo Freire Documentation Centre (Padova) e Zenaide Millan, Ivanete Mantelli e Lucimar Roman (Movement of Female Farmers -Brazil) dialogued around participatory practices and shared knowledge construction. Their presentations threw into relief the added value deriving from situated and embodied knowledge.

Presenters problematised eurocentric and economic oriented views of knowledge as they drew on other epistemologies in their search for standpoints from which to understand and contribute to transforming reality. These discussions were marked by a deepening of maieutic methods and processes of conscientisation intended to identify cracks through which efforts geared towards social change can be exerted. Art introduced the concept of the post-exotic. Decolonising colonial scenarios to create new imaginaries was at the heart of presentations by Emilia Guarino (Diaria Palermo), Suranga Katugampala (film director), Edla Eggert (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul - Brazil) and ideadestroyingmuros (transcultural artisitic collective). These presentations showed how subaltern material and instruments, deployed in artistic contexts, function as metaphors for diasporic living and shed light on cultural identities predicated on transnational solidarity networks. Art cuts across the postcolonial and processes of decolonization to provide a concrete post-exotic dimension with respect to the use of space, things and words, and developing social relations.

The discussion circle focusing on Communal and Convivial Practices addressed the following issues: How do these communal and convivial practices help deconstruct a naïve and ideologically driven vision of social coviviality? What alternatives

do they embody and offer with respect to an identity driven and exclusionary conception of community?

What participatory process do they promote within the socio-political contexts in which they are situated? How do they render differences generative? This theme was addressed by Abdoul Ndoye, Francesca Coltellacci and Domenico Maffeo (CasaLaboratorio FareComunità - Venice); Sokna Aissa Cisse and Serigne Babacar Mbow (Ndem NGO, Sénégal) and keurgumak (Valencia). Their discussions extended to address forms of co-living and conviviality grounded in political and mystic principles and plural organisational forms, geared towards the exploration of non individualistic forms of well being. This entailed a valorisation of non monetary forms of exchange and collective decision-making processes.

The May 2016 conference was preceded by two month long workshops involving groups and associations from Verona and its surrounding cities. Verona, in particular, was home to the *gaal*, collectively constructed in a process involving refugees living in the city, University of Verona students and the collective Ideadestroyingmuros. Made out of used women's clothes, together constituting a red and blue ensemble, the artistic installation was set up inside the University. The following excerpt is from the diary kept throughout the conference:

Many enter the dugout barefoot, one at a time. An embarkation brimming with lives recalls those who ride the waves of the Mediterranean losing these lives. Our roots hold us here - our roots in the sea, red signifying blood and blue signifying hope. Dresses of mothers and ancestors keep us together. It is perhaps this that keeps us connected.[1]

---

1 The relevant documentation is available at
: http://diarioconnessionidecoloniali.tumblr.com/, The photographic material is available at in: https://fotoevideoconnessionidecoloniali.tumblr.com/. Photographic and audio documentation credit due to ideadestroyingmuros. Soe of the presentations are available in the 2016 issue of the online journal *Per amore del mondo* and in issue No. 3 2016 of the journal *Interthesis*.

'The Cuban Educational System: Entanglements, Influences and Transfers.'
Report on a Workshop held in Havana, April 19 and 20, 2017, organized by the Instituto de Historia de Cuba, Havana and the Department of Economic and Social History of the University of Vienna.

Tobias Kriele
Mainz/Germany

It is common knowledge that the self-declared Socialist state that is Cuba has entered unchartered territories in education. There is little research, however, on the far-reaching international resonance of the Cuban educational system, with regard to relations with both the existing community of socialist states and with Asia, Africa and Latin America. On the 19th and 20th of April, 2017, a research workshop, 'The Cuban Educational System: Entanglements, Influences and Transfers', took place in Havana. Invitations to participate in this event were extended by the Cuban Institute of History (Instituto de Historia de Cuba) and the Austrian Science Funded research project 'Experts in Development' and 'Socialist Aid in the era of global competition between political systems West and East' (Project Leader: Berthold Unfried, Department of Economic and Social History, Vienna University).

The main task throughout this two-day event, comprising fourteen presentations in total, was, on the one hand, to comprehend the educational influences of the socialist countries on Cuba and, on the other, to trace the transnational effects of Cuban educational practices within the scope of "Cuban Internationalism" in countries of the Global South. Additionally, the activity was meant to create a space where researchers from Cuba and beyond could exchange ideas and insights emerging from state of the art research in their

areas of expertise and bring diverse perspectives to bear on the object of enquiry. In addition to presentations based on scientific research, various participants either shared first hand experiences or exclusive historic material with the audience. Scientific debate and personal exchanges took place 'cheek by jowl' at the heart of a one and a half days event involving around 50 interventions.

During his introductory speech, Rané Gonzales Barrios (Instituto de Historia, Havana) described the internationalist orientation as an essential feature of the Cuban independence movement from its very beginnings. In his manifesto of 10 October 1868, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes had already stressed the bond between the Cuban nation and all other peoples – a relationship which, according to González, is fundamental for Cuba's revolutionary self-concept, and remains relevant to the present day. More than 3,000 foreigners fought on the side of the insurgent *Mambises*, as the guerrilla soldiers were called who in the liberation wars between 1868 and 1898 fought the Spanish troops for Cuban independence. Three of them even managed to hold the highest generalship. González considered this historical background crucial to comprehend the politics of internationalism as Cuba's way of "paying a debt to humanity".

Nonetheless, the central concepts in the title of the workshop need to be questioned, argued Felipe Pérez Cruz (Universidad de las Ciencias Pedagógicas Enrique José Varona, Havana). The 'transfer' concept runs the risk of eurocentric distortion which is also embodied in the idea that "European socialism" provides the prototype for Cuban society, thus overlooking socialism's African, Asian or Latin American special forms. Pérez outlined the matrix of an investigative approach capable of capturing what lies at the heart of the transfer of knowledge processes from one context to another. At a historical-methodological level, a before-after-analysis is needed to foster a clear understanding of the state of education at the time of the Cuban revolution in 1959, one which takes into account educational concepts and praxis in the GDR and the Soviet Union. Perez indicated that, at least, in the Cuban case, local-made decisions which were meant to address endogenous problems, contradictions and debates were more relevant to the development of the educational system than ideas on education borrowed from foreign socialist countries.

The Cuban Literacy Programme certainly had an international impact. Luisa Yara Campos Gallardo (Museo Nacional de Alfabetización, Havana) provided, in her presentation of recent research results, insights into the hitherto little known participation of foreign activists in the Cuban Literacy Campaign of 1961. Campos stressed the symbolic significance of that group, even though its participation in absolute numbers was small - 260 internationalists in comparison with 268,160 Cuban literacy workers. According to Campos, there is no exogenous influence on contents or methods of the campaign to be observed. It is remarkable, however, that of the 26 nations involved, Spain, the USA and Mexico were represented by the largest contingents. Meanwhile the socialist countries remained substantially under-represented. For example, there was only one activist from the GDR, a citizen who acted from individual motives, and none from the Soviet Union. This situation led to interesting insights into the early phase of socialist cooperation with Cuba in the field of education.

Also referring to an early form of internationally oriented cooperation in education, Eugena Palomares Ferrales (IPU Tomás David Royo, Havana) focused on the *Escuela José Martí* in the east of the Cuban capital, where from 1961 onward, children from Africa, Asia and Latin America, many of them orphans of fallen fighters, were received first on an occasional basis and later in a more systematic manner. In Palomares' view, this school pioneered a programme of Cuban cooperation, with countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the field of education.

Tobias Kriele (Mainz) called for an understanding of the GDR's support to Cuba in the area of higher education in the 1960s. It was argued that it can be seen as an expression of a specific socialist form of globalization. The two countries established relationships in the area of education, particularly in higher education, some time before they did this on a diplomatic level. The initiative in the form of requests for guidance and practical support emanated from the Cuban side. Although the GDR also did pursue its particular interests by offering counseling and assistance, which on occasion would bring her into conflict with Cuban practice, the internal instructions for advisers to avoid their country being perceived as a colonial power ultimately prevailed. As Kriele showed, based on the

example of the GDR-advised foundation of the Cuban Workers' Faculties, the implementation process involved was conceived as a solution to concrete, local requirements and was strongly influenced by national, i.e. Cuban precursor institutions. This led Kriele to conclude that the newly-created educational establishments can be considered as being genuinely Cuban.

A contemporary witness, Juan Miguel Pantaleòn Fundora (Havana), delivered a report on the creation of the international scholarship program in the *Isla de la Juventud* (Isle of Youth). In 1977, the island's two first schools with a polytechnical orientation began to focus particularly on students from the People's Republic of Mozambique. The target group was extended to African, Asian and Latin American countries, raising the number of pupils, formed on the island, to 25,000 in 1990. Pantaleón described some of the pedagogical, political and administrative challenges for the Cuban decision-makers induced by the pupils' highly multicultural composition. Although classes were mainly taught in Spanish, the major concerns included not only to respect the pupils' national traditions, but also stressing them and, in some cases, making them known for the first time. Many of the top 10% alumni became representatives of the local *Intelligentsia* in their homelands. Pantaleón considered this as proof of the Cuban educational assistance programme's success.

The Cuban contribution to international cooperation with countries of the Global South in the area of education in the Isle of Youth was the topic of the PhD project of Dayana Murgua Méndez's (Instituto de Historia de Cuba, Havana) that she presented at the conference. Murguia observed that existing scientific knowledge of this educational program, which involved students from 40 nations, is still fragmentary. Her own research interest focuses on the role the Cuban educational practice on the Isle of Youth played in generating cultural values and national identities, considering the international relationships between Cuba and the students' countries of origin. Murguia argued that, since the causal correlations are mutual, the features of the international program, as part of the Cuban education system, need to be investigated. It was argued, during the ensuing debate, that the Isle of Youth-program has probably to be considered one of the most significant South-South-cooperation ventures in the area of

education. Drawing inspiration from this, the President of the Instituto de Historia de Cuba, González Barrios, announced a specific panel on the Youth Isle's educational programs to be included in the programme of the II International Symposium "Cuban Revolution. Genesis and historical development". This symposium is to be held from 24-26 October, 2017 in Havana.

Berthold Unfried (Vienna University) proposed viewing the development of "Cuban Internationalism" in three cycles. During the first cycle from 1959 to 1970, Cuba led the way for the *tricontinental* union of Asian, African and Latin American nations, all marginalized in the context of international power relations. During the second cycle, 1975 to 1990, Cuba's "internationalist" practice became integrated into the socialist world system and its particular division of labour. Unfried argued that this phase is marked by the flow of assessors, specialists, professionals and workforce from Cuba to Africa (especially to Angola), to and from the European socialist countries, and from foreign countries towards Cuba, with the epicenter being the Isle of Youth. Unfried pointed to a third cycle, starting in 1990 and persisting until toda. In this phase, Cuba exported services "to the mutual benefit" of the two countries involved. It proffered unilateral humanitarian emergency aid to other countries. Unfried considered "Cuban Internationalism", viewed in the context of the "Global History of Internationalisms", as being comparable with European socialist "International Solidarity" and "Socialist Aid" practices. Cuba, which conceived of itself as an "underdeveloped" country, designed its own "Cuban cycle of socialist development" which aimed at the integration of the marginalized countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America into the global historical process.

Case studies concerning the "internationalist" dispatching of personnel, in this case brigades of young Cuban undergraduate teachers (*destacamentos internacionalistas*) to Angola and Nicaragua were provided by Nancy Jiménez Rodriguez (Havana), author of a book on this topic, Ramón Cuétara López (Universidad de las Ciencias Pedagógicas Enrique José Varona, Havana) and Reinaldo Guido Castaño Spenglert (Havana).

During the research talk, the immense interest shown by the community of Cuban scholars in history of education topics became evident. There were repeated demands to

regard the history of the Cuban revolution as a process whose contradictions had to be highlighted. The event stimulated Cuban interest in the Cuban revolution's international resonance, thus potentially inspiring a more global historical approach to future research in the area. Institute director René González Barrios announced the forthcoming creation of an e-journal under the name of *República Universal.* It would serve to facilitate the international research community's access to recent scientific results on historical topics connected with Cuba, therefore linking national and international research on post-revolutionary Cuba. The intense debates during the workshop provide hope that Cuba, being an important actor in South-South international relations, could be a focal location of scientific analysis of these relations.

Biennial Conference of the Australian Association for Caribbean Studies

Anne Hickling-Hudson,
Queensland University of Technology, Australia.

The 12th conference of the Australian Association for Caribbean Studies (AACS) was hosted by the Australian National University in Canberra, from 9th to 11th February, 2017. The conference does not focus on education, but I am reporting on it in this journal because of the postcolonial ethos that characterises the meeting. It is an example of a gathering that investigates, discusses and celebrates the culture and society of the Caribbean as a postcolonial region.

The conferences attract scholars, researchers and artists from Australia, the Caribbean and other countries around the world. They afford an opportunity for both established scholars and early-career researchers to present their findings in a friendly and informal atmosphere. AACS conferences have been supported by several Australian universities which recognize their value in contributing to cross-cultural research, scholarship and cultural exchange.

The Australian Association for Caribbean Studies was founded in 1995 as an interdisciplinary group of academics, postgraduate students and others concerned with the Caribbean region. The first conference took place in Brisbane in 1995 and since then it has been held biennially at universities around Australia. The AACS conference is also noteworthy for its themes, which are richly productive in stimulating unusual ideas and approaches to thinking about Caribbean culture. The conferences follow a tradition of being excitingly interdisciplinary, reflected in papers on the natural sciences, the social sciences, literature, history, education, politics, geography, law, poetry, art, music and film. The 2017 theme

of the AACS conference was 'Interiors' (see website: <https://aacs2017.wordpress.com/theme/>).

2017 AACS conference theme: 'Interiors'

Presenters at AACS conferences are encouraged to think about how perspectives suggested by the theme might be expressed in their own research and writing. They may offer papers related to the theme, or go outside of the theme. In 2015, the Wollongong conference took as its theme "Land and Water", particularly apt in the venue of a coastal city. The Canberra conference, with its theme of 'Interiors', took place at the only inland site at which the AACS has held conferences, one in 2001 and another in 2017.

As the conference organisers observed about the 'Interiors' theme, every Caribbean country has its inner life. They started ideas rolling by inviting presenters to consider 'interiors' such as these:

- the geographical: the Caribbean's inland cities and regions
- the spatial: haciendas, homes, the urban, the countryside, theatre, plazas, old city centres, institutions
- the personal: biographies, literary representations of the self or the nation

Thus, presenters could consider material ranging from the geophysical character of the Caribbean, the perception of 'inland', the interior decoration and architecture of buildings, to the interior life of institutions including jails and mental hospitals. The theme could also relate to these ideas: "Literature scholars have a direct line to the study of interiors and interiority in fictional, dramatic, theatrical, poetic and autobiographical characterization. The writing of biography always involves a balance or struggle between the exterior and interior lives of the subject. This runs us quickly to the psychological interior of the individual Caribbean person, related to ideas of personhood, identity, 'inscape' (an idea counterbalancing that of 'landscape') and livity and I-nity. The interior life of the soul, religion and possession; the headspaces in which crimes are conceived; secrets and lies. These are just a few ideas…, all of them open to study using social science, historical, literary and natural science methods" (see <https://aacs2017.wordpress.com/theme/>).

The conference keynote speakers discussed the 'interiors' theme in a variety of ways, with the following papers on ethnobotany, politics, and poetry:

- *Perspectives on the Baobab's Guinea Tamarind Name in Tobago*: John Rashford, Professor of Anthropology at the College of Charleston, USA.
- *Captivity and Freedom in Guantánamo Bay, a Caribbean Site of Conscience*: Don E. Walicek Associate Professor of English and Linguistics, University of Puerto Rico.
- *Saltwater Trouble*: Dr. Angelique Nixon, lecturer at the Institute for Gender and Development Studies at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago.

Embodying the stimulating diversity of the conference were papers addressing the following categories:

Education and Identity:
Anne Hickling-Hudson, "Interiority and the Grenada Revolution, 1979-1983: A retrospective on educational change."
Kathleen Phillips-Lewis, "Global versus local in the construction of Caribbean identity."
Anabel Fernandez Santana, "Children of the new man: Collective identities and cultural consumption in Havana youth."

History and Biography
Diane Austin-Broos, "Willis Ogilvy Isaacs: A life."
Kit Candlin, "Deep Inside the Fedon Rebellion: Grenada 1795."
Justine K. Collins, "The transplantation of Common Law in the British West Indies and the reverberations thereof, 1700-1900."
Kathleen E. A. Monteith, "The coffee planters: Their residency, status and demographic profile in early nineteenth century plantation Jamaica."

Literature and Language
Caryn Rae Adams, "Uncomfortable truths: Fictional autobiography as narrative resistance in *A Brief History of Seven Killings*."

Anne Collett, "Claude McKay's Desolate City."

Ben Etherington, " 'The liquid Negro language of the South': Claude McKay's Exemplary Doggerel."

Russell McDougall, "Imperial and postcolonial fictions of Pauline Bonaparte."

Ruth Mahalia McHugh-Dillon, "Junot Díaz and Dany Laferrière: Race and masculinity inside the bedroom."

Sophie Pappenheim, " 'Nègres pieds-à-terre, nègres va-nu-pieds': Reading the interiors of allegory in *Gouverneurs de la rosée.*"

Sue Thomas, "The haunting of Julia Martin in Jean Rhys's *After Leaving Mr Mackenzie.*"

Visual Art, Film and Music in societal context

Bernice J. deGannes Scott, "Pan on the move: From Port-of-Spain to the rest of the world."

Consuelo Martinez-Reyes, "Economies on and off screen in Juan de los Muertos and Dólares de arena."

Susan Wilczak, "Reflection and identity: Contemporary women artists of Curacao search the natural and cultural environment of the island for inspiration and the inner motivation to create their art."

Geography and Demography

Laurence Brown, "A migration revolution: Island frontiers and demographic transitions, 1750-1790."

Brian J. Hudson, "A geographer explores Caribbean literature and discovers some interesting interior features."

Social & Economic Analysis

Dinah Hippolyte, "Tobacco control in Trinidad and Tobago: A framework theory for conceptual approach."

Carlos Eduardo Morreo, "A debt is a powerful device: PetroCaribe and the unmaking of 'socialist oil' in Jamaica."

Kim-Marie Spence, "Beyond the stereotype: Reggae, class and policy in Jamaica."

Vitality

The success of the Canberra conference, the 12ᵗʰ since the foundation of the AACS in 1995, illustrates the continuing vitality of the association. Moreover, the election of a relatively

youthful committee at the AGM gives reason to be optimistic about the future of the organisation. The next conference is scheduled to be held in 2019 at the University of Western Sydney. The newly elected leaders of the AACS are Dr. Laurence Brown and Dr. Consuelo Martinez-Reyes, academics at the Australian National University. Their email addresses are as follows:
<laurence.brown@anu.edu.au> and
<consuelo.martinez-reyes@anu.edu.au>