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Article

The European Struggle to Educate and Include Roma People: A Critique of Differences in Policy and Practice in Western and Eastern EU Countries

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Abstract
Multiculturalism is an established feature of the UK and other European States since the establishment of the Treaty of Rome in 1959. Enlargement has brought EU membership from six (1952) to twenty eight members since its foundation, and allowed free migration across its borders. However, many countries, in spite of agreements to adhere to 'democratic' practices, deny minority citizens their full rights, particularly in education contexts. Some recent accession EU States have education systems that are less adaptive to expected policy responsibilities. It is a more unstable aspect of Eastern Europe because of the failure of many of these countries to reduce social and educational inequalities and to establish rights for minority groups, particularly the Roma. An educational focus is used as a platform to highlight issues re the segregation, and discrimination against, Roma children in Europe, typically through the use of special education, which is not suitable for them. Europe generally, both East and West has failed to fully integrate the Roma. Often, institutional blame is placed on Roma communities, rather than situate them socially and economically due to ingrained structural inequalities. Stereotyped categories are often used to 'label' them. Countries with high Roma populations, four in Western and five in Eastern Europe are evaluated and compared in relation to the education of Roma children.

Keywords
education; EU; inclusion; minority rights; Roma; structural inequality; Western and Eastern Europe

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Educating Nomadic People", edited by Caroline Dyer (University of Leeds, UK).

1. Introduction

Roma people form Europe's largest ethnic minority and have for centuries made up an intrinsic part of European society. But despite efforts at national, European and international level to improve the protection of their fundamental rights and advance their social inclusion, many Roma still face severe poverty, profound social exclusion, constraints to utilising their basic rights, and discrimination. These problems affect their access to quality education, which, in turn, undermines their employment and income prospects, housing conditions and health status, limiting their overall capacity to fully exploit their potential.

General development of any society depends upon high quality, inclusive and mainstream education. Education provides children and young adults with the necessary skills to enter employment and advance general social cohesion. Therefore the right to education is correctly embodied in international conventions and European Union (EU) documents. Education is also the only social right explicitly included in the European Convention on Human Rights (European Court of Human Rights [ECHR], 2011).

There are between 10 million and 12 million Roma living in the EU, at present comprising 28 countries. The most recent EU accession countries, situated in Eastern Europe include: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. The highest numbers of Roma populations, reaching more than 5%−10% of the population live in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia. These are the coun-

tries that will be examined in this paper, together with the western EU countries of France, Italy, Portugal and Spain, because they are distinctive as western European countries with the highest number of Roma per capita population.

In recent years Romanian Roma have migrated throughout Europe, especially to Italy, Spain and France. In Spain and France they join Romani communities of several hundreds of thousands—over half a million in the case of Spain—although again not comprising anywhere near the % age total of the Eastern European countries mentioned above. Roma make up around 0.64 per cent of the general population of France and 1.60 per cent of the population of Spain, 0.5 in Italy and 0.3% in Portugal (Chan & Guild, 2008).

Roma who live in the European Union are EU citizens and have the same rights as all other citizens. A significant number of Roma live in extreme marginalisation in both rural and urban areas, and in very poor social-economic conditions. They are disproportionally affected by discrimination, violence, unemployment, poverty, bad housing and poor health standards.

The EU and Member States have a joint responsibility for Roma inclusion and use a broad range of funds in their areas of responsibility, namely the European Social Fund (ESF), European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) to support the implementation of national policies in these fields. The EU already co-finances projects for the Roma in sectors like education, employment, microfinance and equal opportunities, in particular, equality between men and women (Roma Education Fund, 2015).

When looking at general education for Roma in Europe, to all appearances it can be seen that education systems in Western Europe are advanced, highly developed and complex, but on closer examination although Eastern Europe displays some shocking and outdated practices for Roma, in the West there are still gross inequalities in Roma education. This article will examine specific Eastern European countries in comparison to selected Western European Union (EU) countries. The Eastern European countries are most deserving of examination, as they have only recently acceded to the EU. They also reflect different traditions in education, from values and attitudes, to policies and practices at local levels. Whereas Western European countries chosen have established educational traditions and practices over decades, since accession to the EU and adherence to its inclusive policy and practice in education (O'Hanlon, 2010).

There is a fundamental lack of accurate information on Roma in Eastern Europe. The official census data that does exist in these countries consistently underestimates the size of the Roma population and provides inadequate information about Roma participation in all spheres of life. This failure has far-reaching consequences: the lack of information renders policy and planning ineffective and makes it impossible to monitor changes. Inadequate data also perpetuates vast disparities in access to quality education. Inadequate information will continue to enable governments to evade responsibility for failing to create, fund, and implement effective programs for Roma inclusion. What is known for certain, however, is that only a tiny minority of Roma children ever complete school, and the education to which they have access is typically vastly inferior (Open Society Foundation, 2006).

Recently, two political initiatives (and policy frameworks) have highlighted the importance of education for Roma inclusion: the Decade of Roma Inclusion (DRI) 2005−2015, and the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020. *The Decade of Roma Inclusion* 2005−2015 is a political commitment at international level including nine governments in Eastern Europe, which aims to reduce socio-economic gaps that separate the Roma minority from other European citizens. Both policy directives emphasise the need for national governments to establish action plans and strategies for the educational inclusion of Roma children, alongside strong monitoring mechanisms up to 2020. Two essential areas for improvement are seen to be Roma educational access and ending educational segregation, with the emphasis on school completion and early school leaving. Neglect in these areas is mutually reinforcing and are contingent on each other (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], World Bank, & European Council, 2011).

2. Special Schooling

The Roma in Eastern Europe face greater challenges than any in Western Europe, although they are all faced with social and educational problems, often linked to poverty. Research evidence from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia affirms that Roma poverty rates far exceed those of the mainstream population. In effect all basic social indicators show inadequate levels in education, poor access to health care, inferior housing conditions, high unemployment and damaging discrimination. Roma frequently live in ghettos where there are poor employment opportunities and deteriorating socio-economic conditions linked to infrastructures and schools. In the Balkan countries Roma form the majority of refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs), which puts them at risk regarding income, schooling and health (Bruggemann, 2012).

Yet, Roma communities in Western Europe often face similar levels of discrimination as their counterparts in Eastern Europe, according to recent reports by the EU and UN. Research indicates that the situation of the Roma is on average worse than their non-Roma neighbors when it comes to jobs, education, housing

and health (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2014).

Many EU Member States, Roma children constitute a majority who are placed in special education schools and programmes, outside the mainstream educational system, although they have no apparent learning challenges or disabilities. One out of 10 Roma children have attended a special school or class that was mainly for Roma, even if only for a short period. Segregation in mainstream education is prevalent in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Romania, where 33% to 58% of Roma children in school attended a class where all, or many, children were Roma. Whereas, ethnically segregated school environments are uncommon in Italy, Portugal and Spain.

Of 23 countries in Eastern Europe included in a 2005 study by UNICEF, Slovakia had the highest enrolment rate of Roma children in basic special education programs in 2001, with enrolment rates in special education increasing between 1989 and 2001, to approximately 60% (United Nations, 2006).

In Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, the number of Roma attending segregated schools is much higher than the mainstream population. In Slovakia and Bulgaria, this number exceeds 30%. The association between Roma communities and segregated school attendance is strongest in Slovakia where 34% Roma attend with predominantly Roma students, compared to 5% for non-Roma.

The common practice of placing Roma children in 'special' schools or classes results in Roma overrepresentation in schooling that is ostensibly for children with intellectual disabilities or other special needs. This special schooling constitutes, per se, segregated education, irrespective of the ethnic composition of the students, because activities in these amenities are separate and different from those associated with mainstream education. They also offer reduced curricula and rarely enable their students to enter the general school system, higher education or subsequent employment.

A survey in 2011 shows that Roma children aged 7–15 years who attend special schools and classes exceeded 5% in Hungary, and 10% in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Although, since then, there has been a decline from 25% to 17% in the Czech Republic (UNDP, 2015).

An extremely acute form of segregation occurs when Roma children make up the majority of the students in special schools. Many special schools in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary, are ethnically segregated. In all countries the share of Roma attending ethnically segregated special schools is higher than the share of Roma attending ethnically segregated mainstream schools. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia, over 60% of all Roma who attend special schools are submitted to dual educational segregation because they attend special schools with a predominantly Roma majority.

The fall of communism and the recent shift to capitalist economies has not brought wealth or improved social conditions for the majority of Roma in Eastern Europe. It has been reported that, millions of Gypsies of Eastern Europe have emerged as great losers from the overthrow of Communism and the end of the rigid controls that it imposed on daily life.

Roma poverty has worsened dramatically in the transition from Communism. As a recent World Bank report notes: 'while Roma have historically been among the poorest people in Europe, the extent of the collapse of their living conditions in the former socialist countries is unprecedented (Ringold, Orenstein, & Wilkens, 2003). It is reported by a witness that: in Communist days Roma had jobs and apartments and didn't have to pay for schoolbooks. They lived in better social conditions (Kamm, 1993).

However, what is the situation now in Eastern Europe and how do Roma children fare in education the 21st century?

A review of five countries in Eastern Europe, which follows, demonstrates current issues in Roma education, with reference to post-communism, and tensions related to EU accession.

3. Bulgaria

Roma are the second largest minority in Bulgaria representing 4.7% (possibly unofficially 10%) of the total population, which is the highest percentage of Roma in Europe. Historically Roma have occupied the lowest social strata in Bulgaria. Their level of education is low, but at present 10% of Roma are completely illiterate. After 1989 the agricultural and industrial production fell dramatically which led to the labour force being cut severely. Liberalisation has established high prices, high inflation, cuts in all social services, frozen salaries and high levels of unemployment leading to increased Roma poverty. Generally income and expenditure in Bulgaria is much below the EU poverty line (Bulgaria, 2015).

Although sociologists and economists explain depressed and lasting unemployment among the Roma as related to low education and qualifications, the Roma themselves believe it to be discrimination in education and the labour market. This assertion is confirmed when employment rates for Roma are compared to those with equal levels of experience and skill who are in work.

Since 1989 most of the benefits for Roma education were abolished, like free food, clothes and textbooks, which were available during the socialist era. Roma communities saw this change as discrimination against them. They refused to send their children to school, and this attitude of mistrust has continued to the present day. The mainstream population have not yet developed unbiased teaching materials, as there are still stereotyped accounts of Roma in history and literature textbooks.

Roma children are often segregated from other children and face disadvantages in every aspect of their education from schooling to subsequent employment (European Union Monitoring and Advocacy Program [EUMAP], 2015). In the first two years of the DRI the country has scarcely begun the enormous task of Roma inclusion. Still many programmes and policies remain unfulfilled.

Only 15% of Roma Bulgarian children never enroll in schools and for those who do the dropout rate is 4 to 6 times higher than the national average. Roma children are put into segregated schools, or are in classes where the quality of education is inevitably lower, with an inadequate curriculum, poor resources and low teacher expectations.

It is disappointing that in spite of National Action Plans drawn up in the framework of the Decade of Roma Inclusion, when the problems of educational segregation are identified, no comprehensive approach has been established (Surdu, 2011). One example is the recommendation that more Roma children attend preschool ensuring their equal chances to education, as only 16% of Roma children attend pre-school in Bulgaria. However, the Bulgarian State is trying to address the improvement of Roma education by providing free textbooks for primary schools, some transportation and free meals. Since 2004 one obligatory year in preschool has been introduced as well as the employment of Roma teacher assistants, more extra-curricula classes in language and slow de-segregation of Roma children in schools (Bulgaria, 2015).

4. Czech Republic

Roma in the Czech Republic are a minority and according to the last census from 2011, the Roma nationality was reportedly claimed by the total of 13K inhabitants. However, at the same census, over 40K inhabitants reported Romani language as their first language and, according to estimates by the European Roma Rights Centre, the size of the population is between 250K and 300K (Radio CZ, 2015). Children in the Czech Republic are caught up in a cycle of poverty because of the failure of the education system to advance their opportunities. The majority of Roma are educated in 'practical' schools, where the curriculum is low-level and limited, and leaves them unqualified for all but the most basic jobs. In 2007 the European Court of Human Rights demanded that the Czech government end school segregation for Roma. However, the subsequent changes in practice are slow. Yet, steps have been taken to halt the exclusion of Roma children. There may be infringement proceedings against the government as a precursor to legal action at the European Court of Justice. The European Commission of Human Rights indicates that 30% of Roma children are still placed in special/practical schools compared to 25% of the mainstream population (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2012).

5. Hungary

Hungarian Roma are Hungarian citizens of Roma descent. According to the 2011 census, they compose 3.16% of the total population, which alone makes them the largest minority in the country, although various estimations have put the number of Romani people as high as 5–10% of the total population. For nearly 600 years, Hungary has struggled with the full inclusion of its Roma minority. Continued efforts at resolving issues stemming from failed attempts have only recently led to a serious consideration of education as a means of achieving this goal. Many non-governmental organizations, government agencies and grassroots movements have initiated projects aimed at increasing educational access for Hungary's Roma.

Hungary's lack of attention and lack of governmental support for the educational needs of impoverished Roma communities highlights a systemic failure to consider how significant an impact poverty can have on equal access to education. To make matters worse, the declining socio-economic status of many Roma communities has left them politically vulnerable and unable to advocate for the educational needs that would grant them equal access. Exacerbating the situation is the fact that the economic situation in Hungary has been worsening since the 1990s. Between 1990 and 2000 the number of Roma deemed to be poor has doubled (CEI Latvia, 2015).

Despite receiving government stipends for meals and other cost of living expenses, impoverished Roma families still struggle for access to educational facilities as early as pre-school. Inaccessibly distant schools are a financial burden for families living in Roma settlements due to the high costs associated with transportation, while those with access to nearby schools are usually excluded because of overcrowding. Also, transportation expenses and other access barriers disproportionately affect the number of impoverished Roma children able to attend pre-school at an early age. In most cases, children unable to attend pre-school by the age of five are automatically referred to special evaluation boards to test their school readiness and detect the presence of learning difficulties. Unfortunately, parents allow decisions about special schooling in segregated schooling to occur, because they are attracted by alleged benefits and are ignorant of protocol and professional procedures. This inevitably leads to a career in segregated education for their children.

Unfortunately, not all forms of segregation in the Hungarian educational system are as overt as its special schools and classes. It is also common for Roma children to be designated as private, or study-at-home students, should teachers and administrators deem

their behaviour to be disruptive to other pupils. Consequently, a disproportionate number of Roma students do not obtain their education diplomas due to the prohibitions brought about by studying at home. Although some of these students may be classified as study-at-home for reasons arising from a genuine concern for unaddressed behavioural issues, others may be victims of a discriminatory and corrupt financing system that facilitates educational segregation (Lopez, 2009).

In 2003 several amendments were added to the Act on Public Education that would allow financial incentives to be given to schools for the desegregation of their classes. However, it appears that closing down segregated schools brings about political liabilities that are costly. It is financially advantageous for schools to perpetuate the system of segregation. In spite of legal action against schools in towns and villages, the practice of special schooling for Roma children continues.

6. Romania

The Roma constitute one of Romania's largest minorities. According to the 2011 census, they number over 621K or 3.3% of the total population, being the second-largest ethnic minority in Romania after Hungarians (Romanian census, 2011). The Romani are Romania's most socially and economically disadvantaged minority, with high illiteracy levels. The unofficial number of Romani people in Romania is said to be as high as 850K.

Documenting Romania's Roma population remains difficult as many Roma do not declare their ethnicity in the census and do not have an identity card or birth certificate (Popescu, 2006). Yet in Romania social inclusion for Roma is a genuine progressive aim. It is defined in the official documentation of Europe and Romania as the provision of 'necessary opportunities and resources to fully participate in the economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and welfare considered to be normal in the society in which they live' (UNDP, 2015).

The National Agency for Roma created in 2004 has made an action plan to prioritise specific educational targets which include: extended school attendance for Roma children, developing capacity and motivation of Roma families reeducation, and increasing Roma employment opportunities. The evaluation of progress with these objectives is mixed. There has been some success at increasing Roma numbers at higher education but not all the free places reserved by the government especially for the Roma, have been taken up (European Roma Rights Centre [ERRC], 2004).

Since 2001, the Roma minority was the subject of several public policies developed by the European Commission and by specialised Romanian institutions at national level, in order to reduce its high risk of poverty and exclusion. However, according to a recent national survey of Roma, the Roma minority in Romania still remains the group with the highest probability of suffering discrimination (Nicolae, 2010).The last two decades have implemented government regulations to stimulate the social integration and to improve the situation of Roma re-education. The evaluation and research carried out shows the framework is beginning to be effective (UNDP, 2011).

The Strategy of the Government of Romania for the Inclusion of Roma who are Citizens of Romania for the Period 2012−2020 is the newest document related to Roma inclusion. The document is quoting the European Commission statement that 'Roma inclusion is a dual process which involves a change in the mentality of the majority and also in the mentality of the members of Roma community, a challenge that requires firm actions, developed in an active dialogue with Roma minority, both at national and EU level' (Friedman & Surdu, 2009).

Some important gaps related to Roma minority education still persist, because they are contingent on social and economic factors internally and externally. Some of the Roma traditional values and family attitudes are slowing down the process of school inclusion and prohibiting the access to education for Roma children, examples are early marriage, child labour and uneducated parents.

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7. Slovakia

According to the last census from 2011, there were over 105K Roma in Slovakia, or 2.0% of the population. The Romani are the second-largest ethnic minority in Slovakia after Hungarians, and they live mostly in the eastern parts of the country. When comparing 23 countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Slovakia had the highest enrolment rate in special education in 2001 increasing year by year (UNICEF, 2006). Approximately 60% of children in special education in Slovakia in 2008−2009 are Roma, almost 15K. The disadvantages of special schooling are complex and include limited transfer to mainstream school; limited options for further education and educational results are greatly reduced. This leads to inadequate employment opportunities. Parents' acceptance of a special school placement is perplexing, as many are attracted to special schooling and unaware of the options available to them. The insidious use of psychological testing for Roma children immediately disadvantages them because of linguistic and cultural factors. Also, special

schools for children with mild learning difficulties do not allow an enhanced support that would provide access to mainstream schools. This ultimately leads to a high number being unemployed or employed in low or un-skilled occupations.

Approximately 44% of Roma live in poverty, of which 15% live in extreme poverty. Implications of this low level of income emphasises the fact that Roma children are at risk of malnutrition in Eastern Europe, confirmed by findings that Roma children are underweight in comparison to the National average in Slovakia, three times as many children are underweight (United Nations, 2006).

Special schooling, which includes a majority of children from one ethnic minority, can be labeled as racial discrimination, because of the cumulative effects of poverty and lack of open access to mainstream schooling, healthcare and employment. Also, Roma settlements in isolated areas reduce their transport choices and they are unable to afford transport facilities and health insurance. Many Roma in these communities only speak Romani, which limits their communication with school and healthcare professionals (United Nations, 2006). How different is the situation for Roma children in Western Europe?

8. France

To begin with, no large scale quantitative research has been conducted in France, Italy, Spain or Portugal in recent years however, a survey conducted by FRA (2015) states that: France has possibly the harshest policy in Europe towards Roma immigrants. Most live in camps that are regularly demolished by police—and then rebuilt. Every year thousands are deported, but the overall number in the country remains the same (Astier, 2014).

11K Roma people were evicted across France last year—more than double the 2012 figure. Many of the evicted Roma end up being deported, more than any other immigrant group (ERRC 2016). Being a citizen of a European Union country offers little protection as EU law allows a member country to expel people who are deemed a burden on its social system. It is then speculative to imagine how Roma children are educated in such a climate of alienation and mistrust.

Local authorities systematically keep Roma children out of schools to avoid protests about demolition of camps or repatriation to their countries of origin. (Chazan, 2014).

More than half of Roma children living in France are not in school and local authorities are deliberately blocking their enrolment, and the ERRC has accused the authorities of failing to fulfill their legal obligations to provide schooling for Roma children (ERRC, 2016).

Further divisions have appeared between Roma who are citizens of a EU Member State and those who are not, such as Roma asylum seekers and migrants from outside of the EU. Those born in a certain Member State may now move freely to other Member States. This, in turn, has highlighted both the uniqueness and complexity of their status. Being a mobile minority, they are more likely to move between States, and they require recognition in their education systems. This is clearly problematic in countries such as France where, instead of recognising Roma as an ethnic minority with distinct minority rights, administrative categories, such as 'Travelling population' are created, which may ultimately fail to adequately address the social attributes of all Roma—sedentary and travelling alike (Farkas, 2007).

9. Italy

Until the 1990s, Roma living in Italy had been considered to be a recurring problem, a marginal group with no similarity to any other community because of their failure to assimilate and their endemic poverty. In terms of education, there have been attempts to increase Roma school attendance since the 1960s, but they have been largely unsuccessful. Even recently, less than half of Roma Gypsy children finish mandatory school in Italy (O'Nions, 2010). Data from the 1960s to 1990s show a slight increase in the last 5−6 years, particularly, in elementary school attendance. The latest city survey of Roma families living in Bologna-area camps, mostly arrived in the 90s, show high levels of attendance for elementary school, both among first and second generation Roma children. Yet, junior-high school and high school attendance is still low, around 25%, and not increasing. As of today, nearly 15 years after the first large wave of migration from the Balkans, the second generation is starting to enter vocational training and higher education, not without difficulties (Fantone, 2009).

10. Spain

Roma children achieve the lowest rates of schooling and academic success in Spain and therefore there's a huge gap between the qualification and education of Spanish Roma and the majority population. There's also a huge level of absenteeism in Primary education and early school dropout, which are related to the socioeconomic and sociocultural situation of families. About 70% of Roma adults are illiterate, and are mainly women, which leads to social distance and inequality for generations of Spanish citizens who have been historically excluded and marginalised (DRI, 2015).

Roma schooling in Spain receives commendation for enrolling Roma children into primary school but performs terribly when it comes to higher education. Only 5% of Roma students complete upper-secondary education—a statistic that is even more shocking when

you consider that Spain's intake is significantly behind less-developed European countries like the Czech Republic (30%), Hungary (22%), Romania (10%), or Bulgaria (9%). Roma students aren't in the classrooms, and their history isn't in textbooks: 500 years of Roma contributions to Spain fails to merit a single mention in school history books.

In contrast with Roma in Eastern Europe, Spanish Roma are not an officially recognized ethnic minority in the country, and Roma civil society is for the most part severely impoverished. After decades of state-funded service provisions through nongovernmental organizations, Roma are not flourishing in the mainstream society (Ovalle & Mirga, 2014).

11. Portugal

Generally, Roma people are subjected to the same discrimination and prejudice as other European countries. The Roma are the major victim group in racist incidents, followed by black people from the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa. It seems that the arrival of Roma/Gypsy groups in certain neighbourhoods has given rise to protests and even to demands that they leave. These protests reflect the tensions caused when different lifestyles co-exist side by side. The established, sedentary population often sees the arrival of travelling people in their neighbourhood as a threat. These fears are not necessarily or exclusively based on the difference in ethnic origin, but are also fuelled by prejudice creating a negative image of Roma/Gypsies (Fonseca, Caldeira, & Esteves, 2002).

It has also been noted that Roma/Gypsy children have a high failure and dropout rate in Portugal. ECRI notes that the government is aware of this problem and has taken steps to encourage school attendance by Roma children, by ensuring, for example, that Roma/Gypsy culture is reflected in school curricula and textbooks. The main cause is attributed to the unsuitable curricula and textbooks that are not culturally relevant for Roma children. ECRI urges the government to continue its efforts and to step up action in this area (ECRI, 2013).

School segregation is also a widespread practice in Portugal, which has been noted since at least the late 1990s, with instances identified in different regions of the country, although most often in rural areas (in larger cities, social segregation tends to ensure school segregation). When documented, evidence has referred to classes in schools made up of Roma/Gypsy pupils only or, less commonly, schools attended only by these pupils.

In conclusion, the five Eastern European countries examined in this review demonstrate the long-lasting legacy of Communism in the majority, and the influence it still wields over the consciousness and practices of its populations.

Roma migration is a significant factor in the understanding of the situation in the Western European countries mentioned. Italy and Spain, traditionally known as countries of emigration became, by the end of the seventies, countries of immigration. During recent decades, since the fall of communism these countries have received increasing immigrant numbers, mostly from Eastern Europe. Romanians constitute the largest immigrant community in Italy, with approximately one million people. Romanians make up one third of total immigrants in Italy. In Spain, Romanians are also the most numerous immigrant populations amounting to almost 1million. Bulgarians also emigrate towards these two Southern European countries, but prefer Spain to Italy. A number of these countries have suffered the consequences of recent upheaval and war e.g., Serbia and Croatia, and many Roma have been targeted in these conflicts. Since as early as the 12th century tales of their persecution have flourished. Their reluctance to change and adapt to new and often threatening ways of life is seen to constrain their progress, at least according the prevailing hegemony in Europe. The economic pressure of neoliberalism and the development of a capitalist culture in Europe is one the Roma has not yet fully embraced because finding employment in this environment requires educational (professional or vocational) qualifications, or certification, by accepted sovereign State institutions. Often this leads to reluctance on the part of the Roma to become fully immersed in contemporary societal mores (O'Hanlon, 2014).

One thing that clearly emerges from this analysis is the fact that countries like France, Italy and Spain have one feature in common with Roma communities in Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, which is, that they are worse off than the mainstream citizens in each country. It would be expected that such migration to better off Western European countries would bring significant improvements to the Roma communities, yet, there are few differences in their lives (UNDP, 2014). Some clear regional patterns emerge from the results. Romania registered the highest scores for poverty-related reasons (costs of education), which also emerged among the top three categories in Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia. In western European countries, however, financial reasons are not as significant.

Another aspect that emerges is, that the Eastern European countries share many common issues and concerns in relation to the education of their Roma communities. Roma children are unnecessarily placed in segregated schools or classes where the quality of education received is invariably lower. There are also throughout:

- lower standards operating in the curricula of these schools and classes
- inappropriate assessment methods

- inadequate resources in Roma schools
- teachers with low qualifications and therefore expectations are also low
- classroom materials reflecting prejudice
- text books and other sources which are not culturally or linguistically friendly for Roma children.
- few efforts are made to train Roma oriented teachers and assistants to support their language and culture
- statistics on Roma children, school attendance and their progress are rarely comprehensive or reliable
- school dropout rates are the highest of any ethnic minorities in any country
- social segregation is both caused and exacerbated by Roma communities settling in rural areas, leading to 'Roma schools' and segregated schooling
- there are not enough free pre-school places

In every way schools for Roma children are inferior to mainstream schools and many societies, both East and West, still oppose inclusive education for Roma children. Teacher professional development has not yet succeeded in eradicating older traditional ways of teaching, which are outdated, and a constraint to Roma children who need more culturally appropriate materials and eclectic teaching methods to learn.

The differences between Roma and non-Roma are statistically significant in all EU member States and show that Roma who are unable to read and write are declining for each successive age group in most EU Member States. This trend is particularly impressive in Portugal where the share of illiterate Roma has dropped from 60% among those aged 45 and older, to 10% for those aged 16 to 24, and in Spain, where the rates decreased from 35% to 1%.

The decline in illiteracy in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia is associated with the expansion of education during communism after the Second World War. In these Eastern European countries, primary education became compulsory during the early years of state socialist regimes in the late 1940s and the early 1950s, during which time education was expanded. However, in Romania and Bulgaria it was less pronounced (FRA, 2015).

Exclusion from education takes different forms: from denial of school access to placement in 'special schools' or ethnically segregated classes. Ethnic segregation is influenced by factors ranging from residential characteristics to anti-Roma prejudice. In 2007, the European Court of Human Rights concluded in a landmark judgment that placing Roma children in special schools on the basis of their ethnic origin violated the governments' obligation to ensure children's access to education without discrimination, based on accumulated evidence from official Equality and Roma related organisations. It was found that on average only 12% of the Roma aged 18 to 24 had completed upper-secondary general or vocational education, yet, the situation is better for younger age groups, which shows that progress has been made (ECHR, 2011).

The problems faced by Roma are complex and therefore require an integrated approach to fight against low educational attainment, labour market barriers, segregation in education and in housing, and poor health outcomes, which, must all be addressed simultaneously. The EU has an important role to play in implementing such change, by improving legislation against discrimination, coordinating policy, setting common goals for inclusion and allocating funding.

The decrease in Roma illiteracy rates is less impressive in Eastern European (post-communist) countries, due to the lower initial level of illiteracy among the older generations compared to that in the long established EU Member States. At present, there is evidence of progress, however an EU Framework and national strategies are in place, and action plans are now being implemented. To continue making a tangible difference to Roma people's lives requires political will, efficient coordination of efforts and effective monitoring and evaluation tools by gathering and analysing data from the evidence on the ground, and testing novel approaches involving Roma communities at local level. Although, multiculturalism is an established feature EU States since the establishment of the Treaty of Rome in 1959, many countries, in spite of agreements to adhere to 'democratic' practices, deny minority citizens their full rights, particularly in education contexts. Some recent accession EU States have education systems that are less adaptive to expected policy responsibilities because of their past histories, and have failed to reduce social and educational inequalities and to establish rights for minority groups. An educational impetus is needed to further diminish segregation, and discrimination against Roma children in both Western and Eastern EU countries.

Europe generally has failed to fully integrate the Roma. Expulsion and repatriation of Roma migrants to their countries of origin is not a solution. Additional issues tend to ignore social and economic factors cause by ingrained systemic structural inequalities. The way forward lies not in simply including Roma children into long established schooling institutions and traditions, but rather through using creative, culturally relevant provision that is acceptable and sanctioned by Roma People themselves.

Fortunately, there are extensive numbers of new EU policies and, programmes and projects directly aimed at improving social and educational life for Roma. Yet, problems of research and evaluation long-term are linked to deficient data collection in Roma

communities and schools. This leads to erroneous and unreliable assessments of the progress being made, resulting in sparse evidence for future analysis. These issues need to be addressed to generate a coherent and comprehensive agreed future EU agenda for Roma communities.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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About the Author

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Christine O'Hanlon has taught in a range of schools at all levels, then progressed to being an educator and researcher in higher education. She is focussed on 'marginalised' communities through her interest in educational segregation for pupils with special needs, Travellers and Roma. She supports change in communities through action research and pursues these aims both informally and formally through her role as Honorary Reader in Education at the University of East Anglia UK, and in community projects.

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Article

Mediating Structures in Sámi Language Revitalisation

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Abstract
The revitalisation of the Sámi languages and support for language domains are central educational measures in the post-assimilation situation in Northern Europe. Taking critical indigenous education as the starting point, this meta-theoretical article discusses language revitalisation through mediating structures. Mediating structures provide the tools necessary to use language revitalisation as a means to counter the legacy of assimilation that has seriously affected the Sámi languages and caused language change. The article brings together recent research on the revitalisation of the Sámi languages. These studies are oriented towards the present situation of the Sámi languages and efforts to revive the languages. Relying on previous studies as well as new research, the article presents a communal model of language recovery, which facilitates an increase in the number of language speakers and also supports language domains. Such a mediating language revitalisation model builds social harmony in a postcolonial situation. The article emphasises the key tasks involved in the recovery of endangered languages.

Keywords
assimilation; language shift; mediating structures; revitalisation; Sámi education; Sámi people

Issue
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1. Introduction

The Sámi people live in the north areas of Sweden, Finland, Norway and Russia's Kola Peninsula. They are recognised as indigenous peoples and thus protected under various international conventions guaranteeing the rights as indigenous peoples. There are approximately 100,000 Sámi depending on the definition criteria applied (Sarivaara, 2012). The Sámi were previously known as the Lappish, although this has now been replaced by the Sámi's own name, *the Sámi people* (sápmelaččat). According to current estimates, the Sámi languages developed, at the latest, during the second millennium BC. Moreover, during that period Sámi culture have seen to arise (Aikio, 2004, 2012). Sámi livelihoods traditionally base on nature. Hence originating from hunter-gather tribes, they have been involved in fishing, hunting, and semi-nomadic reindeer herding. However, currently about 10% of the Sámi are connected to reindeer herding (Solbakk, 2006).

The Sámi have experienced the phase of colonialism, which is a central manifestation of assimilation, and refers to the active merging of minorities into the mainstream population (see Battiste, 2000). Due to centuries of assimilationist policies and, policy measures, Sámi languages are endangered, and have lost partly their cultural and linguistic special features. Today, the Sámi have more or less embraced urbanisation, according to Finnish Sámi Parliament already 60% of Sámi live outside Sámi homeland area. For example, in capital of Finland, Helsinki, lives around 1000 Sámi (Lindgren, 2000). Moreover, today the Sámi are part of the globalised world and its various cultural flows (Seurujärvi-Kari, 2012).

This article problematizes the indigenous people group, the Sámi people, through the phenomenon of assimilation and the concept of revitalisation. Further, it looks at how mediating education could remedy the legacy of assimilation. The article is based on the researchers' extensive studies of assimilation, revitalisation and education in Norway and Finland (see e.g. Keskitalo, 2010; Keskitalo, Uusiautti, & Määttä, 2013; Sarivaara, 2012, in press; Sarivaara & Keskitalo, 2015). In addition to research work, they have long teaching experience both elementary and higher education levels, and thus have been able to follow and initiate the development of Sámi education. Both researchers have insider position due to research field, since besides the researcher experience; they have Sámi background, and are speakers of Sámi language. Erika Sarivaara has been working with project that aims to explore the Sámi identity, and level of assimilation and the revitalisation process within assimilated Sámi areas. Pigga Keskitalo has interviewed Sámi teachers and pupils, and has observed school education in Norway and Finland.

This article explores Sámi language revitalisation based on the *mediating structures* theory and, furthermore, explores the implementation of mediating structures within language revitalisation in Sámi core area. It stresses that revitalisation is an abstract zone, which will empower the Sámi people and the language environment. The article seeks, above all, to consider the limits of language revitalisation on the basis of mediating structures and Sámi education. Assimilation in this context is still little explored concept.

The article begins by discussing the assimilation processes in Sámi, which means the homeland area of Sámi people, in order to demonstrate how they have affected the Sámi people. The effects are broad and far-reaching, and vary from place to place and person to person. Furthermore, the concept of mediating and the educational models based on it are explored. Finally, the article analyses the challenges associated with revitalisation as well as the benefits of mediating actions.

2. The Legacy of Assimilation

In order to understand the current situation of the Sámi, it is necessary to look back at the long history of the assimilation processes. The demolition of such assimilationist processes is necessary to improve the Sámi language situation going forward. Assimilation has been followed by colonisation. According to Kuokkanen (2007), colonisation is based on ideologies and practices that were constructed during the Renaissance. At the universal level, the goal of colonization in many places has been to dominate the area and start exploiting the land and natural resources (Kuokkanen, 2007). Although the forms and intentions of colonisation have varied, the background aim has always been the exercise of power (Gilroy, 1993; Said, 1993; Spivak, 1985). Fanon (1959, 1961, 1952/1967) initiated a debate on how colonisation affects people's thoughts. In other words, he questioned the psychological effects of colonisation. However, the views on this issue vary from one researcher to another. One can say that colonisation has taken place in Sámiland on both psychological and practical levels because the Sámi have undergone psychological and cultural exploitation, their traditional lands have become settled, and their social and cultural structures have broken down (Kuokkanen, 1999; Lehtola, 2012; Minde, 2005). The colonisation process has long been a part of the governing authorities' attempts to assimilate the indigenous peoples into majority cultures.

As a consequence, the Sámi people have experienced a long history of assimilation, first as the result of church activates since the 1600s and, second, due to the nation schools of the 1800s (e.g. Keskitalo, Lehtola, & Paksuniemi, 2014). However, the assimilation methods due to Sámi have varied from country to country. In Norway, the assimilation policy was formally constructed and the Sámi had to be "Norwegianized" (Norwegian *fornorsking*). This forced Norwegian period lasted from approximately the 1850s to the 1980s. The aim was to eradicate the Sámi language and the Sámi identity (Minde, 2005). Sweden, meanwhile, utilised more passive segregation measures, namely the *lappska-vara-lapp* policy (The Lapp Should Stay Lapp policy), whereby Sámi children were sent to segregated hut schools (Henrysson, 1992). The situation of the Sámi in Russia has been challenging because Sami schooling has been supported to a limited extent. Additionally, forced relocations have stretched the capacity of the Russian Sámi (Afanasyeva, 2013). In Finland, assimilation has been more or less invisible when compared to, for example, the situation in Norway, where forced Norwegianism was enshrined in official documents. This can make it challenging to recognise and distinguish assimilation strategies and measures. In Finland, the nationalist policy aim was to strengthen the position of the Finnish language and the Finnish identity. The government prioritised the ideology of nation building and the needs of minorities were neglected until the 1960s, when the indigenous revival began. For example, in Finland, the assimilation era began in the 1600s, and has not yet entirely stopped.

According to our studies and perceptions assimilation has thus inter alia somewhat weakened the Sámi cultural identity and started the process of language change. Such a process has resulted a complex situation that has also impacted on Sámi education. The revitalisation has taken place recently following lengthy periods of assimilation. The Sámi language and identity have become popular topics, particularly due to the improved situation. Some of the Sámi have built a strong cultural identity and indigenous community.

However, some of the Sámi people have been disadvantaged due to their backgrounds and so assimilation has had a strong influence on them. The heritage of assimilation has contributed to equality between people. The Sámi identity was placed under close scrutiny when assimilated people started to become interested in the revitalisation of the Sámi languages and in their own roots and background. At the same time, debate has arisen in all communities regarding who should determine the mode of revitalisation and who should be allowed to participate in it. Thus, any discussion of the process of revitalisation seems also consider the vexed question of who exactly counts as a member of the Sámi community. (Sarivaara & Keskitalo, 2015).

3. From Language Shift to Revitalisation

The "language shift" refers to a situation in which people stop using a language and instead make use of another, usually the language of the dominant culture. For example, people may cease to speak in their mother tongue language to their children and stop using it in other contexts or domains (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Linkola, 2014; Olthuis, Kivelä, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013; Rasmussen, 2013). Such a language shift usually occurs in a situation where languages have an unequal status in society. In addition, inequality can follow as a result of assimilation policies. It is unlikely that a language shift will occur in societies that ascribe the same rights to the majority and the minority languages (Rasmussen, 2013). Ó Laoire (2008, p. 204) described language sociology as follows:

> "Where language shift occurs in languages in contact situations, it usually reflects socio-political and socio-economic competitive tensions, conflicts and the struggle to establish a dominant cultural status between the different speech communities." (Ó Laoire, 2008, p. 204)

In Sámi context the level of language shift varies from place to place. Indeed, some traditional Sámi areas have experienced more intense assimilation compared to other part of Sámi regions. Assimilation managed to cause a language shift to a certain extent. For example, in some parts of the Norwegian Sámi coast and some areas of Finland a complete language shift occurred from Sámi languages to the majority language, so that some Sámi languages, for example Kemi Sámi, actually died out (e.g. Minde, 2005; Saarikivi, 2011). The Sámi languages have had to give way in large areas firstly due to Christianity and new cultures as early as the 1700s and 1800s. Secondly, in order to maintain traditional land, the Sámi people have become settlers, which also have also presumably contributed the language shift (Saarikivi, 2014). However, there is still major lack of research in Finland regarding the Sámi assimilation, although some scholars have highlighted local issues concerning language shift (Aikio, 1988).

Huss (1999) explains that in the modern world assimilation and revitalisation often happen side by side, so that there seems to be a contest between the two processes. This means that a language shift usually persists in spite of revitalisation. Rasmussen (2013) noted that even though revitalisation is underway in many communities, the language shift still continues in some form or other. An alternative to the language shift would be the establishment of language nests, and language revitalisation classes in locations where there is a need for them. Language nest means the certain kind of day care model where only the minority language is spoken. The aim of language nest is to protect endangered minority languages. (see e.g. Pasanen, 2015).

Depending on the starting point and the viewpoint of the research, the concept of language revitalisation can be explained in different ways. In general, revitalisation refers to measures aimed at preventing the language from dying out or slowing down the language loss (Fishman, 1991; Olthuis et al., 2013). According to Fishman (1991), language revitalisation is the systematic protection and revitalisation of language, with the main objective of increasing the number of language speakers and expanding the language domains. Such domains include, for example, the home, school, work, social media, other official contacts and friends. In addition, in order for language revitalisation to be successful, society must manifest a positive attitude towards the language needing to be revitalised (Fishman, 1991, 1999).

Helander (2009) notes that the aim of Sámi language revitalisation is to revive the Sámi languages in areas where their use is threatened. Further language revitalisation means to expand the domains of the Sámi languages or the use of language possibilities. In other words, language vitality is supported (Helander, 2009; Pasanen, 2003; Rasmussen, 2013; Todal, 2002, 2007, 2009). Huss (1999) suggests that revitalisation also means, for example, the older generation of people are learning their people's language and beginning to use it, or that people who have only been able to speak the language are learning to write it.

In other words, the revival of the language is not just down to individuals but also to entire communities. In order for language revitalisation to be successful, there should be support at both the community level as well as the individual level, in addition to the expansion of language domains. In Sámi homeland area, intergenerational language revitalisation has had considerable success with the Inari Sámi language (Pasanen, 2003).

4. Mediating Structures in Revitalisation

Mediation is a key objective of Sámi education and it is also particularly significant in multilingual and multicultural contexts. According to the Oxford American Writ-

er's Thesaurus (Auburn et al., 2012), the word "mediate" means to arbitrate, make peace, resolve and negotiate. Berger (1979) defined the concept of mediating structures as "those institutions which stand between the individual in his [sic] private sphere and the large institutions of the public sphere" (p. 169). Mediation includes inclusion and caring, in addition to participatory and conclusive motives. From this perspective, mediation is a versatile concept.

Keskitalo (2010) proposed that through *mediating structures* it is possible to resolve a school's culture and any possible cultural conflicts. In the context of Sámi education, the colonial history and asymmetrical power relations have prevented the Sámi from forming their own school culture. According to Keskitalo (2010), the necessary mediating structures must take account of time, space and knowledge understanding so that the school timetables, space and knowledge are rethought and the Sámi knowledge system and values are placed at the core.

The concept of bundle mediating structures was proposed by Berger and Neuhaus (1970), who suggested that family culture and school culture should be compounded in order to empower the people. In other words, mediating structures are intercultural educational tools. Further, Nurmi and Kontiainen (1995) adapted the model so that the mediating structures could operate in an intercultural educational context. Generally, in an intercultural context, cultural conflict is inevitable. Mediating structures communicate between the past, the present and the future circumferentially. Families, neighbourhood groups, religious groups, and voluntary associations were mentioned in Johnson's (1994) research as mediating structures. For example, in multilingual and multicultural educational practice, cultural conflicts can arise due to asymmetric power connections (Keskitalo, 2010). The concept of the bundle *mediating Sámi education* has been developed on the basis of joint educational activities and research (Keskitalo et al., 2013; Keskitalo & Sarivaara, 2014).

Aikio (2010) states that as Sámi education has been discoloured by the long history of assimilation, the most important Sámi educational goal is therefore the teaching of coping skills. In order to learn to cope, Sámi education aims for learners to be naturally helpful, peaceful, amicable, situation satisfied, curious in a familiar group, hardworking and imaginative (Aikio, 2010). These aspects have an inevitable impact on language revitalisation. Such revitalisation could therefore by further developed through education that relies on those personality aspects.

The mediating structures for language revitalisation require an awareness of socio-political and socio-economic issues as well as attempts to actively resolve these factors rather than simply leave them be. Schools, family, society, media, friends and leisure facilities are all important factors when revitalising languages. Schools may be ineffective at revitalisation by themselves, so other factors should also be invested. Ultimately, effective language revitalisation involves the following characteristics:

1. Adding new sets of speakers to the language, crucially involving the home domain and intergenerational transmission (King, 2009; Spolsky, 1989).
2. Adding new functions by introducing the language into domains where it was previously unused or relatively underused (Ó Laoire, 2006).
3. The language must be revived by both established speakers and neo-speakers (Huss, Grima, & Kind, 2003).
4. Involvement and activity on behalf of individuals and the speech community as well as awareness that positive attitudes, action, commitment, strong acts of will and sacrifice may be necessary to save and revitalise the language (Ó Laoire, 2006).

The objective of mediating structures is to reinforce cultural identity and indigeneity. Exclusionary models may lead to ethnocentric perspectives and, crucially, do not build a society that values pluralism and cultural diversity. Ethnocentrism is concept used for example in social science and education. William Graham Sumner (1906, p. 13) defines ethnocentrism as the view when one's own group is the centre and other groups are classified and assessed in relation to own group. According to our studies ethnocentrism does not empower indigenous peoples, but rather maintains essentialist paradigms. In addition, an ethnocentric perspective may trap individuals in the victim role, which in a collective context means that the group remains hindered by past discrimination. The victim role means that person feels him/herself unable to change his/her circumstances. It may bring negative discourse into communities and, in addition, it involves negative emotions such as scapegoating and seeing a future without hope. However, the victim role does tend to be one phase within indigenous peoples' consciousness raising and revitalisation processes. Indeed, traumatic experiences of the past should be grieved for and openly discussed within communities so that people are finally able to move on from them. However, the victim role may constitute a problematic base for discourse within indigenous peoples' communities. Also, essentialism and ethnocentrism may generate negative attitudes towards indigenous peoples. Minorities would benefit from constructing strategies that strengthen their minority position. Therefore, mediating structures are tools that aim to dismantle the asymmetric power structures. Educators and pedagogies play a core role in preventing phenomena that challenge society in several ways. Also, researchers in-

volved with indigenous peoples' education are important in conducting practical measurements of language revitalisation.

5. Obstacles and Facilities to Revitalisation

There may occur many barriers and obstacles due to process of language revitalisation. However, there are also many possibilities that should be highlighted rather than just focusing on barriers. One of the major themes was raised by Sarivaara (2012), and concerns the question of who particularly is authorised to take part in language revitalisation. This leads to question: who is indigenous enough. Smith (1999/2012) argues that indigenous identity has often been based on a set of requirements concerning authenticity and essentialism. Moreover, the authenticity attributed to indigenous peoples is based on stereotypical perspectives on their culture. Thus, the images of culture are understood only narrowly. Hall (1999) states that when stereotyping, all of the named issues are going to be reduced to some simple characteristic, they are overstated and then all of the inappropriate stereotypes are excluded. The stereotypical model is not neutral, but instead shows the generally accepted and shared views of the social group. Ideas about social groups are often drawn from stereotypes (Hall, 1999). Essentialist identity understanding demonstrates an unchangeable, traditional and clear-cut view of identity. From this point of view, a person's identity remains the same throughout his/her life. For example, Sámi status has been understood as a gateway to revitalisation. In Finland, in some cases only those who are officially registered as Sámi in Sámi Parliament's electroral roll are able to take part in language revitalisation without questioning or excluding. There are numerous political and practical gatekeeper issues that may hamper language revitalisation (Sarivaara, 2012).

Sarivaara in her PhD research interviewed 15 individuals who have revitalised the Sámi language. These revivers of the Sámi languages are concerned about the future of the language and so are committed to promoting it. The study offers a new perspective on the discourse concerning Sámi identity and its boundaries. Sarivaara proposes that language support measures should be extended when revitalising; the threshold to participate in the language being revitalised should be lowered; and options should be widely offered. Further, investment must be made in motivational issues, the childhood language domain must be extended, language choices on a basis should be supported, and the possibilities for language study should be extended (Sarivaara, 2012). Every individual's background should be appreciated. It seems that there are lots of conflicts involved in language revitalisation. It is important to be aware of the psychological effect whereby a common background is assumed as part of the heritage of colonialism and assimilation. A lack of appreciation of Sámi languages in education and in society in general has caused a situation where feelings of shame hinder language revitalisation. In addition, there are also political, structural and practical hindrances that slow down and prevent language revitalisation. Also, the demand for a pure blood, official Sámi identity may be one of criteria for obtaining the privilege of revitalising the Sámi language. This means that an indigenous person's authenticity may be questioned. According to Smith (1999/2012), such questioning can prove hurtful, especially to individuals who already feel marginalised.

Keskitalo (2010) highlighted how multiple and demanding intercultural learning practices can be implemented in classrooms in Norway Sámi Schools. She suggests that Sámi knowledge, time and understanding of place should be integrated into the curriculum so as to better motivate both pupils and teachers (Keskitalo, 2010). Local values and localism are key due to multicultural and minority/indigenous schooling issues (Babaci Wilhite, 2015). After all, Sámi education is a highly diverse issue due to the history of assimilation. Pupils come from culturally different backgrounds, which also result in different identities and different worlds of experiences. The teacher's role includes supporting pupils' cultural identity, so there is a need to understand the complex and multiple phenomena of the cultural identity of both teachers and pupils (Banks, 2013). These aspects should therefore play a key role in education.

6. Discussion

The concept of mediating Sámi education involves instruments aimed at constructively resolving conflicts. In addition, it is an activity that strengthens emancipation. Education is based on caring and inclusive activities. Mediating Sámi education thus results in workable models for the resolution of conflicts. Among other things, such mediation of Sámi education is interested in how education can disassemble oblique and unequal connections between communities. Another important development measure involves looking at how we can strengthen the pedagogical research concerning mediating and inclusive indigenous identities. Several issues have become topical lately in the context of indigenous education and they will help to dismantle the heritage of assimilation (see Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008).

The concrete issue that deserves the first priority is to solve constructively intern conflicts and oppression within Sámi society. For example, defaulting communication and poor management of internal conflict are part of the process of lateral violence, which is an expression of internalized colonialism. Internalized colonialism can be harmful for the indigenous society because it gets oppressed people to work against each other. Richard Frankland states, that:

> "[T]he organised, harmful behaviours that we do to each other collectively as part of an oppressed group: within our families; within our organisations and; within our communities. When we are consistently oppressed we live with great fear and great anger and we often turn on those who are closest to us". (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011, p. 8)

Mediating structures should generate synergic connections within the revitalisation process. This basically means aiming to increase the synergy between different groups. Such synergy forms as a result of cooperation and extended networking. However, it demands tolerance, solidarity and the development of cultural identities. Language revitalisation in mediating education enables individual to construct and strengthen their cultural identity and language skills within a community characterised by a positive atmosphere and spirit. It is then possible that individuals are able to develop and flourish. In addition, practical language-related activities should be implemented as soon as possible, whether that means language nests for kindergarten children, primary school revitalisation language classes or adult revitalisation teaching. Societal support for plans, goals and economy is important, but individuals' own attitudes towards the revitalisation process are more important.

Empowerment, revitalisation, education and research are the core components of the transformation and future for indigenous peoples. Today, Sámi pupils are members the future society. It is necessary to explore what kind of Sámi society is desired, what kind of values are important, and what kind of issues should be changed. The objective of research is to identify oppressive and undignified issues, and also to try and solve them (see Suoranta & Ryynänen, 2014). In addition, mediating structures corroborate human rights, which aim to include all peoples and involve them in the development of society. Language revitalisation benefits mediating structures, since it enforces individuals' language learning and hence increases language domains. Mediating structures also aim to tackle—at a societal level, practical macro and micro level, and an individual level—the complicated practical and psychological issues that may help or hinder language revitalisation. Research in this area would benefit from practical work with language revitalisation. Researchers and educators should thus work together to help language revitalisation to progress.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Social versus Spatial Mobility? Mongolia's Pastoralists in the Educational Development Discourse

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Abstract
When it comes to education for mobile pastoralists, Mongolia is an exceptional case. Until fifty years ago, herders comprised the majority of the Mongolian population. Although a satellite of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic was a state in which mobile pastoralism was not challenged, and herders were not constructed as social outcasts. Equally exceptional was the country's modernisation, witnessed in its decided alignment with equal opportunities. In Mongolia, it was not 'nomadism' that was associated with backwardness, but illiteracy. Policy-makers aimed to combine spatial with social mobility by building schools further and further out in the grasslands, employing locals as teachers, and fostering interplay between modern formal education and extensive animal husbandry. Yet after 1990, when development discourse pigeon-holed post-socialist Mongolia as a Third World country, the so-called shock therapy led to severe cuts in education. Herders were essentialised as 'nomads', which caused donor-driven policies of educational planning to construe pastoralists as challenges. Ironically, during the initial decade of *Education for All,* the younger generation had—for the first time in Mongolia's history—less educational opportunities than their parents. This article discusses narratives of inclusion and the political consequences of ascribed social identities.

Keywords
development discourse; essentialism; inclusion; nomads; postsocialism; social and spatial mobility

Issue
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1. Introduction

Mongolia[1] is the least densely populated state in the world (1.8 people per square km), and has the largest contiguous common grasslands. Mongolia's herders have experienced drastic changes over the last twenty-five years during the so-called "transition".[2] Today, half of Mongolia's three million inhabitants cluster in the capital Ulaanbaatar; around 30% live in rural areas. Rural-urban migration was prompted largely by the neglect of rural areas, consecutive economic crises, and environmental degradation, but also by climate change and the mining boom. Although the country maintained high levels of education, the demographic changes caused by massive rural-to-urban migration led to alarming disparities between Mongolia's few urban centres and its rural areas. 47.8% of the rural population are now considered below the poverty line, and poor households show a high rate (20.5%) of having either no education or only a primary education. Agriculture, including herding, accounts for 18.1–23% of

[1] This article focuses on the Mongolian state (self-designated as *Mongol Uls*), the former Mongolian Peoples' Republic (1924–92), which is also known as Outer Mongolia. For studies on minority education in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in PR China, see Leibold and Yangbin (2014).

[2] Former socialist countries, which used to belong to the so-called 'Second World', were classified as 'transition countries' in 1990 under the assumption that they would perform their "transition to a new order" (Innes-Brown, 2001, p. 77) by following Western ideas. The "prescribed pillars of transition" (Kerven, 2003, p. 16) were privatisation, deregulation, and withdrawal of the state.

Mongolia's GDP and provides work for 34–38.5% of the country's labour force. 92% of countryside inhabitants own livestock, as do 54% of county-centre residents and 17% of province-centre dwellers. The number of livestock, which had remained relatively stable between 22-25 million animals for fifty years, has nearly doubled since 1990—the number of cashmere goats has even quadrupled—at the cost of pasture degradation (United Nations Development Programme & Government of Mongolia, 2011, pp. 33-47).

Before the political changes of 1990, mobile herders were not characterized as 'nomads', and they were neither marginalised, nor educationally deprived. This article shows how the recent discursive 'nomadisation' of herders contributed to a dispossession of their previously well-respected status. In Mongolia, narratives of 'inclusion' are inseparably linked to constructions of social stratification, which in turn have been constituted by development discourses (Stolpe, 2008).

Hardly any state is so heavily associated with nomadism as Mongolia. Mongolians are portrayed as 'nomads' par excellence—whether in movies, picture books, photo exhibitions or at the International Tourism Fair, where Mongolia was featured as the official partner country with the slogan *Nomadic by Nature* in spring 2015. Yet those who live as mobile pastoralists have never labelled themselves 'nomads'. Until the mid-twentieth century, the majority of the Mongolian population was engaged in extensive pastoralism. Thus, as the norm, the mobile way of life did not require any contrastive terminology. Nowadays, the academic world widely agrees that "Nomadism is a category imagined by outsiders" (Humphrey & Sneath, 1999, p. 1), an external ascription of difference. Mongolian academics have criticised the emerging boom of a discursive 'nomadisation' as ingratiation with external perceptions. Dorjgotov (2002, p. 109) pointed out, "If we call ourselves *nomadic people* it will mean that we are simply a homeless tribe or people having no permanent abode. What kind of people will we be after all?" The quote indicates that the new nomad-image appears alien because it is implicitly associated with backwardness. Moreover, as Myadar (2011, p. 335) noted, the image serves "the habit of outsiders to construct an imagined Other and the need of Mongolians for cultural demarcation".

When today's urban Mongolians present their state as a 'country of nomads', they take up a common—and profitable—stereotype. Whether in tourism, research environments, development policy, or with regard to postmodern lifestyles, fascination with 'nomadism' is undiminished. More often than not, the ascription of this collective identity is associated with quite abstruse "myths of the nomad" (Khazanov, 1984/1994, p. 1), which derive their attraction from the binary opposition nomadic-sedentary. Not without reason, Chakrabarty (2000, p. 6) stated that European categories are "both indispensible and inadequate". In Mongolia, the stylisation as a 'country of nomads' is exclusively present in cosmopolitan settings, which indicates the political dimensions of cultural representation. Clammer (2003, p. 21) characterised the process of "mapping the Self with the categories of the Other" as "intellectual colonialism." When examining terminological change, I follow Clammer's suggestion to use a methodology "that might move beyond the temptations of either Orientalism or Occidentalism", particularly with regard to two aspects:

> First, recognition of the extent to which local readings of Asian societies using the disciplinary frameworks of Western academic subjects with their built-in epistemological biases is at the basis of self-misrepresentations, as much as it is the source of Orientalist misrepresentations. Second, paying serious attention to indigenous social theory and refusing the temptation to dismiss it as 'nativist'. (2003, pp. 28-29)

The Mongolian case features an additional dimension: before and after the Cold War, two contrary development paradigms determined the designation of herders, which reflected a change in the political frame of reference and entailed a shift in the external audience addressed. Mongolian categories remained largely untouched by these changes (but also largely ignored). Today's one-sided adaptation to hegemonic categories of the West may be motivated by strategic and/or pragmatic reasons; however, its associated homogenisation inevitably obscures distinctive cultural features. In order to shed light on the interplay of self-perception and ascribed attributes as well as their implications for the development discourse, let me start by giving a brief historical account of canonised narratives on Mongolian herders.[3]

2. Shifting Paradigms—Inclusive and Exclusive Terms of Reference

Those who engage in extensive animal husbandry have never called themselves 'nomads'; instead, their endonym has always been *malchid*, [4] a de-nominal derivation from *mal* (i.e. Mongolian livestock: horses, sheep, cattle, goats, and camels). The oldest surviving literary historiography, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, provides information on a self-designation as "people with

[3] For a complementary analysis of Mongolian educational terms, see Stolpe (2010).

[4] The spelling of modern Mongolian words follows the established convention widely accepted in English-language literature. Terms in quotations and names in references remain in their original form. Unless otherwise indicated, all materials appear in the author's translation.

felt-wall dwellings" (Taube, 2005, p. 139)—a medieval version of defining an ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1996) via this particular kind of mobile housing (commonly *yurt*, in Mongolian *ger*).

Since the 1990s, Mongolia-related English publications have used the term 'nomads' only reluctantly; instead, they have preferred 'herders', 'pastoralists' or 'herdsmen' (Fernández-Giménez & Huntsinger, 1999; Ginsburg, 1997; Mearns, 1993a, 1993b; Schmidt, 1995; Sneath, 1996, 1999, 2000; Szynkiewicz, 1998). This reluctance to use the term 'nomadism' mirrors an awareness that has arisen from the orientalism debates. While we hardly find 'nomadism' in the writings themselves, the term features prominently in book titles (Ginat & Khazanov, 1998; Humphrey & Sneath, 1999; Krätli, 2000 Stolpe, 2008; Tavakolian, 2003). Publications that have been translated from Mongolian into English also use the terms 'herders' or 'breeders', as they come closest to the original *malchid* (cf. Gundsambuu, 2002; Namkhainyambuu, 2000; Natsagdorj, 1967). In contrast to *malchid*, which dominates Mongolian discourses, *nüüdelchid*—the equivalent for 'nomads'—has been used primarily in historical accounts that deal with the emergence of human life in Central Asia (Ganbaatar, 2001; Lkhagva, 2003; Tömörjav, 1989; Tsanjid, 2005). Exceptions are publications by the *International Institute for the Study of Nomadic Civilisations,* where Mongolian authors have adapted their wording to fit the 'nomadism' programme (cf. Avdai et al., 2003; Enebish, 2002; Sum'yaa, 2005; Tömörjav, 2002). This terminological change towards 'nomads' and 'nomadism' applies all the more for English publications by Mongolian scholars (Enebish, 2004; Enkhtuvshin, 2002, 2004; Enkhtuvshin & Tumurjav, 2001). Although such terms were hardly used by Mongolian scholars prior to the end of the 1990s, they are currently booming. Apart from obvious pragmatic reasons, including a seemingly convenient translatability, the term 'nomad' provides considerable advantages in the struggle to gain attention—whether in tourism, pop culture, research proposals, or development projects. In this way, Mongolian 'nomads' are an invention of post-socialism.

During socialism, in all texts that were directed at an external audience, the discursive space that is today occupied by 'nomad' was the domain of *arat*. Within the socialist camp, this conception had evolved to become *the* established term for designating Mongolian herders, while it remained largely unknown on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Before the Mongolian revolution, *arat* was used to describe a certain group of herders through reference to property and ownership relations (cf. Natsagdorj, 1967). Sneath (2003) noted that, when the Mongolian Peoples' Republic was founded in 1924, no equivalent for the term 'people' existed. Since *arat* (correct in Mongolian: *arad/ard*) means 'common people/commoner', it came closest to the understanding of 'people' as intended in accordance with Marxist class theory. Given that Mongolia had neither a proletariat nor peasants, *arat* became their functional equivalent. Accordingly, the constitution of 1940 stated that the Mongolian Peoples' Republic was an independent state of working people, *arat*-herders, workers, and intelligentsia. Soon after, the notion of *arat* underwent another transformation: from class categorization to professional designation. Regardless of whether they had a formal education, herders were ascribed the status of well-respected professionals, and their societal acknowledgment was undoubted.

When comparing the disparate impact of the two terms used to address a foreign audience (the self-designation *malchid* has remained), the term *arat* has clearly created a positive collective identity. Ideologically-ridden or not, associating herders with 'the people' and equating their work with every other profession enabled *arats* to actively take part in modernization. Consequently, they were considered mainstream, and hence portrayed neither as exceptional nor as marginalised. In addition to its professional status, pastoralism was esteemed as a primary source of valuable indigenous knowledge—including on the philosophy of education—in countless Mongolian publications issued during socialism (Dash, 1966; Shagdarsüren, 1969; Sükhee, 1988; Tömörjav, 1989; retrospective: Chagdaa, 2002; Shagdar, 2000). In contrast, the post-socialist construction of the term 'nomad' came as an act of othering and caused pastoralists to be characterized as a challenge by donor-driven development policies. As will be shown below, the political dimension of social identities strongly influenced how "societies stratify and divide…and how the processes that include and exclude are talked about, described, understood, and experienced" (Allman, 2013, p. 6).

Pastoralism and education policy in the Mongolian People's Republic were once closely interconnected, aiming at combining spatial with social mobility. Yet, donor agencies, which dominated the formulation of Mongolian education policies after the end of socialism, denied this unique combination when they equated Mongolia with 'developing countries'. The term *arat* was replaced by 'nomad' at the same time Mongolia was downgraded from a Second World to a Third World country. These changing representations did not remain at a discursive level, but structured political action guided by a development paradigm, which did not favour social inclusion. Furthermore, there was a widespread tendency to condemn everything associated with socialism for ideological reasons and to simply equate Mongolia with the Soviet Union; in an orthodox narrative, nomadism and socialism are considered antipodes with the latter attempting to abolish the first by means of settlement. Such black-and-white thinking usually ignores two aspects: first, nomadism had been considered an outdated, inefficient way of life and an

obstacle to modernization on *either* side of the Iron Curtain (cf. Dyer, 2001; Fratkin, 1997; Galaty & Johnson, 1990; Krätli, 2000). Second, forced settlement is, more often than not (especially under post-socialist conditions), connected to privatisation, poverty, and land grabbing. Throughout post-socialist Central Asia, pastoralists' mobility decreased after 1990 (cf. Kerven, 2003), and Mongolia is no exception to this trend.

However, the country used to be exceptional: although the Mongolian Peoples' Republic was strongly influenced by its 'elder brother to the North' (*khoid akh*), nomadism policy was one of the spheres in which the satellite kept a considerable distance from its leading star. Unlike pastoralists in Soviet Central Asia, herders in the MPR were spared settlement programmes since pastoralism was acknowledged as the key branch of Mongolia's agriculture. Another area in which the MPR kept its distance from Soviet policy was collectivisation. While it was pushed through violently in the Soviet Republics, the first attempt in the MPR was cancelled because of uprisings. The second attempt was not made until thirty years later and resulted in the desired success due to incentive-based procedures and improvements in overall conditions (cf. Finke, 2000, 2004; Humphrey & Sneath, 1999; Szynkiewicz, 1998; Tömörjav, 2002). Consequently, "Pastoralism did not experience any economic, political or ideological marginalisation in Mongolia because its importance in economic respects and its being a fundamental feature of traditional Mongolian culture was generally acknowledged" (Finke, 2004, p. 398).

The collectivisation of livestock was complemented by services provided through modern institutions like schools, hospitals, post-offices, veterinary stations, shops, cultural centres, and libraries. The presence of rural centres is sometimes interpreted as an indicator of settlement policy, although, as comparative studies have shown, the mere existence of immobile infrastructures does not imply decreasing spatial mobility (Humphrey & Sneath, 1999). There is a broad consensus that the successful combination of mobile and sedentary lifestyles in the course of modernisation led to mutual integration, which Mongolian scholars capture in a nutshell with the phrase *neg uls, khoyor irgenshil*—"one state, two civilisations" (Bira, 1998/1999; Chagdaa, 2002; Chuluunbaatar, 2002; Gundsambuu, 2002). This wording is by no means coincidental since civilisation is associated with modernity and progress. Both are unthinkable without social mobility. It is fair to say that the Mongolian Peoples' Republic was probably the only state with a "nomad-mainstreaming" (Stolpe, 2015, p. 28) strategy, since MPR state policy—as well as institutions—aimed to promote equal opportunities. By the end of the 1960s, the MPR was the first state in Asia to achieve general literacy through universal basic education; for its success, the MPR was awarded a UNESCO medal in 1970 (Dorzhsuren, 1981, p. 109; Sandhaasüren & Shernossek, 1981, p. 12). In discussing equal opportunities, another unique feature should be mentioned: the inverse gender gap. Since gender balance was reached in the 1970s, Mongolian educational institutions have had a higher proportion of female graduates. By the end of socialism, Mongolia had a literacy rate of 96.5% (Mongol Ulsyn Zasgyn Gazar & UNDP, 1997, p. 7). Thus, a country shaped by mobile animal husbandry had "a higher literacy rate than the United Kingdom or the United States, and a higher tertiary education rate than most countries in the developed world" ("Call for increased focus on education", 1997, p. 7).

All this could be achieved because of the close connection between education policy and animal husbandry—particularly witnessed in school organisation—and because of the permeability of Mongolia's educational system, which encouraged upward mobility for pastoralists. In brief, the following factors contributed to the mutual integration of education and nomadism. The universal right to free education was part of the first constitution of the MPR, issued in 1924. Consequently, secular primary schools implemented the modern and socially inclusive principal of co-education. Mobile teachers offered literacy training for youth and adults. The first boarding schools in the grassland appeared during the 1930s, and were—at first—mostly situated in *gers*. Unlike the USA (Child, 1998; Connell Szasz, 1974/1999) and the USSR (Bloch, 2003), Mongolia's boarding schools did not encourage assimilation to a sedentary lifestyle, de-skilling (Dyer, 2001; Krätli, 2000), or cultural alienation. In fact, they continued a pre-socialist model of access to formal education for children from herder families. Prior to the revolution, monastic schools throughout the country had offered formal education for boys. From the 1930s, anti-religious laws prohibited enrollment in monastic schools; yet by the time the first state-run boarding schools were established, the model of lodging in the nearest educational institution had already been mainstream in the steppe for a long time. They attempted to provide a family-oriented atmosphere, allowing siblings and/or neighbours (boys and girls alike) to share a *ger*, or, later, a room (Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006). In 1943, schools for young herders were established in the countryside, and women were particularly encouraged to gain formal education. Nearly all teachers had a background in pastoralism, and most of them were locals. By the end of the 1940s, all provinces (*aimag*) and a few counties (*sum*)[5] had a secondary school. In Mongolia, it was not 'nomadism' that was associated with backwardness, but illiteracy, which the official historiographical narrative represented as the heritage of feudalism

[5] There were several administrative reforms during socialism. While the number of *aimag* (18) was stable for decades, the number of *sum* fluctuated around 300. Today, Mongolia is divided into 21 *aimag*, 331 *sum,* and 1,550 *bag*.

(Dorzhsuren, 1981, p. 109; Sanzhasuren, 1981, p. 89).

Compulsory school attendance for all children was fully implemented only in the school year 1955/56, when the herder collectives (*negdel*) helped build schools with dormitories further and further out in the steppe. With collectivisation came social security for herders and a reduction in workload due to specialisation. Nevertheless, labour was always scarce, which informed the annual school schedule's coordination around peak-periods in animal husbandry. Together with late school entry (at age 8) and long vacations, this coordination ensured that schoolchildren were continuously socialised into pastoralism, which encouraged situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in mobile animal husbandry. Moreover, polytechnical classes were now and again held by members of herder collectives, and university students were periodically sent to the countryside to help during labour peaks. Most Mongolian state institutions, including educational institutions, had their own herds. [6] Those who tended the school herds (*surguuliin malchid*) were members of the school collective; they appeared beside teachers, nurses, cooks, and janitors in wall newspapers or booklets that introduced school staff. The most considerable expansion and internal differentiation of the educational system began after 1962, when the MPR became a full member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON/CMEA) and began receiving a higher amount of external funding to extend and maintain its boarding school system. By the 1970s, almost every county (*sum*) had a secondary school with a dormitory. Further, many herder collectives built primary schools in even the smallest administrative subunits (*bag*) that were closest to the pastures.

Most teachers shared their students' background, which explains why, to this very day, Mongolian schools are very flexible in adjusting to the needs of those who practice animal husbandry. For example, if weather conditions require herders to graze their animals on remote pastures, teachers tolerate students' late appearance at the beginning of the new school year. During times of hardship like *zud*,[7] rural schools still organise help for herders, as they did during socialism. Under socialism, schools introduced the so-called 'summer task' (*zuny daalgavar*), which required students to explore features of the local geography and prepare concentrated forage (i.e. allium pellets) as part of *zud*-prevention. During the post-socialist crisis of the 1990s, the summer task was distorted: since rural schools suffered from a lack of state support, children were expected to collect dried dung for heating, as well as bring meat and dried curd as contributions to the suddenly scarce food provisions in dormitories. With the recent commercialisation of horseracing, it has become customary for schools to allow students to take extra vacations to train racehorses in the steppe; nowadays, poor families who live in urban areas (especially in the highly polluted capital Ulaanbaatar) consider racehorse training a welcome opportunity to send their children to the countryside for healthier food and fresh air.[8] These examples may illustrate against what background Krätli, who did a comparative study on education provision to nomadic pastoralists, identified as a remarkable "non antagonistic culture towards nomadism" (Krätli, 2000, p. 48) during his on-site research in Mongolia. All schools were part of the same education system, and pastoralists were not segregated. Namkhainyambuu remembered:

> In 1971, I was a youth representative in Ulaanbaatar, and I participated in the Fourth Mongolian-Soviet Games. At that time I understood that there is nothing a young man can't do and can't learn. I also discovered how the young boast of their vigour and hard work, as well as realising that the profession of herder was well respected. In 1972, the labour youth representatives from one hundred and twenty nations held a meeting in Moscow….Thus because of my herds, I was able to travel abroad and see the world. (Namkhainyambuu, 2000, p. 53)

An even more prominent example of (even extraterrestrial) upward mobility is Mongolia's one and only cosmonaut J. Gurragchaa, likely the only spaceman worldwide who comes from a pastoralist family. Gurragchaa's parents followed their son's 1981 space flight by listening to a live broadcast from a battery radio in their *ger,* out in the steppe (Ontsgoi tomilolt, 2001).

Against this backdrop, it is evident why the post-socialist downgrade from the Second to the Third World was shocking, even more so since the *Human Development Index* data did not correspond to this category. But in the face of the severe economic crisis that followed the collapse of the COMECON, Mongolia's government had to make concessions to international donors to receive loans. While most accounts written by foreigners tend to praise the initial years of democratisation as liberation, paving the way to free-

[6] For rural schools, it is still an advantage to own a herd and thus be able to provide dormitory students and teachers with meat supplies.

[7] *Zud*: times of hardship during the winter/spring season. From the perspective of Mongolian herders, *zud* is the effect, not the cause, contrary to the widespread Eurocentric representation of *zud* as a 'high snow' or 'cold spell', neither of which necessarily leads to a disastrous mass mortality of livestock. The Mongolian standard idiom *gan zud* shows that drought (*gan*) usually precedes *zud*. The complexity of causes and effects is reflected in sub-categories of *zud*. Political and structural conditions significantly influence whether or not weather conditions result in a disastrous loss of herds (Stolpe, 2011).

[8] Personal communication and exchange of letters with teachers of rural and urban schools, as well as with students and parents (2003–2015).

dom, Mongolian citizens (even in retrospect) hardly describe the early years of post-socialism as times of upswing. Especially in rural areas, the so-called transition was perceived as a regression, as "having lost decades of improvement with conditions beginning to resemble those of the 1940s!" (Sneath, 2002, p. 196). What had happened? Reforms in the agricultural sector started in 1991–93 with de-collectivisation, which was generally well-received. Many herder families took their children, especially boys, out of school in order to cope with the workload that came with multi-species herds, and the inverse gender gap widened in the 1990s: by 1997, 16.7% more girls had entered secondary school in rural areas than boys (Yembuu, 2008, p. 28). After the privatisation of 26 million heads of livestock, animal husbandry was the only economic sector with good growth rates. But the withdrawal of the state resulted in the collapse of rural infrastructure, including essential social services. This led, in combination with unemployment and the disastrous supply situation, to a retreat into rural subsistence economy. The 95,000 so-called new nomads (Mongol Ulsyn Zasgyn Gazar & UNDP, 1997, p. 17) were mostly former state employees who tried to make ends meet with "pre-modern means of subsistence" (Bruun, 1996, p. 65). By the end of the 1990s, this apparent conversion to 'nomadism' had shifted into a massive rural-to-urban migration of more than half a million people, thus turning the so-called nomads into a minority.

Rural areas have been disadvantaged since 1990, especially in service provision. At present, 68% of Mongolia's three million people live in urban areas, most of which have settled in Ulaanbaatar (United Nations Development Programme in Mongolia, 2014). In the coldest capital of the world, which has recently gained sad notoriety for peak amounts of air pollution, two thirds of the population live in *ger* districts with insufficient infrastructure. Reasons for rural-to-urban migration are manifold, but the hope for social mobility—i.e. for better educational opportunities—ranks, after economic reasons, second. This is due to the fact that, after the political changes, the younger generation who lived in the countryside had poorer educational opportunities than their parents' generation had had. In contrast to other parts of the world (for Tibet see Postiglione, Jiao, Xiaoliang, & Tsamla, 2014), where pastoralists never had proper access to formal education, there was no need to popularise formal education in Mongolia. On the contrary, herders actively defended their right to equal educational access in order to remain an integral part of modern society.

2.1. Herders in the Blind Spot of Educational Development

The present unequal access to quality education in Mongolia is, for the most part, a result of the educational reform undertaken in the 1990s. The first Masterplan, prepared in 1993, proposed for rural areas low-budget schools with multi-class teaching, mobile teachers, and even *ger* schools. Under Qing rule, *ger* schools (*geriin surguul'*) were established to qualify clerks (*khia*) for menial tasks (Baasanjav, 1999, p. 325; Rinchen, 1964, pp. 30-33; Shagdar, 2000, p. 70; Shagdarsüren, 1976, p. 26). In the earliest years of socialism, *ger* schools were considered a makeshift solution because, in contrast to modern school buildings, they could not provide facilities for modern, science-oriented teaching. Hence, the rural population, including herders, who had been used to equal opportunities, did not approve of these discriminatory suggestions made by the Master Plan. While some foreign consultants considered it a good idea to link the present with pre-socialist times, even after more than seventy years, herders resisted school models, which they considered relics of a bygone past. Yet, the new dominant ideology implied that schools would be an "instrument of sedentarization", that "boarding schools introduce children to the sedentary lifestyle" (Postiglione et al., 2014, p. 108), and that "modern school education is not embraced by local people" (Postiglione et al., 2014, p. 118). In Mongolia, the opposite had been the case. Yet even the most successful features of the educational system had to give way to a neoliberal ideology that treated history as reversible, as though socialism "only existed outside the 'correct flow of history'", and as if countries could return to a "*status quo ante*" (Giordano & Kostova, 2002, p. 78), which was imagined as their 'true' self. Disillusioned statements like the following have been heard in Mongolia ever since: "Foreign consultants tend to come in with answers before they know the questions—these are answers they have produced in other countries and they don't really have the time to develop the true needs for Mongolia" ("Call for increased focus on education", 1997, p. 7).

In this context, Mongolian pastoralists were suddenly ascribed all kinds of vaguely 'nomadic' interests that, more often than not, ignored the target group's views. Herders saw mobile teachers,[9] *ger* schools, and multi-class instruction as second-class education that provided students with poor qualifications. Reducing people to being 'nomads' proved to be an essentialisiation of spatial mobility and demonstrated ignorance of the fact that modern social mobility is based, worldwide, on the social capital of formal education: as Dyer and Choksi found during their fieldwork among Indian pastoralists in Gujarat, the Rabari expected formal education to provide added value, and considered it an important means of emancipation (Dyer & Choksi, 1998).

Some proposals of the first Masterplan were a con-

[9] A much promoted mobile teacher project initiated by UNICEF was terminated in 1998; no replacement was provided.

sequence of downgrading Mongolia to the so-called Third World. As a result, the country was subjected to neoliberal education policies in a similar manner as sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 1993), which had even been dealt with as a single entity (Samoff, 1999). The "discursive homogenization" (Escobar, 1997, p. 92) of the so-called developing world allowed 'developing' countries hardly any control, let alone ownership. They lost control to foreign consultants who displayed a been-there-done-that attitude and came up with a prefabricated canon of recommendations. Accordingly, former Education Secretary Tsanjid criticised the rigid policies of international donor agencies as "Westernising" (*örnödchlökh*) or "Americanising" (*amerikchlakh*) approaches, which seemed all the more bitter to Mongolians in light of their hope that ideological constraints would disappear with the end of socialism (Tsanjid, 2005). Regarding education for pastoralists, the status loss from Second to Third World became a self-fulfilling prophecy: simultaneously with what is usually called 'transition to democracy', children from nomadic families encountered significant structural discrimination for the first time in Mongolian history. Decreasing school attendance in the 1990s led to a statistically relevant recurrence of illiteracy—ironically synchronous with the first *Education for All* decade.[10]

Boarding schools, although undoubtedly key to ensuring universal access to education in Mongolia, turned into the most contested subject of educational reforms. Under the structural adjustment programme, the Mongolian government was pressured to reduce public spending on education and forced to cut its budget in half (World Bank, 2002). Small and boarding schools were now considered not cost-effective; some were shut down. Since the early 1990s, Mongolian government representatives desperately tried to garner support to save dormitories, but their requests fell on deaf ears. Even a specially prepared application for the 2001 donor conference in Paris was rejected. Since no Western models could have been imported into the Mongolian education system, boarding schools fell from grace for obviously ideological reasons: donors refused to retain a model that was associated with the socialist past, no matter its inclusivity. Thus, the main vehicle for education fell victim to a transfer vacuum. One noteworthy exception to this ideologically biased neoliberal policy was the Rural School Development Project, funded by DANIDA[11] and managed jointly by the Mongolian Association of Primary and Secondary School Development (MAPSSD) and the Mongolian State University of Education. The Rural School Development Project operated from 2000–2010, and engaged 80 remote boarding schools across Mongolia by using a community-based approach to enhance the quality of and access to education. At a time when rural Mongolia had been widely ignored by all major donors, the project helped communities improve boarding school facilities and develop strategies to foster social inclusion of children from herder and poor families.

The post-socialist crisis of Mongolia's educational system found its most spectacular expression in soaring drop-out rates, which reached a peak in 1992/93, when 48,446 students left school (Mongol Ulsyn Zasgyn Gazar & UNDP, 1997, p. 25). Most dramatic was the situation in rural areas, where nine out of one hundred children between ages 8 and 10 did not attend school. For youth between ages 11 and 17, drop-out rates reached 50% in 1996 (Batjargal, 1997, pp. 43-44). These unintended side-effects of the 'transition' became a hot issue of public debates. A much noted article was published in the national newspaper *Zuuny Medee* under the headline, "Among us are 200,000 adolescents who are illiterate" (Düger, 1999, p. 3). Sociologist Gundsambuu also expressed his concern about an emerging social inequality, and called the rising numbers of "uneducated or sub-educated youth and children" among herders "the main cattle-breeding feature of Mongolia" (Gundsambuu, 2002, p. 22). The 1997-Mongolian edition of the Human Development Report predicted that the low educational standard would be felt for the next 70 years (Mongol Ulsyn Zasgyn Gazar & UNDP, 1997, pp. 25-26). "70 years" clearly alludes to the success of accomplished literacy during the socialist era.

Interestingly, many studies located the problem's origin exclusively outside educational policy. The official *Education for All* report—which was published under the promising title *Mongolian National Report on Education for All Assessment—2000*, but was oddly based on a case study from 1996—provides the most striking example. The gross enrolment ratio showed a difference of more than 20% between enrolment in rural and urban areas, yet the report provided no analysis of this phenomenon, nor of the decrease in students who lived in dormitories, which dropped from 14.5% in 1990 to 4.1% in 1996. The study was compiled under the aegis of the government that was responsible for introducing the requirement that herder families provide foodstuffs in order to have their children accommodated in dormitories from 1996.[12] Through this requirement, mobile pastoralists became the only social group in Mongolia to pay for access to primary and secondary education, a payment that contravened article 16 of the 1992 Constitution, which declares the

[10] In 1990, Mongolia subscribed to the World Declaration on Education for All.

[11] DANIDA is the term used for Denmark's development cooperation, which falls under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

[12] The policy requested 70 kg of meat per child each school year. Poor families, especially those with more than one child in school, could not afford to slaughter animals.

right to basic education free of charge.[13] After 1996, poorer herder households could not afford to send their children to boarding schools until 2000, when these hidden fees were cancelled by decree of the new government, and forbidden by educational law in 2002. Most startling for a study called an "assessment" and done under the auspices of UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNFPA, and World Bank is, in addition to being based on outdated data from 1996, the reliance on a sample of merely 108 interviewees, only four of which were in Ulaanbaatar. Among the five reasons the report listed for dropping out of school, all but one located the problem on the side of the students and their families. Particularly striking is the report's use of the blaming category "lack of interest in learning" (Munkhjargal, 1999, p. 43), which was introduced in Mongolian discourses in the 1990s, and still persists in modern statistics despite the fact that the category has never been explained.[14]

Finally, the decentralization policy had unintended consequences for the access to and quality of education. The policy was based on the unproven assumption that decentralised decision making would automatically lead to better management. Alas, quite the contrary occurred: responsibilities were ill-defined, there was a lack of communication, planning did not have much effect in an environment of uncertainties, and school principals were expected to raise funds at a time when there was hardly any cash available in rural areas.[15] Paradoxically, since only larger schools in *aimag* centres received support from the Asian Development Bank, Mongolia's once-decentralised net of boarding schools became more centralized. Consequently, education-minded pastoralists were forced to either settle in provincial centres or separate their families (Steiner-Khamsi, Stolpe, & Tümendelger, 2003; Stolpe, 2008).

3. Discussion

In 2013, Mongolia ranked 103rd in the inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (a fall from its 2010 rank of 100) with Turkmenistan and the Maldives, following after the Dominican Republic (102), and Samoa and Palestine.[16] Not without reason does the latest Human Development Report highlight Mongolia's issues with sustainability and recommend that citizens be given opportunities to exercise freedom of participation, including the freedom to learn (United Nations Development Programme & Government of Mongolia, 2011, pp. 13, 35). Low turnouts in the last parliamentary election give cause for concern, particularly as processes of social exclusion are driving forces of post-democratic tendencies. Without doubt, poverty is the main contributor to social exclusion. Many children in Mongolia grow up under precarious circumstances and experience marginalisation on a daily basis. Comparative studies (Solga, 2014) suggest that investment in education be combined with high standards of social protection in order to enable as many people as possible to achieve the highest possible level of education. Although Mongolia's education policy makers are busy overcoming negative consequences of the so-called shock therapy that led to a disadvantage of pastoralists, the country's new urban-centrism is a strong counterforce. Even stronger is middle class centrism, which creates a lack of solidarity. Before I briefly return to this aspect, let me give some examples of the struggle to compensate for the shortcomings of non-inclusive policies.

It took more than a decade and a half to rehabilitate school dormitories. The current Education Masterplan (2006–2015), in accordance with the *Dakar framework for action: Education for all,* aims at "reduction of social inequality and disparities through undertaking strategic actions to make educational services accessible and inclusive at all territorial levels", and aims "to expand further opportunities of rural people and social [sic] vulnerable groups to obtain education" (Government of Mongolia, 2006, p. ix). Herder's children's access is to be improved by increasing accommodation in dormitories by 40.5%, and is designed to finally reach 75%. Drop-outs are to be returned to schools, or provided with non-formal education (Government of Mongolia, 2006, p. xiii). In order to get an impression of recent developments, it may be useful to review some statistical figures. In 2008/2009, a total of 492 boarding schools hosted about 8.4% of the overall student population. Out of the 42,064 students enrolled, 36,786 came from herder families. In 2009, 57% of all countryside schools[17] were located in *sum* centres, and 6% in *bag*-centres. *Sum* schools accommodated 20% of their students in dormitories; *bag*-schools accommodated more than 50% (UNESCO, 2011; Asian Development Bank, 2013, pp. 10ff). According to current statistics provided by the Mongolian Ministry of Education, out of the 762 schools in Mongolia, 552 are rural schools. At present (school year 2014/15), there are 486 dormitories, 12 of them privately owned. Of the 505,816 students enrolled in school, 109,599 are children from herder families (*malchdyn khüükhed*), 32,858 (30%) of which live in dormitories (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science,

[13] Since the amount of meat had to be delivered before one's child could be enrolled, this was considered a hidden fee (*dald tölbör*) by herder families who depended on the boarding school system.

[14] For a recent example, see: http://www.meds.gov.mn/data/1503/BDB14-15.pdf. The habit of collecting data without properly analysing them has been criticised by Mongolian educationalists since the late 1990s (cf. Monkhor & Damdinsüren, 1998).

[15] For comparable experiences in other parts of the world in the 1990s, cf. McGinn and Borden (1995) and Tatto (1999).

[16] http://hdr.undp.org/en/search/node/hdi%20mongolia

[17] Mongolian education statistics usually count provincial (*aimag*) centres under the category "countryside".

2015). These figures make the Masterplan's ambitious goal to house 75% of herder children by the end of 2015 decidedly unlikely.

While the current Masterplan acknowledges the significance of dormitories, some ADB consultants still fail to recognize their importance, as the following example shows. As part of the Asian Development Bank's *Financial Crisis Response Project*, studies were completed under the headline "Education for the Poor" in 2013 (ADB, 2013). The suggestions put forward for revision concern per student financing, school uniform cost reduction, and the kindergarten free meal programme. Per student financing, introduced in 1998, contributed to a chronic underfunding of rural schools, who received less and less funding as a result of rural-to-urban migration. Representatives and advocates of remote schools objected to this funding scheme, which led to countless corrections of the funding formula. Yet, with the suggestions made in the ADB-paper, dormitories fell into disgrace once more: "This is an added cost, unrelated to a school's primary purpose—student learning" (ADB, 2013, p. 18). The paper suggested that funding for dormitories be slashed by 90%; ironically, a footnote indicates that the authors of the study did not know the amount then spent on dormitories.[18] Interestingly, the Mongolian version of the study does not read "Education for the Poor", but instead reads, "Making education accessible for citizens of socially vulnerable groups" (*Niigmiin emzeg bülgiin irgeded bolovsrolyn ülchilgeeg khürgekh ni*), thereby using more politically correct language.

Since 1997, "*Gegeerel* (Enlightenment) Centres" existed in every district and *sum,* and were expected to provide literacy programmes for out-of-school children and youth. In 2001, the Ministry of Education started equivalency programmes, which complied with 75% of formal education standards (Yembuu, 2008). The programmes were meant to provide equivalent knowledge for all levels of education and "eradicate illiteracy" (Yembuu, 2008, p. 10). The newly amended Education Law of 2006 aimed to serve people outside the formal education system. However, non-formal education often deprives children of quality teaching. Those in charge tend to offer short-term courses on what is called 'livelihood training'—a potpourri of 'life skills' that are often not in demand by the target group. At present (school year 2014/15), 10,067 students—of which 6,895 are boys—participate in the programme (*düitsen khötölbör*) (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2015). The higher percentage of boys in the programme reflects the aftermath of the privatisation of livestock in the 1990s, when many herder families took boys out of school. Since a great number of pastoralists lost their herds during the consecutive *zud* disasters around the turn of the century, many of their now grown-up boys, lacking formal education, struggle to find a job.[19]

Statistical figures on drop-outs and out-of-school children are usually rather whitewashed, as they exclude those who participated in short-term courses of non-formal education. Figures currently report 94 drop-out/out-of-school children in Ulaanbaatar, and 1075 in the countryside. Of these children, 367 state poverty (*amidralyn gachigdal*) as the reason for their absence from school, but most (527) are reportedly out of school for health reasons. Figures are proportionally higher in the countryside, and the same applies for children not-yet enrolled (669 out of 726) (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2015). Hence, it is difficult to avoid the impression that this disproportionality was caused by the lowering of admission age from eight to seven in 2005 and from seven to six in 2008. Pastoralist families are clearly disadvantaged by these measures, which favour urbanites who live close to schools. As a consequence, children who live in the countryside drop out more often, or enroll later, two patterns that may bar the children from formal schooling if the family migrates to Ulaanbaatar, where formal schools refuse to accept overage children.

After a decade of neglect, several programmes fostered the resurrection of the rural infrastructure in hopes of reducing rural-urban migration. The three-phase, World Bank-financed *Sustainable Livelihoods Programme*, launched in 2002, established community development funds. By 2013, before it entered its 3rd phase in 2014, these funds had financed 6,000 subprojects. Among the activities, endeavors on education, health, and pasture management featured prominently. The current phase intends to bolster the *Sum* Programme[20] and focus on capacity building for local governments.[21] However, all social sectors—including education—are negatively affected by the extreme politicization of administration: after each election, most people in leading positions (including school directors) are replaced according to party affiliation. This highly controversial rotation of public positions (*khalgaa selgee*) jeopardises any successes in capacity building. To make matters worse, each election is preceded by an aura of paralysis and followed by haggling over positions; during each period, crucial decisions are suspended. Needless to say, this procedure, which has been widely criticised as a "political disease" (*uls töriin övchin*), contributes to a loss of popular trust in public institutions and administrative services.

[18] Peter R. Moock and Batchimeg Namsraidorj (2013).

[19] Personal communication with teachers and parents at the nonformal education center *Childrens' Ger* in the period from 2003 to 2015.

[20] The *Sum* Programme (*Shine Sum Tösöl* or *Sumyn Töviin Shinechlel*) was established in 2013.

[21] http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2015/05/07/providing-mongolias-rural-communities-with-sustainable-livelihoods

4. Epilogue

As one of the ten richest countries in raw materials, "Minegolia" or "Moncoalia" is at the focus of transnational business interests. Environmental problems are as virulent as controversies over who should profit from the country's wealth. While rich elites seclude themselves in gated communities, one third of Mongolia's population is poor. Throughout the country, conflicts arise over land grabbing and the destruction of pasture land by mining. Herders engage in resistance movements to defend their pastoral livelihoods (Upton, 2012), and demand stricter enforcement of the so-called "law with the long name" (*urt nertei khuul'*), which prohibits mineral exploration and extraction near water sources, protected areas, and forests.[22] Yet, unlike under socialism, herders (i.e. former *arats* now referred to as 'nomads') lack a positive collective identity. I agree with Dan Allman, who noted that, "just naming who is at risk of social exclusion, based on identity, vulnerability, membership, or biology will not suffice without some reflection as to who is naming the excluded, where those who label or define the excluded stand ontologically relative to their own or others' exclusion, and what if any the influences of personal, political, stereotypical, or xenophobic biases may be" (Allman, 2013, p. 9).

Mainstream educational thinking in today's Mongolia is founded on an urban, upper-middle class centrism. The government campaign, *Zöv mongol khüükhed ündesnii khötölbör* (right/correct/good Mongolian child national programme), launched in 2013, is an illustrative example. The campaign's stated intent is to foster creativity, self-confidence, decisiveness, lifelong learning, acquisition of the Mongolian language, culture, and customs in order to make proper citizens out of Mongolian children, a goal that is supposed to be reached through families, education and the social environment.[23] The government and the Ministry of Education produced an official 5:07-minute video clip that shows the underlying value concepts.[24] It starts with the sun rising over the steppe blended into Ulaanbaatar's main square, where boys in uniforms parade and salute in front of the government building and the national flag. Next, we see children and young people—partly dressed in national costumes—singing, waving, and presenting their talents and hobbies to friendly teachers who support them in and outside school. From 1:39–2:03, a girl and a boy are shown translating the song into sign language. This is the only part that demonstrates any kind of social inclusion. The video clip is shot entirely in the flawless urban settings of Ulaanbaatar's city centre. Only three extremely short, inserted sequences show rural children—two small boys holding kids (1:06–08; 2:32–33; 4:51–52). These sequences account for less than 5 seconds in a 5:07 minute video clip. Rural life appears twee; the image of children and youths holding kids has become iconic and features prominently on postcards, coffee-table books, and the latest *Mongolia Human Development Report* (2011). While the video clip cast are happy urbanites, socially deprived groups are clearly outcast. Strikingly, not a single *ger*[25] appears in the whole video clip, let alone a *ger* district that is home to two thirds of the capital's residents. Of course, middle-class centrism in education is rather the rule worldwide. Yet, from a government that takes pleasure in promoting Mongolia as a "land of nomads" (Myadar, 2011), and from elites who usually associate true Mongolian culture with the countryside (*khödöö*), one would expect a different and more inclusive representation of its younger generation.

[22] http://gal-undesten.blogspot.ca/2012/06/blog-post_387.html

[23] http://www.news.mn/content/153784.shtml

[24] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8_ZhDLUVVEI

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[25] At present 45% of Mongolian households live in a *ger* ("Khün am", 2010).

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Article

Practicing Teachers' Reflections: Indigenous Australian Student Mobility and Implications for Teacher Education

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Abstract
Social constructions of education historically have impacted adversely on marginalised Indigenous Australian students whose mobile lifestyles and cultural positioning challenge teachers' social inclusion practices. This paper examines the preparation and capacity of pre-service teachers to engage with mobile Indigenous students and their communities. Evidence is drawn from practicing teachers who reflected on their experiences in working with Indigenous students and their communities since graduation and how their experiences, both pre- and post-graduation, impacted on their beliefs and practices. Individual interviews were conducted with four teachers who also participated in the first stage of the study as a group of 24 second year primary pre-service teachers at a regional Australian university. It was found that pre-service teachers representing a range of world views benefit from positive, scaffolded experiences that provide opportunities to develop practices that foster social justice and inclusion. The findings of this study have implications for providing pre-service teachers with opportunities to understand how historical factors impact on Indigenous student mobility in contemporary Australian educational settings and the development of socially inclusive pedagogical practices. Further longitudinal research to expand the evidence base around developing culturally-appropriate pedagogical practices in pre-service teachers is needed to support their transition into teaching.

Keywords
indigenous mobility; pre-service teachers; scaffolded experiences; social inclusion; social justice

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Educating Nomadic People", edited by Caroline Dyer (University of Leeds, UK).

1. Introduction

In looking at the question, "How can teacher educators approach diversity with a social justice orientation?" Nieto (2000, p. 180) argued that teachers with a strong sense of social justice have the capacity to learn about their students as well as with them and that such learning is not only transformational for both teachers and students but is also a lifelong endeavour. Further, using a social justice lens means asking difficult questions, critically evaluating every part of the educative process, from policy through to curriculum and pedagogy and the strategies used to engage parents in the education of their children, seeking to learn why some students find schools unjust and why other students find the same schools to be fair.

While Nieto (2000) was speaking from an American context, the same issues around social justice ring true when exploring how Indigenous Australian students experience the western system of education, including the many Indigenous Australian students who are mobile. A social justice orientation emphasises that Indigenous student mobility is also a social justice issue in Australia. The western education system operating in Australia, based on sedentary living practices is at odds with Indigenous mobility. The western practice of edu-

cation holds that academic progress is dependent on fixed residence and regular attendance at the same school (Dockery & Colquhoun, 2012), with little regard for the many groups of students, including Indigenous Australian students, who are mobile.

In the conclusion to their exploration of the parallels between the education of mobile Indigenous Australian and UK Roma Gypsy communities, Levinson and Hooley (2013) argued that a preoccupation with attendance and achievement at school for these groups could lead to two disparate outcomes. For both groups, such foci could be considered positive in relation to the rights that children have to access mainstream education. When access to education erodes children's strong connections with their own communities and cultural heritage, however, Levinson and Hooley regard this as a violation of basic human rights and what we would see as a social justice issue.

We argue that if education for Indigenous Australian students is to be underpinned by a social justice dimension, then developing an understanding of the history and culture of Indigenous Australians, their relationship to the land, reasons for mobility and how they learn is fundamental for designing pedagogical practices that are culturally-appropriate and inclusive. This can be achieved in consultation with Indigenous people, who hold in their memories, experiences and oral traditions, the knowledge that needs to be imparted to non-Indigenous people, creating space for the Indigenous voice, currently silent, to be heard, which Aikman and Dyer (2012) and Prout and Hill (2012) regard as a matter of social justice.

The purpose of this article is to examine the reflections of four teachers from the original cohort in our longitudinal study who are in their fifth year of teaching regarding their capacity to understand and engage with mobile Indigenous Australian students and their communities. The eventual aim of the study is to contribute to the evidence base around how universities can improve the preparation of pre-service teachers to work effectively with the broader Indigenous community.

2. Background

Mobility among Indigenous Australians, as noted by Hill, Lynch and Dalley-Trim (2012), is a particularly complex issue, rooted in the history of colonisation, with different forms of mobility still evident today. Unlike mobility among other groups, however, mobility among Indigenous Australians has received little attention in the research literature and, as also noted by Hill, et al., there has been a distinct absence of programs to cater specifically for Indigenous Australian students who are mobile. Dispositions around social justice based on developing an understanding of the history and culture of Indigenous Australians help to avoid the problem of placing the blame for the educational failure of students who do not permanently reside in one location on their mobility (Danaher, Danaher, & Moriarty, 2007) and pave the way for designing pedagogical approaches based on the strengths that Indigenous Australian students bring to the classroom. It is difficult to understand how these positive effects can be achieved without schools developing trusting relationships with Indigenous communities and broadening their views around curriculum and pedagogy, as recommended by Levinson and Hooley (2013).

2.1. Understanding Historical Factors that Impact on Mobility of Indigenous Students

Mobility has historically been part of Australian Indigenous culture and this practice continues today. In a study of mobility practices, Taylor (2012) pointed to Indigenous mobility figures up to three times higher than the rest of the population. Taylor's analysis of the 2008 Australian Census data and the National Report on Schooling in Australia (2007) indicate that there may be close on 22,000 students who are mobile at any one time. This has significant implications for the delivery of educational services to Indigenous students. Levels of mobility are higher in rural and remote locations, especially in Western Australia, the Northern Territory and South Australia. High rates of mobility, however, can also be found in large regional areas such as noted by Bennet and Lancaster (2012) who found a mobility turnover rate of approximately 60% that affected the consistency of the delivery of an after school reading program.

Even more important than identifying rates and patterns of mobility among Indigenous Australian students and their families are the historical factors pre- and post-colonisation that impact on mobility. It is important for teachers to understand this history and how it still impacts on Indigenous students, their families and communities today. We argue that, in order for Indigenous Australian students to connect with school and find meaning and relevance in their school experiences through teachers' use of culturally-appropriate pedagogies, teachers need first to understand the communities from which the Indigenous students come. First hand experiences in community are critical for scaffolding pre-service teacher understanding of factors impacting on families (Whipp, 2013) and the resulting circumstances that can lead to mobility, especially in situations in which mobility can be masked by non-attendance. Often, these practices are the outcome of deep-seated historical, economic, social or political drivers. Elders, with their lived community history experiences, can support pre-service teachers to understand the social justice issues around mobility that still impact on Indigenous Australians.

Comber (2014) in reflecting on her key findings from 30 years of educational research and then con-

sidering the current challenges facing teachers and education today, acknowledged that teachers are typically concerned about the learning of all of their students but they often have difficulty in knowing how to achieve optimum learning outcomes for all students. Advice for teachers provided by Comber that resonate with the findings from research into the education of the children of itinerant fruit pickers in Queensland, Australia (Henderson & Woods, 2012), includes learning about students, their families and communities and understanding and incorporating into their teaching the funds of knowledge that students bring with them to school. Both Comber and Kamler (2004) and Henderson and Woods (2012) noted that this more positive approach helped to undermine deficit discourses that are more common when teachers do not have close connections with students' families and communities. Comber promoted a more socially-just approach that broke down assumptions that teachers may have of some students that serve to maintain past predictable patterns of disadvantage. Much of the research conducted by Comber and her colleagues deliberately sought ways for teachers to move away from using discourses of deficit that Comber noted from her review of recent research to be still prevalent among non-Indigenous teachers teaching Indigenous Australian students. Instead, in some powerful case studies of teachers as co-researchers, Comber and Kamler showed how sustained commitment to social justice enacted in large part by visiting students in their homes changed the opinions that teachers had of their most at-risk students and their families. These teachers were then able to see a number of strengths that their students could bring to the classroom that would otherwise have continued to be overlooked. Teachers' changed views of their students were reflected both in their language when talking about their most at-risk students and the way that they re-designed their pedagogical practices to be more inclusive.

2.2. Socially Just and Inclusive Pedagogical Practices

While Comber and Kamler (2004) focused on just two case studies of first year teachers who became co-researchers in their "Getting out of deficit: Pedagogies of reconnection" project, they also explained the role of the more experienced teachers who partnered the new teachers on a one-to-one basis for the project. The changes that occurred in the first year teachers' pedagogical practices during the research were quite marked and probably would not have occurred had it not been for the research project and for the connections that the teachers made with the families of the students whom they considered to be at-risk. The project was possibly well-timed because the first year teachers had not been in the profession sufficiently long to become more set in their ways. This research was fairly work-intensive for all concerned but the results were very impressive and it helped to fill quite a void in research that works with teachers in their first year of practice to encourage socially just and inclusive teaching pedagogical practices.

Other researchers interested in social justice issues and developing socially-just teachers come from the perspective that culturally-responsive or culturally-appropriate teaching practices are developed over time. The pre-service teacher education years are regarded as being important in raising the consciousness of future teachers. Whipp (2013), for example, interviewed 12 teachers in their first year since graduation from American pre-service teacher education programs that were deliberately justice-oriented to explore how those teachers conceptualised socially-just teaching. The interviews focused on the teachers' experiences prior to and during their pre-service teacher education as well as the support provided to them during their first year of teaching. The findings highlighted the importance of each of these phases in collectively influencing the adoption of socially-just teaching post-graduation but, in particular, pointed to the importance of pre-service teacher education drawing on candidates' experiences prior to commencing their studies.

Drawing on the aforementioned studies and on earlier and current stages of our own research, it can be argued that, while research that explores how practicing teachers can be supported to learn about their students, their families and communities is important, this process and the development of social justice and the capacity to enact inclusive pedagogical practices must begin during teachers' undergraduate years. In her exploratory study, Whipp (2013) noted that exposure to scaffolded, cross-cultural experiences during the undergraduate years can support pre-service teachers to develop transformative structural orientations around social justice principles that embed caring relationships, culturally-inclusive pedagogies and an advocacy agenda. Cross-cultural experiences that bring undergraduates into direct interaction with individuals from cultural groups different from their own help to prepare teachers to be open to diversity and to care authentically for the students with whom they work. Butcher et al. (2003) strongly advocate that community service learning and community engagement become central aspects of teacher preparation as both their case studies and review of the international literature identify the benefits of collaborative learning that develops teachers' sense of efficacy.

The pre-service teacher education years are particularly vital for connecting with Indigenous Australian students and their communities. Making direct contact with the Elders and community members and providing opportunities for deep learning about the history of Indigenous Australians and the intergenerational impact of that history on patterns of mobility and sustain-

ing that contact during the pre-service years and into their professional lives, appear to be key factors that influence the adoption of socially just pedagogical practices.

3. Methods

The four teachers whose interviews formed the data for this report were part of a group of 24 participants in an earlier stage of the cohort study who, as second year pre-service teachers, reflected on their first experiences in teaching Indigenous Australian students from kindergarten to Year 6 after school in a community setting twice weekly for eight weeks. The pre-service teachers worked with the Indigenous students with their reading and were facilitated by the local Elder to gain entry to the community and to follow the protocols for that community while engaging with the students and their parents. The pre-service teachers were challenged by the fact that attendance by the students was often sporadic, as over 60% of the families in the community were mobile or moved in and out of the community on a regular basis. The purpose of the second stage of the longitudinal study, currently in progress, is to explore these same participants' reflections on their experiences in working with Indigenous students and their communities in the five years since graduation and how they believed that these experiences, together with their pre-service experiences, impacted on their beliefs and pedagogical practices. Of particular interest in this paper are those aspects of the teachers' reflections that have implications for the preparation of pre-service teachers to engage with mobile Indigenous students and their communities.

As with the first stage of the study, for which all 24 pre-service teachers in the cohort agreed to participate, the intention in this stage is to invite participation from the original cohort of 24. Priority was not given to the order in which the participants from the original cohort in the first stage of the study were approached, recruited and interviewed for the second, current stage. The teaching experiences and career trajectories of these four participants are quite varied, however, accommodating meaningful comparisons between participants. While recognising that these first four participants were not selected through purposive sampling to represent the probable diversity of the larger group, their diversity could be said to approximate so far in this qualitative study the underlying logic of the principle of maximum variance described by Punch (2003). As applied to the present stage of the study, this principle holds that having such a diverse sample within the cohort group in terms of teaching careers and roles since graduation provides an ideal opportunity to begin to explore from the perspectives of these practicing teachers their reflections on the impact that their pre-service experiences had on their preparation and future capacity to engage with mobile Indigenous students and their communities.

The pseudonyms used for the participants in the first stage of the study were also used for the second stage. This consistency across cases, while not impacting in this report, is logical for other comparative analysis both within and across cases.

3.1. Participants

All four participants have been working as teachers in various capacities and in different towns in the same region since graduation. Their careers have been quite diverse.

Leslie, now assistant principal in a Kindergarten to Year 6 regional Australian public school, has taught consistently since graduation. Her classroom experiences were in a high-Indigenous school, mainly in lower primary, with 12 months also spent with upper primary students transitioning into secondary school.

Linda taught in casual positions for the first two years following graduation, including one semester in a junior high school, followed by lower primary. Now in her third year and permanent in a Catholic school, she is teaching a Year 5 class as well as Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). She also has some co-ordination and leadership responsibilities within the school.

Ken, employed as a casual teacher since graduation, has had some block teaching periods. Currently in a temporary job-share position one day per week he continues casual work on the other days. He has taught across Kindergarten to Year 6 and in both public and private schools.

Jake works in the same region, in a small rural primary (Kindergarten to Year 6) school with a low Indigenous population. Since graduation he has also had regular casual work, including working in Kindergarten to Year 10 settings, where he has engaged with Indigenous students.

3.2. Interviews

All four interviews were conducted via telephone because of distances and at mutually agreed times. The teachers consented to the research and to having their interviews audio recorded. The researchers also took brief notes during the interviews but, as noted by Wilkinson and Birmingham (2003), audio recordings afford more reliable and comprehensive records than notes alone. Interviews were preferred over surveys for the second stage of the longitudinal study because they provide interviewees with opportunities to give more extensive responses and for the researchers to encourage interviewees to expand on their responses.

The purpose of the interviews in this phase of the second stage of the study is to establish background in-

formation on the teachers' individual experiences and career trajectories and to seek their reflections on specific areas as a precedent for the less structured focus group interviews that will occur as the second phase of this stage of the study. The interviews lasted for up to 45 minutes each, allowing time for deep probing of leads in three main areas covered in the interview guide.

The second group of questions focused on ways that the teachers perceived that their experiences since graduation helped to shape their capacity to work with mobile Indigenous students and their communities, the strategies that they employed to support mobile Indigenous students and what the main issues were for them as teachers. The teachers were then asked to reflect on their current beliefs and practices.

The third group of questions probed teachers' thoughts about how their university studies had impacted on the way they taught Indigenous students. The teachers were also asked how university experiences could be strengthened to support pre-service teachers to develop capacity to work with Indigenous students and their communities.

3.3. Data Analysis Techniques

The data analysis began while the interviews were being transcribed. The researchers took notes from their individual readings of the transcripts as they became available and met to discuss their interpretations of the interviews, identifying themes emerging within and across interviews. Based on analyses of the same data sets, the process was thus progressive as the discussions moved from one interview to the next and iterative as the discussions moved back and forth between the interviews. The iterative part of the process enabled the researchers to take the analysis to the next level by making comparisons and looking for patterns and differences across cases.

4. Findings

The individual interviews with the four teachers who were the first to participate in the current stage of the longitudinal study revealed through their reflections how their capacity to work with mobile Indigenous students and their communities in the first five years of teaching was influenced by the contexts in which they taught and the opportunities afforded by those contexts. In particular, the teachers' opportunities to work with mobile Indigenous students and their communities were quite varied and the teachers responded in different ways.

The two recurring and interrelated themes that emerged from an examination of the interview data were teachers' understanding of historical factors impacting on mobility and the development of socially-inclusive pedagogical practices that supported mobile Indigenous students. These themes were underpinned by the teachers' developing understanding of social justice and its application to marginalised mobile Indigenous students. Given the close connections between these two themes in the responses in the interviews, they are presented together below. This is followed by an examination of the data from the interviews that reveal, from the teachers' perspectives, how universities could improve their preparation of pre-service teachers to work with mobile Indigenous students and their communities.

4.1. Understanding Historical Factors Impacting on Mobility/Socially-Inclusive Pedagogical Practices

When asked to identify a significant experience that impacted on her capacity to work with Indigenous students and their communities as well as her experiences in working with mobile Indigenous students, Leslie identified "going to…a small, rural, Aboriginal community" for a professional experience placement as an undergraduate. She said that, while she was frightened about going, "it opened my eyes" to "rural and remote Aboriginal communities and what they offer. I gained so much from that to be able to bring back to my own school and my own teaching experiences of what some families go through just to get their children to school...in working with the school and breaking down those barriers from many years ago to what we have today". There are parallels here between Leslie's experiences as a practicing teacher and Whipp's (2013) finding that exposure to scaffolded experiences at the undergraduate level provides opportunities to develop social justice practices. Leslie's earlier relationships with Indigenous students during her professional experience placement, helps her to develop caring relationships with the students she now teaches. Her active role in this process is the beginning of her orientation to being an agent of change.

Through her own, first hand experiences teaching Indigenous students in rural and remote communities Leslie developed an awareness of how marginalisation impacts on families. She also remarked that the experience in the small, rural community "set me up to be able to go into a community of not knowing anyone". When she later taught mobile students from that same community in her present school, she commented that it gave her "a head start as well because they know who I am and I know who they are". Whipp (2013) identified knowledge of communities as one component required to begin to enact socially just teaching. In this way, Leslie is affirming students' cultural backgrounds, enabling her to connect to their funds of knowledge, one of the prerequisite capacities required for socially just teaching. Leslie's first hand experiences enabled her to understand some of the historical factors that impacted on the community. Leslie was the only one of the

four teachers who had the experience of teaching mobile students who had moved from a community where she had known them previously. Such affirming experiences help mobile students to feel a sense of community connection as advocated by Hill et al. (2012) as they seek to foster relationships in new settings.

Linda identified a religion lesson as being a significant experience in her teaching within the past five years. She talked about how she made connections with Dreamtime stories and how it was "very, very rewarding to have some knowledge that I was able to impart and share with the students". She recalled that one of her lecturers at university explained a simple way of helping students to understand the historical connections that Indigenous people have with their land and she recounted the steps in the lesson. She remembers drawing an analogy between the feelings that the students expressed about their mothers and how Indigenous people felt about their land and having it taken away from them. In Linda's words, "It was just one of the most, I'll never forget it, one of the most inspiring lessons that I have ever, ever taught". There are similarities between Linda's lesson, and the three characteristics of culturally-appropriate pedagogy (contextualisation, cultural relevance and authenticity) that Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist (2003) found to be successful in leading students to become more engaged in their learning. As noted by Levinson and Hooley (2013) it can be difficult to bridge the gap between learning when it involves two cultures. For both Leslie and Linda, therefore, there were connections between historical factors and their development of culturally-appropriate pedagogies.

Jake had several experiences that were significant to him. The one that he felt was most significant involved six Indigenous male students in a Year 9 science class that he taught for three successive weeks on a casual basis. During the recount of this experience Jake explained how he connected with 6 Indigenous students and earned their respect:

> "The second week I tried to spend some time once everything was set up to go and speak to the boys. When I went up they were very cautious about why I was going to speak to them. I just went up and had a bit of a yarn with them, asked them whereabouts they were from. They said [town]. I said, no, where your real country where they're from. They started to talk about where their families come from. We sat there and had a yarn. Two of them really took a positive shine to that and they were influential in how the rest of the group would act. From there on in I actually had a situation where I had 2 boys who were influential to the rest of the group. The situation came up on playground duty when someone wasn't being respectful. These boys would actually go up and say, hey get back in line; pick up the papers; don't litter and stuff like that. It turned it around to a real positive because I'd taken that little bit of time and knowledge to share a bit of their lives and talk about where I was from. Even though I wasn't identifying as Aboriginal, sharing like about friends and family and stuff, showing them that I was willing to get to know them and that even though I wasn't going to be there all the time they mattered to me."

This recount illustrated Jake's cultural knowledge during his initial engagement with students. His warm, responsive practice developed a comfortable and respectful environment for learning.

Both Jake and Ken said that their experiences in working with Indigenous students who were mobile were minimal. Jake, however, talked about students who had "come in for a bit and then they're gone for a bit". He attributed the mobility to families moving between districts or towns. He continued, "I've been directly involved with these families that come in and out 'cause I've been teaching face to face I've been involved with all the families and students in the school." Both Jake and Linda mentioned using the 8 Ways of Learning (Yunkaporta, 2009). Jake found it helpful to use a sharing circle and "allowing that time for students to listen to one another and get to know each other before we get started in the mornings has been quite helpful." He also talked about more informal strategies to help these students and their families to "feel a part of the community and the school." Jake identified his school as being a small one where everyone knows each other and so he identified only positive experiences for mobile Indigenous students who came to the school. Knowing the families, knowing their histories and using culturally-appropriate pedagogies that took account of that knowledge and history were, therefore, a feature of Jake's teaching that he emphasised.

Ken, who has worked on a casual or relief basis in the five years since graduation noted that he "hadn't been in the classroom as a teacher long enough to have experienced students who have started and then left for whatever reason and possibly back again. I'm not in the same class long enough with a block [extended period of teaching]. He did, however, refer to Indigenous students who appeared on the roll but were mobile. "I'll mark the roll and they say 'Oh, he's gone back to xxx' or he's gone back to yyy'". The opportunity to develop an understanding of historical factors impacting on mobile Indigenous students and then being able to develop socially-inclusive pedagogical practices to support mobile students is difficult when teaching in a casual capacity.

In response to being asked to reflect on her current beliefs and practices and whether her beliefs and practices had shifted since her university days, Leslie re-

sponded with "Um, no, I can't say I have". She said, "I didn't find all of it valuable" and then explained that she found practical experiences to be of greater value than her in-class experiences.

Similarly, Jake said:

> "I don't think I've shifted too much. I still think I've...still got the same belief system about the way I treat people, work with people and try to help people out. They've stayed pretty much the same. I have a better understanding, I think of some of the different dynamics within the family the students might have and how that will relate in the classroom but my belief system has stayed the same."

Ken said that he had not changed his beliefs or his teaching philosophy. He did note, however, that his practices with Indigenous students had "probably changed" but did not elaborate.

Linda, on the other hand, talked about how her beliefs had been challenged by her experiences in working with Indigenous students during her time as a pre-service teacher and how those experiences impacted on her teaching practices since leaving university:

> "Basically, having exposure to working with Indigenous students through university...gave me a different view...and...a broader understanding [that] allowed me to challenge my beliefs and my views and go down that road of discovery within myself. It also enabled me to approach teaching Indigenous students in a real context."

Linda's comment reflects what Whipp (2013) described as a structurally-oriented teacher who has become aware of issues faced by marginalised students and who acts to support students to access learning through culturally-appropriate ways:

> "There are students out there that learn differently, whether they're Indigenous, whether they're a different race, they learn differently but, in particular, it made it relevant when we had the Elders talk to us and explain it very simply. That made it relevant and because of that relevance I feel that I'm able to contribute to my students a bit of background knowledge, a bit more understanding and, more importantly, hopefully an equality, um, view on how they view Indigenous students as well."

Later in the interview, Linda continued to place emphasis on the importance of practical experiences and talking with the Elders for influencing her beliefs and her practices. In referring to her first experience of working with Indigenous students in a community setting she said, "When we got to know the Elders and we talked to them and had an understanding of where they had come from and an understanding of their culture that was just like the biggest learning curve ever for me and the most rewarding." She could recall saying to one of the women from the community while she was there, "I never ever thought of it like that; I didn't understand that and now I understand that it actually makes sense. So, within that learning and that context I now try...to give a very informed view of Indigenous communities, especially when we have to teach the content in HSIE [Human Society and Its Environment] about British colonisation and Indigenous communities, etc., etc." Linda's experience of engaging with the Elders reflects the kind of relationship advocated by the Elders in Bond's (2004) PhD study of the Mornington Island community.

4.2. Recommendations for Pre-Service Teacher Education

From her own experiences in working with Indigenous students and their communities and from her observations of pre-service teachers on practice teaching placements, Leslie identified four core areas that she could see were important for preparing pre-service teachers to work in schools with high Indigenous populations. She cited understanding how Indigenous students "learn, what families are going through, the dynamics of the family and…kinship" as the four most valuable prerequisites for teaching. She believed that university experiences could be strengthened in this regard by providing pre-service teachers with rural and remote experiences. Citing an experience that she volunteered to undertake as a pre-service teacher, she said that the experience was "probably the best thing that I've ever put myself through." She continued, "While it was 2 weeks I found that I could not have learned what I did in 2 weeks what I could have in 10 weeks in a [university] classroom." Leslie, therefore, articulated both the four core areas that she believed that pre-service teachers needed to learn and the type of experiences that would promote that learning. Clarke's (2000) conclusions concur with points raised by Leslie about the need to understand the students, school and community, especially with regard to the personal and professional connections that can assist teachers to work effectively with Indigenous students.

When making recommendations for preparing pre-service teachers to work with Indigenous students and their communities, all four teachers referred to their first experiences teaching Indigenous students from Kindergarten to Year 6 in the community setting that was the context for the first stage of this study. For Leslie, this experience highlighted issues for the education of Indigenous students who are mobile. While she did not specifically refer to mobility and later asked what the term meant, she was very clear in explaining the impact that it had on the students' learning. She

noted that the pre-service teachers saw that "some children dropped off. You wondered where they were and then you liaised with their co-ordinator there and she would let you know what had happened…and you start to grow an understanding as well as that why people might, say, commit to a 20 week program, they might only be there for 10". Mobility, or absenteeism, disrupts academic progress and increases teacher workloads (Dockery & Colquhoun, 2012), in the context of the structural constraints of fixed classrooms and regular school attendance.

Ken referred to the same community setting and said that "if all pre-service teachers were involved in [the] after-school homework centre then that would…start to open their eyes to the social issues that they are finding themselves in". His recommendation was to make the experience compulsory. While he also did not mention mobile Indigenous students specifically he was among the pre-service teachers whom Leslie mentioned who witnessed the fluctuation in student attendance and the fact that it was not possible to know whether students would be around for the full length of the program. Ken also recommended that:

> "Wherever possible, every pre-service teacher should experience at least one practicum in a school with a high Aboriginal population...even for a week just so they know there is another side to teaching". He continued, "So if they can understand, well this is what you'll be coming across if you find yourself in a western town or even in a town with a high Aboriginal population, this is what you will be experiencing and you'll need to come up with strategies because you're going to need them. Just observe that teacher and how that teacher is relating to his or her students. If that was possible, that would be wonderful. I don't really know what else Uni could do".

In making his recommendations for pre-service teacher education, Jake drew on several profound experiences that he had just prior to commencing university. Until then he did not realise that some people in the community would not have received a formal education and would be unable to write. He specifically mentioned the impact that mobility could have on educational attainment because of disjointed school attendance. He recommended that pre-service teachers be informed of such situations that were outside of their experience because of the way that it could make them think about their practice.

Linda responded without hesitation when asked how university experiences could be strengthened to support pre-service teachers to develop the capacity to work with Indigenous students and their communities. She said:

> "Get them [the pre-service teachers] out of the classroom and into the community and talk to the Elders. That was one of the most engaging times that I spent at uni." She continued, "we were very naive and even a bit scared because it was an unknown, not because it was an Indigenous community, just because it was an unknown. I can remember sitting on the grass...talking to students and seeing how engaged they were and listening to the Elders talk and walking past the rest of the community when we parked our cars and them calling out hello to us, you know, in the first couple of days you know like in the first couple of weeks we were there it was like 'Don't even look at us' but then felt welcomed into the community and so, get them out of the classroom."

Findings such as these emphasise the important mentoring role that Elders play in helping pre-service teachers to work with Indigenous students in community.

5. Conclusions and Implications for Pre-Service Teacher Education in Australia

This paper focused on the reflections of four teachers who were interviewed about their experiences in working with mobile Indigenous students and their communities, both as pre-service teachers and then in their first five years of teaching. These teachers as a cohort had, in common, experiences that they shared as pre-service teachers, beginning with their first experience of teaching mobile Indigenous students in the first stage of the present study. The mobility and irregular attendance patterns of these students challenged the pre-service teachers' western-based pedagogies and efforts to engage those students in learning. Common in these teachers' reflections on that experience and on other experiences in their pre-service years were how the Elders and other community members helped them to understand Indigenous histories and culture and the role that this knowledge plays in teachers' capacities to connect with Indigenous students.

Recurring topics from the teachers' reflections on their pre-service experiences in working with Indigenous students and on their more varied teaching experiences in the five years since graduation include connecting with the Elders and the Indigenous community and gaining practical experiences. The four themes identified by Leslie, that is, developing an understanding about how Indigenous students learn, the realities of their day-to-day lives, family dynamics and kinship, Jake's discovery that not everyone who is an adult can write and how Indigenous student mobility can be hidden or not well understood, point to the need for universities to provide pre-service teachers with scaffolded opportunities to learn about how historical factors still impact on Indigenous Australians today (Butcher et

al., 2003; Whipp, 2013). Non-Indigenous Australian educators cannot do this alone. It is clear that it is the Elders who hold the keys to the future through their wisdom and their knowledge of the past who need to be equal partners in preparing pre-service teachers to meet the needs of mobile Indigenous students.

The next steps in this longitudinal study will involve interviewing more of the participants from the first stage of the study and comparing and contrasting their responses to those put forward by the four teachers whose reflections were reported in this paper. It is important to continue with longitudinal studies that follow pre-service teachers through to their early years of teaching to assess the impact of strategies employed in the undergraduate years to foster the development of socially-inclusive pedagogical practices for teaching mobile Indigenous students.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Book Review

Livelihoods and Learning: Education for All and the Marginalisation of Mobile Pastoralists. By Caroline Dyer. London: Routledge, 2014, 215 pp.; ISBN 978-0-415-58590-3 (Hardcover), 978-0-203-08390-1 (E-Book).

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Abstract
In this book, Caroline Dyer, whose work with education in India has been known for many years through many articles, draws together her ethnographic experience of living with the Rabari of India, and reflects on what this means for Education for All goals.

Keywords
marginalisation; mobile pastoralists; Education for All

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Educating Nomadic People", edited by Caroline Dyer (University of Leeds, UK).

UNESCO's 2010 Global Monitoring Report identified mobile pastoralists as facing "extreme educational disadvantage" and called for "urgent action" (cited in Dyer, 2014, pp, 2, 13, 180). In this book, Caroline Dyer, whose work with education in India has been known for many years through many articles, draws together her ethnographic (pp. 3, 43, 66, etc.) experience of living with the Rabari of India, and reflects on what this means for Education for All goals. The book falls into three parts—an introductory discussion of the themes of Education for All and marginalisation; a narrative of the experiences of herself and her colleague over a number of years with the Rabari, together with a follow-up visit after the earthquake of 2001; and a final discussion drawing on work in other parts of the world and different attempts to find solutions to some of the issues raised [If you are looking for a rare good news story from education in developing countries, read the account of the (still to be fully implemented) work in Kenya on pages 175-77].

The book is too rich to summarise adequately in a short review, but some key themes call for comment. One of her frameworks is that of well-being rather than purely economic goals. The "problem" of mobile pastoralists is usually seen as the unsustainable nature of their livelihood (2), but Dyer (like others) sees this livelihood as a fully sustainable way of life which is of importance to a balanced national and global economy (pp. 3, 20, 180)—as multiple, flexible, but increasingly insecure (p. 61), facing political, socio-economic and environmental challenges (pp. 3, 31, 34, 36-37, 182). She argues that it is not the livelihoods but the mobility and the cultural practices (such as the division of labour, etc.) which make the modernisation agenda of EFA (p. 24) difficult to implement. Unlike most other "hard to reach" groups, their exclusion from education/schooling is not due to poverty but to long-standing and very strong social attitudes, which derive from colonial times (p. 46) and which see the "jungle" [like the fens of other regions] and its economies as primitive, to be cleared away, and mobile pastoralism as "culture-bound, backward and irrational" (p. 23), inimical to modernisation (in a striking phrase, "get out of sheep and goats into education" , p 136). But this is a way of life, deeply spiritual (pp. 33, 137) as well as economically viable as it adapts. And what Dyer calls "the terms of inclusion" (pp. 26, 37, 159-60) into education are often too high—for example, divided fami-

lies with some sedentarised members in order to attend fixed-site schools with the consequent loss of labour in the travelling households. "What I seek to do in this book is to show that—in contrast with widely held expectations that inclusion in formal education acts positively on reducing poverty…and social inequalities—such education is a resource that, for mobile pastoralists, is highly contradictory and can have contrary effects….I will highlight forms of education that pastoralists have 'reason to value' (Sen, 1999) in very challenging contemporary contexts" (p. 3; see also pp. 158, 177, 187). She argues that formal schooling can reproduce, perpetuate and even increase marginalisation or at least make it more visible (pp. 145, 163, 177).

And the losses include the disappearance of what Dyer calls "situated learning"—the traditional ways in which members of the community develop the knowledge and skills of younger members in managing their livestock and fulfilling the demands of their mobility (pp. 79-81, 99, 153, 180-182, etc.). To talk of "educational deprivation" (meaning schooling, e.g., pp. 98, 163) is to deny the validity and indeed vital importance of other forms of "education" by which "expertise is passed, by situated livelihood learning, from one generation to the next" (p. 99)—ways of knowing and practices which she describes in detail. The cost to the Rabari of EFA are high: "Pastoralist livelihood imperatives of mobility, situated learning and labour organisation conflict with schooling's terms of inclusion" (p. 163).

Dyer does not romanticise the Rabari—she points out that they were divided in their responses to the calls for modernisation (p. 77); in places there is an age and generation gap (pp. 151-152); some have internalised what they have been told (especially some leaders) (chapter 5; p. 135) and some wish to become "clever" in educational terms (p. 87), to participate in schooling in order to get "proper jobs" (pp. 173, 183, etc.).

Nor does she deny the significance of formal education: her studies and those of others "demonstrate that by adopting strategies of mobile provision, curricula that respond to learner demand, and flexible timings, formalised education can become an additional dimension of learning for a sustainable pastoralist livelihood" (p. 183). Dyer calls for forms of "education" that "ensure that mobile pastoralists are able to access education opportunities *while remaining active in pastoralism*" (p. 19, italics in original; see also p. 2)—forms of education which will perhaps *strengthen* rather than weaken their existing economic and cultural lives (pp. 163, 175-177, 183) and increase their resilience (p. 26) to manage the severe challenges their way of life faces from (for example) contemporary land grabs and environmental changes (pp. 184-185). (There is a useful warning that "policy interventions that support pastoralism when pastoralists would otherwise abandon it may increase rather than reduce vulnerability" (p. 36); different contexts call for different approaches).

There is much more here and some catch the eye. Mobile pastoralists are often seen as opposed to "development" but it is clear from these pages that some Rabari are keen to engage on their own terms with features of modernism which they can use within their pattern of life such as solar lanterns and mobile phones (pp. 32, 56, 73, 93). There is an analysis of the contents of the adult literacy primers in the Indian Total Literacy Campaign (p. 52). The impact of the earthquake was enormous on every aspect of life of both the mobile pastoralists and the other communities in the area.

The book is based on very wide experience of research and teaching (she reports on one occasion being "disappointed as teachers but sanguine as researchers", p. 114) and on a huge literature drawn from international sources. It is well produced, though the illustrations (important for ethnographic purposes) are unnecessarily poor with today's printing resources (the map on page 21 is indecipherable). It will remain for a long time the defining book on education and mobile pastoralism, of relevance to many parts of the world and to international policy makers on EFA; the drafters of the post–2015 education goals will find it a "must-read".

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

About the Author

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Alan Rogers is an adult educator with both university teaching and development practice experience. He was the founding Director of the Commonwealth Association for the Education and Training of Adults and of Education for Development. He currently holds Honorary Professorships at the Universities of East Anglia and Nottingham. Alan Rogers has written widely on adult learning, development and especially adult literacy in development contexts.

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Article

Wholistic and Ethical: Social Inclusion with Indigenous Peoples

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Abstract
This paper begins with a poem and is inclusive of my voice as Anishinaabekwe (Ojibway woman) and is authored from my spirit, heart, mind and body. The idea of social inclusion and Indigenous peoples leave more to the imagination and vision than what is the reality and actuality in Canada. This article begins with my location followed with skepticism and hope. Skepticism deals with the exclusion of Indigenous peoples since colonial contact and the subsequent challenges and impacts. Hope begins to affirm the possibilities, strengths and Indigenous knowledge that guides wholistic cultural frameworks and ethics of social inclusion. A wholistic cultural framework is presented; guided by seven sacred teachings and from each element thoughts for consideration are guided by Indigenous values and principles. From each element this paper presents a wholistic and ethical perspective in approaching social inclusion and Indigenous peoples.

Keywords
Anishinaabe; colonization; ethical; exclusion; inclusion; Indigenous; Indigenous knowledge; oppression; racism; reconciliation; restoration; resurgence; wholistic

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Social Inclusion and Indigenous Peoples", edited by Pat Dudgeon (University of Western Australia, Australia), Waikaremoana Waitoki (University of Waikato, New Zealand), Rose LeMay (Wharerātā Group, Canada) and Linda Waimarie Nikora (University of Waikato, New Zealand).

1. Introduction

Crunch crunch crunch crunch.
Whispy biting wind swipes my checks like sandpaper and salt.
It tingles in a refreshing way. I like it—but not too much.
Crunchy crispy snow sends vibrations of my walk across creation.
There is no hiding or sneaking up on anything in this crispy cold snow.
I like that sound. It's alive and I am here. I am included.
I stop, breath and take in what I am often too busy to see and experience.
Looking, feeling, listening and sensing. Thoughts go quiet.
Attention to sounds and sights.
It's often the little things that we exclude, that we don't look at or feel.
Vast blueness covers the sky and it's chillingly deceiving—it looks summery.
Blue skies and cold airs flow in an invisible icy veil.
The wind bites my face and the snow would turn my toes black if exposed.
Rays of sunshine line my face and send warmth that allows forgiveness of the biting cold.
Beautifully powerful and powerfully deadly.
Dualities exist all around us.
Spirit is here. I feel Creation. I know I am part of Creator's web.
Creation will teach and guide for life's inclusion—we must listen.

When I was invited to submit an article for this special edition I initially thought maybe they invited the wrong person. Who me? I realized this initial response is an impact of being excluded and feeling alienated throughout my life. With caution I proceeded and accepted the invitation. Now what? Inclusion begins with voice in Creation experiencing and being. I know I belong. Inclusion simply begins with an invitation. Come on in! I acknowledge the journal for making the invita-

tion. In this article, I include my whole self and locate who I am. I use whole with a "w" to denote wholeness as in complete, circular and full. Canada is my context. The settler colonial history directly impacts my experiences and the place from which I write.

I am an Anishinaabekwe (Ojibwe woman). My Anishinaabe name is Minogiizhigokwe which means Shining Day Woman. I am a member of Flying Post First Nation which is in Northern Ontario, Canada. In Canada, Indigenous territories have been eroded to "lands reserved for Indians" under the assimilative Federal legislation of the Indian Act 1876.[1] I have never lived on my reserve lands; exclusion not inclusion is the reason; Indian Act legislation outlawed and excluded us from ourselves at every level of our existence. When my Ojibwe mother married my British father and under the patriarchal and sexist Indian Act legislation, her Treaty rights and Indian Status were revoked. In 1985, the Indian Act was amended with Bill C 31 as a result of Indigenous women's activism. She then had her Indian status reinstated along with all her offspring. Aggressive policies of assimilation were Federally legislated in Canada and from the ages of 5 to 15 my mother was sent to the Chapleau Indian Residential School in Northern Ontario. Despite the assimilators efforts to eradicate our culture, we were raised close to the land and my family kept us closely connected to Creation. My blend includes many layers comprised of my connection to the land, cultural identity, impacts of colonial socialization and internalization, decolonizing and Indigenizing while reclaiming, relearning and recovering my whole self. My voice, spirit, heart, mind and body guide my writing. How I locate in my writing will shift and change as I shift and grow.

Within this paper, I include as a key reference my Ojibwe/Anishinaabe teaching and learning as Indigenous researcher, educator, knowledge carrier and community helper. I also acknowledge the duality of exclusion and inclusion in the Indigenous and Canadian peoples' contexts. It may not speak to readers who require Eurowestern literature to substantiate Indigenous knowledge. My approach contributes to the collective by including my Indigenous lens. Change is imperative. I participate in change by challenging the dominance of Eurowestern theories and beliefs and put forth a wholistic perspective rooted in Anishinaabe teachings relative to social inclusion and Indigenous peoples. These teachings come from oral narratives, teachings and written work. Practices rooted in local contexts and traditions inform this paper and I strive to incorporate and recover my Indigenous traditions into thought and models of social inclusion in an authentic manner whereby, "the local culture is used as a primary source for knowledge and practice development" (Gray, Coates, & Yellow Bird, 2008, p. 5). Rooted in my Anishinaabe tradition my writing has goals of generating space for re-storing Indigenous knowledge and perspectives. As Dumbrill and Green (2008) note, this assertion is necessary and needed for the disruption of ongoing dominance of Eurowestern worldviews. My challenge is to recognize that values and ideas of inclusion from and within a colonized environment still contain western values that I have internalized. I need to use Anishinaabe wholistic frameworks to keep me in check and to ensure my perspective is inclusive and whole. Authors Mel Gray, John Coates and Michael Yellow Bird (2008) believe that "good and effective social work practice demands that we make culture explicit in thinking and practice. This [was] a substantial conclusion that emerged in our workshops, which brought together scholars from around the world to discuss the most significant global trends related to Indigenous and cross cultural social work" (p. 6). My challenge is to present an Anishinaabe wholistic worldview that is inclusive, yet not pan-Indian, that also presents a universal circular philosophy, yet recognizes our unique locations. It's not easy. However, I too believe that practice that is driven by cultural values is relevant and good practice. I proceed knowing that I will make mistakes inclusively.

An Ojibwe worldview is a wholistic circular worldview inclusive of all directions and could be described to be a 360 degree lens (Dumont, 1976). The resurgence of Indigenous pedagogies and knowledge are relevant in making contributions to insightful models toward change (Cajete, 1994; Simpson, 2011). Today, many Indigenous authors are promoting this stance where "Nishnaabeg thinkers believe we are in the period of the Seventh Fire. It is the responsibility of the new people, the Oshkimaadiziig, to pick up the pieces of our lifeways, collectivize them and build a political and cultural renaissance and resurgence" (Simpson, 2011, p. 66). Citing pioneering authors' work demonstrates this journey. The journey continues toward asserting our existence and being included.

This article is presented and organized firstly with a gaze of skepticism by illuminating the challenge of social inclusion in the contexts where exclusion dominates. Following this awakening is a glance into the spaces where hope resides and change is resident. Wholistic and ethical change is then presented within a medicine wheel circle to facilitate inclusivity and balance where each direction of spirit, heart/relationship, mind/knowledge and physical/presence are explored. Historically, concepts of the Medicine Wheel were derived from central North America and contribute in the resurgence of wholistic Indigenous approaches (Linklater, 2014). Following, each direction are guiding questions to reflect upon and perhaps act upon. Finally, each direction of the whole is guided by principles of humility, love, truth, honesty, respect, wisdom and

[1] To learn more about the Indian Act, University of British Columbia has a critically informed website: http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/the-indian-act.html

bravery: the seven sacred teachings (Simpson, 2011). These principles ground each direction in terms of values and ethics of practice. Concluding thoughts bring closure to this article. I skeptically begin.

2. Skepticism and Hope: The Duality in Ex/Inclusion

My skepticism emerges in a critical gaze at how colonialism in Canadian policy and practice has aggressively been driven to exclude, erode, erase and oppress Indigenous peoples in our homeland. Imperialism, colonialism, racism and oppression are all culprits eventually leading to the Canadian Federal Government instituting policies of aggressive assimilation such as Church run Indian Residential Schools (Dickason & Newbigging, 2015; Graveline, 2010). These policies severely impacted my family and community; they systematically dismembered many of our families from one another at spiritual, emotional, mental and physical levels. Socially driven legislation and policies have been created to 'rid the Indian from the child' through the Indian Act, Residential School Act, Child Welfare, land dispossessions and so much more (Dickason & Newbigging, 2015). All efforts were made to sever Indigenous peoples connection from our life source, our Mother Earth to pursue capitalism and global market power. Since contact on North America, invading colonizers have attacked Indigenous sovereignty, land rights and title in pursuit of the land and her natural resources to accumulate wealth and power. While there were many dehumanizing and very unsocial exclusionary mechanisms in colonial agendas for domination, they are not the focus of this paper. With that being said, recognizing that the intent of all subsequent and consequent institutional and structural acts and actions of social exclusion has been to actualize the colonizer's power and control over Indigenous peoples in order to have a reigning hand on the land and her resources. There are many layers and mechanisms of exclusion of Indigenous peoples in Canada. Consequently, as in many other colonized countries, Indigenous peoples' inclusion is often superficial and token.

Will is a key factor. Is there political will to begin becoming socially inclusive? For example, when commissions or inquiries are undertaken, such as the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples[2] from 1992 to 1996, the Manitoba Justice Inquiry,[3] and the more recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)[4] from 2000 to 2015, comprehensive recommendations solidly based in individual, community testimonies and ethical research are made in final reports. These recommendations need to be taken seriously by Governments by placing them on strategic agendas and action plans with accompanying resources. In my experience, at many municipal and community levels, Indigenous people are not consulted and if it is a 'consultation,' it is constructed to seem like one, but is not authentically driven. Social inclusion in social policy, welfare, child welfare, social services and health is yet to be actualized. Indigenous people continue to represent the highest social statistics, yet are not included in solution finding and funding to remedy high mortality rates, homicide rates, suicide rates (an ultimate manifestation of exclusion), incarceration, violence, abuse, addictions, homelessness and poverty. This goes without saying, but it seems we need to keep saying that Indigenous peoples need to be included in discussions and decision-making processes to create solutions that are relevant and meaningful.

Indigenous peoples are leading the roads to change within our own communities which are as diverse as communities can be. With that being said, the road to social inclusion is clogged with political and social control agents, social ignorance, lack of political will, institutional racism, colonized structures and internalized colonialism and oppression. The idea of social inclusion and Indigenous people leaves more to the imagination and vision than current reality and actuality in Canada.

The whole picture is further complicated by the internalized contexts of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples have many layers of internalized colonialism, racism and oppression to unravel while decolonizing, healing and restoring. Understanding the layers of historicity, impacts of genocide, colonization and subsequent intergenerational unresolved traumas that continue to plague and wreak havoc is foundational to having constructive conversations to redress exclusion in social movements. Inclusion in problem identification, problem solutions, and in all areas of restoration and reconciliation is necessary.

Are we ready? Ready for what? We don't know what we don't know. Susan Dion, a leading Lenape-Potawatami educator and scholar, accurately describes amnesia as a powerful tool breeding ignorance and inaction. Key variables and obstacles that impact any capacity to address social inclusion are ignorance, cultural and colonial amnesia, power, privilege and greed (Dion, 2009). Ignorance is a result of a society that doesn't know what it doesn't know until exposed to information, knowledge and experiences. Cultural and colonial amnesia is endemic and a lack of accurate knowledge in education creates a society that forgets, avoids, denies and negates the connections between personal and political, present, past and future. Through a gross omission, education is one of the main culprits in propagating social ignorance and colonial amnesia about Indigenous peoples and colonization in Canada. Let's not negate or ignore the underlying culprits and government's role in creating and maintaining colonial illit-

[2] See http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1307458586498/1307458751962

[3] See www.ajic.mb.ca/volume.html

[4] See www.trc.ca

eracy and inaction, ultimately leaving social injustice and inequity under the social radar and without social accountability by society. The connection becomes clearer in identifying who benefits when Canadians at large are socialized into a norm of ignorance and amnesia.

In Canada, ignorance prevails about the history and ongoing colonizing tactics against Indigenous peoples, thereby fuelling ignorance and amnesia at gross levels. People don't know what they don't know. Though this is changing with a new Federal leadership and recent media coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation book launch and a national inquiry into Murdered and Missing Aboriginal women, there is much work to do. Amidst this, Indigenous peoples want to grow and thrive as Indigenous peoples, not colonized Indigenous peoples. Many people unknowingly participate in colonial mechanisms because they just don't know or understand how to step into becoming a part of positive change so they either defer to Indigenous peoples (pass the buck) or freeze (and do nothing). I believe Indigenous peoples' history in Canada must be included to inform and address the illiteracy and ignorance. Undoubtedly, power is a major player in the operation of exclusion and power is never easily or voluntarily relinquished (Pinderhuges, 1998). The roots of exclusion must continue to be unveiled with a goal to depersonalize blaming the victims of a culture that perpetuates amnesia. Critical North American Indigenous scholars such as Howard Adams, Harold Cardinal, Sheila Cote-Meek, Vine Deloria Jr., Lauri Gilchrist, Eber Hampton, Emma LaRoque, Patricia Monture-Angus, Raven Sinclair, Fyre Jean Graveline (to name a few) and many others have published to restore accurate accounts and impacts of colonization for this very reason. Paulo Freire (1996) from Central America was an educator and alley who wrote about educating for change by teaching oppressed people to read and develop a critical consciousness about their conditions. The principles of critical education resonate within the Canadian context where people have been kept ignorant about oppression and colonization. As a critical Indigenous educator, I have witnessed that when learners grow in their political and social consciousness through knowledge based on the accurate and truthful accounts of colonization, they are in fact decolonizing, critically reflecting and connecting this knowledge to themselves and ultimately their social consciousness. Authentic action follows. Education ought to be created to foster socially conscience people and truth telling that emancipates peoples' minds, hearts, bodies and spirits is a part of that. Canada is a society that is in a treaty relationship with Indigenous peoples, the original Nations of this land (Dickason & Newbigging, 2015). Only when the Canadian populous understand their treaty obligations in this relationship can we begin to understand the principle of inclusion.

Despite the skeptical picture, I confess my spirit carries hope and faith that we must never surrender or give up on taking our place in society and Creation. Decolonizing has begun and while Indigenous knowledge systems contain ethics, values and principles from which to build inclusion, we are continually confronted with the impacts of colonial trauma and must continue to do our work to restore ourselves individually and collectively. We must problematize archaic notions of paternalism and recognize the necessity of including those impacted by legislation, policies, practices and services in the development, planning and delivery at all phases and stages. This article crafts a culturally based framework and lens from which inclusion can be considered, operationalized and authentically acted upon.

3. Hope: Culturally-Based Frameworks for Inclusion

Indigenous peoples' resistance and resilience have always been strong and our spirit of survival even stronger because we know we belong, we stand up for Creation—she is our life source. Through my daughters Amanda and Healy, I have heard a slogan for inclusion, 'nothing about us without us' and while it has its roots in the Apartheid and HIV movements, it seems marginalized communities who are fighting for inclusion have adopted it. This term also resonates and echoes with what we in the Indigenous community are saying. 'Nothing about us without us' is clear in meaning and intent toward inclusion. Agendas that are rooted in equality, social justice and respect for diversity will create fertile ground for social inclusion in addressing matters of spiritual, emotional, mental and social wellness at individual, community, national and allied levels.

Leroy Little Bear (2000, 2012), a Blackfoot scholar, along with Vine Deloria Jr. (1973) and many other leading Indigenous knowledge keepers have lead the arduous journey of asserting Aboriginal knowledge, philosophy and foundations in guiding policy, education, research, science, law and justice. Little Bear (2000) affirms the cyclical, wholistic and paying attention to process in the whole:

> "The idea of all things being in constant motion or flux leads to a holistic and cyclical view of the world. If everything is constantly moving and changing, the cosmic cycles are in constant motion, but they have regular patterns that result in recurrences such as the seasons of the year, the migration of the animals, renewal ceremonies, songs, and stories. Constant motion, as manifested in cyclical or repetitive patterns, emphasizes process as opposed to product." (p. 79).

Wholistic frameworks are important lenses to ensure and ground inclusivity in engagements with Indigenous peoples (Twigg & Hengen, 2009). Indigenous worldviews and philosophies are guided by natural cycles and natural law with cyclical and circular frameworks repre-

senting the layers and interconnections of relationships within Creation and life (Little Bear, 2000, 2012). Indigenous peoples are the knowledge keepers of this land and within our knowledge are cultural frameworks and teachings (Graveline, 1998; Verniest, 2006; Nabigon & Wenger-Nabigon, 2012). Indigenous Elders tell us our original teachers are in Creation and it is important to observe and regard the natural world for guidance in contemplating issues and approaches wholistically. In this article, I am integrating a Medicine Wheel framework and Seven Sacred Teachings to help write about wholistic and ethical social inclusion. Other Indigenous scholars, like myself, have derived meaning and guidance from the natural world and Creation to inform how we contemplate and present wholistic approaches (Aboriginal Field of Study, 2015; Absolon, 2010, 2011; Cote-Meek, Dokis-Ranney, Lavallee, & Wemigwans, 2012; Deloria Jr., 1973; Freeman & Lee, 2007; Green, 2009; Little Bear, 2000; Nabigon & Nabigon-Wenger, 2012). Culturally informed responses and culturally based programs to individual and social issues are having positive results in healing and wellness movements; that is a fact (Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004). Like many Indigenous knowledge keepers, I too believe wholistic frameworks will create lenses to facilitate wholistic thinking in development, planning and action toward comprehensive responses for complex and multifaceted issues and problems. Medicine Wheel frameworks, the Oolichan fishing, whole petal flowers, whole trees, stitching and sewing and other countless examples can facilitate balance and considerations of all aspects within the spiritual, emotional, mental and physical elements; and all those elements in relationship with and to the whole environment, past, present and future (Graveline, 1998; Green, 2009; Hart, 2002; Jackson, Coleman, Strikes With A Gun & Sweet Grass, 2015). Additionally, wholistic frameworks based on the hand drum and sacred circle teachings with all its' elemental directions have guided a lens for considerations and movement toward inclusion (Goudreau, Cote-Meek, Madill, & Wilson, 2008; Hart, 1996, 2002; Nabigon, 2006).

Figure 1 presents an illustration of a wholistic framework drawn from the Four Directions of Medicine Wheel and Seven Sacred Teachings (Benton-Benai, 1988; Nabigon, 2006). This wholistic framework is comprised of four interconnected and interrelated directions: spirit and vision; emotional and relationship; mental and knowledge; and physical and presence. Social inclusion of Indigenous peoples ought to be wholistic in perspective, approach and application. I begin with spirit and move around the circle following the direction of the sun. All directions are interdependent and interconnected and create a whole. Each must be attended. Balance is achieved by being mindful of all directions together to create a wholistic and ethical approach. Further, each element in this framework is guided by the Seven Sacred Teachings[5] of humility, love, truth, honesty, respect, wisdom and bravery.

[5] Also commonly known as Seven Grandfather teachings. See the *Mishomis Book* (Benton-Banai, 1988) to understand the traditional story (*aadizookaan*) where the Seven Grandfathers presented a little child with each principle now known as the Seven Grandfather teachings. In this article I prefer seven sacred teachings to not exclude the notion of grandmothers.

Figure 1. Wholistic and ethical social inclusion.

These seven sacred teachings are guiding ethics governed by traditional knowledge intended to maintain and restore balance and harmony in Creation. The following illustration provides a visual of this culturally-based wholistic and a lens. This framework is a beginning and others will see what I have not and I invite others to build on this in a manner that promotes *mino bimaadsiwin* (a good life) for all. I begin with Spirit and move clockwise to include all directions; individually they are unbalanced, together they are whole.

4. Spirit

Spirit is ethically guided by the sacred teachings of *humility* and *love*. Inclusion has to be guided by unconditional love: love for the people, the project, humanity, healing and reconciliation. To know peace is to know the beauty and power of love. Humility is present when you know yourself as a sacred part of creation and that includes the spirit world. An Anishinaabe Elder, Pathfinder-bah, who I had worked with and learned from (now in the spirit world), shared that we are spiritual beings having a human experience. How humble is that! We are dependent on the air, water, sun and earth plus her inhabitants and plants for survival. Human beings are in humble position with respect to Creation. Indigenous teachings are simple and humble and walking with humility is a value enacted in learning to listen with presence and respect. New born babies encompass new life and renewal and are the closest to Spirit and they bring pure love into this earth lodge. I believe love is a spiritual virtue from Creator and because our Creator purely loves us unconditionally, we have been given everything we need to live a good life. Everything we need is in Creation unconditionally present. Life is offered and medicines to help us are offered in Creation. Attending to spirit is attending to that sacred relationship to Creator and Creation with love and humility. We are spiritual people whose worldview and philosophies are enacted acknowledging that we live in relationship with a Great Spirit, spirits in Creation and ancestral spirits. There is a fine line between this earthly realm and the spirit realm. Our[6] ceremonies, feasts, dances, and gatherings all recognize and include Spirit. We are aware of the presence of spirit and nurturing our spiritual connection is one element of our whole human experience and an important determinant of social wellbeing. Further, it goes without saying that including Indigenous people in anything means attending to Spirit.

Colonial forces have attacked and attempted to annihilate our spirituality and connection to our Mother the Earth in an effort to sever this sacred connection in pursuit of land, mineral and resource exploitation. Because Indigenous spirituality and ways of life are intrinsically linked to Creation, the earth and all her resources, severing this connection was one key colonial agenda. However, words alone cannot describe the sacred and profoundly deep connection much like an umbilical cord between the people of Creation and our Mother the earth. The love is unconditional. She is the one who bestows life, food and medicine to Creation. She is the one who gives life to those who inhabit her. From Spirit, we consider affirming spirit along with a process of rebirth and new life. In any day we can try again and each new day is a new opportunity. Attending to the spirit is about affirming Indigenous peoples' spirit, culture, and language with humility and love toward rebirth and regeneration of social inclusion.

Some questions to guide in determining whether the spirit of Indigenous peoples is included are:

- Is spirit being attended to?
- What does cultural humility look like here?
- Are Indigenous peoples invited?
- Are spiritual leaders invited to guide spiritual inclusion?
- Are cultural protocols informing how people are invited and related to? If you don't know the cultural protocols identify who can help.
- Are Indigenous spiritual practices present and evident?
- Is there space for Indigenous peoples' medicine and ceremony?
- Who can provide leadership in creating space for spiritual practices?
- Are we including land based spiritual practices?
- Have we secured natural spaces for spirit and land based ceremony?
- What languages should be included?
- Others…?

Land and spirit are intrinsically connected. Being on the land is being in relationship with spirit. Indigenous people generally love being on the land. I encourage large land holders to share land space and places by invitation. Work with Indigenous peoples toward restoration of relationships with the original stewards of the land and Creation. On a purely idealistic level, I believe land must be returned to Indigenous peoples in order for the inclusion of Indigenous ceremonial practices to occur without permission or apology. Our ceremonies require a land base. The land is where the medicines, animals, helpers exist: this is where our life source is. We know the land will be our salvation for life and spaces and places are essential. Indigenous knowledge and learning doesn't happen in classrooms or inside buildings; it happens on the land and in Creation. Creation is comprised of our relatives and in order to enact spiritual practices, the Spirit of the land is central.

[6] When I say "our" my reference is intended to include Indigenous peoples' ceremonies.

5. Emotional: Rebuilding Relationships

The Emotional direction is guided by the sacred teachings of *truth* and *honesty*. Honesty is an important Indigenous ethic and when enacted brings strength to sharing ideas, experiences and knowledges. When people need strength and courage to speak their truth, they will often hold onto an eagle feather and it is believed that the spirit of that feather will bring the truth forward. Sometimes people speak their truth while holding onto the feather without having contemplated sharing it. Being truthful with self is the beginning and then being truthful and mindful with others fuels authentic relationship building. It takes courage to be truthful and honest about our place and challenges in any dynamics of oppression/oppressor, colonizer/colonized, settler/Indigenous, and decolonizing/indigenizing. Through conversations genuine humanity can be restored. Truth and honesty require humility and love and all these values will teach us how to be real in healing and restoring wounded relationships within self and others.

Feeling included and invited are important emotional experiences on the pathway to social inclusion, restoration and reconciliation. Being invited is a positive experience and says 'we want you here'. We want you here indicates that your presence matters and what you have to offer will make a difference. Building relationship begins with an invitation. Through invitations and encounters possibilities exist to gain understanding, knowledge, connection, compassion and so much more. Relationships require contact and connections. With regard to relationship building, Leroy Little Bear (2000) again sums up how essential it is to meet, share, and exchange experiences, stories, truths and ideas. There are many truths and ideas of how, where, when, and what to do to bring social health and wellness to creation. He states:

> "In a context of jagged worldviews, I cannot take for granted that you see and know the same things that I see and know. The only things I know for sure are the things I experience, see, feel, and so on. The rest of it is presumption and persuasion….That is why we engage in conversation, so I can share my experiences with you and make you understand what I am feeling. When you respond, you are doing the same thing with me." (p. 85)

The above quote echoes a strong need for dialogue because we (Indigenous and non-Indigenous and everyone in between) have so much to sort out in restoring and rebuilding relationships based on respect. Relationship are key says Shawn Wilson when considering and engaging in ethical and inclusive Indigenous research (2008). Restoring healthy relationships was a primary recommendation for youth work in resiliency and recovery from substance abuse (Haring, Freeman, Guiffrida & Dennis, 2012). Sharing, talking, healing, learning and teaching circles carry the means for creating respectful spaces for listening and sharing (Gaveline, 1998). Throughout this article, our diverse make-up has been established. Values of kindness in learning and sharing are leading pathways to building and restoring wounded relationships within ourselves and amongst each other. We have to tell our stories about who we are, where we come from and what all that means to us. We all could practice acceptance and respect for diversity in the truth that we all have diverse histories and social stories. We all have commonalities and bridge building is possible. Creating space to begin or to continue listening and learning is a start in any relationship. I believe that most people can attest to the fact that healthy relationships require time, space, energy and honesty. There are many other factors that contribute to relationship building; however, the main point here is that for inclusion to become an experience, relationship building needs to be attended to with truth, honesty and respect. What a respectful relationship to experience when we are accepted for who we are, not by how others think we should be. I would definitely want to nurture and engage in those kinds of relationships. That means, as Leroy Little Bear as stated, our conversations of learning and sharing need to be less about verifying our presumptions and assumptions and more about learning, acceptance and respect.

Some of the following questions may guide the lens of attending to relationship building with truth and honesty:

- How will we create an inclusive and relationship building process?
- Who will coordinate a planning session to begin?
- Are Indigenous people who are relevant to the topic invited?
- Who will you invite? Inviting people who have interests indicates an investment in a meaningful and purposeful process.
- Is there a space that generates respect in the sharing of ideas? Creating spaces that allow people space to share, engage & be on land is helpful.
- What mechanisms are in place to ensure Indigenous people are listened to?
- How will respect be enacted?
- What truths need to be shared?
- What Indigenous process can be integrated to foster respectful sharing and listening: relationship building? Ask about the circle process.
- What activities and events can be planned that build respectful and inclusive relationships with Indigenous peoples?

- Other suggestions…?

Attending to relationships with truth and honesty is not only restorative; interwoven in these values are integrity and respect. Settler–Indigenous relations have been riddled with the presence of puzzled and jagged worldviews colliding crashing, clashing and smashing (Little Bear, 2000). Sorting out the puzzle is not easy, but in the spirit of renewal, truth telling and truth listening will foster the sorts of relationships that people want to be involved in. I think people are tired of contrived attempts (rightly so) and are thirsty for real conversations about real life experiences, issues, challenges, journeys toward truth building and truthful problem solving.

6. Mental: Knowledge and Understanding

The mental direction calls attention to knowledge building and critical reflection and are guided by the sacred teachings of *respect* and *wisdom*. Herb Nabigon (2006) explains respect as having the capacity to look twice at things. Herb, an Anishinaabe Elder, was one of my first cultural teachers many years ago. He taught me that by learning to look twice at what we are observing or thinking about, we learn about respect. We can learn to not react, but to become reflective and retrospective in thought. Showing respect is to take time to take a second look and let the first re-action go, to reflect and look again. What this means in acts of inclusion is to not make quick judgements at who belongs and who doesn't, but to reflect and invest in thoughtfulness before acting or reacting. Knowledge can emerge when time and space are created and from this knowledge, developments, planning and movements that are respectful can emerge. There is wisdom in Indigenous knowledge, traditions, ceremonies and teachings. As this article is promoting, show respect for Indigenous knowledge and wisdom through authentic inclusion. What I mean by authentic inclusion is inclusion that Indigenous people feel and experience as real, genuine and meaningful.

Readiness is always a factor that enables or disables any process from moving forward in a productive manner. Education and training become important to preparing and fostering a climate of readiness. For example, if a group wants to include Indigenous peoples in a movement, the group must understand that Indigenous peoples in Canada have both a rich cultural history and deep colonial history. Both of these histories are real and have significant implications for truth and reconciliation in Canada. Both of these histories have led to excluding or including. The rich cultural traditions of Indigenous peoples which this article promotes, will lead toward pathways that foster inclusion. Mechanisms of colonization, assimilation, annihilation and genocide have led to the exclusion of Indigenous peoples. The pathway is clear for those that are invested in working toward inclusion of Indigenous peoples.

When considering the mental or knowledge portal of a wholistic and ethical action toward social inclusion and Indigenous peoples, as I stated earlier, the importance of understanding who Indigenous peoples are in terms of our cultural histories, territories, languages and our colonial histories cannot be emphasized enough. For example, when considering Indigenous peoples' cultural histories and locations, Canada is a composite of diverse and vast Indigenous territories comprised of over six hundred First Nation communities on reserve; urban Indigenous communities and rural Indigenous communities (Dickason & Newbigging, 2015). Research states that there are up to seventy Indigenous languages which are linguistically grouped into twelve groups (Official Languages and Bilinguialism Institute, n.d.). The geographical, land and territorial diversity of Indigenous peoples in Canada is large. Any individual or group wanting to include and engage with Indigenous peoples needs to learn about, understand and educate themself on who they are engaging with, thus avoiding a pan-Indian response. There are similarities and commonalities, the challenge is to be able to discern what these are.

Similar to other colonized countries, Canada has a history of cultural genocide against Indigenous peoples (TRC, 2015). The Federal Government funded Church run schools to assimilate Aboriginal children with an attempt to kill the culture in them. This resulted in an unforgettable era and legacy of residential schooling which left thousands of Indigenous children and following generations with deep-seeded trauma and wounds steeped in the spiritual, emotional, mental and physical abuses the children and their families incurred. This history was largely ignored and in 2007 the Canadian Federal Court Approved an Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement in Canada which led the pathway to a process called the Indian Residential School Truth and Reconciliation Commission[7] from 2010 to 2015. From the TRC website I include the following:

> **What is the TRC?**
> The TRC is a component of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.
> Its mandate is to inform all Canadians about what happened in Indian Residential Schools (IRS). The Commission will document the truth of survivors, families, communities and anyone personally affected by the IRS experience.
> This includes First Nations, Inuit and Métis former Indian Residential School students, their families, communities, the Churches, former school employees, Government and other Canadians.

[7] Go to www.trc.ca for more information, resources and to see the 94 recommendations in the final report.

> The Commission has a five-year mandate and is supported by a TRC Secretariat, which is a federal government department.
>
> **What does the TRC hope to achieve?**
>
> The TRC hopes to guide and inspire Aboriginal peoples and Canadians in a process of reconciliation and renewed relationships that are based on mutual understanding and respect. (TRC, 2015)

In June, 2015, my partner and I attended the final events of the TRC in Ottawa, Ontario where Justice Murray Sinclair presented the final summary and subsequent 94 recommendation report compiled from 5 years of statement gathering and research. The recommendations directly address issues of inclusion in all areas of child welfare, health, justice, education, language and culture, youth, churches, museums, buried children and national monuments, a national centre for reconciliation, the Royal Proclamation and a covenant for reconciliation, and United Nations declaration for Indigenous peoples. The recommendations themselves indicate that inclusion across the board is necessary. A call for action is the foundation of the recommendations—calls for action by the Federal Government in all areas of funding, legislation, institutional development, education and policy to redress and begin to move forward toward reconciliation.

At the closing event on May 31, 2015, my husband and I walked alongside seven thousand other people through the streets of Ottawa with a call to action to the Government and many other witnesses to support the truths of Indian residential school survivors and their families. On that particular day, thousands of people united and there was a felt inclusion for the support and intentions of the TRC. The march, like many, created a visible presence of support with a hope that the millions of witnesses watching from the sidelines of the streets, media and social media would care and step forward to move the Federal Government to respond to this call to action. Later, I made a statement on the impact of the Indian residential school on my uncles, aunts, grandparents and parents and the intergenerational impacts on myself, siblings, cousins and future children. During this process I felt included and listened to. I wanted to name my relatives whose lives have been negatively impacted by the IRS. I wanted to acknowledge and have recorded the loss of family ties, communities, cultural identity, language, health, wellness, self-worth coupled with the occurrences of spiritual, emotional, mental, physical and sexual abuse that were rampant throughout these schools. I wanted their names to be recorded and remembered and like many others, I wanted their stories to be acknowledged and included.

Some questions to consider in wholistic and ethical social inclusion from the mental/knowledge direction are:

- Who will assess capacity and readiness and determine education and training needed? How will this be done?
- Is there education being provided on the truth and history of Canada and Indigenous people?
- Is education development and Indigenous illiteracy being addressed? Are resources and material available and facilitated?
- What education and training preparations need to developed and delivered?
- How will education foster decolonization while restoring Indigenous peoples' culture, traditions, language and land?
- Who are the local Indigenous peoples, their languages and land base?
- Where learning tools, resources, teachers and educators are available?
- What Indigenous languages need to be included and resourced?
- What existing practices/research to build on?
- Any other thoughts…?

Understanding, knowledge, respect, wisdom and truth telling culminate and enhance the possibility that inclusion from a place of respect is possible. In any action of inclusion one needs to know intelligently that other peoples' knowledge is valid and deserving of space. Indigenous knowledge will guide the methodologies from which action can emerge. From this place of respect, knowing and being, inclusion becomes an experience felt by contrast with rhetoric espoused.

7. Physical: Places and Presence

The physical direction calls attention to presence, space and place and are guided by the sacred teaching of *bravery*. To physically walk with all these seven sacred teachings and to carry them in your whole being is to walk in bravery. To carry truth and honesty forward takes bravery. Bravery requires humility in being truthful especially when making amends is the action. Humility, love, truth, honesty, respect and wisdom are all related to being brave in our thoughts and actions. Standing up for inclusion takes bravery. Being the only one to see who is missing and speaking up takes bravery. Despite everything, Indigenous peoples know we belong and we know through our creation stories that we have a purpose in Creation. Presence and places are important considerations. Indigenous peoples want to see other Indigenous peoples' presence in places that are welcoming, warm and respectful.

Through the many barriers in history and moving forward, Indigenous peoples have made strides and set strong examples for the rest of Canada and the world. We have seen resistance movements through Oka, Idle No More, Indigenous women movements, Indigenous

youth-lead walks for better schools and education, women water walkers for the water, and growing Aboriginal rights movements and they are impacting public and social policy. Today many First Nations and Indigenous peoples are more visible and are playing more significant roles in fostering change and leading movements that may well help restore humanity to people and restore respect for our life source, the earth. Indigenous women are a growing voice and presence is consciousness raising and have been leaders in activism and social movements. The Idle No More[8] movement became a national mobilizer for peoples' attention to join a peaceful revolution to stand up for rights, land, water and living conditions in Canada among Indigenous peoples. The presence and evidence of Indigenous peoples in social movements and walks of bravery and courage, fights for change, and challenges to injustice is indeed growing.

Internally in Indigenous communities we are building culturally-based frameworks for the social inclusion of all members in our communities. These models exist within Indigenous organizations such as healing and wellness centres and are created from Indigenous knowledge, traditions and protocols. For example, in Ontario and across Canada, Native child welfare developments are growing and developing governance models from their own wholistic knowledge bundles from their Nations territories and traditional knowledge. One local example in southwestern Ontario is Mnnaasged[9] where wholistic approaches to healing and restoring Indigenous knowledge and values at the centre of agency development. Mnaasged's Executive Director, Carrie Tabobondung (an Anishinaabekwe from Wasauksing First Nation, Ontario), states that she has seen "so many incredible changes in child welfare on the outside but mostly we've grown as an organization together on the inside" (Tabobondung, 2015). Culturally-infused models governed by the seven sacred principles create a consciousness of mutual respect which in turns fosters inclusion of members of all age groups and members from various belief systems. The value of inclusion is not new in Indigenous knowledge systems. Today, it is more of a matter of re-building and restoring our values into how we build social systems. I believe in our Creation stories which tell us that we, Indigenous people, belong here and without us Creation would be incomplete. Hope, faith, truth and courage carry me forward to continue in areas where I strive to open up doors and windows and to remove obstacles toward inclusion and authentic social change.

A strong presence and visibility is a part of inclusion. We must see that we are being included. When one sits at a table to discuss anything Indigenous, a glance around the room ought to reveal other Indigenous people, stake holders, Elders, youth, women, men, leaders, and grandmothers/fathers present. Who this is about ought to be present. The presence of people and the presence of their voice is an indication that inclusion is authentic. The TRC walk I referred to earlier was a powerful experience of presence. Presence of the people, presence of the testimonies, stories and relatives, presence of memory and telling, and presence of process counters invisibility and exclusivity of truths. Reconciliation requires truth of sharing, truth of accounts, truth of accountability and truth of presence. Reconciliation is only possible when the truth is shared and accepted as the truth. People will march and people will walk. When people collectively walk together, a power of presence and undeniable truths are visible. The excluded seek inclusion by creating visibility in marching, chanting, going hungry and rallying at closed gates wanting voices to be heard and included in policy and funding. Bravery and courage are teachings that carry acts of dissention toward inclusion.

In considering the physical direction issue surrounding space and place warrant attention. Here are a few questions to guide inclusion of presence which is guided by bravery and courage:

- Whose Indigenous territory, land and place are you on?
- Whose traditional/ancestral territory & Nation needs to be acknowledged?
- Is it reasonable to consider meeting in Indigenous spaces?
- Is meeting in Indigenous organizations or communities a possibility?
- What are the human resources that are accessible to ensure inclusion with Indigenous peoples is enacted?
- Hire people to research and explore Indigenous models and examples: research best practices and provide examples.
- What funding resources are available to support inclusion efforts?
- What physical resources are available?
- Is anything missing, forgotten or overlooked?
- Any other ideas…?
- So what do you think? As an Indigenous person, asking and inviting people to share their thoughts is an inclusive basic principle.

As a follow up note to the collective lists and guides to consider inclusion with Indigenous peoples, I remind the reader that these are guides. I'm sure with ongoing dialogue, there is more to consider and more possibilities to emerge. My hope is that the lists in each of the elemental arenas will usher in thoughts and ideas and foster a wholistic perspective. The goal after all is

[8] Website: www.idlenomore.ca

[9] Go to www.mnaasged.ca for more information on this Indigenous child welfare organization.

wholistic and ethical actions for social inclusion with Indigenous peoples.

8. Some Final Thoughts

Social inclusion with Indigenous peoples, or any diverse group for that matter, is challenging—don't get me wrong. It's a process and with each effort and attempt, as we learn and try again, a shift occurs and growth emerges. I presented many layers of skepticism, hope, spirit, heart, mind and presence to foster considerations toward a wholistic direction of social inclusion. These were further supported by the ethical guidance of the Seven Sacred Teachings. The Anishinaabe creation story (Benton-Benai, 1988) affirms that Creation would be incomplete without Indigenous peoples. Today I know I belong. I know I am not alone and I want to include and honor all of my children, family, teachers, Indigenous scholars, critical thinkers, fellow travelers and truth seekers. We all are working to heal, restore, recover and reclaim our place in society along with the restoration and resurgence of Indigenous knowledge in strategies and approaches is growing and being asserted (Hart, 2014; Simpson, 2011). We are all in this together. The reality for Indigenous peoples in Canada and North America is that we are diversely blended in our identities, social and political locations. Arriving at an authentically inclusive wholistic and ethical place and space of social inclusion is a challenging task. Years ago, while on my own search and re-search (Absolon, 2011) to understand the myriad of confusion, I came across Leroy Little Bear's (2000) article on *Jagged Worldviews Colliding* and have referenced his insights in my work. In this article, his wisdom continues to ring true as he sums up the ex/inclusion collision nicely in the following:

> "Colonization created a fragmentary worldview among Aboriginal peoples. By force, terror and education policy, it attempted to destroy the Aboriginal worldview—but it failed. Instead, colonization left a heritage of jagged worldviews among Indigenous peoples. No one has a pure worldview that is 100 percent Indigenous or Eurocentric; rather, everyone has an integrated mind, a fluxing and ambidextrous consciousness and back again. It is this clash of worldviews that is at the heart of many current difficulties with effective means of social control in postcolonial North America. It is also this class that suppresses diversity in choices and denies Aboriginal people harmony in their daily lives." (p. 85)

Because Leroy Little Bear articulates the anguish of many of us, I tend to refer back to his wise words in describing the impacts and challenges today. Colonization has impacted *all of us* profoundly and we all have a role to play and work to do to restore inclusion and humanity to the world without harm. Understanding how we've been impacted and finding our truths, healing and humanity in the process is a life journey. The four directional circle journey is only one example of how my Anishinaabe culture and many other Indigenous knowledges informs how we can approach and consider inclusion. There are many other cultural frameworks informed by each Nations Indigenous knowledge and context. I encourage all Indigenous peoples to build and restore our place in society and Creation from the knowledges steeped in our cultures.

Patterns, puzzles and layers are what characterize who we are today and what work lays ahead in making meaning from it all. They are beautiful and complex. Efforts for social inclusion may be met with layers of suspicion, mistrust, self-doubt, anger, hurt, fear and worry. I believe and have hope that when action is guided by authentic knowledge along with principles of love, humility, truth, honesty, respect , bravery and wisdom these layers, wounds and barriers will be replaced with actions that move one's spirit, heart, mind and body into a place of humility, love, truth, honesty, respect, wisdom and bravery. The circle is a powerful teaching. These seven sacred principles are strong values gifted through powerful traditional ceremonies. They are medicine for *mino bimaadsiwin*, a good way of life. When we strive for that wholistic and balanced good life, goals of social inclusion are possible. *Miigwech!*

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Repositioning the Racial Gaze: Aboriginal Perspectives on Race, Race Relations and Governance

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Abstract
In Australia, public debate about recognition of the nation's First Australians through constitutional change has highlighted the complexity and sensitivities surrounding Indigenous/state relations at even the most basic level of legal rights. But the unevenness of race relations has meant Aboriginal perspectives on race relations are not well known. This is an obstacle for reconciliation which, by definition, must be a reciprocal process. It is especially problematic in regions with substantial Aboriginal populations, where Indigenous visibility make race relations a matter of everyday experience and discussion. There has been considerable research on how settler Australians view Aboriginal people but little is known about how Aboriginal people view settler Australians or mainstream institutions. This paper presents the findings from an Australian Research Council project undertaken in partnership with Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Corporation. Drawing on in-depth interviews with a cross-section of Darwin's Aboriginal residents and visitors, it aims to reverse the racial gaze by investigating how respondents view settler Australian politics, values, priorities and lifestyles. Through interviews with Aboriginal people this research provides a basis for settler Australians to discover how they are viewed from an Aboriginal perspective. It repositions the normativity of settler Australian culture, a prerequisite for a truly multicultural society. Our analysis argues the narratives of the participants produce a story of Aboriginal rejection of the White Australian neo-liberal deal of individual advancement through economic pathways of employment and hyper-consumption. The findings support Honneth's arguments about the importance of intersubjective recognition by pointing to the way misrecognition creates and reinforces social exclusion.

Keywords
Aboriginal; Australia; indigenous; race; recognition theory

Issue
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1. Narratives, Truths and Recognition

The past 25 years has seen significant public debate in Australia about the need for constitutional, legal, political and cultural change in how the nation state and its White settler population should recognise its First Peoples. One outcome of these arguments has been comprehension of the need to improve public understand-

ing between First Nation peoples and the settler Australian[1] mainstream (Worby & Rigney, 2006). But while researchers know how mainstream Australia views Aboriginal people and culture there is a corresponding lack of Aboriginal perspectives (Dunn, Kamp, Shaw, Forrest, & Paradies, 2010; Goot & Rowse, 2007; Mellor, 2003; Walter, 2012). As colonised subjects, Aboriginal peoples have a history of being silenced by mainstream institutions and have few opportunities to tell their own truths (Bretherton & Mellor, 2006; Larkin, 2011). This article seeks to disrupt this dynamic and address the lack of balance in narratives by presenting Aboriginal truths about settler Australians. This is not simply about lack of voice but also about radical differences in understandings and value systems (Boyd, 2009). Drawing on a series of interviews with Aboriginal people in Darwin, and working with ideas of the politics of recognition (Honneth, 1995, 2001; Morrison, 2010; Taylor, 1992), we argue that for good race relations, and broader social inclusion, settler Australians need to understand that while they are judging Aboriginal peoples, so Aboriginal people are evaluating and judging their lifestyles and values.

In the last decade, reconciliation has become one of the main prisms used in Australia to facilitate Indigenous social inclusion (Gunstone, 2007). Yet for reconciliation to occur there needs to be a profound shift in the dominance of settler narratives in all aspects of national life (Fraser, 2001). Meaningful reconciliation requires repositioning the normativity of settler Australian perspectives so that the dominant culture comes to understand the relative nature of its own cultural attachments (Hage, 1998; Saxton, 2004). This is a prerequisite for a truly socially inclusive community. Understanding Aboriginal viewpoints also provides dominant groups with an opportunity to see how they are viewed from the outside. This is especially important in regions with substantial Indigenous populations where the visibility of Aboriginal people make race relations a matter of everyday discussion and experience.

[1] Race relations in Australia are complex. In the twenty-first century the dominant group are still Australians with British heritage. A long and substantial migration programme means a significant minority have European, Middle Eastern, South American, South East and East Asian heritage. There is growing legal recognition of the Indigenous people of Australia, especially through land rights, but they are still marginalized in many ways. In this article we focus on the relationship between Aboriginal people and the dominant group of colonisers—the settler Australians. We use these non-symmetrical terms to alert readers to the specificity of our analysis. However, at times we also use the term White to refer to the dominant political and legal and cultural national narrative. The term White was initially used to communicate with participants, who were also invited to use their preferred term in the research interaction.

Aboriginal people are a public in their own right but we know very little about Aboriginal perspectives on settler Australian culture and settler Australian people. National surveys on the Australian public's values, priorities and attitudes have, to date, provided little opportunity for analysis of Aboriginal views, since the small proportion (2.5%) of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population rarely permits sub-group analysis. Qualitative studies have tended to focus on the views of the settler Australian majority.

The lack of opportunities for Indigenous peoples to tell or speak their own truths (Bretherton & Mellor, 2006; Larkin, 2011) means that, typically, settler Australians speak for, to and about Aboriginal Australians, leaving Aboriginal people with few opportunities to describe their own subjectivities and provide counter narratives. Drawing on Langton's (1993) classic essay Elder's research has shown how the settler Australian public consumes representations of Aboriginal people through current affairs, sport and entertainment media. This produces a sense of knowing about Aboriginal lives without ever communicating with Aboriginal people (Elder, 2007). Aboriginal people appear only as the dystopian or romanticised objects of mainstream stereotypes resulting in a denial of their reality as subjects possessing their own views and opinions (Langton, 1993).

Unbalanced intercultural exchange reflects a situation where most settler Australians have an unrealistic understanding of the diversity of Indigenous lives, Indigenous familial and community relationships or the complexity of their interactions with settler Australian culture. There is little awareness of the existence of a small but growing middle class (Langton, 2012; Prout, 2012) and little understanding of the sizeable proportion of Aboriginal people who are of mixed descent. Holmes' (2008) research on how non-Aboriginal people in Darwin view geographically mobile Aboriginal people reveals the inaccurate ideas that prevail and how this, together with an inability to recognise the cultural nature of their own values, beliefs and attitudes, contributes to difficulties in improving Aboriginal health and well-being. Quantitative research tells a similar story. A national survey found that for non-Indigenous respondents, fewer than half believed Indigenous people are mostly disadvantaged and 20 per cent believed most Aboriginal people live in remote locations (Stolper & Hammond, 2010, p. 21).

Such beliefs are maintained despite the evidence to the contrary. Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2010) data reveal the gross weekly equivalised household income of Indigenous households remains at about two-thirds the income for non-Indigenous households and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population is predominantly urban (75%). A key reason for this disjuncture between settler Australian stereotypes and the lived reality of Aboriginal lives is

that though the two groups may live in the same city, they are socially, culturally, economically and spatially segregated from them. The socioeconomic separations in health, well-being, employment and income are aligned with spatial ones so that Aboriginal peoples and settler Australians might live in the same places, but not in the same spaces. For most Australians, Aboriginal people are not their neighbours, their workmates, their service providers, or their friends (Walter, Taylor, & Habibis, 2011).

The theoretical frame of Whiteness helps us to make sense of this disconnect between White settler Australians and Indigenous realities. Whiteness theory stresses that Whiteness is not so much a biophysical phenomenon but rather a multi-layered social construct: an identity more than skin colour. Ruth Frankenberg (1993) posits Whiteness as dominant across three dimensions: a location of structural advantage or privilege, a set of cultural practices that are unmarked and unnamed; and standpoint, the worldview from which those who are White understand themselves and those who are not White (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 1). Frankenberg's three tenets are manifest in Australian society. Australian social structures produce and reproduce a position of privilege for those who are White as well as a position of disadvantage for those who are non-White. Second, the hierarchy of racial stratification that produces the privilege of Whiteness is maintained and reproduced by formally unrecognised, but entrenched cultural practices reinforced by the near universal Whiteness of our political, public and private sector leaders. The norm of Whiteness is also daily reflected back via Australian media and culture (Walter, Taylor, & Habibis, 2011) which largely excludes Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples except as objects of cultural curiosity. As Australian Indigenous peoples, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are embedded in the most disadvantaged structural location. They are culturally and socially excluded and carry a burden of disregard via the pejorative framework through which many settler Australians view Aboriginal people and Aboriginal issues. The seeming universality of Whiteness, in White majority countries such as Australia, mask both its privilege and the dis-privilege of those who are not White. White people tend to see their own race as less striking or novel than that of others, and while they note the inequality in other lives they are less likely to acknowledge its connection to the privilege in their own, instead adhering to an individualistic ideology in relation to their own success (Hartmann, Gerteis, & Croll, 2009).

Stigmatisation and the refusal to represent or see Aboriginal heterogeneity by Settler Australians has serious implications for everyday lives and Aboriginal identity (Rowse, 2009). It increases racial tensions, reduces non-Aboriginal empathy (Holmes, 2008), maintains informal racial segregation and contributes to racial prejudice and racial violence. This contributes to the location of Aboriginal people at the bottom of almost every measure of health and well-being in Australia (Australian Government, 2012). These dynamics play a critical role in compounding and perpetuating Aboriginal disadvantage (Cunneen, 2008; Miller & Savoie, 2002).

Paradoxically, the connection between the ''burden of disregard", and marginalisation is widely understood within Australian society. More than 90 per cent of Indigenous respondents, and around 75 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents agree that lack of respect for Indigenous people is implicated in Indigenous disadvantage (Stolper & Hammond, 2010). Honneth's (2001) recognition theory explains this connection as due to the moral-psychological dimension of cultural values and their deeply felt nature. When minority cultures are misrecognised or not respected, this is personally wounding because cultural beliefs have a normative dimension involving intuitive feelings of social justice (Lister, 2004). Experiences of cultural denial reduce social inclusion because they may result in feelings of self-blame and social discontent. This helps to explain Aboriginal disengagement from mainstream services and the resistance of some Aboriginal people to state interventions where these violate embedded cultural beliefs (Habibis, 2013; Holmes, 2008).

This understanding of the impact of misrecognition on intersubjective relations has been questioned by Fraser's "bifocal" approach which emphasises "status" rather than "identity". Both Honneth and Fraser seek to specify the ways in which the imperfect realisation of liberal values of 'equal autonomy and moral worth of human beings' (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 224, cited in Thompson, 2005, p. 89) are realised in present social conditions. But while Honneth suggests the process of recognition in terms of a psychic or cultural understanding is linked to or prefigures other aspects of recognition, including a shift in resource allocation, Fraser (2000) emphasizes the ways in which a shift to a focus on identity politics might have a negative effect on plans or frameworks focused on equality in terms of economic redistribution. Fraser acknowledges the validity of Honneth's (2001, p. 29) claims about how the denial of culture shapes subjectivities, but focuses on the importance of institutional recognition for social inclusion because of its impact on material inequality. She argues distributional inequality is necessary to improve social inclusion, so it is the failure of the state to recognise unfair cultural patterns that should be addressed.

Fraser's view is powerful in its double vision of both economic and cultural injustice, and its capacity to recognise injustice without a demeaned group itself naming it, and has been used to argue that the effects of economic or institutional injustice are different from episodes of self-perceived misrecognition (Zurn, 2003,

pp. 533-534). But Honneth's work explains how everyday interactions with the state work to reproduce social exclusion. This paper provides some insight into this debate by revealing how the complex interconnections between subjective experiences of misrecognition and institutional arrangements work to reinforce and sustain Aboriginal social exclusion.

2. Methods

2.1. The Darwin Context

Darwin is the major city of the Northern Territory and Aboriginal people currently make up about 10 percent of Darwin's population (ABS, 2013a, 2013b). The city is built on the traditional lands of the Larrakia people and a long history of Aboriginal oppression and dispossession. The first group of 139 settler Australians arrived in Darwin in 1869 when the Territory was controlled by the colony of South Australia. The Territory was ceded to the Australian Commonwealth in 1911 but not before the South Australian legislature passed the Northern Territory Aboriginals Act (1910). This act and subsequent legislation and ordinances controlled nearly every aspect of Aboriginal peoples' lives. All Aboriginal children were deemed wards, Aboriginal people were denied the vote, restrictions were imposed on where people could live and visit and who they could marry. Children were separated from parents, frequently permanently, and compounds were set up to contain Aboriginal people away from settler Australian populations (Chesterman & Galligan, 1997).

It was not until 1978 that many of the acts and ordinances that dominated Aboriginal life began to be dismantled (Chesterman & Galligan, 1997). This segregation and the restrictions are in living memory of many Darwin Aboriginal residents. The legacy of socio-economic inequity continues through to current generations as shown by data from the 2011 Census of Population and Housing. Compared to non-Indigenous Darwin residents Aboriginal people are more than three times as likely to be unemployed, have higher numbers of people resident per household, are more likely to be homeless, have a much lower median income, are more likely to live in rental accommodation and have lower educational levels (ABS, 2013a, 2013b).

2.2. The Methodological Context

Any project that concerns First Nations peoples must ensure that it supports their aspirations and, as a minimum, it should provide opportunities for their involvement in it. However as Karen Martin notes much of the research undertaken with Aboriginal people to date has been what she calls "salvage research" or research where Aboriginal peoples are objects, not those who frame the research question and trajectory (2008, pp. 25-27). This project shifts this tendency. It was initiated by Larrakia Nation, which is the peak advocacy and support agency for Darwin's traditional owners. Larrakia staff, in collaboration with the University of Tasmania academics took extensive measures to ensure the research is driven by Aboriginal knowledge, concerns and agendas. Shawn Wilson's (2008) methodological approach of research as ceremony is a good way of understanding the type of approach we used, as is Linda Tuiwahi Smith's argument that "Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of methodology" (2001, p. 15). Based on these epistemologies the research team is a mix of Aboriginal and White settler researchers with project methods developed to address the limitations of Western research methods when researching Indigenous populations (Guilfoyle, Coffin, & Maginn, 2010). Our work was shaped by an Indigenist approach that understood

> the process is the product. If you teach or do research within the traditions of the circle, which is inclusive, participatory, proactive...then you're teaching the individuals within that circle to become participatory, inclusive and so forth. (Wilson, 2008, pp. 103-104)

To fulfil this goal the research employs a mixed-methods approach informed by the need to develop methods that are respectful of Aboriginal ontologies, cultural norms and emphasize relational rather than transactional social relationships. The broader study used qualitative interviews alongside the use of social media and survey. We developed a community Facebook site open to all Indigenous people living in the Greater Darwin area. It promoted participation in the project and provided Aboriginal perspectives that were used in the research instruments. The findings from these two methods were used to develop a survey instrument that was applied to a sample of 400 of Greater Darwin Indigenous residents and visitors with socio-demographic characteristics matched as closely as possible to those of the Indigenous population of the Greater Darwin area that was in progress at the time of writing.

This paper reports on the qualitative interview phase of the research. This phase comprised up to six repeat interviews with a group of 44 respondents who meet the study criteria of identifying as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander, living or visiting Darwin and being over eighteen years old. To ensure diversity a sampling frame was applied based on the 2011 Census for Darwin. Variables included age, gender, housing tenure, traditional owner/other, income source and Aboriginal only or mixed descent.

Data collection took place over six months in 2015. Attrition was low with only eight withdrawals, so that

at the end of this phase of the study there were thirty-six respondents. They were a highly diverse group that included employed home owners and unemployed long grassers, and were drawn from all adult age and income groups. Some were long grassers, others were political activists, some were carers and others were artists. They included stolen generation men and women who had lived all their lives in Darwin, and others who were regular visitors from remote communities. Meeting repeatedly and building relationships over an extended period was designed to strengthen the quality of information shared with the researchers and was more respectful of the knowledge sharing involved (Roulston, 2010). In most cases these interviews were conducted by two interviewers, one Aboriginal and one White. To reflect Aboriginal cultural norms we also paired male respondents with male interviews and female respondents with female interviewers.

These measures addressed concerns that research with Indigenous populations often carries expectations that it is the Indigenous people who need to step outside their cultural norms. Their purpose was to minimize this tendency by providing an Indigenous majority in the conversation. The Indigenous researchers brought their own cultural knowledge to the engagement and ensured that the questions were framed by Indigenous world views. The White researchers also actively reflected on how Whiteness might be shaping their understandings and approaches throughout the interviewing phase. By visiting respondents a number of times, this part of the research addressed the relational nature of Aboriginal engagement with research and allowed respondents to develop discussion points and steer contributions in an iterative process. It provided time for the development of a trusting relationship between respondents and interviewers and encouraged genuine openness and sharing. Respondents had time to consider their responses and to discuss the issues with family and friends. The interviews also employed a conversational, "yarning" interview style (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010) that allowed respondents' concerns and interests to direct the interaction and followed their interactional style, including the use of stories to describe their views. Translation services were available for respondents who preferred to speak in their own language. To support communication we employed a visual strategy alongside the interview schedule in which photographs and images were used to explain points for discussion.

At the completion of the interviews the data were entered into the qualitative software package NVivo and underwent two stages of coding. In line with the Indigenist methodological approach the group who participated in this process were the interviewers as well as the lead researchers. Coding was undertaken individually and through group meetings to ensure shared visions and ongoing participatory practices[2]. The process of coding the data was two stage. The first was structural coding, a mode of coding that mimics the interview questions and enables date to be sorted into the main areas of the project.[3] This was followed by thematic analysis. As is usual some of the themes were ones we had presumed would emerge while others came to light through the process. Some of the key thematic codes that emerged are the ones that run through our analysis in this paper—trauma, the enduring impact of dispossession, feelings of national exclusion, and straddling two worlds.

3. Findings

The findings reported in this paper concentrate on two themes identified in the analysis of the interview data that most closely relate to social inclusion and social exclusion. The first is the sense of continued dispossession and disenfranchisement experienced by our respondents and their resistance to this. The second is responses to the values and aspirations of the White settler majority to which they are expected to conform for any chance of social, cultural and economic inclusion.

3.1. Theme 1: Dispossession, Exclusion and Resistance

Respondents described Darwin as a pot of different ethnic groups. R1 noted:

> Well as in the city, you know you are going to have that broad spectrum of countrymen coming from everywhere…and on the other side of the coin you've got the Europeans, which we got a lot of Irish as present for the gas…you've got the tourists, you've got Taiwanese, you've got Chinese—you name it. Darwin is a melting pot and a very diverse multicultural place.

However, it not always seen as a pot that is melting. Respondents noted that they belong to Darwin, but were concerned at how rapidly it is changing in ways that provide even fewer spaces for Aboriginal people. R1 observed: "I know a lot of Aboriginal people that are, I mean from a work perspective living on the beach and stuff like that you know. Living day to day you know—you're subject to violence…." Thinking about the issue from a broader perspective R3 referred

[2] The data were coded by Catriona Elder, Alex di Georgio, Daphne Habibis, Kelly Pollard, Penny Taylor, and Maggie Walter.

[3] The structural codes for the study were: Darwin and belonging, recognition, values, beliefs and behaviours, White privilege, views on Aboriginal/White relations, understanding Aboriginal/White attitudes and behaviours, relationships between Aboriginal peoples, mainstream politics, Aboriginal and White law.

to the way Aboriginal people had little space in the national story: "when people are talking about Australians or Australia you know the exclusion of Indigenous people from that picture."

Along with other participants R1 suggests that there should be much more Aboriginal control and involvement in decisions about the city. He uses the ideas of "working with" Larrakia and "giving over responsibility" to describe what should happen. Many were concerned for Larrakia people to have greater involvement as the traditional owners who have a right to a say in the city's future. As one woman put it: "They do a lot of things wrong, the non-Indigenous, and what the great wrong (is) not acknowledging the Larrakia people" (R26).

One of the strongest themes in the data is an overwhelming experience of loss that is multi-layered and accompanied by a sense that addressing the issues is beyond the control of participants. Their perception is that the odds are stacked too heavily against them and most settler Australians don't really care. The sense of imbalance between effort and achievement is captured by R15:

> We're fighting, fighting all the time and none of us mob are winning. Our old mob are dead and gone, the mob that used to fight for our rights, you know. You get asked 'Where's the fair go?' There is no more fair go.

R20 describes how White people are uncaring in the face of Aboriginal need:

> Most people that are White are just so one-sided type of thing. Like they don't care why those Aboriginal people are in the bushes[4] and they don't give a fuck about nothing.

Fundamental to the sense of loss and despair is the perception of the continuing intrusion of settler dominance on Aboriginal land and the impact this has on Aboriginal people. This is explicit in R37's account of how *Balanda* (a widely used term for settler Australians amongst Aboriginal peoples in the Northern Territory) activity affects Yolngu people, who are the traditional custodians of East Arnhem Land in the north eastern tip of the Northern Territory:

> But Balanda doing it the wrong way and destroying this country. That's why Yolngu old people—they will just all die out.

But when asked whether they felt race relations had improved, the prevailing view was that there had been some changes for the better. One respondent observed: "A lot of Aboriginal people [are] working with White people now, so a lot of attitudes have changed. It's not so bad now [as] it was probably 20 years ago" (R15). They described positive experiences with some settler Australians with many remarking that those settler Australians who had mixed with Aboriginal people growing up, or through work, tended to be more understanding and appreciative of Aboriginal cultures and people than those who knew nothing about them. There was also a shared view that many tourists were friendly and appreciative of Aboriginal culture.

These positive experiences were heavily outweighed by accounts of everyday racism, discrimination and disrespect. This occurred in daily encounters and was integral to Darwin life. White settlers dominate just by being White, whereas they struggled to make their voices heard. They were acutely aware that to operate in everyday life they needed White cultural capital. They saw how an understanding of White culture, the unacknowledged sense of cultural belonging and the possession and use of language, gave White settlers a power and authority that they did not have. This was related to a perception that the way settler Australians think they are better than Aboriginal people is a constant presence in their interactions with them. They described feeling constantly judged and found wanting. As one respondent put it: "They all stereotype us, you know. And I say to them 'I've paid taxes for 35 years you know. I pay your children's Centrelink too'" (R11).

3.2. Theme 2: Incompatible Worlds, Rejection and Resistance

Almost all respondents described how Indigenous and non-Indigenous people occupy different physical and social worlds. Different values and cultures make mixing difficult resulting in a lack of interest in social interaction with settler Australians. Most interactions described were instrumental. They described feeling uncomfortable in public places, and being made to feel different in shopping malls and as if they didn't belong because of the way they were stared at or followed round by security guards. One woman observed: "I don't feel comfortable going to a restaurant, going to the shopping centre….I'm not used to it. I'm just scared of them staring at us….Why? Because White people are all the same" (R29). Almost all respondents said they are most comfortable in spaces that are predominantly Aboriginal because they feel safe and able to be themselves.

Respondents spoke of the difficulty of walking in two worlds. This comment was typical: "Daily I'm juggling with who I am…how I talk, how I act and look and whatever. So you get it from the Whitefellas, you know, that you can't talk good English, and then these blackfellas, 'Why are you acting White, talking White?'"

[4] This refers to homeless Aboriginal people living in open parklands in and around Darwin.

(R14). R14's comment shows the experience of some respondents that even when they speak the same language as that of settler Australia it is rejected as not good enough. It demonstrates the impossibility of negotiating two worlds because if they become White they are accused of betraying their culture, but if they try to be White they can never be White enough. They feel they have to constantly choose between how to behave, depending on whether they are in a White or black space and that whatever their choice it's not enough.

This incompatibility is a barrier to success or a sense of belonging. To succeed or fit into settler culture, respondents felt they have to sacrifice the things that are important to them and which define who they are as an Aboriginal person. An everyday example is given by R13 who shares the common story about being made to feel uncomfortable by walking barefoot in a shopping centre:

> Well like me I will be like walking around barefoot into the shopping centre here for instance you know and then people will be looking at me differently, like "why doesn't he have any shoes on', you know? Stuff like that—that's why I feel uncomfortable talking to people. They look at me differently—like I am different (R13).

R13's reflection can be understood in terms of Honneth's ideas of "trust in oneself" (2001, p. 48). In this sense the public refusal to offer R13 any "affective acceptance or encouragement" as she goes about her daily life might be part of the reason for her lack of emotional or bodily self-assurance (2001, p. 48). Understanding this as a raced mode of social exclusion comes from linking R13's story to the earlier work on stereotypes (Langton, 1995) and the settler Australian habit of marking Indigenous people as lacking, in this case in terms of bodily comportment.

Many of the respondents appreciate the value of material success but this is weighed against the loss of culture and, for many respondents, the cost is judged to be too high. As R21 noted about some Indigenous people: "I actually looked down on people and feel sorry for them because at the end of the day they are just in it for the money…." This feeling sorry for those caught in a trap of money is compounded by a perception that the neo-liberal offer of wealth and status in return for work in the formal economy is not worth it. They perceive the stress that accompanies this offer, and reject it, because of the stress that already exists in their lives. One respondent observed: "White people…they are like a slave, you know, to their work" (R17). A similar point was made by R26: "White people stress to the point where they are like [need] medications to calm themselves down" (R26). For these respondents, the neo-liberal offer of material wealth in exchange for a lifetime of hard work is both a false promise and one which is fundamentally irrational and unbalanced. It leads to neglect of the things that matter, which are caring for land and family.

R30's comment uses a temporal/spatial metaphor to describe Indigenous/settler Australian relations. She tells how "stuff"—her culture—is "cram[med] or "squeez[ed]" into the gaps around dominant settler Australian practices, in this case employment and sport.

This experience of efforts to do "what we're supposed to be doing" and "just not working" was closely associated with feelings of self-blame for some respondents. This was especially true of some male respondents, who used the term "shame job" to describe how dealing with *balanda* often made them feel. The hegemonic nature of White cultural norms and values, serve here as a form of symbolic violence, resulting in a widely expressed sense of inadequacy and failure. Some of this emotion is conveyed in this story told by an Indigenous Darwin resident from southern Australia. He explained a conversation with his cousin where she said:

> "You know, I was almost in tears the other day" and I'm like "Why?" and she said "because an old Aboriginal man is out the front and the bouncer asked him to move away from the door". I said "oh yeah' and she said "and he just stood there so the bouncer kicked him out onto the road". You know things like that and just comments (R29)

This multidimensional narrative of loss is matched by an equally multidimensional narrative of resistance that took many forms including apathy, withdrawal, separation, detachment and political activism. This was often allied to the denial of the legitimacy of White governance (Hage, 1998), not only because of the legacy of colonisation, but also because of cynicism about White politics, the failure of the state's efforts to address the needs of Aboriginal people and its unresponsive and cruel administrative systems.

For many respondents, Western democratic principles of consultation and political inclusion mask a reality of denial and exclusion:

> They call this a democracy. So they tell us we're living in a democracy and you have freedom of speech and that's exactly the trick, the con is to let you talk and talk and talk and talk and talk….Democracy allows you—gives you the illusion that you're being heard and…respected….This is a regime to me, a regime, 'Englishism'—a machine that's been going on and it's never gone stop….I don't like the word Australia because it doesn't include us. It doesn't fit our—you know the Aussie dream—I'm not in that Aussie dream (R38).

For some respondents, the sense that the state's institutions were not working for Aboriginal people extended to organisations focused specifically on serving them—colloquially known in Australia as the 'Aboriginal industry'. This remark was typical of that view: "The Aboriginal industry is a source of exploitation that helps White people, not Aboriginal people" (R1). Here the participant is clear that employment is not a matter of social recognition as an equal but a replication of old patterns of subordination.

The sense of government ineffectiveness is well-described by R19:

> I think the actual people in the government need to sit down and sort it out properly, not go around in circles. At least have a goal to get one thing accomplished, not just sit there and talk and talk and talk.

Anger at the government's inhumane application of rules is captured in a politically active respondent's account of the Federal government's lack of mercy in its response to the request of an asylum seeker held in a detention centre to visit his dying father in Australia.

> They had a petition…64,000 people—to bring out a son for a dying bloke in Darwin. A young fella to bring his old man who was passing away. All they wanted to do is bring him (the young man) out so he could see (his father). They wouldn't do it. But because they block you, they create that wall, White picket fence again…So he couldn't come out here and his father passed away….So I think that's cruel. (R19)

Here the state's rigid application of administrative rules is linked directly to the broader unwillingness of settler institutions to respond to the higher moral order of human rights that contributes to Indigenous social exclusion.

Many of these respondents felt that although White culture offered many material advantages this has come at the cost of a loss of the ontological security that came from a culture rooted in ancient traditions. They saw settler culture as lacking a firm foundation because it is always changing and people are too self interested and disconnected from one another and too self-interested. From their perspective settler Australians are lost because of the weakness and relative nature of settler Australian values, as indicated by this comment: "I still think there's a feeling of loss there and disconnection….On the surface you're happy with this money and this car and this house, but, yeah, I don't think so" (R12). The term "dollar dreaming" was often used to describe perceptions of the materialism and consumption that nearly all respondents believed lay at the heart of White culture. One respondent observed that the source of belonging within White culture, came not from membership of a cultural group but from labour market position. Respondents often compared this unfavourably with the sense of connection to family and country that prevailed in Aboriginal culture and which was a source of strength and pride. They saw Australian culture as demanding an unacceptable trade off between material success and meaningful relationships: "People give up their family, they feel sad, they get homesick but they get a nice house" (R8). Another commented on the irrationality of hyper-consumption: But I just don't understand why White people buy their homes, renovate it, get expensive stuff and then they're old all of a sudden, you know" (R10).

Respondents also felt that in their everyday interactions with settler Australians there was little understanding or acknowledgement of how well Indigenous people are doing in circumstances of colonisation and dispossession. A common remark was that whenever they try to talk about the past as a pathway to reconciliation it is misinterpreted as an excuse for any difficulties they had. Their perception was of dual standards that failed to acknowledge that the problems so widely rehearsed in the public sphere were also widespread in settler settings.

Respondents spoke of their sense that, having lost their land, they face constant pressure to change—and therefore lose—their culture. While determined to hold on to it they feel they never have a chance for their ways to be appropriately acknowledged and respected. Their experience is of always being on the losing side in the engagement with Euro-Australia. While they aspire to a better life, it comes at the cost of Aboriginal culture. One respondent talked about this in relation to cultural expectations to attend funerals and the difficulties this causes for employment. He said:

> it always defaults to the expectation that that Aboriginal person must lose, give up that value, that expectation to attend that funeral. That's what it defaults to; the Aboriginal person must lose that value. [But] you can't just lose that value. (R35)

Here the respondent is pointing to his sense of the inalienable nature of culture—that to lose it is to deny an aspect of himself. His account captures both the incompatibility between neo-liberal demands for paid employment and Aboriginal cultural demands to pay respect to those who have passed and the sense of subjection to a fixed hierarchy that always subordinates Aboriginal values to White ones.

For many respondents, this sense of the odds being stacked against Aboriginal people carried a profound sense of powerlessness and loss of hope. One public space dweller, when asked about relations with White people, repeatedly said "same-same". She meant that whatever she tries to do to that involves White people it achieves the same unfair result. Another employed

woman, described the impossibility of trying to live in the Aboriginal way in an environment that provides no spaces for this:

> All that stuff that we're supposed to be doing. We're trying to do it but it's 'after'—after work or after the footy or you know. We're trying to cram, squeeze in our culture. We can't…do it, we can't. We do it—might have a barbeque now an' then and we try. It's just not working. (R30)

4. Conclusion

The narratives of the participants accumulate to produce a story about the ongoing rejection of Aboriginal people, values and culture by the dominant White settler population alongside their own rejection of the neo-liberal deal of individual advancement through economic pathways of employment and the accumulation of debt. They make visible an Indigenous truth organised around a radically different idea of the everyday and the meaningful. This co-exists with a quotidian and perpetual struggle to have these truths recognised in a geographic, cultural, economic, political and legal space ordered around a settler Australian social reality.

These narratives support arguments about the importance of intersubjective recognition because of the impact of misrecognition on social exclusion. They show how the lived and ubiquitous experience of mistreatment contributes to the inequitable distribution of material goods in the way Honneth has suggested:

> The rules organizing the distribution of material goods derive from the degree of social esteem enjoyed by social groups, in accordance with institutionalized hierarchies of value, or a normative order. (2001, p. 54)

"Shame job" and segregation create a vicious circle of withdrawal and isolation that works in both directions. It reinforces social and physical distance, generates Indigenous resistance and strengthens settler Australian ignorance. Withdrawal and isolation then sustain the maintenance of differences in social and cultural capital that, in turn, reinforce barriers to social inclusion.

Future research will go more deeply into the data, especially in relation to analysing the perspectives of different social groups in areas including understandings of White values and lifestyles, views on White governance, including labour market participation and how intercultural relations can be improved. At this stage systematic analysis of the variation between groups such as long grassers, political activists and those in employment has not been undertaken and the focus has instead been on capturing some of the broad themes present in the majority of the interviews. While this paper has argued for the similarities in Aboriginal perspectives on race relations in Darwin, we anticipate that deeper analysis will reveal important differences between different groups.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Social Exclusion/Inclusion for Urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People

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Abstract
Social exclusion social inclusion are useful concepts for making sense of the deeply embedded socio-economic disadvantaged position of Aboriginal and Torres Islander people in Australian. The concepts not only describe exclusion from social and economic participation; but seek to understand the dynamic processes behind their creation and reproduction. Yet few Australian studies go beyond describing Aboriginal over-representation on social exclusion indicators. Neither do they address the translatability of the concepts from non-Indigenous to Indigenous contexts despite mainstream studies finding the pattern of social exclusion (and therefore what social inclusion might look like) differs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to that of other disadvantaged groups. This paper uses data from the Longitudinal Study of Indigenous children to explore patterns of social exclusion across social, economic, well-being and community dimensions for urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait families. The paper then develops a contextual understanding of the processes and patterns that create and sustain social exclusion and the opportunities and challenges of moving to greater social inclusion for urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people/s.

Keywords
aboriginal; social exclusion; social inclusion; Torres Strait Islander

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Social Inclusion and Indigenous Peoples", edited by Pat Dudgeon (University of Western Australia, Australia), Waikaremoana Waitoki (University of Waikato, New Zealand), Rose LeMay (Wharerātā Group, Canada) and Linda Waimarie Nikora (University of Waikato, New Zealand).

1. Introduction

The concepts of social exclusion and its policy ambition, social inclusion, are directly applicable to making sense of the longstanding marginalisation of Aboriginal and Torres Islander people within Australian society. These concepts extend our understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander's people's position as being much more than economic disadvantage. Social exclusion not only describes exclusion from social and economic participation, but seeks to understand the dynamic processes behind their creation and reproduction. The complexity and multidimensional nature of social exclusion, therefore, is inclusive of negative social participatory aspects and the diminished citizenship that is inherent in, and compounded by, exclusion from social resources. Yet, gaining a greater understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander positioning is more than translating the concepts from non-Indigenous to Indigenous contexts. What little work exists on the topic (see Hunter, 2009) suggests that the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion for Indigenous peoples have complexities not found in their application to dominant White settler populations. The dearth of theoretically informed literature also raises questions of the pattern of Indigenous social exclusion (and therefore what social inclusion) might look like.

This paper uses data from the Longitudinal Study of Indigenous children (LSIC) to explore patterns of social exclusion across social, economic, community and well-being dimensions for urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait families. This study, while using the study child as the

unit of analysis, contains a wealth of data pertaining to family and parent circumstances and lived realities. The paper then uses these results to inform a contextual discussion of the processes and patterns that create and sustain social exclusion and the opportunities and challenges of moving to greater Indigenous social inclusion. The geographic terms used in this analysis are based on the index of Level of Relative Isolation which has five categories of isolation. Areas defined as having no level of isolations ('None') are metropolitan areas; those defined as having low levels of isolation are small cities or large towns. 'Moderate' refers to smaller towns located a significant distance from the nearest city and 'High' and 'Extreme' refers to small communities, often discrete Indigenous communities, situated in remote parts of Australia, a long distance from any urban areas (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, 2011).

The study is confined to urban and regional families ('None' and 'Low' levels of relative isolation). The LSIC sample is divided because the contexts of social and community participation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in urban centres, and those living in remote areas of Australia are not directly comparable. Life circumstance similarities for respondents from 'None' and 'Low' level of relative isolation localities include that life is lived within a dominant non-Indigenous social and cultural setting. Levels of Relative Isolation are a proxy for the proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous population in a location. Indigenous people in areas defined as 'None' or 'Low' relative isolation are likely to make up just two to three percent of the total population of those areas. Conversely, those living in areas defined as 'High' and 'Extreme' are likely to be living in locations where the large majority of the population are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people. The other reason for exploring urban and regional families separately is that most current statistics on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are presented at state or national aggregates, despite the very different life circumstances across geographic areas. As a result the actualities of social exclusion for urban/regional populations are rarely explored separately and social exclusion among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families living in cities and regional towns is under-researched.

2. Social Exclusion and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People

Social exclusion refers to the exclusion of people or groups from participation in mainstream social and economic life. In doing so the concept recognises the social aspects of poverty as well as the power relationship dimensions. As Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud (2002) argue, the exclusion of some groups from social resources support the privileged position of other groups. In turn, this distribution of social resources is reinforced by how those socially excluded interact with their wider society, and wider society with them. In this way social exclusion, includes the social processes involved in the underlying causes of poverty and inequality as well as outcomes (Fincher & Saunders, 2001, p. 9). As Sen (2000) argues, the helpfulness of the concept of social exclusion, is in its focussing attention on the role of the social and relational dimensions of deprivation.

One issue complicating the measuring of social exclusion is the complexity of the concepts. Many researchers, therefore, have argued it is more useful to develop a general conception of social exclusion rather than pursue a precise definition (Bradshaw, 2003; Burchardt et al., 2002; Saunders, 2003). Lister (2004), for example, states that social exclusion can be most usefully understood and used as a multifocal lens that illuminates aspects of poverty. The multidimensional nature of exclusion also translates to a wide array of potential elements to be included and this variety is reflected in the varying research constructions of the concept. Gordon et al. (2000), for example, identifies four dimension of social exclusion: income below poverty income threshold; labour market exclusion, service exclusion; and exclusion from social relations. Similarly, the Brotherhood of St Laurence, in collaboration with the Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, developed a social exclusion measure drawing on seven domains (BSL-MIAESR) (Azpitarte & Bowman, 2015). This multi-dimensional index includes measures of: material resources; employment; education and skills; health and disability; social connection; community and personal safety. Regardless of items included, however, such measures must always encompass the basic idea that social exclusion is both multi-dimensional concept *and* that it is clustered among vulnerable groups rather than evenly experienced across the broader population.

Social exclusion and social inclusion, by definition, are contextual, locational and situational. The form that social exclusion takes, the groups that are most vulnerable to that form of social exclusion, and the social inclusion measures needed to address the social exclusion, are particular to the society and the location and times in which they are found. These central aspects of social exclusion are particularly salient for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Consistently identified in the literature as over-represented on measures social exclusion (see Brotherhood of St Laurence, 2015; Saunders, Naidoo, & Griffiths, 2007) there is, however, little literature that specifically addresses the Aboriginal dimensions of social exclusion or social inclusion. What literature does exist, such as the Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage Key Indicators (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, 2014) report from the Productivity Commission tend to explore social exclusion as a set of measures rather than as a concept that has structural foundations. Yet, social exclusion is a

social, not individual, phenomenon, informed by patterns that emerge from examining linked social problems (Lister, 2004; Sen, 2000). As Saunders (2003, p. 5) argues, viewed as an individual attribute, social exclusion can become 'a vehicle for vilifying those who do not conform and an excuse for seeing their problems as caused by their own "aberrant behaviour'. Rather, as per Sen (2000), social exclusion might be better seen as capability deprivation with capability conceptualised as a reflection of the freedom to achieve core functionings such as being healthy, having a good job, safety and self respect. The restriction of capability limits or denies the ability of the individual, or groups of individuals to achieve outcomes that are valued and have reason to be valued; to achieve what Sen labels 'a decent life'.

The mainstream literature on social exclusion/inclusion is informative, but the validity of transposing of the understandings, strategies and policies from one place, or one population, to another is questionable. Hunter (2009) argues that the translatability of social exclusion and social inclusion from non-Indigenous to Indigenous contexts is problematic. Yet the conceptualisation of social exclusion implicit in the *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* framework based on exclusion from the mainstream norm. There are no Indigenous specific indicators and the definition of social exclusion and the measurement of that exclusion is undertaken outside of Indigenous understandings. The validity of Hunter's (2009) arguments are borne out by research indicating that the pattern of social exclusion for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people differs to that of other disadvantaged groups. For example, Saunders et al. (2007) in their examination of the extent of social exclusion find their Indigenous sample, drawn from the city of Sydney, less negatively affected by indicators of social disengagement relating to contact with others and participation in community activities. Indeed, on these indicators, the Indigenous outcomes were higher than the national figure. On indicators relating to service and economic exclusion, however, such as inability to pay utility bills, lack of emergency savings and inability to spend money on a special treat the Indigenous sample does worst.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these studies. First it is clear that social exclusion and inclusions are concepts that are resonant in the lives of urban Aboriginal people. It is also clear that the forms and shapes that social exclusion takes for Aboriginal people is not a duplicate of that other groups in Australian society traditionally associated with socio-economic disadvantage. The proportion of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population who can be regarded as socially excluded is also unclear, even from the literature that encompasses the topic. The BSL-MIAESR measure for example, estimates the prevalence of social exclusion among Indigenous Australians at more than 40 percent. However, the data for this estimate is the Household Income and Labour Dynamics Australia (HILDA) survey where the sample of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is small in size and groups all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander households into the one base 'Indigenous' category. Similarly the Social Policy Research Centre (Saunders et al., 2007) report notes that Indigenous people made up only 0.8 of their random Australian sample of 2704 community participants.

There is, therefore, despite assumptions of high levels of social exclusion among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations limited evidence to support those assumptions. The cumulative effect of limited literature, limited translatability of measures, limited evidence on the rates and types of social exclusion lead to a gap in understanding how social exclusion is maintained and sustained for Indigenous individuals, families and communities. This is especially so for the majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who live in urban and regional areas of Australia. As such strategies for social inclusion will also have to be tailored to meet Indigenous realities of social exclusion. To redress, at least partially, the gap in knowledge of Indigenous social exclusion, this paper uses data from the Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children, Australia's only longitudinal Indigenous specific survey, to explore the patterns and nature of social exclusion of urban/regional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families.

3. Method/Methodology

The Footprints in Time, Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC) is a national panel study that in Wave 1 (2008) surveyed the families of 1,670 Indigenous Children from 11 sites across Australia. These locations ranged from very remote communities to major capital cities (Department of Social Services, 2015). LSIC data are collected via face-to-face interviews between the Study Child's primary parent (named Parent 1) and locally employed Indigenous Research Administration Officers. Study children are divided into two cohorts; the B or baby cohort who were aged 6- 18 months at Wave 1 and the K or kid cohort, aged 3.5−5 years at Wave 1. The results presented in this chapter are, unless otherwise noted, drawn from Wave 6 conducted in 2013 (n=1239) when the younger cohort was aged 5.5−7 years of age and the older cohort 8.5−10 years of age.

While not a random sample, the spread of LSIC households are similar in geographic distribution to the total Indigenous population with three quarters located in areas classified as having 'None' or 'Low' levels of remoteness and a quarter in areas deemed remote and very remote (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2011). In Wave 6, this distribution of Parent 1 households were 28 percent in areas classified as having a remoteness level of 'None', 51 percent in 'Low', 13 percent 'moderate' and nine percent as 'high/extreme' remoteness. The sample for this study are restricted to

those households classified as 'None' and Low' level of remoteness. In Wave 6 this results a sub-sample of 973 households. The dimensions of social exclusion explored in this study are socio-economic; household and service; Community and Health and Socio-Emotional Well-Being.

Key socio-demographic details of these households are outlined in Table 1. As shown two thirds of the families are in areas of 'Low' remoteness, most Parent 1's are mothers and aged under forty years, although the primary carer for more than 10 percent of the children is a family member other than the child's mother.

Table 1. Study child and parent 1 demographic details: LSIC Wave 6 (n=973).

Variable	Category	Percent %
Level of Remoteness	None	35.4
	Low	64.6
Study Child Cohort	B Younger Cohort	58.9
	K Older Cohort	41.1
Gender of Parent 1	Male	3.3
	Female	96.7
Age of Parent 1	20-29	24.0
	30-39	47.5
	40-49	21.7
	50+	6.2
Indigenous Status of Parent 1	Aboriginal	70.7
	Torres Strait Islander	3.9
	Both	3.1
	Not Indigenous	22.3
Relationship of Parent 1 to Study Child	Mother	87.7
	Father	3.1
	Grandmother	5.9
	Other female relative	1.4
	Other	1.9

4. Socio-Economic Social Exclusion

This correlation between Indigeniety and poverty argued by Walter (2008) is evident in the LSIC data. As shown in Table 2, 40 percent of Parent 1s, the majority of whom are mothers, were in paid work at the time of data collection, with around half of that group working full-time. This rate is significantly lower than that of non-Indigenous mothers in Australia where over two thirds of mothers of children with children aged 6–9 years are in the paid workforce (Baxter, 2009). In the free text responses to why they were not in paid work the overwhelming majority (more than 400 of the 537 responses) gave reasons related to child rearing, predominantly stating that they wanted to look after their children themselves. Only 57 respondents gave lack of employment opportunity reasons. These responses indicate a clash between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander primary parents' values on appropriate child rearing and the policy push for mothers receiving welfare payments to return to the workforce when or before their youngest child turns six (Parenting Payment). The impact of this values differentiation is magnified given that nearly half of the Parent 1 group were unpartnered at the time of data collection.

Of those Parent 1s who were partnered, nearly 29 percent had partners not in the labour force. A small number of these were retired (n=10), permanently unable to work (n=9) or not well enough to work (n=23) but the majority of reasons given for not being in the paid workforce related to lack of employment opportunity. Just under half of the Parent 1s reported salary or wages as their main source of income and more than 80 percent reported that Government pensions, benefits or allowances as a main source of income. Nearly two thirds of Study Child households were reported as having weekly income from all sources, after deductions, under $1000. Unlike non-Indigenous parents therefore, who are evenly spread across the socio-economic spectrum, for a significant proportion of LSIC parents, social exclusion as defined by economic dimensions is the norm.

Socio-economic exclusion is also evident through more objective measurements included in LSIC Wave 6. On household deprivation measures (n=963) around one third (33%) reported that they could not pay their bills on time; nearly one in five (19%) reported receiving assistance from a welfare organisation; pay housing

Table 2. Parent 1 socio-economic status details: LSIC Wave 6 (n=973).

Variable	Category	Percent %
Parent 1 Employed	Yes	39.7
	No	60.2
Parent 1's Employment Type (n=380)	Full time	46.8
	Part time/Casual	49.5
	Other	3.7
Partnership Status of P1	Unpartnered	45.6
	Partnered	54.6
Parent 1's Partner Employed	Yes	71.3
	No	28.7
Parent 1's Partner Employment Type	Full-Time	76.7
	Part-time/Casual	15.0
	Self Employed	5.8
	Other	2.5
Main Source of Income*	Wages/Salary	45.7
	Govt Benefit/Pension/ Allowance	81.9
	Child Support/ Maintenance	10.6
Household Weekly Income After Deductions	$0-$499	21.2
	$500-$999	41.0
	$1000-$1499	21.2
	$1500-$1999	10.8
	$2000 plus	5.6

Note: * respondents could nominate more than one nine percent could not main source of income.

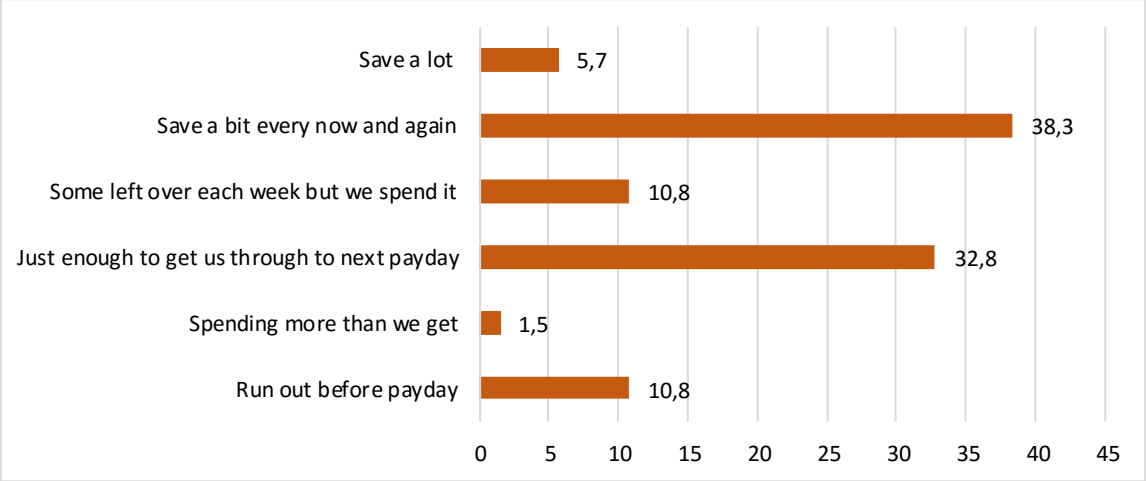

Figure 1. LSIC household self rating on financial stress (percentage).

payments in time; 12 percent had pawned or sold something to make ends meet; and around five percent respectively had been unable to heat their home, went without meals, or their child did not do school activities because of a shortage of money. On the financial hardship measures, as shown in Figure 1, despite evidence of relatively low household incomes, only 12 percent indicated they were not managing on current income and 44 percent indicated they save some money, at least some of the time. The norm of economic disadvantage within the community in which most LSIC parents live, perhaps, leads to coping money management systems that include aspects of social relationality. For example, analysis of Wave 6 data related to household meals (not shown here) finds that around 60 percent of Parent 1's report feeding people from outside of their household on a weekly or fortnightly basis.

5. Housing/Service Social Exclusion

The LSIC dataset capacity to measure levels of service exclusion for urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families is predominantly in the data related to housing. In line with census data (Walter, 2008) the majority of LSIC households occupy rental housing. In Wave 1 (2008) around 80 percent of households in rental accommodation with half of this group renting from public housing authorities. In consequent waves housing type was only asked of those who had moved since the previous wave. Analysis of these data (not shown here) indicate despite a small increase in the proportion paying off their home in each wave, the predominant pattern of renting remains.

The LSIC households also present a pattern of housing occupation. As shown in Table 3, around one quarter of households have more than two adults present and over 85 percent have two or more children present. In another deviation from non-Indigenous norms, 27 percent of households contain only one adult yet 46 percent of the Parent 1's report that they are unpartnered. A significant proportion of unpartnered Parent 1 households must therefore include adults who are not a partner. Walter and Hewitt (2012) confirm this likelihood, with grandmothers and sisters of the Parent 1 reported the most common adult type, other than partners, to reside in the LSIC household.

A substantial proportion (34%) of Parent 1 households also report their housing as in need of substantial repair as also shown in Table 3. Responses to 18 discrete categories show the most common major repairs needed are: plumbing in baths and showers (5.2%); structural problems (5.3%); major electrical problems (5.2%) or other major problem (6.2%). Further analysis of these data found housing repair inadequacy was clustered with the more than 15 percent of households reporting more than one major repair was needed.

Table 3. Study child's household (Wave 6 n=973).

Variable	Category	Percent %
Housing Type (n=240)*	Rental Public/Community	37.8
	Rental Private	47.2
	Owned (mortgage/outright)	10.5
	Other	4.5
Number of Adults in Household	One	27.5
	Two	47.5
	Three	15.3
	Four or more	9.6
Number of Children in Household	One	12.6
	Two	26.1
	Three	30.5
	Four or more	23.0
Household needs Major Repairs	No	66.4
	One major Repair	17.8
	Two major repairs	7.5
	Three or more major repairs	8.3

Note: * Only asked of those who moved house between Wave 5 and Wave 6.

6. Community Social Exclusion

Community social exclusion is assessed through analysis of Wave 6 neighbourhood and community data. As shown in Table 4, community safety was rated relatively highly by Parent 1 with 70 percent rating their community as good or very good for little kids and nearly two thirds rated overall safety of the community as very safe of quite safe. These findings, given the level of socio-economic deprivation and high level of rental accommodation among the LSIC families indicate that other factors are the main influence on respondents understanding of why a community is safe or good for little kids.

7. Well-Being Social Exclusion

As shown in Table 5, in Wave 6 (n=973) that more than 80 percent of Parent 1's rate their own health as excellent or very good. Close to three quarters of Parent 1s, however, report that they have at least some problems in their life. Regardless, more than 80 percent of respondents stated that they were coping fairly well, very well or extremely well, indicating a substantial level of resilience, despite the socio-economic adversity they face.

Racism is also an indicator social exclusion for urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families. The results from LSIC Wave 5 racism related question find over 60 percent of Parent 1s indicated that racism was never or hardly ever an experience for them. Nearly 40 percent, however, reported experiences of racism. Cultural experiences are also a common factor in the LSIC families. In Wave 1 the cultural activity questions were asked about the Study Child rather than Parent 1. Analysis of these data show that although few urban Study Children speak an Indigenous language (4%), two thirds were regularly taken to cultural events.

8. How Social Exclusion Dimensions are Spread between Households

The results in the previous sections show the incidence of different social exclusion measures in Parent 1 households. The next question is whether experience of different types of social exclusion are also clustered. Table 6 displays the results of inter-dimension correlations which show significant correlations. As can be seen, with the exception of 'P1 feels their life is difficult at present' and 'community safety' there is a statistically significant correlation of varying strengths between each dimension of social exclusion and all other dimensions. These results indicate that there is a relationship between the level of social exclusion on one measure and the level reported on others. Those with higher levels of exclusion on the individual measures are also more likely to have higher measures on other dimensions. Similarly, those with lower levels on exclusion on one measure are also more likely to record lower levels of exclusion on others.

Table 4. Parent 1 community safety ratings (wave 6, n= 973).

Variable	**Parent 1 Rating %**				
	Very good %	Good %	Okay %	Not so good %	Really bad %
Good community for little kids	38.5	31.7	19.8	7.6	2.4
	Very Safe %	Quite safe %	Okay %	Not very Safe %	Dangerous %
Overall Safety of Community	22.3	40.2	26.7	9.4	1.3

Table 5. Parent 1 social and emotional well-being measures.

Variable	**Parent 1 Rating**			
	Excellent %	Very Good %	Good %	Fair/Poor %
Parent 1 Global Health Measure (Wave 6: n= 973)	41.0	39.2	17.3	3.1
	No problems %	Few problems %	Some problems %	Many/Very many problems
Feels their life is difficult at present (Wave 6: n=970)	27.3	38.1	26.7	8.0
	Not at all %	A little %	Fairly Well %	Very/Extremely well %
Thinks they are coping (Wave 6: n=970)	0.9	6.8	42.4	40.8
	Every day %	Every week/ Sometimes %	Occasionally %	Never or hardly ever %
Family experiences racism, discrimination or prejudice (Wave 5: n=970)	3.1	19.3	15.4	61.3
	Very often %	Often %	Occasionally %	Never %
How often Study Child goes to Indigenous cultural event (Wave 1: n=1252)	7.6	14.8	41.8	36.2

Table 6. Correlations between social exclusion measures.

		P1 global health measure	Major repairs needed to house summary number	Safe community	Family money situation	P1 feels their life is difficult at present
P1 global health measure	Pearson Correlation	1	.107**	.069*	-.155**	.232**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001	.032	.000	.000
	N	973	972	963	969	969
Major repairs needed to house summary number	Pearson Correlation	.107**	1	.073*	-.127**	.118**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001		.023	.000	.000
	N	972	972	963	969	968
Safe community	Pearson Correlation	.069*	.073*	1	-.124**	.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.032	.023		.000	.781
	N	963	963	963	960	959
Family money situation	Pearson Correlation	-.155**	-.127**	-.124**	1	-.194**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	969	969	960	969	965
P1 feels their life is difficult at present	Pearson Correlation	.232**	.118**	.009	-.194**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.781	.000	
	N	969	968	959	965	969

Notes: ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

9. Discussion and Conclusion

The first task of this paper was to explore patterns of social exclusion across social, economic, neighbourhood and well-being dimensions for urban and regional Aboriginal and Torres Strait families. The socio-economic data point to high rates of socio-economic exclusion. Low rates labour market activity, high rates of sole parenthood; high rates of rental housing and a substantial minority with inadequate housing due to disrepair. These measures all support the conclusion that LSIC households are likely to be among the poorest of households within their neighbourhoods. This finding aligns with Biddle's (2013) finding that, Australia wide, there was not a single Census area where the Indigenous populations has better or even relatively equal outcomes compared to the non-Indigenous population.

On the social participatory aspects the results are not as clear cut. The LSIC households are likely to be multiple person households with a majority rating their community as safe. A majority of Parent 1s are also physically and socio-emotionally able. Also, a substantial minority of Parent 1's report the experience of racism and two thirds of Study Children regularly attend Indigenous cultural events, signifying cultural and racial elements remain strongly evident in household's lived experience. The correlation results indicate there is a significant overlap in those experiencing poorer outcomes across measures social exclusions. The central finding of these results, therefore, is that, in line with Saunders et al. (2007) that evidence of 'deep' social exclusion across dimensions is present, but for an, albeit substantial, minority of LSIC households. What nearly all LSIC households share, however, is significant levels of socio-economic exclusion.

The next task of this paper is to explore the processes that create and sustain this social exclusion. That Aboriginal and Torres Strait families are socio-economically excluded is central to these processes, not because of its own inherent dimensions but as a stark reflector of social inequality. The first process, therefore, is the continued widespread exclusion of the LSIC families from mainstream economic, social, cultural and human capital resources of Australian society. This socio-economic exclusion is also socio-economic exclusion experienced within mainstream Australian urban and regional social settings. Identifying the economic correlates therefore does not do justice to the complexity this social exclusion. Social exclusion, as a concept, is culturally, socially and economically not the same for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as it is for non-Indigenous populations, in Australia or elsewhere.

The patterns shown in this research are, as argued by Lister (2004) and Sen (2000) are social structural; the results of social processes. Moreover, this inequality is racialised and directly related to the history and contemporary realities of black–white relations in Australia. The substantial proportion of urban/regional households who reported the experience of racial discrimination underscores the racialised nature of Indigenous inequality. Indigeneity is the central core, with other aspects intimately interwoven and interpreted through that Indigeneity (Walter, 2009). For example, as argued by Hunter (2000) and Walter (2015), the link between Indigenous unemployment and social exclusion is not clear in its causal direction. Are Indigenous people socio-economically excluded because they are unemployed or are Indigenous unemployment rates a consequence of broader social exclusion? The patterns of Indigenous/non-Indigenous unemployment from

across Australia, where Indigenous rates are always multiples those of the non-Indigenous population suggest the second explanation (Walter, 2008). For example, 2011 Census data show Aboriginal unemployment rates as 18 per cent in the regional town of Dubbo and 17 per cent in the city of Perth compared to less than five percent for the non-Indigenous population both sites.

The second related process is that Indigenous socio-economic exclusion, as a lived reality, is also different. As Hunter (1999) established, material deprivation and living in overcrowded conditions are found even among relatively high income Indigenous households. Aboriginal material well-being is also different. Even for households with higher incomes these data are not necessarily an indicator of life-course advantage (Walter & Saggers, 2007). Such higher income is more likely to be a temporary phenomenon for Indigenous families. An analysis of the job descriptions of LSIC Parent 1s (Walter, 2015), finds at least one quarter are in Indigenous specific roles, such as community worker. Loss of that employment will likely lead directly back to low income, rather than another job at similar or higher wages. It is these two processes that determine the opportunities and the challenges of moving to greater social inclusion for urban/regional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families. The deeply embedded, well-documented, long term nature of Indigenous socio-economic social exclusion suggest there is, first, no easy answer and second, that what policies have been implemented to date have been unsuccessful.

The work of Sen (2000) offers a way forward. Critical words in Sen's prescription for a minimally decent life are 'freedom to achieve' or opportunity freedom. These words denote both agency and the notion that freedom of choice is of, in itself a central aspect of capability and functioning. Without the ability to participate, in a way that is valued, in social, economic and political actions an individual or group does not have agency. Also critical is Sen's focus on the definition of a 'good life' not being determined by others but rather is about achieving the functionings to live a life that is valued by the person. As Hunter (2009) notes, social inclusion in whatever form it takes needs to include Indigenous perspectives in policies and programs as well as the promotion of full and effective participation in decisions that affect Indigenous people.

How then do current social inclusion aligned policies promote Indigenous agency to participate, in a way that is valued by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people? The answer is, predominantly, that they do not. For example in the 2015 Closing the Gap Report Prime Minister Abbott, while expressing disappointment that in this 7th annual report, little progress had been achieved, began his message by stating ' it is hard to be numerate without attending school, it's hard to find work without basic education, and hard to live well without a job'. The failure of the Government to achieve progress, therefore, is framed immediately, on the opening page, through a discourse of individual Aboriginal failure. The long-standing, overwhelming social and societal pattern of Indigenous disadvantage and social exclusion is elided. Rather, failure of policy is linked tightly to discourses individual inadequacy and agency is implied as being negatively used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to *not* make the choices they 'should'. The values here are not reflective of, or seemingly interested in, the values of the peoples to which the Closing the gap policy is being applied. They are also seemingly developed through a worldview of Indigenous people in Australia as incapable of living a decent life.

How might Indigenous policy look if a capability approach was applied? If social inclusion is interpreted as supporting the freedom to achieve the capability to live a decent life? Two criteria need to be in place. First, capability needs to be defined as socially relational, not instrumental. As argued earlier, the concept of social relationality recognises that urban Indigenous people are more than a group of disadvantaged individuals with a shared racial heritage. Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander identity and culture shapes worldviews, understanding of social place and space and relationships with others. The correlation of Indigeneity and a reduced capacity to access social, economic, cultural and political resources (Walter, 2008) is intertwined within social relationality. Setting goals for individuals is unlikely to lead to increased social inclusion.

Second, strategies to increase social inclusion need to be based on Indigenous interpretations of a decent life. Sen's (2000) core functionings of being healthy, having a good job, safety and self-respect still apply, but within an Indigenous socially relational framework. The functionings of safety and self-respect, for example, exist within a social environment in which exposure to racism is a common experience. Being healthy is inclusive of social and emotional well-being which in turn is intimately related to connected to community, culture and country. Maintaining and sustaining cultural connections, as shown in these data, remains a core functioning for urban Indigenous people. Functionings around raising happy healthy children are, as shown by the data presented here, are shaped by values around mothering that differ from the dominant norms of an early maternal return to the labour market.

Would an Indigenous policy environment based on an Indigenous socially relational understanding of Sen's Capability Approach deliver better social inclusion outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people? It has not been tried so no claims on its efficacy can be made. However, the current policy directions have been demonstrated, again and again, to be ineffective in social inclusion terms and probably doing more harm than good. Adopting an Indigenized Capability Approach requires a radical change of mindset from non-Indigenous politicians and policy makers.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

More Than a Checklist: Meaningful Indigenous Inclusion in Higher Education

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Abstract
Since the 1970s there has been increased focus by institutions, government, and Indigenous nations on improving Aboriginal peoples participation and success in Canadian higher education; however disparity continues to be evident in national statistics of educational attainment, social determinants of health, and socio-economic status of Aboriginal compared to non-Aboriginal Canadians. For instance, post-secondary attainment for Aboriginal peoples is still only 8% compared to 20% of the rest of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008, 2013). A challenge within higher education has been creating the space within predominately Euro-Western defined and ascribed structures, academic disciplines, policies, and practices to create meaningful spaces for Indigenous peoples. Indigenization is a movement centering Indigenous knowledges and ways of being within the academy, in essence transforming institutional initiatives, such as policy, curricular and co-curricular programs, and practices to support Indigenous success and empowerment. Drawing on research projects that span the last 10 years, this article celebrates the pockets of success within institutions and identifies areas of challenge to Indigenization that moves away from the tokenized checklist response, that merely tolerates Indigenous knowledge(s), to one where Indigenous knowledge(s) are embraced as part of the institutional fabric.

Keywords
Aboriginal peoples, Canada; indigenous higher education; indigenization; post-secondary education; recruitment; retention

Issue
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1. Introduction

Higher education has a responsibility to Indigenization, that is, to empower Indigenous self-determination, address decolonization, and reconcile systemic and societal inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. Since the 1970s there has been increased focus by institutions, government, and Indigenous nations on improving Aboriginal peoples participation and success in Canadian higher education. However, disparities of educational attainment continue (e.g., from the most recently available data, 8% of Aboriginal peoples have some form of a post-secondary credential compared to 20% of non-Aboriginal Canadians) (Statistics Canada, 2008, 2013). This educational disparity has repercussions to the individual, their families, and communities as lower educational attainment negatively impacts one's socio-economic status, health, and overall wellbeing. In thinking of what it means to have a truly socially inclusive society within the Canadian context, systemic barriers and inequities, along with other barriers to social inclusion (e.g., discrimination, racism, etc.) need to be addressed. In this work, Aboriginal refers to the first peoples of Canada, First Nations, Métis, and Inuit; in using the term Indigenous I am connecting myself and other Aboriginal peoples of Canada to an interconnected global community of Indigenous nations.

Indigenous higher education began in the 1960s with the establishment of Native Education and Native Studies programs in public universities (Battiste & Barman, 1995; Brant Castellano, Davis, & Lahache, 2000; Stonechild, 2006) and later the development of Aboriginal student support services (Pidgeon & Hardy Cox, 2005). While this article is focusing on public non-Indigenous institutions, it is important to acknowledge the early leaders in Indigenous post-secondary institutions who were the Gabrielle Dumont Institute (est. 1980) in Saskatchewan (Dorion & Yang, 2000) and the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (est. 1982) in British Columbia (Billy Minnibarriet, 2012).

Indigenization as a discourse through academic writing and research emerged the early 2000s (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004) and has increased in scope and depth to become a transformative movement globally. The long-term impact of this movement continues to take shape; it is hoped that future generations of Indigenous communities have different stories to tell—stories of equity, empowerment, and self-determination.

The purpose of this article explores what Indigenization means through institutional initiatives (e.g., policy, programs, and practices) that are aimed to support Indigenous success. To begin, the article provides a brief overview of the history of Aboriginal engagement with public post-secondary education and then transitions into exploring how the Indigenization movement has been articulated and critiqued from within and outside the academy. In understanding the landscape of Indigenization, I situate the work that I have witnessed over 10 years of research and practice in British Columbia, Canada through an Indigenous Wholistic Framework (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2014). It is used to understand how institutions have (or have not) been responding to Indigenization from Indigenous perspectives. The Framework includes the work of Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) on the 4Rs of respect, relevance, reciprocal relationships, and responsibility; the 4Rs become the guiding structure for discussing the tensions within the Indigenization movement to move institutional approaches away from the tokenized checklist response that merely tolerates Indigenous knowledge(s) to one where Indigenous knowledge(s) are embraced as part of the institutional fabric. The article concludes with questioning and providing a response to: What does an Indigenized institution look like? The conclusions provide visioning of the next steps to collectively move towards becoming a socially inclusive society.

2. An Overview of the Relationship between First Nations, Métis, and Inuit and Post-Secondary Education

First Nations and Inuit kindergarten to grade 12 (or equivalent) is a federal responsibility as dictated through the Indian Act 1876 (and amendments) and while initially concerned with on-reserve schools now includes transfer payments to the provincial public system for Aboriginal students who attend off-reserve public schools. Métis peoples have a different historical relationship with the federal government in terms of education provision (Dorion & Yang, 2000). This relationship changed once legal changes to s.35 of the *Canadian Constitution 1982* recognized the unique culture and rights of Métis peoples. Gabriel Dumont Institute, established in 1980, was Canada's first Métis post-secondary institution that "focused on the education through cultural research as a way of renewing and strengthening the heritage and achievement of Métis and non-status Indian peoples in Saskatchewan" (Dorion & Yang, 2000, p. 180).

For the rest of Canada, kindergarten to post-secondary education is a provincial jurisdiction with financial transfer payments from the federal government. This unique relationship has created a dual system in that the federal government does not see itself legally responsible for the post-secondary education of Indigenous peoples (Battiste & Barman, 1995; Paquette & Fallon, 2014; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). Under the guise of social responsibility (rather than legal), the federal government began providing more support programs through federal funding for access programs, some academic initiatives, and financial support programs for First Nations learners, who were under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act, starting in 1970s to 1990s (Human Capital Strategies, 2005; Malatest & Associates Ltd., 2004; Stonechild, 2006; Usher, 2009; White, Maxim, & Spence, 2004).

Indian Control over Indian Education, a foundational Indigenous position paper written by the National Indian Brotherhood (now known as the Assembly of First Nations) in 1972*,* remains a corner stone in the articulation of First Nations visions for education. This document was an Indigenous response to the federal governments' White Paper, a proposed policy that aimed to change the nature of the relationship and responsibilities of the federal government to First Nations peoples. Indian Control over Indian Education clearly positioned the role of education across the lifespan (e.g., from early childhood to post-graduate education) for First Nations peoples in Canada (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972). Forty years later, the aims articulated in 1972 are even more relevant and pertinent to the conversation of what it means to meaningfully engage with Indigenization of higher education (Pidgeon, Muñoz, Kirkness, & Archibald, 2013). Building on this history, we have seen the emergence and recent resurgence in Indigenized-programs and services and Indigenous-specific post-secondary institutions across the country (Association of Universities and Colleges of

Canada (AUCC), 2010; Human Capital Strategies, 2005; Pidgeon, 2005, 2014; The Aboriginal Institutes' Consortium, 2005; Usher, 2009).

In many ways, Canada is in a unique moment in history as the national gaze has focused on the complexity of issues facing Indigenous communities. This national attention is influenced by the grassroots and community based advocacy such as the Idle No More Movement (e.g., http://www.idlenomore.ca) and the calls for a national inquiry for the missing and murdered Aboriginal women (e.g., http://canadians.org/sites/default/files/publications/missing-women-factsheet.pdf). Further to this, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada bought the nation together to witness, reflect, and react to the cultural genocide experienced by Aboriginal peoples and the ongoing intergenerational legacy of the residential school era (1831–1996). In the TRC final report and *Calls to Action,* there was a call for the Canadian educational system to change "in order to redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), 2015b, p. 1).

Indigenization of higher education is part of this reconciliation and to move forward, all involved- Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal need to consider what Indigenization means. For example, as Indigenous researchers, faculty members, students, Elders, and staff bringing our knowledges, practices, and ways of being into this colonial space must honors and respects who we are as Indigenous peoples. Non-Aboriginals seeking this "Indigenization" of their institutions must understand what Indigenization really means, and that Indigenization can not be defined or bounded by their expectations of what it should mean. Indigenization provides insight into Indigenous envisioning for the educational experiences for the next seven generations.

3. Indigenization: What Does It Really Mean?

From Indigenous perspectives, Indigenization of the academy refers to the meaningful inclusion of Indigenous knowledge(s), in the every day fabric of the institution from policies to practices across all levels, not just in curriculum. Marlene Brant Castellano (2014) envisions Indigenized education to mean "that every subject at every level is examined to consider how and to what extent current content and pedagogy reflect the presence of Indigenous/Aboriginal peoples and the valid contribution of Indigenous knowledge" (para. 1). Mihesuah and Wilson's (2004) *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming scholarship and empowering communities* is one of the first texts put forward by Indigenous scholars who reflect on what it meant to Indigenize the academy. It clearly laid out the challenges of this process not only ideologically but also practically from a variety of Indigenous scholars from Canada and the United States. For example, in his chapter of the same text, Taiaiake Alfred (2004) reflects on Indigenizing the academy as a process where "we are working to change universities so that they become places where the values, principles, and modes of organization and behavior of our people are respected in, and hopefully even integrated into, the larger system of structures and processes that make up the university itself" (p. 88). Cupples and Glynn (2014) explored what it meant for a group within Nicaragua's coast to form their own decolonized and intercultural university with the "aim to support political and social struggles with culturally and epistemologically appropriate modes of teaching, learning, and research" (Mato, 2011 cited by Cupples & Glynn, 2014, pp. 56-57). Cupples and Glynn (2014) explained how the university provide access to individual students "but without losing sight of education as a collective good" (p. 57) based on principles of interculturality.

Daniel Heath Justice (2004) writing to the field of Indigenous literary studies shares lessons that are useful for other Indigenous academics, who are invested in the Indigenization of the academy. He reminds Indigenous peoples that the academy is just as much our inheritance as being part of the land and we have a right and entitlement to be part of the meaning making of this world and while we are in these spaces, "we must not forget to be both responsible and humble" (p. 101) and to "be generous of spirit, in war as well as in peace" (p. 103). These recommendations support the decolonizing work of Marie Battiste (Battiste, 1998; Battiste, Bell, & Findlay, 2002), who views education as a tool of decolonization where Indigenous people are empowered in who they are. Other Indigenous scholars (such as Kuokkanen, 2007; Smith, 2012) argue that higher education through Indigenization is becoming decolonized and perhaps more importantly, an active resistor to the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples. Kuokkanen's (2007) logic of the gift refers to meaningful inclusion of Indigenous knowledge(s) within the academy. Battiste (2013) in calling on educators to decolonize their pedagogy and practices, provides a way for us to address cultural misappropriation in our institutions. This call applies to all involved in higher education, whether a government bureaucrat, policy analyst, administrator, faculty, staff, or student, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. She states:

> "educators must reject colonial curricula that offer students a fragmented and distorted picture of Indigenous peoples, and offer students a critical perspective of the historical context that created that fragmentation. In order to effect change, educators must help students understand the Eurocentric assumptions of superiority within the context of history and to recognize the continued dominance of these assumptions in all forms of contemporary knowledge". (Battiste, 2013, p. 186)

There are criticisms of this movement from non-Indigenous and Indigenous communities, albeit their arguments come from difference places. The critiques who are non-indigenous peoples tend to position their arguments (or questions about or resistance too) Indigenization by stating that the academy already has a cannon of knowledge in which Aboriginal knowledges are part of- so why does the academy need to Indigenize? This resistance is particularly strong in academic disciplines with long colonial legacies and an unwillingness to alter their thinking. Another group adopts a multiculturalism stance, where they argue the inclusion of Indigenous knowledges and practices means that the academy will have to include all other groups in society (e.g., race, class, gender). They push back arguing the work of Indigenizing the academy is too difficult or complex. There are yet others who put forward a fiscal argument that given the current economic cutbacks and declining enrollment, providing such institutional commitment to a relatively small percentage of the university or college community is fiscally irresponsible. While many will state, of course if they could make their institutions better for Aboriginal students they would, but to undertake that task means that they will have to devolve their power, position, and prestige to create space for other ways of knowing and being (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2014).

While criticisms, or cautions, from Indigenous scholars regarding Indigenization are framed with an awareness that this movement is occurring within a deeply seated colonial structure with long histories in the colonization of Aboriginal peoples and still influencing the ongoing colonial project (e.g., Alfred, 2004; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Paquette & Fallon, 2014). For Indigenization to occur, Indigenous scholars argue it must also be a decolonizing process; Indigenity has to go beyond what "others" are comfortable with, beyond the tokenistic representations of culture, or one-off events, programs, and services and misrepresentations of Indigenous peoples and their cultures (Arndt, 2013; Jacobs, 2014; King & Springwood, 2001; Lee & Castagno, 2007; Paquette & Fallon, 2014). These Indigenous scholars also inherently recognize these misrepresentations and forms of resistance perpetuate the colonial project of "othering" and sustain the inherent systemic racism, both overt and covert, that result in inappropriate uses of Indigenous culture and images within society.

Daniel Heath Justice (2004) aptly describes the tensions, in that if Indigenous scholars see the higher education institutions as:

> "enforce[ing] an understanding of 'knowledge' as that body of mores that have emerged more from a clash of ideas than a thoughtful consideration of them….Such a goal turns our attention away from lands and cultural traditions and into inequitable power dynamics of an increasingly corporatized academic world. Such an academy may well be beyond redemption." (p. 101)

However, if the view of the academy is one of "a place of intellectual engagement, where the world of ideas can meet action and become lived reality….[It] can also be a site of significant cultural recovery work, a place where all people who are disconnected from their histories can begin their journeys homeward" (p. 102). It is this later view, where Indigenization of the academy is embodied in the work of Indigenous peoples engaging as active participants in society and higher education to the broader goals of decolonization and empowerment. The questions that remain within this movement, is what is the process of indigenization and what does a successful Indigenized institution look like? To better understand this movement, and to provide a framing of the discussion through an Indigenous lens, the next section provides an overview of the Indigenous Wholistic Framework.

4. Indigenous Wholistic Framework: Theory and Process

An Indigenous Wholistic[1] Framework (see Figure 1) is just one way to represent Indigenous ways of knowing and being; it represents for me, as a person of Mi'kmaq ancestry a way of centering who I am as a scholar (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2014). This Framework connects not only the philosophical underpinnings of Indigenous knowledges but attempts pictorially to represent the complexity of wholistic interconnections that we have as individuals, to our communities, nations, and global communities. It recognizes that one's physical needs are linked to the spiritual, intellectual, and emotional and that living a balanced life is about meeting each of these needs sustained by one's inter-relationships. The Indigenous Wholistic Framework provides an anchor to move forward a discussion of Indigenizing the academy, in that we can locate it in place (geographically, institutionally, etc.) and see the interconnections of a broader educational system (e.g., country, province, territory) to the individual student, administrator, faculty, staff, Elder, and others in the institution and surrounding communities (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2014). This framework allows us to locate in place the Indigenous territories and lands, whether unceded or ceded through treaty, upon which post-secondary institutions were built. Acknowledging territory is increasing as an institutional practice in Canada; it acknowledges the Indigenous peoples of the area and, in a symbolic way, recognizes the colonial legacy of the institution in place and time.

As Figure 1 demonstrates the interconnections of indi-

[1] Wholistic is intentionally spelled with a W to be mindful of the whole being; it honors the practice begun by Archibald et al. (1995).

vidual to family to community (local, provincial/territorial, national, global) illustrates how an Indigenous student's educational journey or Aboriginal community engagement in research or academic programming is connected to a broader success and empowerment of Indigenous peoples. Within a post-secondary setting, for one to solely think of education as an intellectual exercise ignores keys components of the learning journey that fosters Indigenous understandings of success and well being (Pidgeon, 2008b). The 4Rs, first proposed by Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991), and later revisited by Marker (2004), are the cornerstone of my own work (e.g. Pidgeon, 2014). Other Native American scholars have also been taken up the 4Rs in their work in the US higher education system (e.g., Shotton, Lowe, & Waterman, 2013). The 4Rs represent Indigenous perspectives on how Respect for Indigenous knowledges, Responsible relationships, Reciprocity, and Relevant programs and services can transform institutional cultures and practices for Indigenous peoples. The 4Rs were offered by Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) to help build understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways of thinking of supporting Aboriginal student success, in this article the 4Rs are extended to help bridge understanding of Indigenization where the Wholistic Framework centers the work from the Indigenous perspective.

Building on Figure 1, Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the interconnections in an institution between senior administration, faculty/departments, and faculty/staff/student with policies, programs, and practices. It shows the inter-relationships of the global-national-local to higher education, particularly evident in Canada's structure of provincial jurisdiction of education but federal responsibility of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit education. Indigenization as a form of social inclusion requires recognizing the work and dedication that has happened from the grass roots of an institution to the senior executive leadership to create systemic and broader societal change.

Figure 1. Indigenous Wholistic Framework.

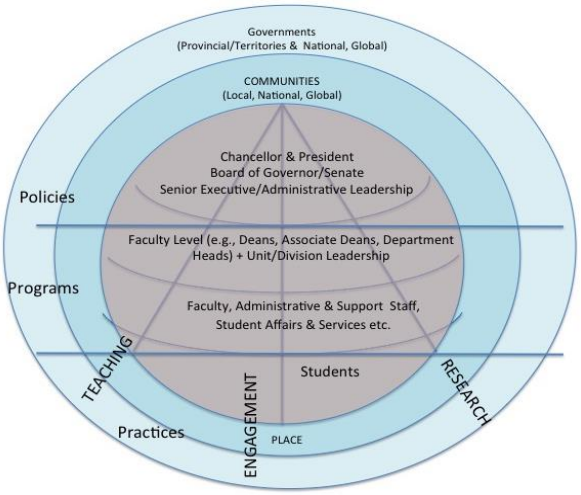

Figure 2. Visual representation of inter-connections of higher education.

5. Lessons Learned: Indigenizing the Academy through the 4Rs

Indigenizing the academy is not one strategy, or one policy change—it is a culminating and complex living movement that aims to see post-secondary institutions empowering Aboriginal peoples' cultural integrity through respectful relationships through relevant policies, programs, and services. This transformation will take time and it is time. It is important to remember that post-secondary institutions are not some abstract ideal or philosophy, nor are they unknown entities; institutional structures, values, and cultures are complex and the people who reside, engage, and interact (internally or externally) with these institutional communities all shape and influence the institution. Therefore, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples all have a responsibility to act to transform post-secondary education to benefit all, as illustrated within the Indigenous Wholistic Framework through Responsible Relationships & Governance; Relevance to Curriculum and Co-Curricular; and Respect in Practice.

5.1. Responsible Relationships & Governance

Canadian universities and colleges primarily operate on a bi-cameral governance model (e.g., senate and board of governors for universities or governance boards and education council for colleges) (Jones, 2014). The roles and responsibilities of these governing bodies are outlined in the College and Institutes Act or University Act (or comparable policy) in each province and territory. As Figure 2 illustrates, governance also encompasses the senior leadership of the President, Vice-Presidents, Deans, and Associate Deans, department heads and directors in addition to staff, faculty, and student unions and student leadership across the various areas of our campuses.

It is important to acknowledge the Indigenous institutes, such as Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT), the En'owkin Centre, Gabriel Dumont Institute, and other Indigenous institutions operate under an Indigenous governance framework, with Elders and Aboriginal senior leadership. Their entire institution from policy to program development and pedagogical practice imbeds and honours Indigenity. However, the focus of this article is on non-Indigenous public post-secondary institutions, for this is where the meaningful inclusion of Indigenity is a challenge.

Leadership in the Indigenization movement comes from a variety of individuals and groups within and outside the institution. It is the student affairs staff working to recruit and retain Indigenous students alongside Aboriginal student services, Aboriginal academic transition programs, and other culturally relevant supports. It occurs when faculty members begin to dialogue and enact changes in their programs, curriculum, and pedagogical practices that are more inclusive, respectful, and responsible of Indigenous knowledge(s) and of the Indigenous learners in the classroom. It also is exemplified at the most senior level- the president. For example, during the period of the TRC, the University of Manitoba publically apologized for its role in the training of teachers who worked in residential schools and its overall role in the colonial project against Indigenous peoples. In July 2015, the incoming president of the University of Saskatchewan, Peter Stoicheff, publically announced that he is making Indigenization his top priority. He explained that "the university must be a leader in closing the gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, he continued, calling this a 'moral imperative'"(Academia Group, 2015 para. 1).

Indigenization of the academy occurs when Indigenous community members, Elders, aunties, uncles, and other family members come to the institution to support their learners and/or become involved in the governance of the institution (e.g., members on Advisory council). Community involvement (or lack of it) also highlights a tension in Indigenizing the academy— Canadian higher education is primarily based on the bicameral system and in many ways operates with values and practices that are contrary to Indigenous governance models and cultural protocols. While more institutions are honouring of territory at formal and public institutional events, they can do more to ensure that the day-to-day operations of an institution, particularly related to Indigenous matters, honour and follow Indigenous models of governance (e.g., Aboriginal advisory committee; Indigenous leadership positions) and policies (e.g., Aboriginal strategic plans or specific policies).

5.1.1. Aboriginal Advisory Committee

Within British Columbia, there are 26 universities, colleges, and institutes, of whom 17 (65%) have institutional level Aboriginal strategic plans. However, only 8/17 have some form of an Aboriginal Advisory Committee, whose representatives include Elders, Aboriginal community leaders, and others who have an interest in Aboriginal higher education from within the institution. These positions are typically voluntary members from the community and staff from the institution. These advisory committees can be simply "window dressing," with limited power to make changes and simply provide the institution with a check mark of "have-it" but without influence or change on the institution itself. However, in most cases, these committees do bring together leaders from within and outside the institution and have terms of reference that forge powerful relationships and leadership within the university for Indigenous initiatives between the communities and the institution.

5.1.2. Indigenous Leadership Positions

Within BC's public post-secondary system, many institutions have created formal leadership positions such as Special Advisor to President (e.g., University of Victoria, Thompson Rivers University, University of British Columbia, Vancouver Community College) at the senior executive level. While some faculties have created leadership positions at the Associate Dean level for Indigenous initiatives (e.g., University of British Columbia). These positions are typically held by tenure-track professors, usually at the rank of associate or full, this academic credibility has been seen as an important "power" relationship in negotiating in the academy. At the senior administration level, these positions tend to have administrative staff of one to two people, have an operating budget for program planning and initiatives, and articulated terms of reference and goals. There are also leadership roles created under the responsibilities of a Vice President (e.g., VP Academic) or Associate Dean (e.g., Associate Dean, Academic) at the faculty level, such as a Director, who may or may not have an academic position within the institution, typically they are hired under an administrative position, and their mandate is related to implementing the institutions' Aboriginal strategic plan or implement a faculty-level plan (e.g., University of Victoria, Simon Fraser University).

The power of this senior leadership, whether from the senior executive to a faculty position, is largely dependent on how the position was negotiated within the institution, the reporting structure, budget attached to the position (e.g., financial and human resources), and most importantly, the mandate and goals of the position and the authority to enact change (e.g., scope, role, authority— symbolic or otherwise) (Pidgeon, 2014). Such positions create a unique opportunity to make systemic change through role-modeling and mentoring other in living Indigenous values and principles of governance in practice (Alfred, 2004;

Pewewardy, 2013). Such positions have also been created in the United States, as Francis-Begay (2013) described the establishment of special advisor to the president at the University of Arizona in 1999, and noted other institutions who have also created that liaison position between the institution and tribal nations (e.g., Montana State University, University of Idaho, University of New Mexico, Washington State University, University of Oregon, Northern Arizona University, and Arizona State University) (p. 82).

First Nations Student Associations (FNSA) are also a growing component of student leadership and governance on campus. As part of the undergraduate student union for the institutions, some FNSAs have negotiated funding allocation for Indigenous-student initiatives and programming on campus that benefits Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. FNSAs and student-representative positions within Senate, departments, and faculties are other opportunities for Indigenous students to have an active voice within their institutions (Pidgeon, 2008a; Pidgeon, 2014).

5.2. Institutional Policy

5.2.1. Aboriginal Strategic Plans

Institutional level policy relates to the work of the governance bodies (e.g., Senate) and the day-to-day operations of an institution and institutional-wide strategic initiatives. The majority of the 124 public universities, colleges, or institutes across Canada had some form of institutional plan which outlines the institutional mission and purpose within a three to five year cycle; these strategic reports are also accountability frameworks and reporting mechanism to the provincial ministry. For the purposes of this paper, I conducted an environmental scan of publically available strategic plans at 124 public colleges and universities in Canada, only 35% of these institutions had a specific institution-wide Aboriginal strategic plan, which was also referred to as Aboriginal Student Success Strategy or Indigenous Initiatives. Indigenous strategic plans tend to cover policy, programs, and broader institutional goals around Aboriginal student success rates.

Other policies that are important to note, are those that intentionally focus on Indigenous education, normally focusing on support Aboriginal student success. For example, the Indigenous Education Accord (Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE), 2009) and the Indigenous Education Protocol for Colleges and Institutes (College and Institutes Canada, 2014b).

The ACDE (2009), with the leadership Jo-ann Archibald, John Lundy, Cecilia Reynolds, and Lorna Williams, developed the accord to enhance teacher education preparation for working with Indigenous learners and their communities. It states "recognizing the need for transformative educational change and acknowledging the unique leadership responsibilities of deans, directors, and chairs of education within Canadian university context, the ACDE supports and encourages the following goals" (p. 5): respectful and welcoming learning environments; respectful and inclusive curricula; culturally responsive pedagogies; mechanisms for valuing and promoting Indigenity in education; culturally responsive assessment; affirming and revitalizing Aboriginal languages; Indigenous education leadership; non-Indigenous learners and Indigenity; and culturally-respectful Indigenous research (pp. 5-8).

Colleges and institutes are key providers to post-secondary education to Indigenous peoples, who represent diverse cultures, languages, histories, and contemporary perspectives (College and Institutes Canada, 2014b). The College and Institutes Canada, representing 135 public and private colleges and institutes, developed an Indigenous Education Protocol for Colleges and Institutes. This document was launched on December 31, 2014 and "underscores the importance of structures and approaches required to address Indigenous peoples' learning needs and support self-determination and socio-economic development of Indigenous communities" (para. 4). As of June 8, 2015, 34 colleges and institutes from Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, North West Territories, and Yukon (College and Institutes Canada, 2014a) had signed this document with the commitment to the following seven principles: 1) Commitment to make Indigenous education a priority; 2) Ensure governance structures recognize and respect Indigenous peoples; 3) Implement intellectual and cultural traditions of Indigenous peoples through curriculum and learning approaches relevant to learners and communities; 4) Support students and employees to increase understanding and reciprocity among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples; 5) Commit to increasing the number of Indigenous employees with ongoing appointments throughout the institution, including Indigenous senior administrators; 6) Establish Indigenous-centred holistic services and learning environments for learner success; and 7) Build relationships and be accountable to Indigenous communities in support of self-determination through education, training, and applied research (College and Institutes Canada, 2014a).

The principles that are common to these two policies are also evident in university Aboriginal strategic plans, with the addition of the area of research (e.g., Indigenous research strategies, methodologies, and relevant research to Indigenous communities). These strategic plans often influence specific policies to be implemented regarding Indigenous students as the next section outlines.

5.2.2. Aboriginal Specific Policies.

In researching student experiences of university and

college, there were notable places in institutional policy that were pertinent to the Indigenous student experience and Indigenization. The first would be around admissions, considering prior-knowledge and ensuring culturally relevant admissions processes for students. Two areas of tension around admissions are: 1) self-identification of whether or not they are Aboriginal and 2) financial barriers. To support Aboriginal access, some institutions have developed third-party billing policy. Third party billing allows for the institution and provider of funding to directly work together and allows an Aboriginal student (or any student who is receiving funding from an outside source (e.g., not student loans, personal bank loans, or scholarships/ grants)) to not have to negotiate receipt of funding. Examples of this funding policy are on the websites of Dalhousie University, University of Victoria, and University of Manitoba. This policy creates a direct relationship between the institution and the funder and in this agreement, some institutions will "cover" fees for the student (from application, tuition, and books) and work with the Band (or other funding organization) to receive the funds.

In terms of self-identification, in an educational system where being "labelled" Aboriginal has had negative consequences for many (e.g., special education or non-academic streaming), Aboriginal students are leery of institutional requests for self-identification (Hare & Pidgeon, 2011; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Wotherspoon & Schissel, 1998). While institutions may be simply asking for this information for 1) enrolment numbers and/or 2) referrals to Aboriginal student services; many students are sceptical on how that information is actually used and do not want to be labelled in any way (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2008b). As a researcher and teacher, I have observed many Aboriginal students choose not self-identify at admissions but will later in their educational journey whether it was during a visit to the Aboriginal student services centre, in a class where they had an Indigenous faculty member or instructor, or in later applications for Indigenous-specific scholarships or at the time of graduation. Many of these students will never formally notify the institution of their Indigenous identity hence, there are discrepancies in reporting institutional statistics on how many Indigenous students may be enrolled and graduation rates.

Admissions policies also occur at the program level, where some academic areas intentionally designate "seats" or proportional representation policies for Aboriginal students. The goal is to increase Aboriginal representation in particular fields of study, notably medicine, nursing, law, dentistry, and other professional programs such as engineering or business. There are also similar policies related to on-campus accommodations and financial supports (e.g., scholarships, grants).

Within Aboriginal admissions or other policies in some institutions, a tension does exist with self-identification and institutional processes that require "proof" of Aboriginal ancestry. For students who are registered Band members and/or have status through the Indian Act, this documentation is relatively easy to provide. However, for other Indigenous students, getting this required documentation is more problematic due to the political tensions within their Band or community, separation from their community (e.g., Sixty scoop, foster care, adoption, etc.), or relocation (e.g., growing up in urban settings or communities outside of their ancestral connections or being Indigenous from other countries) (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2008b; Pidgeon, Archibald, & Hawkey, 2014). University and college then becomes a time for these Aboriginal students to explore, understand, and empower themselves with a better sense of what it means to be Aboriginal. This journey is not an easy one; it is one that must be supported within the Indigenization of the institution and is part of the broader decolonizing project of Canada's education system.

5.3. Relevance to Curricular & Co-Curricular

5.3.1. Teaching & Learning

The academic programs of Native Teacher Education Programs and Native Studies were the first academic points of entry for many Aboriginal students in the late 1960s and to the 1970s (Battiste & Barman, 1995; Stonechild, 2006). Since the 1990s there has been a diversification of academic majors, minors, and program focuses specifically related to Indigenous perspectives. There have also been targeted recruitment initiatives within the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) fields and medicine to recruit and retain Indigenous engineers, scientists, medical doctors, and nurses (Human Capital Strategies, 2005). Within Teaching and Learning Centers there have been efforts to hire Indigenous curriculum experts to help support faculty to support Indigenous learners in their classrooms through culturally relevant curriculum and pedagogical practices. Libraries are also beginning to embrace Indigenous knowledge system(s) within the library sciences and consequently, hire Indigenous librarians to work specifically with Indigenous content. Within the reconciliation section, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) (2015a) call to action for education for reconciliation calls for curriculum, intercultural competencies, and teacher training—all of these recommendations apply to teaching and learning at university and colleges and certainly align with the Indigenization movement.

Such policy and practices do influence the classroom experiences of students. For example, the Association of Canadian Deans of Education (2011) follow up report demonstrated how the 19 Faculties of Education imple-

mented the Accord on Indigenous Education from a one-time course to an integrated approach throughout the curriculum. Some institutions have not only created a required course but also have furthered their support in the work of Aboriginal language revitalization and extended (or renewed) their relationships with local First Nations (e.g., St. Francis Xavier University).

In addition to a required course, the Faculty of Education at York University have also moved towards an Infusion model were "it is centered on developing respectful relationship with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit partners and creating space in the program for thoughtful construction of new pedagogy and understandings" (Vetter & Blimkie, 2011 cited in ACDE, 2011, p. 7) that respect Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Some examples of the work being done across the country include the University of British Columbia where in 2013 the Dean of Education and Associate Dean of Indigenous Education supported the establishment of a professorship in Indigenous Education in Teacher Education, which was directly related to implementation of the Accord. At Simon Fraser University, this mandate has taken a more integrated approach through the Professional Development Program supported through new tenure track hire in Indigenous education and the creation of the Office of Indigenous Education, with an advisory committee to implement the Accord across the Faculty. In 2014, the University of Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) received a gift of five million dollars to strengthen Indigenous education research in Canada. OISE created the endowed chair of William A. Macdonald, Q.C Distinguished Fellow in Indigenous Education ("Indigenous education initative at OISE: Advancing leadership in Indigenous knowledge and education," 2015) and Chief Shawn A-in-chut Atleo was the first appointed to this distinguished chair.

While the Accord was developed for Faculties of Education it does provide a replicable process and relevant programmatic changes for other academic disciplines to follow. The first would be to have Indigenous faculty within the discipline take a leadership role in developing the accord with the support of the Deans of the faculties across the country. This work would center Indigenous knowledge, pedagogies, and practices within the discipline and provide models of how the discipline could take up the work (e.g., required courses to infused across the curriculum). The Deans would be responsible for supporting the implementation of the accord within their respective faculties, as the Deans of Education have done so with the Accord they unanimously signed.

Given the 2015 TRC *Calls to Action* and recommendations, the Accord leads to the broader question: What about a required course for all undergraduate students? This is the exact call made by the Aboriginal Student Council and the University of Winnipeg Student Union in February 2015, which would require all undergraduates complete an Indigenous studies course as part of their degree program as a graduation requirement (CBC News, 2015). The Senate of the University of Winnipeg approved in principle the Indigenous course requirement on March 26, 2015 and it will be implemented for Fall 2016 (Communications, 2015). The University of Lakehead is also working towards requiring all incoming undergraduate students to take an Indigenous content course as part of their degree requirements for graduation. The motivation for both institutions is based on social justice, acknowledging the systemic and societal racism and the general lack of awareness and understanding non-Aboriginal Canadians have about Aboriginal peoples history and contemporary issues across the country (Halsall, 2015).

5.3.2. Student Services

Student services is considered to oversee the co-curricular aspects of the student experience which include, but are not limited to, housing, counseling, wellness, student leadership, student engagement, financial services, learning commons, and other such support services. Aboriginal student services in Canada were first established in the 1970s in response to a recognized need for culturally relevant support services for Indigenous learners (Pidgeon, 2005; Pidgeon & Hardy Cox, 2005). The 1990s saw a period of growth due to provincial target funds to further support Aboriginal students in their transition to university with culturally-relevant support services; in 2001 approximately 45% of public universities had some form of Aboriginal student support (Pidgeon & Hardy Cox, 2005), and in 2014–2015 my recent review of this original research found more than 90% of Canadian colleges and universities now have some form of Aboriginal student services.

Across the research projects I have been engaged in, administrators, student service providers, and Aboriginal students expressed some tensions about providing culturally-relevant services to a small percentage of the student population, despite recognizing the inherent value of such services (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2014). Institutionally, this tension arises from government cutbacks to funding post-secondary education generally and establishing Aboriginal-initiatives based on short-term, often external funding. For student service providers, not only were fiscal limitations expressed, but the acknowledgement that providing Aboriginal student services without institutional commitment to human resources and campus space continues to be difficult. Aboriginal student services provide a home-away-from-home for students and both practitioners and Aboriginal students shared experiences of how limited operating budgets impacted services (e.g., limited access to tutoring, computer resources, etc.). Some stu-

dents shared their observation that while there was a lot of institutional promotion of support of Indigenization, such programs, policies, and services become irrelevant if Aboriginal students themselves were not seeing institutional changes that directly impacted their curricular and co-curricular experiences (Pidgeon, 2008a, 2014).

5.3.3. Research

Academic research within Canada is funded primarily through the Tri-Council, which is comprised of three national research councils: Canadian Institute of Health Research (CIHR), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and National Science and Engineering Research Council. Pertinent to this discussion is the Tri-Council's collaborative work with Aboriginal scholars on developing a specific chapter within the Tri-Council Ethical Guidelines that address ethical issues when working with Aboriginal communities. Even in following Chapter 9 of the Tri-Council, researchers must also be aware they need to consult with relevant organizational bodies (e.g., Health or Educational authorities) and of course, Aboriginal communities ethical protocols (Mi'kmaq Ethics Committee and College Institute, 1997; Piquemal, 2001).

Indigenous research methodologies and processes cannot be excluded from this discussion for several reasons. Indigenous scholars are incorporating culturally relevant and responsible research practices in their scholarship. As a result they are bridging relationships with Aboriginal communities that are bound by cultural expectations of ethics as well as academic ethical standards. In the inclusion of Indigenous research methods in the academy, there is a need to change tenure and promotion policies and procedures to not only understand the work of Indigenous researchers. There has to be institutional recognition through policies, like those of tenure and promotion, that acknowledge Indigenous scholars using Indigenous research methodologies will have different research trajectories and dissemination processes within this body of work will look different from traditional research profiles of non-Indigenous scholars (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012).

The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) has been holding bi-annual forums for Aboriginal academic staff to better understand their unique issues of being within the academy and to better support their work. These forums are:

> "organized with the guidance of CAUT's Working Group on Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education, this the Forum will be an important opportunity for Aboriginal academic staff from across Canada to get together to share information, discuss issues of common interest, and provide advice to CAUT and our member associations." (Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), 2015, para. 5)

Specific workshops are held regarding tenure and promotion with the aim to change the system structures to be more inclusive for Indigenous academics and those working with Aboriginal communities.

5.4. Respect in Practice

Through my research (Pidgeon, 2011, 2014; Pidgeon et al., 2014), I have learned of pockets of presence in our institutions where Indigenization thrives and this work also highlights some ongoing tensions with Indigenization of the academy: How does Indigenization live in practice? How are Indigenous knowledge(s) being respected in our institutions? In thinking about meaningful social inclusion and Indigenization, I have chosen to focus on three tensions that are currently hindering advancing Indigenization in the academy: token checklists vs. meaningful practice, Indigenization vs. Internationalization, and identity contestations.

5.4.1. Checklist vs. Meaningful Practices

The institutional checklist approach to Indigenization can be an easy one to write and to say, "Done, done, and done". However, in using the Indigenous Wholistic Framework to create this list, there are deeper questions to ask for. For example, does the institutions Indigenization strategy positively change the lived experiences of Indigenous students, staff, and faculty? Are Aboriginal peoples seeing themselves reflected in the curriculum, the classroom, the hallways, in their academic programs of choice, in the staff room, or at Senate?

In a period of austerity measures for post-secondary education, one avenue for financial support still available is through targeted funding programs (e.g., government, endowments etc.) for Indigenous programs and services (albeit short term and often externally sourced). However, such special initiative funding becomes pointless if the institutions do not commit institutional resources (both human and financial) to the long term sustainability of such initiatives (Pidgeon, 2014). This is not an argument against special initiative funding as such funding can be key catalysts to support institutional change however Indigenization cannot stop here nor be dependent solely on such short-term funding.

In the review of the development of Aboriginal specific student affairs and services, early establishment of such services was a direct result of specific provincial funding programs aimed at increasing support for Aboriginal students (Pidgeon, 2005; Pidgeon & Hardy Cox, 2005). During the early development of these centres they were often located on the outskirts of campus or located in buildings that required major repair. For other institutions they created Aboriginal-specific

buildings or gathering spaces in existing buildings were externally funded through endowments and fund raising (Pidgeon, 2014). These buildings, such as the Longhouse at UBC or the Aboriginal Student Centre at the University of Winnipeg represent culturally appropriate Indigenous architecture. Other models, such as the services provided at Western University through Indigenous Services, the First Nations House at University of Toronto, or the Indigenous student centre and Aboriginal gathering spaces at Simon Fraser University all of which reclaimed institutional space and included culturally-appropriate artwork, physical spaces (e.g., circle lounges), and other modifications that represented Indigenity.

Indigenous initiatives for systemic change and sustainability require clear funding commitments that are not dependent on the securing of the next grant. Governments change as do political will—so for Indigenization of the academy to have a lasting legacy for the next seven generations it must be sustainable and integrated, not an add on approach that is limited by funding. This funding flux is also related to another tension evident in higher education between Indigenization and internationalization.

5.4.2. Indigenization & Internationalization

The increasing influence of globalization and neoliberalism on the discourses of access to higher education requires institutions to be mindful of the tensions in the internationalization movements and the Indigenization movements (Garson & Dumouchel, 2013). In today's reality there is a competition of resources that challenges how institutional resources (both human and financial) are directed to each initiative. In some instances, these two movements are seen as opposing and competing for institutional resources. However, assumptions can not be made that creates a binary of Indigenous or International. When in fact, Aboriginal peoples can also be from international context and attend Canadian post-secondary institutions. What is needed are equitable approaches to decolonization and intercultural development, as part of Indigenization, to not only meet Indigenous peoples were they are (e.g., physically increasing access to digital and face-to-face learning environments) but also ensuring high quality programs and services. Indigenization, as the Truth and Reconciliation Report calls for, is about increasing understanding of non-Aboriginal peoples to become decolonized in order to truly value the contributions of the past, present, and future of Indigenous peoples.

5.4.3. Identity Contestations

The politicization of Indigenous identity plays out in the academy, from those claiming identity that is not theirs to claim for personal financial or professional gain (Pewewardy, 2004), to those students and scholars reclaiming their Aboriginal identity as a decolonization process (Huffman, 2001; Pidgeon, 2014). As Daniel Justice Heath reminds us:

> "If nationhood and liberation are our goals, we must truly acknowledge the diversity of Native experiences by avoiding both the traps of 'mixed-blood angst' and of 'full-blood purity'—if we focus on blood quantum as an indicator of Indian 'authenticity,' we emphasize a colonist paradigm that was imposed on Native peoples for the sole purpose of destroying our Nations, traditions, and landbases. Such a focus ignores the wide variety of response to different communities to colonialism and it sets up arbitrary idea of what makes a 'real' Indian….Similarly these trips ignore the fact that we aren't just another immigrant ethnics group—we're independent tribal Nations, with governments and distinctive identities of our own that emerge from our spiritual and cultural relationships to this land." (p. 104)

Building on the earlier discussion of whether students choose to self-identify as Aboriginal, Indigenous students who enter university and/or college with their own aspirations of success. Indigenous student success is not only about graduation but is also about being empowered as Indigenous peoples with their cultural integrity intact (Pidgeon, 2008b). It is critical Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples remain cognizant of the colonial project of "divide and conquer", where by what counts as "Indigenous" becomes another colonial tool to further distract Indigenous peoples from their own rights of self-determination and defining nationhood for themselves. For this to occur, for Indigenization to thrive within the academy—the next section explores the question "What do Indigenized public colleges and universities look like?"

6. What Does a "Successfully" Indigenized Public College or University Look Like?

System transformations require not only recognition of institutional responsibility to Indigenous peoples, but also articulated accountability to these responsibilities (Pidgeon, 2014). Indigenization of the academy has truly transformed higher education when Indigenous students leave the institution more empowered in who they are as Indigenous peoples and when non-Indigenous peoples have a better understanding of the complexities, richness, and diversity of Indigenous peoples, histories, cultures, and lived experiences. Indigenizing the academy can be enacted Indigenous representation from the Board of Governors, Senate, and senior administration to the faculty, staff, and students. It is about having relevant curricular and co-curricular program, policies, and services in place that truly honor who Indigenous students are in their journey (Pidgeon, 2008b).

There is still the question of when will we know that an institution has successfully Indigenized (from Indigenous understandings of what that means). For example, an Indigenized public post-secondary institution may have institution-wide policies, such as Aboriginal strategic plans; proportional representation of administrators, faculty, and staff who are Indigenous; culturally relevant programs, policies, services, and practices across each faculty and department, and an ongoing commitment to Indigenization. Several questions might be posed to institutions undertaking Indigenization: what changes can we see in the lived experiences of Indigenous student? Are there changes in recruitment and retention of Indigenous students, faculty, and staff? How do Aboriginal communities experience these institutions and the students who return home from these places? Even more broadly, to ask Indigenous peoples what their expectations are of such institutions and what societal and systemic changes will need to be witnessed and more importantly experienced by Indigenous peoples. These questions will be answered in the near future as we will be able to examine institutional practices and outcomes related to their Indigenization efforts.

7. Conclusions

The overall theme of this journal relates to social inclusion of Indigenous peoples and this article positions Indigenization in higher education as one movement that can reconcile disparities that currently exist in our educational systems and societies for Indigenous peoples. System wide and institutional transformation will take time and while Indigenous peoples have been experiencing colonization for over 500 years, we do not have another 500 years to wait for change. The change is happening as Indigenous peoples live in these academic spaces and Indigenization must continue to regenerate and live for generations to come. The true Indigenization of higher education and for meaningful social inclusion of Indigenous peoples, Indigenity must remain at the core of the transformation, centred and grounded in the local territories and nations upon which colleges and universities reside. Non-Aboriginal peoples must take responsibility and be part of their own decolonizing process and move towards reconciliation. In a Indigenized institution, Indigenous peoples remain empowered in their self-determination and cultural integrity. Ultimately, higher education through Indigenization becomes a place for Aboriginal peoples to journey to attain their envisioned futures.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Dr. Michelle Pidgeon's ancestry and family are from Newfoundland and Labrador and she is currently living and working in the traditional and unceded territories of the Coast Salish peoples. She is an Associate professor in the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia. She is also the Editor of the *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*. Dr. Pidgeon is passionate about higher education, student services, and Indigenity. A central tenant of her work is that success is defined and articulated through an Indigenous wholistic framework and research process.

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Article

Climate Change, Mining and Traditional Indigenous Knowledge in Australia

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Abstract
Australia, in common with nations globally, faces an immediate and future environmental and economic challenge as an outcome of climate change. Indigenous communities in Australia, some who live a precarious economic and social existence, are particularly vulnerable to climate change. Impacts are already being experienced through dramatic weather events such as floods and bushfires. Other, more gradual changes, such as rising sea levels in the north of Australia, will have long-term negative consequences on communities, including the possibility of forced relocation. Climate change is also a historical phenomenon, and Indigenous communities hold a depth of knowledge of climate change and its impact on local ecologies of benefit to the wider community when policies to deal with an increasingly warmer world are considered. Non-Indigenous society must respect this knowledge and facilitate alliances with Indigenous communities based on a greater recognition of traditional knowledge systems.

Keywords
Australia; climate change; indigenous knowledge; interconnection; two-way learning; wellbeing

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Social Inclusion and Indigenous Peoples", edited by Pat Dudgeon (University of Western Australia, Australia), Waikaremoana Waitoki (University of Waikato, New Zealand), Rose LeMay (Wharerātā Group, Canada) and Linda Waimarie Nikora (University of Waikato, New Zealand).

1. Slow Violence

In *Reports from a Wild Country: Ethics for Decolonisation* (2004), Deborah Bird Rose writes that 'Settler societies are built on a dual war: a war against Nature and a war against the natives.' From the early years of European occupation of Indigenous Country in Australia, both land and the environment have been degraded by a multitude of forces underpinning colonization, including key aspects of agricultural practice (Muir, 2014), and mining (Altman & Martin, 2009). Historically, development in Australia has come at the expense of Indigenous wellbeing to the advantage of a society born out of colonial exploitation:

> Wealth creation for most Australians has been predicated on expropriation of Aboriginal lands, initially for agriculture and then also for mining from the nineteenth century. (Altman, 2009, p. 17)

The history of colonial expansion is a key contributor to climate change (Lewis & Maslin, 2015; Weizman & Sheikh, 2015), producing catastrophic economic and social impacts on Indigenous communities. Recent scholarship also links climate change to wider concerns of human rights and economic and social justice (Green, 2014; Klein, 2014; Nixon, 2011; Shue, 2014). Greater recognition of the knowledge maintained within Indigenous communities relative to localized ecologies and the affects of climate change would go some way to addressing injustice by configuring Indigenous people globally as valuable arbiters of change rather than the helpless victims of the First World:

> When considering climkleinate change, indigenous peoples and marginalized populations warrant par-

> ticular attention. Impacts on their territories and communities are anticipated to be both early and severe due to their location in vulnerable environments….Indigenous and marginalized peoples, however, are not just victims of climate change. Their accumulated knowledge makes them excellent observers of environmental change and related impacts. (Degawan & Krupnik, 2011)

During the recent United Nations Paris climate change conference, the Canadian prime minister, Justin Trudeau, requested that the formal recognition of Indigenous rights be included in the final accord document (Prystupa, 2015). Both his, and the position of Indigenous activists attending the Paris gathering were undermined by representatives of the United States, the EU and Australia (amongst others) in order to safeguard against any resultant "legal liabilities" to Indigenous communities (although the specifics of such liabilities were not outlined—"Climate talks", 2015). Recalcitrant First World attitudes such as this need change, and with a sense of urgency.

Prior to his removal as prime minister of Australia in September 2015, Tony Abbott had adopted a conservative, or even regressive approach to climate change. The absence of an assertive policy let alone genuine action on climate change met strong criticism. The Commonwealth's formal statement, presented in its 2015 energy paper (Australian Government, 2015a), was poorly received by institutions with relevant expertise. The chief executive of Australia's Climate Institute, John Connor, noting that the energy paper documented "the risk Australia's fossil fuel industry posed in an emissions constrained future'', concluded that the report produced no substantial policy to deal with an increasingly unstable climate, leaving Connor to conclude that the report was dominated by a troubling "fantasy of climate ignorance" (Cox, 2015). In a similar criticism, Lenore Taylor, political editor for the Australian arm of Britain's *Guardian* newspaper, commented that in the months prior to the release of the energy paper the Commonwealth had relied on little more than a "rhetorical smokescreen" to deflect criticism of its inaction on climate change, observing that government policy had been advanced no further in the energy paper itself. She further noted that the *Intergenerational Report* (Australian Government, 2015b), released around the same time as the energy paper, and being "supposedly an economic and planning document for the next 40 years" was "largely silent on the economic consequences of climate change" (Taylor, 2015a).

The government faced scrutiny at a national and international level over its position on climate change and environmental policy more generally. The eminent Australian scientist and Nobel laureate, Peter Doherty, criticized the government during an international symposium on sustainability held in Hong Kong earlier in 2015. He labeled the Australian government "public enemy number one" with regard its carbon emissions policy (or lack of it). He also attacked the government over an absence of productive negotiations with other nations on climate change (Davey, 2015). This is an alarming conclusion considering that the renowned climate researcher, Professor Will Steffen, of the independent Climate Council of Australia, wrote in the Council's most recent report, *Quantifying the Impact of Climate Change on Extreme Heat in Australia*, that 2013 had been Australia's hottest year on record; a situation, he concluded, that would have been "virtually impossible without climate change" (Steffen, 2015, p. 1). While the new Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnball, is regarded as being somewhat 'friendlier' to the environment, thus far he has not shifted government policy on climate change. He recently approved the controversial 'mega' Carmichael coal mine in Queensland (Taylor, 2015b), even though multinational mining companies, including BHP Billiton and Rio Tinto are "quietly exiting coal" (Grigg, 2015) and its value to the Australian community, in both an economic and environmental sense is heavily contested (Cleary, 2015). Turnball's position on climate change is also under question due to the Australian government's refusal to sign a joint communique at that Paris summit, to phase out fossil fuel subsidies (Coorey, 2015).

While Australia's searing summer heat has historically produced catastrophic weather events such as the Victorian Black Saturday bushfires of 2009, resulting in 173 *direct* deaths, Steffen reminds us that 'more Australians die every year from extreme heat than from any type of natural disaster' (such people, often the elderly and the sick, are likely to die from respiratory illness and disease, heart failure and other conditions bought on by heat exhaustion and dehydration—Steffen, 2015, p. 2). Although deaths resulting from heat associated conditions largely escape the eye of media headlines, they represent a strain on general wellbeing in the community and a prohibitive cost to the health system. In the future heat exposure will cause many more deaths than bushfires. If we do need reminding, billions of people will *live* with climate change in the future and suffer injustice as a result (Green, 2014; Jeromack, 2014; Shue, 2014).

Indigenous communities in Australia are particularly vulnerable to a range of impacts of climate change that threaten the cultural, spiritual, physical and general wellbeing within communities:

> Because land and sea are inextricably linked with Indigenous cultural identities, a changing climate threatens ceremony, hunting practices, sacred sites, bush tucker and bush medicine, which in turn affects law, home, health, education livelihood and purpose. (Van Neerven, 2015)

Potential disruptions will include restricted access to traditional land and sacred sites, the destruction of the sites themselves, and threats to traditional food supplies, which will in-turn deplete health regimes (Green, King, & Morrison, 2009; Stacy & Tran, 2013; Tran, Strelein, Weir, Stacy, & Dwyer, 2013). What is true for Indigenous communities in Australia is reflected in communities in the elsewhere, be it rising sea levels affecting Indigenous communities in both the southern and northern hemispheres. For instance, the Hope (Tikigaq) of Alaska, have been witnessing rising sea levels since the 1970s. They now face the consequence of the negative impacts of climate change on the spiritual, social and economic maintenance of the community (Sakakibara, 2009). A particular injustice suffered by Indigenous people (and the poor more generally), as a direct result of climate change, is evident in the telling irony that "ironically and tragically, climate change is being experienced by many indigenous communities that have not participated in the industrial activity that is its primary cause" (Alexander et al., 2011).

The "slow violence" caused by environmental debilitation, including that wrought by climate change has inflicted harm on the disadvantaged, including Indigenous communities, by wealthier nations and their acts of collective irresponsibility:

> The environmentalism of the poor is frequently catalyzed by resource Imperialism inflicted on the global South to maintain the unsustainable appetites of rich-country citizens and, increasingly, of urban middle—classes in the global South itself (Nixon, 2011, p. 17).

The precarious socio-economic status of Indigenous communities within Australia will become exacerbated under climate change, considering that many communities live in a perilous state of disadvantage. While the majority of Australians escaped the ravages of the global financial crisis of 2007 and 2008, Indigenous communities then and now, exist within a cycle of poverty. In 2013 the United Nations ranked Australia second in the world behind only Norway in its annual Human Development Index, a key indicator of physical and social well-being (United Nations, 2013). Unfortunately, had the Index been applied to Indigenous people in Australia alone, it is estimated that the ranking would dramatically slip down the "happiness" ladder to 122nd place (Georgatos, 2015).

It is widely accepted by scientists that an increase in temperature of around two degrees Celsius will cause not only widespread death as a direct result of illnesses and diseases attributed to climate change, but severe mental illness and deep psychological scaring (Christoff, 2014; Hamilton, 2013; Kolbert, 2014). Indigenous people, particularly those living outside major urban centers, will additionally face the consequence of sickness to country itself. The ability to adequately engage with Country, to nurture and maintain cultural ceremony for both Elders and the young (Green, King, & Morrison, 2009) will become increasingly difficult. Indigenous communities live interdependently with country. *Sickness,* in its holistic cultural, physical and psychological sense will be acutely felt:

> A connection with "Country"—a place of ancestry, identity, language, livelihood and community—is a key determinant of health. If community-owned country becomes "sick" through environmental degradation, climate impacts, or inability of traditional owners to fulfil cultural obligations, through the ongoing management and habitation of their land, the people of that land will fell this "sickness" themselves. (Green et al., 2009, p. 1)

2. Cash over Country

In addition to the stresses of climate change, Indigenous communities across Australia deal with the impacts of large-scale mining, often targeting fossil fuels, particularly coal. The extraction technologies themselves burn excessive amounts of petroleum-based fossil fuels, releasing additional carbon into the atmosphere (Union of Concerned Scientists, 2015). Australia's reliance on coal, as both an export mineral and in the delivery of a domestic energy supply adds significantly to global carbon emissions. In 2013, the environmental researcher and activist, Bill McKibben (quoting a Climate Council of Australia report), wrote that Australia's projected coal exports would soon "produce 30% of the carbon needed to push global warming beyond two degrees" (McKibben, 2013, p. 7). He concluded that by as early as 2020 "the country's coal burnt abroad [as an export mineral] will be producing three times as much CO2 as all the country's cars and factories and homes" (McKibben, 2013, p. 7). The policy appears to make little economic sense, considering that in 2015 the global price of coal is two-thirds below the peak price of 2011. The market outcome appears grim for the industry: "dedicated coal producers in Australia like New Hope and Whitehaven have seen their market value slashed by 70–80% over the past five years" (Cleary, 2015, p. 24). It may though make short-term (and short-sighted) political sense, as both the current government and the Labor Opposition are aware that mining generally, and coal in particular, is largely conducted in "swing" or conservative electorates. The long-term cost of electoral expediency will be high:

> Ultimately, Australian state power has been sacrificed to the power of a single, polluting, damaging, dying industry, at the cost of every basic task of the modern state. This cannot last. (Schlosberg, 2015, p. 11)

Many of the same conservative political electorates are also home to Indigenous communities who regularly negotiate mining agreements, although negotiation in most cases must be understood as a limited concept. If a mining venture is opposed by Indigenous people, but supported by government, mining takes precedent over Indigenous property rights, even when land is "protected" by the *Native Title Act 1993—Cwlth* (Altman, 2009, p.18). While mining is promoted as the economic saviour of Indigenous communities by mining companies themselves, government, and occasional Indigenous spokespeople, the issue is complicated, as the long-term advantages of mining as a means of delivering economic empowerment is questionable:

> The value of the minerals sector to Australian prosperity is in stark contrast to the economic poverty experienced by many Indigenous Australians….Indigenous poverty, however, appears to be only minimally ameliorated by such agreements. (Scambary, 2013, p. 1)

In an extensive study of the history of mining in Australia and its relationship to Indigenous communities, Benedict Scambary found that negotiated agreements between Indigenous communities and mining companies "favour mainstream economic development", often at the expense of Indigenous communities. Relationships remained "fraught" while "mining agreements of themselves are not creating sustainable economic futures for Indigenous people" (Scambary, 2013, pp. 231-232). The economic pact between government and mining companies also comes at the expense and self-determination and autonomy within Indigenous communities:

> The Australian state—that is committed to economic liberalism in such processes—seems to voraciously pursuing a strategy to further disempower Indigenous people in an extremely uneven power relationship. (Altman, 2009, p.18)

Combined concerns over climate change and the inequities embedded in historical relationships between Indigenous communities and mining companies has mobilized a new generation of Indigenous activists. Amelia Telford, a Bundjalung woman (referring to her Indigenous nation and Country), was recently announced at the Young Conservationist of the Year by the Australian Geographic Society (Cormack, 2015). She is also a member of both the Australian Youth Climate Coalition, and SEED, an Indigenous-led environmental organization she co-founded. Telford, a "self-identified greenie" points to the relationship between mining companies and Indigenous communities to support her additional concerns about climate change. "The fossil fuel industry", she writes, "has been putting stress on Aboriginal land, culture and communities for decades", with a poor record in not only environmental maintenance, but in failing to deliver genuine social and economic benefits to Indigenous communities (Telford, 2014, p. 1).

Indigenous activists are concerned that communities will become economically and culturally disadvantaged further if the desire for fossil fuel extraction in Australia continues unabated (which appears to be the clear policy of the current government—Feik, 2015). Government support of the mining industry has also historically restricted Indigenous access to traditional lands, including vital totemic and sacred sites (Altman, 2009, p. 24). As an outcome of Australia's most recent mining 'boom' in Australia, Indigenous people are again being extracted from Country (Green, 2014; McQuire, 2015). Relationships between government and mining companies can produce adverse outcome for Indigenous communities opposing mining when "the state operates as a 'broker state'", negotiating and, where necessary, legislating for the benefit of mining at the expense of Indigenous people (Altman, 2009, p. 5).

Successful mining applications in Western Australia have been dependent on the deregistration of a sacred sites (Garty, 2015), a situation that can not occur without legislative support from government. An expert in Human Geography at Curtin University in Western Australia, Todd Jones, estimates that 'more than 3,000 Aboriginal sites have lost registration status' in recent years (Jones, 2015), including many sites deemed necessary for protection against mining under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act,* first legislated in 1972 (Laurie, 2015). Meanwhile, in Queensland, the state Labor government is currently preparing to extinguish Native Title altogether to ensure that the proposed Carmichael coal mine can proceed without threat of a successful legal challenge by Indigenous groups (Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2015).

The potential economic benefit in the form of employment and mining royalty payments, as an outcome of mining are tempting, even with sacred Country itself under threat. Royalties are often promoted to Indigenous communities as the only means of material survival. The potential for royalties and other benefits are also negotiated between Indigenous groups and mining companies on an unequal playing field, as the "substantial structural power and resource imbalances disadvantage the Aboriginal parties in negotiations" (Martin, 2009, p. 100). When communities do choose mining, choice becomes a relative concept:

> The absence of support for alternative livelihood options has contributed too, with Indigenous communities often facing the choice between mining or welfare dependence—and increasingly even welfare is being withdrawn if the mining option is not taken up. (Altman, 2009, p. 18)

Some communities caught in such a bind are classed as "remote" within Australia, although the description has no cultural meaning in an Indigenous sense. In 2007 the John Howard led conservative government announced an "intervention" into the Northern Territory (where it has legal jurisdiction), a policy shift that resulted in enforced levels of social and economic control of Indigenous communities. (For a discussion of the Intervention and its aftermath see Scott & Heiss, 2015). Not only was the Intervention dependent on the demonization of Indigenous communities in the media, the Commonwealth was required to suspect the Racial Discrimination Act (RDA) in order for it to discriminate directly against Indigenous people. (See McMullen, 2015, for an informed summary).

The Indigenous legal scholar, Professor Larissa Behrendt reminds that what the Commonwealth government described as a "national emergency" was the outcome of the neglect of the same Indigenous communities for over thirty years (Behrendt, 2015, p. 64). State and Commonwealth governments had previously been made aware of a greater need for the care of Indigenous children through major reports researched and produced by Indigenous scholars (Graham, 2015). The Northern Territory Intervention has impacted beyond the Northern Territory. If it is historically that case that 'even who and what Aboriginal people consider themselves to be has been affected by the representations of Aboriginality by others (Merlan, quoted in Martin, 2009, p. 113) then the Intervention has produced a nationwide definition of Indigenous inadequacy, and calls for a return paternalistic controls by the state. Indigenous communities across Australia have been neglected by successive state and Commonwealth governments, leaving the communities with little or non-existent economic and cultural autonomy whenever mining leases are being negotiated (Scambary, 2013).

The complexities faced by a desperate community, having to consider cash-over-Country, produce damaging tensions. A recent dispute involving a proposed gas-mining leases being granted at James Price Point, near Broome in Western Australia, highlighted the struggles faced by Indigenous people making decisions about the viability of community. The site of the proposed venture, on Goolarabooloo land, caused a rift between those who believe the mine would "deliver economic benefits that would secure the welfare of future generations" and others in the community who argued that Indigenous people should not be forced to make a choice between cultural and socio/economic worth; "health, education and welfare service are a basic right for all Australians and should not be contingent upon giving up one's land and culture" (Muir, 2012, p. 6). Amongst those opposing the gas mine, "senior Goolarabooloo Traditional Owners categorically state that it [the proposed mine] is a deal that cannot be done since their responsibility is to care for that country for future generations" (Muir, 2012, p. 6).

It is rarely appreciated by the wider Australian community that Indigenous people confront burdensome layers of responsibility when considering the broad consequences of a proposed mining lease. An onerous cultural weight accompanies the consideration of the sacred-spiritual aspects of Country on the one hand, and the *potential* economic benefit to be gained in agreeing to mining on the other. When Indigenous traditional owners make important decisions regarding protection and maintenance of Country, they do so under duress, considering that their people are often suffering immediate and endemic social and economic disadvantage. The extraction of fossil fuels from Indigenous land ultimately becomes a major contributor to global warming. A policy initiative that would engage with Indigenous people more ethically and equally would be to materially reward communities for their continued protection of Country at the expense of environmentally harmful forms of mining. It makes economic and environmental sense, in addition to recognizing the rights of Indigenous people, that communities be materially compensated when they reach decisions based upon the spiritual and cultural value of Country. Rather than suffer further disadvantage for protecting the environment (thus producing a net benefit for the global community), Indigenous communities should be rewarded as means of securing an economic and cultural future.

3. Two-Way Learning?

Prior to the arrival of the British in Australia approximately 300 Indigenous nations co-existed for at least 50,000 years "dealing with climate and ecosystem change" (Green & Minchen, 2014, p. 1). Intricate levels of knowledge of both the environment and related cosmologies continue to be held within Indigenous communities, including the consequences of the sea rise that occurred at the end of the Ice Age, between 8 to 10,000 years ago (Nunn & Reid, 2015; Upton, 2015); the relationship between Indigenous storytelling, knowledge retention and astronomy (Hamacher, 2014); and the scientific methodology underpinning firestick farming, sustainable forms of hunting, care for Country, and traditional agricultural and fishing techniques (Gammage, 2011; Pascoe, 2014; Presland, 2008). A gradual engagement with the richness of such knowledge is creating partnerships between Indigenous people, the scientific and broader intellectual community, in realization of the potential of such knowledge.

Through modes of intellectual practice Indigenous people offer other societies the opportunity to better engage with the current manifestation of climate change in innovative ways. There is also an associated

moral imperative at stake (Broome, 2012; Klein, 2014; Shue, 2014), as threats to the wellbeing and livelihood of Indigenous communities undermine the vitality and survival of communities themselves. Important cultural knowledge could also be lost, undermining the potential of future intellectual relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous society (Bird Rose, 2004). Whether through the degrading of Indigenous sacred and educational sites as an outcome of mining (discussed above), the wanton vandalism of sacred sites (Birch, 2010), or additional forced closures of, and government 'interventions' in Indigenous communities (Scott & Heiss, 2015), the destruction of physical, ephemeral and spiritual culture denies Indigenous people access to ongoing customary practice. A responsibility to Country forms the basis of a dynamic and ever-evolving engagement with land and whatever changes may be required to adapt to shifts in the local ecology.

Both within Australia, and globally, Indigenous communities have a key role to play in adapting to climate change (Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact [AIPP], 2015; Chief, Daigle, Lynn, & Whyte, 2014; Green, Niall, & Morrison, 2012). The discipline of Anthropology, sometimes positioned as *the* enemy of Indigenous communities (Cowlishaw, 2015), has increasingly recognized the intellectual value of exploring concepts such as deep-time archaeology and climate ethnography within Indigenous communities. The potential benefits to communities beyond Indigenous peoples may substantial, such as an attempt to "re-situate the human in ecological terms…within an Indigenous philosophical ecology" (Bird Rose, 2005, p. 295). Researchers are also currently exploring the degree to which "place-based peoples observe, perceive and respond to the local effects of global climate change", enriching localized knowledge systems best equipped to deal with ecological shifts as an outcome of climate change (Crate, 2011, p. 179). Engaging with Indigenous people more directly and inclusively also provides community members the opportunity to voice concerns about the multitude of threats to health and wellbeing that climate change presents (Green, Niall, & Morrison, 2012).

If relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities are to prosper the repository of intellectual wealth held by Indigenous people must be engaged with in an equitable manner, rather than it become an exercise in "cherry-picking" by outside experts with little understanding and respect for the potential of a genuine exchange, such as through the concept of "two-way leaning" (Muller, 2015). Whether assessing general wellbeing, connection to country, knowledge of ecology, the environment and climate, storytelling—the production of a culturally instructive narrative—is central to the maintenance and dissemination of Indigenous knowledge (Sakakibara, 2009). It is also an example of the holistic philosophies binding Indigenous people to country:

> Many traditional owners express their attachment to country through their unique ecologies, and the discipline of ecology's focus on relationships links to the holistic language of country. (Weir, 2015, p. 1)

In the absence of an ethical framework able to facilitate productive relationships, the outcome for Indigenous people will most often be of negative value. The "intersubjective exchange", the working relationship, enacted within an unstated social contract—"you recognise my worth, I recognise yours"—has been described by one activist/researcher as an exercise in "moral reciprocity" (Vincent, 2012, p. 2). An important and cautionary caveat hovering over such exchanges is that Indigenous knowledge cannot be sifted through by outsiders for choice: "Indigenous knowledge is not simply a collection of facts, but a way of life" (Muller, 2015, p. 59). And while Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) is increasingly valued by researchers, it has also become something of a "buzzword". Indigenous scholars in North America, for example, have noted that the wealthy, including some in the environmental movement, selectively covet aspects of TEK "to solve their own crises":

> When our knowledge becomes a commodity it can be used at will by the power structures of the dominant society to support existing doctrines and the status quo. It can be appropriated, marginalized and even used against us. (Simpson, 2001)

Unfortunately, others within the scientific, economic and environmental bodies continue to have little interest in either TEK or the potential benefits of two-way knowledge exchanges. While Indigenous traditions remain "of little value in a world based on the oppression of whole nations of people and the destructive exploitation of natural resources" (Wilson, 2004, p. 360) these attitudes will prevail in some quarters, while Indigenous people will continue to be treated as "passive and helpless at best, and obstructionist and destructive at worse … in contemporary discussion of development, conservation, indigenous rights and indigenous knowledge" (Salick & Byg, 2007, p. 4). Such narrow-minded thinking refuses to engage with the potential value offered by TEK. Human society has experienced changes in climate in the past, and the planet has periodically been confronted with catastrophic change to both the ecology and human and nonhuman life. Indigenous communities have been at the forefront of dealing with, and adapting to climate change in the past, offering an opportunity to face the challenge of contemporary climate change in innovative ways:

> Indigenous peoples interpret and react to climate change impacts in creative ways, drawing on traditional knowledge as we as new technologies to find

> solutions, which may help society at large to cope with impending change. (Salick & Byg, 2007, p. 4)

In Australia Indigenous communities are experiencing the impacts of climate change, in the form of bush-fires and drought in some areas of the country, and "warming temperatures, sea level rise, different rain patterns [and] more and stronger cyclones, floods and storms" in others (Stacy & Tran, 2013, p. 5). Some communities, due to their isolated location, are affected by dramatic weather events to a degree that most communities experience only rarely (Tran et al., 2013). With infrastructure being poor in many Indigenous communities, including an absence of decent drainage, proper emergency shelters, inadequate transport and roads and a lack of suitable medical facilities, the health, social and economic aftershocks of an extreme weather events devastate communities in both immediately and long-term. To suggest that these communities are subsequently neglected by government is no overstatement. Following the severe floods in the Northern Territory in early 2015, one journalist was left asking the question, "Why don't Australians care about the lives of Aboriginal people?" when it was revealed that Indigenous communities had been the last to be offered shelter during the flood, and were forced to wait for a longer period of time to have the damage caused by the flood repaired (Sinclair, 2015, p. 1).

4. Conclusion

Researchers in Indigenous wellbeing conclude that for communities to be equitably engaged in future a holistic approach toward climate change must be implemented within both environmental and health policies. If this does not occur the socio-health and economic gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Australia will certainly widen (Green & Minchen, 2014). Additionally, if relevant institutions, including government, fail to engage with Indigenous people, climate change policy initiatives remain inadequate. The wellbeing of Indigenous people in Australia is depended on the maintenance and care of Country. White Australia must give greater recognition to this need. In return, through the process of genuine exchange it could become the beneficiary of a *new way of seeing.* New ideas, dialogues and relationships present a challenge beyond a shift in economic and environmental thinking and innovative policy-making. Deborah Bird Rose believes that White Australia is suffering an "ethical paralysis" with regard to both the environment and relationships with Indigenous communities (Bird Rose, 2013, p. 2). She offers an alternative strategy of communication, a dialogue of openness, rich with both risk and benefit:

> To be open is to hold one's self available to others: one takes risks and becomes vulnerable. But this is also a fertile stance: one's own ground can become destabilized. In open dialogue one holds oneself available to be surprised, to be challenged and be changed. (Bird Rose, 2015, p. 128)

An expectation of an informed engagement on climate change with Indigenous communities is being voiced globally. For instance, In Aotearoa (New Zealand) Maori have called for not only recognition of traditional knowledge, but a participatory role in approaches and policies devised to deal with environmental policy generally and climate change specifically (Jones, Bennett, Keating, & Blaiklock, 2014). It is a role that necessitates due recognition of Maori not only as First Peoples, but the holders of *first* knowledge. In northern America, particularly in Canada, where TEK is taught within both Indigenous communities and the academic classroom. A call for the formal recognition of TEK by Indigenous scholars, activists, and communities is accompanied by understandable hesitancy and concern, not least of all due to the structural and governmental contradictions that simultaneously debilitate Indigenous communities.

The Canadian experience offers a cautionary tale for Indigenous people globally, particularly in Australia, where social and economic disadvantage often mirror the North American experience. The Canadian Indigenous scholar, Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, commented a decade ago that 'before knowledge of these ways of being and interacting with the world can be shared…we must first work on recovering these traditions among our own populations' (Wilson, 2004, pp. 361-362). A second Indigenous scholar from Canada, Leanne Simpson warms that collaboration with outsiders can result in the dilution of TEK, undermining its original objective as an anti-colonial strategy:

> The depoliticizing of Indigenous Peoples and TEK serves to make the discussion of TEK more palatable to scientists by sanitizing it of the ugliness of colonization and injustice, so scientists can potentially engage with the knowledge but not the people who own and live that knowledge (Simpson, 2004, p. 376).

The shift in mindset required to produce meaningful and valuable interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Australia is perhaps the ultimate challenge to the nation. Key thinkers in the area, such as Bird Rose, ask that non-Indigenous people begin a conversation that respects Indigenous self-determination while considering the value of relationships built on "connection" rather than "unity" (Bird Rose, 2013, p.5). An additional shift in the individual and collective psyche in Australia is also needed if the impacts of climate change are to be mitigated. From a philosophical and intellectual perspective, "we need to

spark our moral imagination" (Klein, & Cave, 2015, p. 5). Serious climate action in Australia will continue to be piece-meal, fragmented and subject to unstable political whims in the absence of a fundamental shift in our relationship with the both each other and the environment.

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Conflict of Interests

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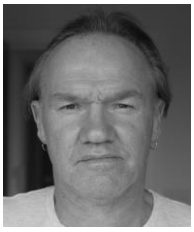

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Article

Social Exclusion of Australian Childless Women in Their Reproductive Years

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Abstract
Research suggests Australian childless women are at risk of pronatalism-driven social exclusion. This exploratory, mixed methods, cross-sectional study described and explored the social exclusion of Australian childless women aged 25 to 44 years, and asked: what are the nature and extent of social exclusion of childless women; and do the nature and extent of exclusion vary for different types of childless women? A total of 776 childless female Australian residents aged 25 to 44 years completed a self-administered questionnaire. Quantitative data were collected on childlessness types, indicators of exclusion and perceived stigmatisation and exclusion due to being childless. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics, One Way ANOVAs and Kruskal Wallis Analysis of Ranks. Qualitative data on childless women's experiences were inductively thematically analysed. Findings suggest societal-level pronatalism drives exclusion of Australian childless women. While exclusion occurs in all domains of life, childless women experience more exclusion, and perceive more exclusion due to being childless, in the social and civic domains than the service and economic domains. Circumstantially and involuntarily childless women, followed by voluntarily childless women, perceive more exclusion due to being childless than undecided and future childed women. Experiences are influenced by the nature of women's 'deviance' from pronatalism.

Keywords
childlessness; demography; fertility; pronatalism; social exclusion; stereotypes; stigma

Issue
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1. Introduction

Increasing numbers of Australian women aged between 25 and 44 years have no biological children, rising from 33 per cent in 2006 to 35.5 per cent in 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2007, 2012a). Research suggests pronatalism in Australian society places childless women at risk of social exclusion (see for example Graham & Rich, 2012a; Sawer, 2013).

Social exclusion is a multidimensional process driven by unequal power relationships interacting between the societal, community, relationship and individual levels, and manifesting in a continuum of inclusion and exclusion characterised by constraints upon the extent and quality of resources and opportunities for participation in the social, civic, service and economic domains of life (Levitas et al., 2007; Popay et al., 2008). Research suggests societal-level pronatalism drives stigmatisation and exclusion of childless women. Pronatalism constructs women as mothers, manifesting at a societal level in policies, discourses and ideologies designed to promote fertility by representing mother-

hood as a moral, patriotic and economic duty, and at community, relationship and individual levels in cultures, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that assume motherhood is natural, innate and inevitable (Gillespie, 2000; Graham & Rich, 2012a; Veevers, 1979). By constructing motherhood as central to being a woman, pronatalism perpetuates patriarchal power by disempowering women as resource-less mothers, and marginalising 'deviant' childless women (Gillespie, 2000; Park, 2002).

Political and media analyses have revealed hegemonic pronatalist discourses in Australian society constructing childed women as idealised 'insiders' and childless women as stigmatised 'outsiders' (Graham & Rich, 2012a, 2012b; Sawer, 2013). Canadian and United States studies found most adults believed motherhood was innate and natural (Miall, 1994), and more adults had negative or neutral than positive attitudes towards being childless (Koropeckyj-Cox & Pendell, 2007). Research from Australia, the United Kingdom and United States found women experienced being childless as discrediting, and believed others perceived childless women as unnatural, deficient, unfulfilled and incomplete (Letherby, 1999; Rich, Taket, Graham, & Shelley, 2011; Sternke & Abrahamson, 2015). Some involuntarily childless women internalised pronatalism, perceiving themselves as failures and incomplete (Bell, 2013; Sternke & Abrahamson, 2015). There is, however, limited research investigating the exclusion of childless women in their reproductive years from the social domain, which encompasses social networks, support and interaction, and social and leisure participation (see for example, Albertini & Mencarini, 2014; Bell, 2013; Debest & Mazuy, 2014; Doyle, Pooley, & Breen, 2013; McNamee & James, 2012; Sternke & Abrahamson, 2015), the service domain, which incorporates availability, accessibility, affordability, appropriateness and adequacy of services (see for example Baker, 2003; Hammarberg, Astbury, & Baker, 2001; Mollen, 2006; Onat & Beji, 2012; Parry, 2004) and the economic domain, including participation in employment, the nature and quality of working lives, and material and financial resources (see for example Doyle et al., 2013; Fieder, Huber, & Bookstein, 2011; Huber, Bookstein, & Fieder, 2010; Malik & Coulson, 2013; Rich et al., 2011). There is no existing research in the civic domain, which includes participation in community and political activities, groups and organisations.

While the extant evidence reveals the complexity and diversity of childless women's experiences, it emerges from disparate studies investigating distinct domains of life and undifferentiated or particular types of childless women. There is no Australian research investigating social exclusion of different types of childless women in their reproductive years from multiple domains of life. This exploratory study aimed to describe and explore the social exclusion of Australian childless women aged 25 to 44 years, and asked: (1) what are the nature and extent of social exclusion of childless women; and (2) do the nature and extent of social exclusion vary for different types of childless women?

While acknowledging the negative connotations associated with terms used to describe women with no children, 'childless' and 'childed' are used to describe women without and with children respectively in this paper.

2. Methods

The study was conducted in Australia during 2014. Ethics approval was obtained from Deakin University's Human Ethics Advisory Group (HEAG-H 175_2013). The cross-sectional, mixed-methods study employed a fully mixed concurrent equal status design (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2009).

2.1. Sampling

The target population was childless female Australian residents aged 25 to 44 years who were not pregnant and identified as never having assumed the role or identity of a biological or social mother, for example, of adopted, step or fostered-children. The age range encompassed Australian women's mean age of first birth of 28 years, peak reproductive age of 30 to 34 years, and usual completion of fertility between 40 and 44 years (ABS, 2008, 2010a; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2010).

The formula for a binomial distributions k-sample for the chi-square test (Brown et al., 2010) yielded a minimum sample size of 427, including 171 voluntarily childless women, who freely chose not to have children (Veevers, 1979), 64 involuntarily childless women, who wished to have biological children but were unable to achieve a viable pregnancy (Daniluk, 2001), 64 circumstantially childless women, who were unable to have children due to other circumstances such as having no partner, partner infertility, or health issues other than those preventing a viable pregnancy (Cannold, 2005), 64 undecided women, who were unsure about whether to have children, and 64 future childed women, who intended to have biological or social children in future.

In the absence of a sampling frame, participants were recruited by promoting the study through 38 women's health services, 13 blogs and Facebook pages, professional networks and snowball sampling. Of the 1,411 respondents, 631 women who did not click the 'submit' button at the end of the questionnaire were excluded pursuant to the ethics approval as deemed withdrawals; and four whose dates of birth fell outside the target age range were excluded. The total sample size was 776 women, a completion rate of fifty-five per cent.

2.2. Data Collection and Measures

A self-administered online questionnaire collected quantitative data on socio-demographic variables, types of childlessness and social exclusion. Indicators of exclusion were measured using the social interaction subscale of the Duke Social Support Index (George, Blazer, Hughes, & Fowler, 1989) and the MOS social support index (Chronbach's α = 0.97; one-year stability α = 0.78) (Sherbourne & Stewart, 1991) in the social domain, participation in community groups, activities and events (ABS, 2010b) in the civic domain, degree of problems accessing and using services (Dermott et al., 2012) in the service domain, and employment status (Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, 2012) and personal income (ABS, 2011) in the economic domain. Data were also collected on stigma consciousness (Chronbach's α = 0.72 – 0.74) (Pinel, 1999) and degree of perceived exclusion from domains of life due to being childless. Open-ended questions employing the critical incident technique, which seeks to obtain detailed accounts of participants' experiences of past incidents (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson, & Maglio, 2005), gathered qualitative data on each domain (see Appendix).

2.3. Data Analysis

Aggregate scores were computed for social interaction, social networks, social support, community participation, problems accessing and using services and stigma consciousness (Hughes, Blazer, & Hybels, 1990; Sherbourne & Stewart, 1991). Employment status was computed from items on paid work status, underemployment and unemployment. Personal income ranges were recoded into income levels (ABS, 2012c). Five-point scales measuring degree of perceived exclusion due to being childless were collapsed into binary ordinal variables consisting of no perceived exclusion or at least a slight degree of perceived exclusion.

Descriptive statistics examined socio-demographic characteristics, indicators of exclusion and stigmatisation and exclusion due to being childless. One Way ANOVAs and Scheffe's post-hoc tests analysed differences between types of childless women's stigma consciousness. Kruskal Wallis H and Dunn's post-hoc tests analysed differences in social interaction, social support, community participation, problems accessing or using services, employment status, personal income and perceived exclusion due to being childless.

Qualitative data were inductively thematically analysed through data immersion by reading and re-reading all qualitative data, coding and recoding, and identification of categories and underlying themes. A framework of experiences across all domains was generated, illustrated by participant quotations from all types of childless women in all domains of life. De-identified quotations were attributed using identification numbers (denoted as ID), childlessness type and age. No more than one quotation from any participant was used.

3. Results

3.1. Demographic Characteristics

Table 1 shows participants' demographic characteristics and comparable Australian data. Compared with Australian females aged 25 to 44 years (89.4%) (ABS, 2012b), 39.5 per cent fewer participants were married, in a civil union or de facto relationship (49.9%; n=386; 95% CI for difference -43.0 – -35.9). A higher percentage (10.8%) of participants identified as lesbian or bisexual (13.0%; n=97) than Australian women aged 16 to 59 years (2.2%; 95% CI for difference 8.5 – 13.4) (Smith, Rissel, Richters, Grulich, & Visser, 2003). Compared with Australian women aged 15 years or over (19.9%) (ABS, 2012b), 58.1 per cent more participants possessed a bachelor degree or higher (78.0%; n=605; 95% CI for difference 55.0 – 60.9). Almost half the participants (48.5%; n=361) were in the high-income bracket, compared with 20 per cent of Australian adults (95% CI for difference 24.9 – 32.1) (ABS, 2013). Close to three-quarters of participants (73.2%; n=554) identified as having no religion or being unsure, compared with 22.4 per cent of Australian females (ABS, 2012b). In contrast, only 21.0 per cent of participants identified as Christian, compared with 69.2 per cent of Australian females (ABS, 2012b).

Table 2 shows types of childless women and differences in demographic characteristics. There were differences between types of childless women's age ($F = 51.8$; $df = 4$; $p < 0.001$), relationship status ($\chi = 97.6$; $df = 4$; $p < 0.001$), sexual orientation ($\chi = 13.1$; $df = 4$; $p = 0.01$), religious status ($\chi = 16.1$; $df = 4$; $p = 0.003$), area of geographic residence ($\chi = 11.8$; $df = 4$; $p = 0.02$) and educational attainment ($H = 20.1$; $df = 4$; $p < 0.001$).

3.2. Indicators of Exclusion

Table 3 shows indicators of exclusion in the social, civic, service and economic domains. Circumstantially childless women had lower social support scores than the undecided (Dunn's Test = -97.0; $p = 0.001$), involuntarily childless (Dunn's Test = 114.1; $p = 0.004$), voluntarily childless (Dunn's Test = -115.6; $p < 0.001$) and future childed (Dunn's Test = -171.3; $p < 0.001$). While there was an overall difference in social interaction scores ($H = 11.3$; $df = 4$; $p = 0.02$), post hoc testing identified no differences between types of childless women.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of participants and comparable Australian data.

	Participants per cent (n)	Australian per cent	Percentage difference (95% CI)
Age (n=775)			
25-29	25.4 (197)	24.8	0.6 (-2.4 – 3.8)
30-34	30.3 (235)	24.0	6.3 (3.2 – 9.6)
35-39	22.7 (176)	25.3	-2.6 (-5.44 – 0.5)
40-44	21.5 (167)	25.8[1]	-4.3 (-7.0 – -1.3)
Relationship status (n=773)			
Single	33.4 (258)	Not available	
Relationship (not living together)	9.3 (71)	Not available	
De facto relationship	26.4 (204)	35.7	-9.3 (-12.3 – -6.1)
Engaged	5.4 (42)	Not available	
Married/civil union	23.5 (182)	53.7[2]	-30.2 (-33.1 – -27.1)
Separated/divorced	1.3 (10)	10.1	-8.8 (-9.4 – -7.8)
Widowed	0.8 (6)	0.5[1]	0.3 (-0.2 – 1.1)
Sexual orientation (n=745)			
Lesbian or bisexual	13.0 (97)	2.2[3]	10.8 (8.5 – 13.4)
Heterosexual	87.0 (648)	97.8	-10.8 (-13.4 – -8.5)
Educational attainment (n=776)			
Year 12 or below	5.0 (39)	58.6	-53.6 (-55.0 – -51.9)
Certificate/diploma	17.0 (132)	21.5	-4.5 (-7.0 – -1.8)
Bachelor degree	41.0 (318)	14.8	26.2 (22.8 – 29.7)
Graduate/postgraduate qualification	37.0 (287)	5.1[4]	31.9 (28.5 – 35.3)
Employment status (n=773)			
Employed/self-employed	93.0 (719)	71.6	21.4 (19.5 – 23.1)
Unemployed	6.3 (49)	3.9	2.4 (0.9 – 4.3)
Not in labour force	0.6 (5)	24.5[4]	-23.9 (-24.3 – -23.1)
Personal income level (n=744)			
Low (first three deciles)	9.3 (69)	30.0	-20.7 (-22.7 – -18.5)
Lower middle (fourth decile)	7.3 (54)	10.0	-2.7 (-4.5 – -0.7)
Middle (third quintile)	7.4 (55)	20.0	-12.6 (-14.3 – -10.6)
Upper middle (fourth quintile)	27.6 (205)	20.0	7.6 (4.4 – 10.9)
High (fifth quintile)	48.5 (361)	20.0[5]	28.5 (24.9 – 32.1)
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander status (n=771)			
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	1.4 (11)	2.5	-1.1 (-1.7 – -0.03)
Non-Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	98.6 (760)	97.5[1]	1.1 (0.03 – 1.8)
Country of birth (n=771)			
Born overseas	14.1 (109)	26.2	-12.1 (-14.4 – -9.5)
Born in Australia	85.9 (662)	73.8[6]	12.1 (9.5 – 14.4)
Language spoken at home (n=772)			
Language other than English	6.2 (48)	19.5	-13.3 (-14.8 – -11.4)
English only	93.8 (724)	80.5[6]	13.3 (11.4 – 14.8)
Religion (n=757)			
Christian	21.0 (159)	69.2	-48.2 (-51.0 – -45.2)
Judaism	0.4 (3)	0.5	-0.1 (-0.4 – 0.6)
Islam	0.1 (1)	2.3	-2.2 (-2.29 – -1.7)
Indian religions	1.8 (14)	4.2	-2.4 (-3.1 – -1.2)
Folk, new and other religions	3.4 (26)	1.5	1.9 (0.8 – 3.4)
No religion or unsure	73.2 (554)	22.4[6]	50.8 (47.5 – 53.9)
Geographic residence (n=776)			
Major city	77.4 (601)	68.4	9.0 (6.0 – 11.9)
Inner regional	15.2 (118)	19.7	-4.5 (-6.9 – -1.8)
Outer regional	6.4 (50)	9.5	-3.1 (-4.6 – -1.2)
Remote	0.3 (2)	1.5	-1.2 (-1.5 – -0.7)
Very remote	0.6 (5)	0.8[7]	-0.2 (-0.6 – 0.6)

Notes: 1 Australian females aged 25 to 44 years (ABS, 2012b); 2 Registered marriages only (ABS, 2012b); 3 Australian females aged 16 to 59 years (Smith et al., 2003); 4 Australian females aged 15 years and over (ABS, 2012b); 5 Income deciles of Australian adults (ABS, 2013); 6 Australian females (ABS, 2012b); 7 Australian residents (ABS, 2008).

Table 2. Demographic characteristics of types of childless women.

	Involuntary	Circumstantial	Voluntary	Undecided	Future childed	F[1]/ χ²[2]/ H[3]	df	p value
Type of childless women (n=768)	n=161	n=161	n=281	n=139	n=123			
Per cent	8.3%	21.0%	36.6%	18.1%	16.0%			
Age in years (n=767)	n=64	n=161	n=280	n=139	n=123			
Mean	36.9 (SD=4.9)	36.5 (SD=5.3)	36.0 (SD=5.6)	31.7 (SD=4.1)	30.1 (SD=3.4)	51.8[1]	4	<0.001
Relationship status (n=765)	n=64	n=160	n=281	n=138	n=122			
Single	17.2%	64.4%	31.0%	13.1%	13.1%	97.6[2]	4	<0.001
Partnered	82.2%	35.6%	69.0%	86.9%	86.9%			
Sexual orientation (n=738)	n=62	n=156	n=272	n=132	n=116			
Heterosexual	90.3%	91.0%	81.3%	88.6%	91.4%	13.1[2]	4	0.01
Lesbian or bisexual	9.7%	9.0%	18.8%	11.4%	8.6%			
Religion (n=765)	n=63	n=152	n=277	n=136	n=122			
Religious	41.3%	32.9%	20.9%	22.1%	27.9%	16.2[2]	4	0.003
Not religious/unsure	58.7%	67.1%	79.1%	77.9%	72.1%			
Geographic residence (n=786)	n=64	n=161	n=281	n=139	n=123			
Major city	70.3%	84.5%	72.2%	79.9%	80.5%	11.8[2]	4	0.02
Regional/ remote	29.7%	15.5%	27.8%	20.1%	19.5%			
Educational attainment (n=768)	n=64	n=161	n=281	n=139	n=123			
Year 11 or below	0.0%	1.2%	2.1%	1.4%	0.0%			
Year 12 or equivalent	1.6%	2.5%	4.6%	3.6%	4.1%			
Certificate or diploma	20.3%	14.9%	23.8%	12.2%	8.9%			
Bachelor or above	78.1%	81.4%	69.4%	82.7%	87.0%			
Mean rank	388.4	398.3	352.0	402.2	418.8	20.1[3]	4	<0.001

Notes: 1 One Way ANOVA; 2 Chi Square Test for Independence; 3 Kruskal Wallis Analysis of Ranks.

Table 3. Indicators of exclusion in the social, civic, service and economic domains.

	All participants	Involuntary	Circumstantial	Voluntary	Undecided	Future childed	H[1]	df	P value
Social interaction score[2]	n=765	n=63	n=159	n=276	n=138	n=121			
Median	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	8.0	8.0			
Mean rank		335.7	372.5	361.0	404.5	422.2	11.3	4	0.02
Social support score[3]	n=739	n=60	n=150	n=273	n=130	n=119			
Mean	55.4 (SD = 17.5)	54.2 (SD =22.2)	46.1 (SD = 18.2)	56.6 (SD = 17.3)	56.3 (SD= 16.1)	63.0 (SD = 12.3)			
Mean rank		383.1	269.0	384.5	366.0	440.3	49.0	4	<0.001
Community participation score[4]	n=771	n=64	n=160	n=278	n=138	n=123			
Mean	3.2 (SD = 2.3)	3.3 (SD = 2.8)	3.3 (SD = 2.4)	3.2 (SD = 2.3)	3.3 (SD = 2.5)	3.1 (SD = 2.0)			
Mean rank		373.7	386.1	386.0	379.0	375.3	0.4	4	0.98
Problems accessing/using services score[5]	n=776	n=64	n=161	n=261	n=139	n=123			
Mean	70.7 (SD = 6.1)	70.4 (SD = 6.6)	70.3 (SD = 6.5)	70.8 (SD = 6.3)	69.9 (SD = 5.6)	71.4 (SD = 5.1)			
Mean rank		363.2	372.6	394.4	382.2	391.2	1.8	4	0.77
Employment status	n=773	n=64	n=159	n=280	n=139	n=123			
Employed	83.3%	87.5%	82.4%	81.8%	82.0%	87.8%			
Underemployed	9.7%	6.3%	9.4%	10.4%	10.1%	8.9%			
Unemployed	6.3%	4.7%	8.2%	6.8%	7.2%	3.3%			
Not in labour force	0.6%	1.6%	0.0%	1.1%	0.7%	0.0%			
Mean rank		398.4	378.5	376.9	377.5	401.0	3.6	4	0.5
Personal income levels	n=744	n=60	n=158	n=267	n=134	n=117			
Low	9.3%	5.0%	9.5%	9.4%	11.9%	8.5%			
Lower middle	7.3%	5.0%	7.6%	8.2%	7.5%	4.3%			

	All participants	Involuntary	Circumstantial	Voluntary	Undecided	Future childed	H[1]	df	P value
Middle	7.4%	10.0%	6.3%	7.5%	8.2%	6.0%			
Upper middle	27.6%	26.7%	22.2%	28.5%	25.4%	35.9%			
High	48.5%	53.3%	54.4%	46.4%	47.0%	45.3%			
Mean rank		392.6	384.8	360.0	355.9%	367.9%	3.0	4	0.6

Notes: 1 Kruskal Wallis Analysis of Ranks; 2 Ordinal scale from 0 to 13. Higher scores indicate more social interaction; 3 Interval scale from 0 to 76. Higher scores indicate greater levels of instrumental and affective social support; 4 Interval scale from 0 to 14. Higher scores indicating participation in more community groups/events and activities; 5 Aggregate score from 5 to 75. Lower scores indicating a greater degree of problems accessing or using service.

Table 4. Perceived stereotyping, stigmatisation and exclusion due to being childless.

	All participants (n=764)[3]	Involuntary (n=64)[4]	Circumstantial (n=160)[5]	Voluntary (n=279)[6]	Undecided (n=138)[7]	Future childed (n=123)[8]	F[1]/H[2]	df	P value
Stigma consciousness score[9]									
Mean	36.6 (SD = 9.4)	33.3 (SD = 8.6)	34.1 (SD = 8.1)	36.2 (SD = 9.0)	37.9 (SD = 9.9)	41.2 (SD = 9.5)	13.3[1]	4	<0.001
Exclusion from social interaction[10]									
Median	5.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0			
Mean rank		330.2	303.1	383.0	422.7	460.7	53.5[2]	4	<0.001
Exclusion from social support[10]									
Median	5.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0			
Mean rank		355.5	305.1	382.7	424.0	450.2	46.7[2]	4	<0.001
Exclusion from community life[10]									
Median	5.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.0			
Mean rank		303.9	310.6	407.9	402.7	433.0	49.3[2]	4	<0.001
Exclusion from services[10]									
Median	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0			
Mean rank		349.2	358.5	382.1	414.3	402.4	14.5[2]	4	<0.001
Exclusion from material and financial resources[10]									
Median	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0			
Mean rank		367.8	365.4	372.9	401.3	413.3	11.7[2]	4	0.02
Exclusion from employment[10]									
Median	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0			
Mean rank		392.9	370.7	377.0	392.7	387.3	3.4[2]	4	0.5

Notes: 1 One Way ANOVA; 2 Kruskal Wallis Analysis of Ranks; 3 n=730 for stigma consciousness and 763 for community life; 4 n=150 for stigma consciousness; 5 n=150 for stigma consciousness, 159 for community life and 161 for education; 6 n=263 for stigma consciousness, 278 for social interaction and employment, 281 for services and education, and 280 for material and financial resources; 7 n=132 for stigma consciousness, 137 for social interaction and 139 for education; 8 n=117 for stigma consciousness and 122 for employment and material and financial resources; 9 Aggregate index from 10 to 70, with lower scores indicating greater stigma consciousness ; 10 Ordinal scale from 1 to 5, with scores of 4 or below indicating at least a slight degree of exclusion due to being childless.

3.3. Stigmatisation and Exclusion Due to Being Childless

Table 4 shows stigmatisation and exclusion due to being childless. Future childed women's mean stigma consciousness score was higher than voluntarily, circumstantially and involuntarily childless women's scores ($p < 0.001$). Undecided women's mean stigma consciousness score was higher than circumstantially ($p = 0.02$) and involuntarily ($p = 0.03$) childless women's scores. The results suggested future childed women perceived less stigmatisation due to being childless than voluntarily childless women, and future childed and undecided women perceived less stigmatisation than circumstantially and involuntarily childless women.

Participants perceived at least a slight degree of exclusion due to being childless from social interaction (47.3%), social support (42.5%), community life (36.8%), services (20.5%), material and financial resources (17.7%) and employment (12.2%). In relation to social interaction, circumstantially childless women

perceived more exclusion than voluntarily childless (Dunn's test = -79.9; p = 0.001), undecided (Dunn's test = -119.6; p < 0.001) and future childed women (Dunn's test = -157.6; p < 0.001), involuntarily childless women perceived more exclusion than undecided (Dunn's test = -92.6; p = 0.02) and future childed women (Dunn's test = -130.6; p < 0.001), and voluntarily childless women perceived more exclusion than future childed women (Dunn's test = -77.7; p = 0.004). In relation to social support, circumstantially childless women perceived more exclusion than voluntarily childless (Dunn's test = -77.6; p = 0.001), undecided (Dunn's test = -118.9; p < 0.001) and future childed women (Dunn's test = -145.1; p < 0.001), while involuntarily childless (Dunn's test = -94.8; p = 0.02) and voluntarily childless women (Dunn's test = -67.5; p = 0.02) perceived more exclusion than future childed women. Involuntarily and circumstantially childless women perceived more exclusion from community life than undecided (Dunn's test = -98.7; p = 0.006 and Dunn's test = -92.1; p < 0.001), voluntarily childless (Dunn's test = -104.0; p = 0.001 and Dunn's test = -97.3; p < 0.001) and future childed women (Dunn's test = -129.1 and -122.4; p < 0.001). Circumstantially childless women perceived more exclusion from services than undecided women (Dunn's test = -55.8; p = 0.02).

3.4. Experiences of Inclusion and Exclusion

Childless women described pronatalism-driven experiences on a continuum of connection and inclusion within, exclusion within, and exclusion from, all domains of life. Each theme or element of a theme was experienced by all types of childless women in all domains of life, unless types of childless women and domains of life are specified. Some women described only connection and inclusion or exclusion, some reported connection and inclusion in some domains and exclusion in others, and some reported inclusion and exclusion in the same domain. Substantially more women reported exclusionary experiences within, than connection and inclusion within or exclusion from, the domains.

3.4.1. Experiences of Inclusion and Connection

Many women described experiences of inclusion and connection arising from their 'deviance' from pronatalism. Experiences of inclusion and connection are subtly different. 'Inclusion' refers to experiences in which childless women feel included by childed people and within childed domains of life. 'Connection' refers to experiences in which childless women have the resources and opportunities to connect and participate, despite the potential for exclusion by childed people or from childed domains of life.

Some women described experiences of inclusion. For example, some involuntarily childless, circumstantially childless and future childed women received emotional and instrumental support, while some women valued being included in children's lives.

> I am fortunate to have some friends around me who invite me to share in their families. I am a godmother and have regularly held nannying roles – it's a privilege to be entrusted with the responsibility of caring for people's kids and for them to tell me they know I'd treat them as if they were my own. (ID 224; undecided; age 32 years)

Furthermore, some voluntarily childless, undecided and future childed women reported others' understanding of their priorities and decisions.

> My mother had a talk with me when I was in my early twenties. She said that she completely understood and agreed with my stance about being childfree and gave her full support. She told me that knowing me as well as she did, having children would be a mistake for me and I would probably always regret having them. (ID 125; voluntarily childless; age 40 years)

Other women described experiences of connection. For example, some women experienced affirmation of being childless through observations of or interactions with childed people.

> Seeing overburdened mothers on public transport makes me grateful I don't have children. (ID 477; circumstantially childless; age 37 years)

Furthermore, many women valued their freedom to participate and contribute in all domains of life, and others actively built lives in which being childless was valued and affirmed.

> I work full-time, but my husband works part-time in an unskilled job while he is studying for a more skilled job. I don't think we could have this arrangement if we had children. (ID 299; voluntarily childless; age 44 years)

> I have a great group of friends and family who are like-minded….Even if I had children I would not go to mother's groups … because that wouldn't be my 'cuppa tea'. I like people who live outside of the box. (ID 117; circumstantially childless; age 42 years)

3.4.2. Exclusionary Experiences within the Domains of Life

Many women experienced being childless as a stigma-

tising attribute, which resulted in exclusionary interpersonal interactions within domains of life, with friends, family, community members, service providers, clients and colleagues. For example, many women described others' assumptions and expectations they had children or would have children. When such expectations were not met, they experienced others' disappointment, invalidation of their worth and pressure to become childed. For example, some involuntarily childless women received unhelpful encouragement to become childed. Some circumstantially childless women felt pressured to settle for 'any man', and many circumstantially childless, undecided and future childed women were pressured to 'hurry up'. In addition, many voluntarily childless and undecided women described others' arguments they would feel different once they met the 'right man' or had children, were 'missing out', or were unqualified to decide not to have children. Voluntarily childless and undecided women also felt others pathologised their choices.

Many women also described being stereotyped and judged by others. Women who were perceived as making choices that contributed to being childless felt stereotyped as child-hating, career-focused, materialistic and selfish.

> There is a perception you are selfish (so what if you are?!), a baby-hater, have something wrong with you or are ruthless. Your personality is judged by a decision you make about one aspect of your life. (ID 139; undecided; age 33 years)

All types of childless women felt judged as incomplete and unfulfilled. Involuntarily, circumstantially and voluntarily childless women who would not or could not ever become childed, felt further judged as defective and failed women. Some involuntarily and circumstantially childless women internalised such judgements.

> The pressure to find a man and have a baby [as soon as possible] is huge. I feel it every single day of my life. There is no relief from feeling abnormal, shamed and like a failure. (ID 751; circumstantially childless; age 35 years)

Some involuntarily and circumstantially childless women who wanted children felt judged as unhappy and desperate. In contrast, some voluntarily childless, undecided and future childed women felt judged as abnormal and unnatural for not wanting, or not yet having, children. All except involuntarily childless women felt judged as culpable for not having or delaying children.

> [W]hen I was 27 I was diagnosed with [polycystic ovarian syndrome] and was then informed by an older female [general practitioner] that I should have considered such diseases before I decided to be single and without a child. (ID 115; future childed; age 31 years)

Many women described others' beliefs they lacked knowledge, emotions, abilities and attributes that women acquired only upon becoming childed, including not understanding children and parenting, and being incapable of maturity, happiness, love, empathy and selflessness. Many women experienced invalidation of their views, contributions and expertise as a result of such beliefs.

> We live in [an area] for private schools so there's always chatter about whose child goes where. I feel excluded from these discussions because I have no children but I also feel private schools suck money from public schools. Expressing that opinion is unpopular and is normally met with 'well you would think differently if you had kids'. No, I wouldn't. I find that assumption offensive. (ID 556; circumstantially childless; age 38 years)

Furthermore, many women felt others perceived their feelings, experiences and needs as less important than those of childed people, and accordingly prioritised the needs of childed people.

> Not being granted leave during holiday periods to allow parents to take leave. Not having access to any flexible working arrangements (part time, work from home etc.), which are only granted to parents. Having to work back late to cover people leaving early to pick up kids from school. (ID 011; circumstantially childless; age 33 years)

In addition, many women experienced public questioning about their personal reasons for having no children, in response to which they felt required to justify, defend or conceal being childless. Finally, many women felt marginalised, invisible and irrelevant in interactions, activities and spaces dominated by childed people and children.

> When I get together with my friends, they always talk about their children, and I sit there and have very minimal to say/input. I then tune out and feel lonely and very depressed. (ID 333; involuntarily childless; age 36 years)

3.4.3. Exclusion from Childed Domains of Life

Some women experienced exclusion from domains of life idealising, prioritising, dominated by or catering exclusively to childed people, or stigmatising childless women. In the social domain, some women experienced exclusion from financial and emotional support from family who prioritised childed relations, and many wom-

en experienced exclusion from childed social networks.

> Losing several very good friends to the world of 'mummyhood', even when you make all sorts of efforts to keep the relationship close it dies … I feel these relationships would probably have survived and grown if I too had chosen to have children. (ID 119; voluntarily childless; age 36 years)

In the service domain, some circumstantially and voluntarily childless women were denied access to contraception and sterilisation procedures because medical practitioners believed they should become childed or would change their minds. Other women experienced exclusion from services that catered exclusively to childed people, or did not understand childless women's needs.

> Gynaecological services for women not wishing to get pregnant are hard to access and [obstetric gynaecologists] seem uninterested in childfree woman and have a lack of knowledge about gynaecological problems outside of those relating to childbirth. (ID 017; voluntarily childless; age 35 years)

In the economic domain, some women experienced exclusion from employment and promotion opportunities by employers who assumed they would become childed, invalidated their expertise in working with children, or prioritised childed people's employment needs. Further, some involuntarily and circumstantially childless women described financial hardship arising from attempts to become childed, or following divorces from husbands who wanted to become childed.

> Due to marital separation with husband after the stress of not having children my material and financial resources have suffered enormously. No longer have a home, struggle to make ends meet. (ID 218; involuntarily childless; age 32 years)

Finally, some women engaged in self-regulated exclusion from childed people, activities, groups, events and spaces, in order to avoid stigmatising experiences.

> Went to appointment at [a hospital miscarriage clinic]. Same rooms and waiting rooms as pregnant women going for their check-ups. Indicated to sit at chairs facing wall and not towards the pregnant women … I would have gone back to that clinic but it was too difficult due to so many other pregnant women around. (ID 087; involuntarily childless; age 33 years)

4. Discussion

This exploratory, mixed-methods study was the first to investigate the social exclusion of different types of childless women in their reproductive years, across multiple domains of life in Australian society. This discussion explores the nature and extent of social exclusion of childless women, differences in the social exclusion of types of childless women, and the study's strengths and limitations.

4.1. The Nature and Extent of Social Exclusion of Childless Women

The findings revealed a complex picture of the social exclusion of childless women. The qualitative and quantitative findings suggested childless women experienced pronatalism-driven stigmatisation, congruent with studies finding other people stereotyped and stigmatised childless women (Çopur & Koropeckyj-Cox, 2010; Koropeckyj-Cox & Pendell, 2007; LaMastro, 2001). The qualitative findings further suggested pronatalism manifested in a continuum of connection and inclusion within, exclusionary experiences within, and exclusion from, all domains of life. Some women felt being childless resulted in experiences of connection and the freedom to contribute and participate. However, many women experienced exclusion within the domains of life. For example, reflecting previous research that voluntarily childless women experienced pressure from family and friends to become childed (Rich et al., 2011), all types of childless women experienced such pressure in all domains of life. Many women were expected to justify being childless, supporting earlier findings that being childless was a discrediting attribute that women were required to justify or conceal in order to maintain credibility (Bell, 2013; Rich et al., 2011). In addition, confirming and expanding upon research finding childless women felt workplaces prioritised childed people's needs for annual and carers leave, flexible work and work-life balance, and that others doubted their professional credibility (Doyle et al., 2013; Rich et al., 2011), many women experienced subordination of their needs to those of childed people, assumptions they lacked qualities only childed women could possess, and discrediting of their views and expertise, in all domains of life. At the other end of the continuum, some childless women experienced exclusion from resources and participation in domains of life dominated by, prioritising or catering exclusively to childed people. This finding augments existing research revealing involuntarily childless women's exclusion from a childed social world (Loke, Yu, & Hayter, 2012; Malik & Coulson, 2013).

Supporting the qualitative findings, the quantitative findings revealed exclusion varied within and between the domains of life. In the social domain, childless women had moderate levels of social interaction and high levels of social support. While Italian research found that childless women were less likely to receive

social support than childed women (Albertini & Mencarini, 2014), it compared childless with childed women. In the civic domain, a new area of research for childless women in their reproductive years, childless women had low levels of participation in community groups, events and activities. In the service domain, childless women had a low degree of problems accessing or using services. However, in the context of qualitative findings that some women felt excluded from mental and reproductive health services, and a United States study finding 22 per cent of childless women had difficulty obtaining healthcare (Bernstein, 2001), the aggregate score may have disguised problems with particular services. In the economic domain, most women were employed and in the upper middle or high personal income brackets, in accordance with the weight of Australian and international research (Debest & Mazuy, 2014; Miranti, McNamara, Tanton, & Yap, 2009; Waren & Pals, 2013).

In relation to perceived exclusion due to being childless, childless women perceived more exclusion in the social and civic domains than the service and economic domains. This may be explained by the implications of pronatalism in different domains. For example, stigmatising experiences may be more salient in the social and civic domains, while freedom to participate may be more pertinent to the service and economic domains. In addition, when considering the continuum of connection and inclusion within, exclusionary experiences within, and exclusion from, domains of life, the qualitative findings revealed substantially more women described exclusionary experiences within domains of life, than experiences of connection and inclusion within, or exclusion from, domains of life. This facilitates an understanding of why the quantitative findings did not consistently reveal exclusion from, or connection and inclusion within, domains of life, by suggesting exclusionary experiences within domains of life are more relevant to childless women.

4.2. Differences in Social Exclusion of Types of Childless Women

The findings revealed an equally complex picture of exclusion of types of childless women. In relation to the indicators of exclusion, circumstantially childless women reported lower levels of social support than other types of childless women. There were no statistically significant differences in other indicators of exclusion, suggesting different types of childless women had similar levels of resources and participation. Australia's divergent cultural, social, political and economic context from other countries may explain inconsistencies with United States and French studies, which found voluntarily childless women had higher workforce participation rates and incomes than other childless women (Abma & Martinez, 2006; Waren & Pals, 2013). In relation to perceived exclusion due to being childless, circumstantially and involuntarily childless women, followed by voluntarily childless women, perceived more exclusion than undecided and future childed women. These differences corresponded with findings that involuntarily, circumstantially and voluntarily childless women perceived more stigmatisation due to being childless than future childed women, and involuntarily and circumstantially childless women perceived more stigmatisation than undecided women.

The qualitative findings provided additional evidence of nuanced differences in childless women's experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Such differences were influenced by whether women's 'deviance' from pronatalism was non-volitional (innocent), volitional (guilty), and temporary or permanent. For example, some involuntarily and circumstantially childless women, for whom being childless was non-volitional, received sympathy and support. However, others felt stereotyped as unhappy and desperate, consistent with previous research with involuntarily childless women (McCarthy, 2008). In contrast, women whom others perceived as culpable for choices that 'contributed' to being childless, felt stereotyped as selfish, materialistic and child-hating. Furthermore, women who were permanently childless felt judged as failures. In addition, some circumstantially childless and voluntarily childless women who were permanently childless, and undecided women who were considering becoming permanently childless, experienced divorce or separation from partners who wanted to become childed, building upon earlier research with involuntarily childless women (Bell, 2013).

The findings also supported earlier studies revealing childless women's agency (Doyle et al., 2013; Park, 2002), by suggesting childless women are not simply passive receivers of social exclusion. Rather, their internalised, disempowered or empowered responses influenced experiences of social exclusion. Expanding upon research with involuntarily childless women (Bell, 2013), some involuntarily and circumstantially childless women who perceived themselves as failures, incomplete and unfulfilled, were deeply cognisant of being excluded. Furthermore, while some women inadvertently exacerbated exclusion by avoiding stigmatising experiences, others made empowered choices to build lives in which being childless was valued and affirmed.

The influence of the nature of women's 'deviance' from pronatalism facilitates an understanding of differences in types of childless women's degree of perceived exclusion. Some involuntarily and circumstantially childless women's greater degree of exclusion may have been influenced by permanent, internalised and disempowered non-conformance, despite involuntarily childless women's 'innocent' deviance. In contrast, some voluntarily childless women may have been protected from their volitional ('culpable') and perma-

nent deviance by empowered choices. Finally, some undecided and future childed women may have been protected by temporary non-conformance with pronatalism, whereby they were included on the basis of assumptions they would become childed in future.

4.3. Strengths and Limitations

The study had a number of limitations. In relation to the qualitative component, neither iterative data collection and analysis nor participant validation was possible in the context of an anonymous questionnaire. In relation to the quantitative component, its cross-sectional design precluded an examination of causality. Selection bias may have been introduced by the fifty-five per cent completion rate, and non-probability sampling limited external validity. Although self-selection was unavoidable due to the absence of a sampling frame, it may have produced a sample that was more likely to experience pronatalism-driven stigmatisation and exclusion. While the sample was not comparable with Australian women, participants' high educational attainment, employment rates, personal incomes and proportion of voluntary childlessness were consistent with research on the characteristics of childless women (Abma & Martinez, 2006; Miranti et al., 2009; Waren & Pals, 2013). Finally, due to its exploratory nature, the study did not control for confounding factors.

Despite its limitations, this study was the first to investigate social exclusion in multiple domains of life of different types of childless women in their reproductive years. Furthermore, the mixed methods approach facilitated a deeper understanding of social exclusion, the large sample provided sufficient power and rich qualitative data, the use of existing and validated scales reduced the potential for measurement bias, and self-administration minimised socially desirable responses. In addition, data immersion, participant quotations, locating the findings within existing research, and researcher reflexivity enhanced the qualitative component's rigour.

5. Conclusions

This research suggests societal-level pronatalism manifests in a continuum of childless women's connection and inclusion within, exclusion within, and exclusion from domains of life in Australian society, with more exclusion in the social and civic domains than the service and economic domains. Future research using a more comprehensive suite of indicators will further elucidate the nature of social exclusion. The study further suggests circumstantially and involuntarily childless women, followed by voluntarily childless women, perceive more stigmatisation and exclusion due to being childless than undecided and future childed women. Such differences may be influenced by the nature of women's 'deviance' from pronatalism.

Given social exclusion is a firmly established social determinant of health, it is essential to work towards an Australian society in which women's motherhood status is irrelevant to judgements of their worth, such that none would feel excluded in connection with being childless. Inclusive research can contribute to this change by measuring and exploring motherhood status and types of childlessness in health and social research. In addition, practitioners and policy-makers can develop inclusive interventions and policies by ensuring childless women's needs are considered in interventions and policies for all women, directly targeting different types of childless women with support groups, activities and events, and constructing counter-discourses of being childless as a positive and valued attribute.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Appendix: Open-ended questions used in the data collection instrument.

Topic/domain	Question
Stigmatisation	Can you think of a time when you felt you felt you were stereotyped or stigmatized because you have no children? If so, please describe the incident in the space provided.
Social domain	Thinking about your family and friends, can you think of a time when you had a positive or negative experience related to not having children? If so, please describe the incident in detail in the space provided. Thinking about your participation in social and leisure activities, can you think of a time when you had a positive or negative experience related to not having children? If so, please describe the incident in detail in the space provided.
Civic domain	Thinking about your participation in community life, can you think of a time when you had a positive or negative experience related to not having children? If so, please describe the incident in detail in the space provided.
Service domain	Thinking about your access to and use of services, can you think of a time when you had a positive or negative experience related to not having children? If so, please describe the incident in detail in the space provided.
Economic domain	Thinking about your working life (including paid work and unemployment), can you think of a time when you had a positive or negative experience related to not having children? If so, please describe the incident in detail in the space provided. Thinking about your material and financial resources, can you think of a time when you had a positive or negative experience related to not having children? If so, please describe the incident in detail in the space provided.
General	Is there anything else you would like to tell us about being a woman in Australian society who does not have children?

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Article

Romanian Roma: An Institutional Ethnography of Labour Market Exclusion

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Abstract
Roma individuals are struggling to access the formal labour market in Romania. Previous research occupied with this issue has traditionally been dominated by quantitative studies of socio-economic indicators that cling to the characteristics of the ethnic group. The study presented here, however, uses institutional ethnography as a method of social inquiry to demonstrate that this issue needs to be studied from a bottom-up perspective. The article illustrates that there are factors connected to how the system of occupational integration operates that must be taken into consideration in order to explain the difficulties Roma individuals face when trying to enter the labour market in Romania. We argue that these structural barriers create and reinforce processes of minoritising that increase marginalization and discrimination and thereby hinder work inclusion for Roma individuals.

Keywords
inclusion; institutional ethnography; labour market; majoritizing; minoritising; Roma; Romania

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1. Introduction

Roma individuals are largely left out of the labour market across Europe. The situation is severe, as 8 out of 10 of Roma are at risk of poverty, and their income below 60% of the national median income (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA] & United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2012). The situation is especially severe in Romania, since the country ranks at the bottom on most measures of poverty and exclusion within the EU (Alston, 2015). In 2011, more than 48% of the Roma population in Romania were unemployed, compared to 7.4% of the general population (Moisă, Rostaș, Tarnovschi, Rădulescu, & Andersen, 2013). In addition, only 27% of the female Roma population were engaged in paid work (Romanian Government, 2015). Furthermore, in 2010, 93% of the Roma population had equal to or less than the minimum income (Dincă, 2014). Previous research on Roma individuals and the labour market is mainly based on quantitative studies focusing on factors such as lack of education, family structures and cultural background as major obstacles for work inclusion (Lazăr et al., 2014; Moisă et al., 2013; Romani CRISS, 2011; Tarnovschi, Preoteasa, Șerban, Bîrsan, & Hirian, 2012). The knowledge generated from these studies is valuable but they all lean on a top-down perspective. This is problematic as they stress that the obstacles the Roma people face when accessing the labour market cling to characteristics of the individual or the ethnic group. As argued by Surdu and Kovats (2015, p. 14) presenting the Roma as a group which is both

different and unequal has heightened the stigmatization. With the problem being as critical as it is, a solution has yet to be found (European Commission [EC], 2015; McGarry, 2011). There is a need to try to understand the situation from another angle. One possible way to do this is to access knowledge from below, which is what we will demonstrate in this article. Hence, the purpose of the article is to analyze the labour market situation for Roma individuals in Romania from Roma individuals themselves, and by that contribute with a new understanding about their labour market access.

The article is based on an institutional ethnography of social organisation of work inclusion practices for Roma individuals. Institutional ethnography (IE) is a sociological perspective and a method of inquiry aiming at accessing knowledge from below. The article thereby adds to a growing body of institutional ethnographies, but is unique in its approach to use this method of inquiry to investigate the barriers of Roma individuals entering the labour market. Using institutional ethnography as a method of inquiry to investigate barriers that Roma face when accessing the labour market has—to our knowledge—not been done before. Therefore, by using IE as a method of inquiry, our purpose with this article is to go behind the previously defined reasons for unemployment among the Roma, and to add to the existing knowledge on the problems they face when trying to enter the labour market.

The objective of this study is thereby to investigate barriers identified by Roma individuals themselves and their experiences of barriers towards employment and access on the labour market. By mapping the strategies Roma individuals use to enter the labour market, the main aim is to investigate how the work—in a generous sense meaning anything that people do that takes time, effort and intent (Smith, 2005)—being carried out by the Roma individuals themselves is coordinated with the work done by institutional representatives such as employment agencies, employers, health personnel etc. Hence, our research question is formulated as:

> What are the major difficulties experienced in the everyday life of Roma individuals related to accessing the labour market, and how are these experiences/difficulties related to institutional arrangements and practices?

In other words, the aim of this study is to investigate the institutional relations and structural mechanisms underpinning the hindrances and barriers to employment experienced by Roma individuals. Hence, the purpose of this article is to contribute to a growing body of knowledge on the problems of entering the labour market for Roma individuals.

In this project, we have conducted semi-structured interviews with 24 Roma individuals. The underlying intention has been that we want to learn *from* our informants, not about them, by mapping their work knowledge on entering the labour market. This article will illustrate this from four dimensions, which we have called *the absence of vocational service institutions*, *formal requirements*, *mutual mistrust*, and *'stuck in informality'*. The rest of this article is divided into four sections. The first section elaborates on the problems of including Roma individuals in the Romanian work force. The second section introduces the theoretical resources and methodological strategies this study rests upon. The third section focuses on how the four dimensions introduced above come into play and how they are related to each other. The article concludes with a discussion of how these dimensions are interconnected and mutually enforced, and can all be traced back to a form of institutionalized and historical discrimination.

2. Theoretical Framework

Institutional ethnography (IE) is a 'method of inquiry' (Smith, 2005) that attempts to describe the interface between individuals' experiences and institutional relations (McCoy, 2006, p. 109). The starting point is always from the perspective of a certain group of people. However, the purpose of IE is not to generalize a particular group of people, but rather to illuminate the social and organizational arrangements that "stretch beyond the individual accounts" (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2013, p. 4). With this focus IE-research endeavours to find and describe social processes that have 'generalizing effects' (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p.18). Another important tool often used in IE studies is the concept of *work knowledge.* Smith (2005, p. 229) defines *work* in a 'generous sense' as "anything done by people that takes time, effort and intent". Work knowledge is thereby defined as "what people know of in their work and how it is coordinated with the work of others". Mapping these work knowledges is therefore one main objective of IE studies in general and this study in particular. In this article IE is combined with a theoretical understanding of minoritising and majoritizing processes in societies.

The term *minoritising* as it is introduced by Avtar Brah (1996/2003) suggests that a minority is something that is produced and reproduced in society. She writes that:

> "Even when the majority/minority dichotomy is mobilized in order to signal unequal power relations, as is the case in studies that document discrimination against "minorities", its usage remains problematic. This is partly because the numerical referent of this dichotomy encourages a literal reading, reducing the problem of power relations to one of numbers, with the result that the repeated circulation of the discourse has the effect of natu-

ralizing rather than challenging the power differential." (Brah, 2003, p. 620)

She further argues that the term 'minority' is usually only used on racialized or ethnicised groups. She asks "What category of person is 'minoritised' in a specific discourse?" Zhao (2012) also questions this minority/majority dichotomy and demonstrates how people themselves enact both majoritized and minoritized positions. In other words, these are processes being *done* (Berg, Flemmen, & Gullikstad, 2010, p. 20). In this regard the theory of minoritising/majoritising processes speaks to institutional ethnography which is dedicated to the analysis of how everyday experiences of inequality and oppression are being organized (Campbell, 2015, p. 2).

3. Methods

To be able to analyze this question we have chosen to use institutional ethnography (IE) as a theoretical and methodological approach. Institutional ethnography, developed by the Canadian sociologist Dorothy E. Smith is a method of inquiry which has as one of its primary goals to "expand people's own knowledge rather than substituting the expert's knowledge for our own" (Smith, 2005, p. 1). Smith (2005, p. 27) argues that all knowledge is socially organized, and that it is important to investigate "how our lives become organized by the institutional foci of the ruling relations mediated by institutionally designed realities." Rather than beginning in theory, the point is to start the investigation in people's own experiences. By following DeVault & McCoy's (2006, p. 20) advice to identify "experiences or areas of everyday practice that is taken as the experience of whose determinants are to be explored", the objective is to map the 'work knowledge' of involved actors in order to investigate how different practices are coordinated. *Work knowledge* is understood as "what people know of in their work and how this is coordinated with the work of others". This is based on a generous definition of *work*, namely, "anything that people do that takes time, effort and intent". "It orients the researcher to what people are actually doing as they participate, in whatever way, in institutional processes" (Smith, 2005, p. 229).

The experiences of 24 Roma individuals is the starting point for an exploration of the hiring practices that converge to shape the opportunities of Roma individuals in the labour market. The informants are 12 men and 12 women between 25−56 years of age, from both urban and rural areas. The interviews have a specific focus on the efforts and work done by the interviewees themselves to obtain and keep employment and their encounters with everything from neighbours and social networks to employers, employment offices and other institutions. An interview guide was used, containing a number of key topics such as: searching for a job, asking for and/or receiving assistance, accessing a job, adapting to a new job, staying in employment, career development, education, strategies used to tackle a lack of income, living conditions and housing and perceptions regarding the employment opportunities of Roma, just to mention a few. The interview guide was used to ensure that all elements were covered, but each interview followed its own dynamic. The research team took great care in adapting the questions to each interviewee and to the interview situation. An emphasis was placed on sensitivity to issues that interviewees themselves brought up, and probing was used to follow up on issues relevant to the study. The research team consists of one group of Romanian researchers from West University of Timisoara, and one group of Norwegian researchers from NORD University.[1] The interviews were conducted by the Romanian team, in Romanian, and later transcribed verbatim and translated into English, while the Norwegian team has been involved in the planning and the analysis of the interviews.

The recruitment and selection of interviewees followed a two-step process. First, we asked for the collaboration of local institutions and NGOs that provide support and assistance for Roma persons, previously self-identified as such. Our collaborators asked for their beneficiaries' consent in providing us with their information, and thus a list of potential informants was created. From this list we then made a selection to secure a sufficient variation regarding gender, age, area of residence and status in the labour market. The people on the list were informed that such a selection would be made, and all the interviewees selected were informed about the use of the data and provided their written consent on their attendance.

Being dependent on intermediates may involve a certain bias by precluding those with no contact with our collaborators. However, we do not know whether those precluded are more deprived (due to no assistance) or less deprived (did not need assistance) than those potentially included. The use of intermediates also involves some ethical dilemmas. Firstly, we do not know how the relationship between our collaborators and those who were asked to participate actually is, and therefore how voluntary their participation was in the first place. Still, we believe this was the least intrusive way to approach potential interviewees, and the voluntariness of participation was underscored on interviewees' attendance. Secondly, while our study focuses specifically on Roma, there is currently a strong norm to 'de-ethnicize' social problems, especially when

[1] The article was elaborated within the E-QUAL—Qualitative Research on Professional Integration of Vulnerable Categories project, financed through the EEA Financial Mechanism 2009−2014. The project is implemented by the West University of Timisoara in partnership with NORD University, Norway.

related to ethnic minorities. There is a fear that juxtaposing certain social problems with a certain ethnicity may reinforce the 'othering' and patronization of the ethnic group in question. We aim to avoid this by specifically addressing the processes and mechanisms through which the problems are being ethically linked (Milikowski, 2000).

Also, 34 semi-structured interviews with key representatives of services providers, authority officials and employers, both and local and national level were conducted. For a better understanding of the whole system, our key informants represented a diversity of professional backgrounds, both at the local (implementation level) and policy-maker's level (e.g., doctors, teachers, employers, representatives of local administration, social services and policy makers).

In order to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of the informants, all information that could identify them has been omitted. This also includes their communities of residence, for which we have excluded all data that we believe could be used to identify the place.

4. The Absence of Vocational Service Institutions

Institutional ethnography more often than not starts with the problems formulated by a group of individuals, whose standpoint the research takes (McCoy, 2006, p. 109). In our project we started out by interviewing Roma individuals, some of whom were unemployed and some of whom were currently employed. The objective of this strategy was to investigate what, according to these individuals, were the difficulties of entering the labour force in Romania. Also, a major objective was to map how their *work* (in a generous sense) of getting employed was coordinated with the work done by representatives of vocational institutions and other professional actors involved. Hence the main goal was to investigate how these individual experiences were shaped by institutional conditions.

However, the most striking finding in our interviews with Roma individuals was the *lack* of references to vocational service institutions of various sorts. None of the informants mention this unsolicited, and when asked by the interviewer about their encounters with such organizations, most of them have not been in contact with them. For example 24 year old P. testifies:

> "[Have you ever contacted the County Agency of Labor Force Employment or any other institutions that are in charge of employment?] No….From my point of view, my personal point of view, the County Agency does not help find employment. Out of 100 people going and submitting their files to it, I don't know if even 10 or 5 max find a job, from my point of view."

P. comes from an average income family, where both his mother and father are high school graduates and steady job holders. A high school graduate himself, P. has held a fair number of jobs so far, considering his age (24 years old). He started working at high school (9th grade), seasonally at first (summer jobs). His parents had an important influence in his decision to get a job, encouraging him to have his own pocket money. In spite of the considerable number of jobs he has had so far, P. has never enlisted the help of a specialized agency in order to find employment, using instead his social network, or, as he calls them, *acquaintances*:

> "[I found] the first job given the acquaintances I had and the third like that also. With the help of my *acquaintances*,…the remaining job…I heard about them from other people, meaning *acquaintances*"

The term *acquaintances* is largely used by many other informants, during the interviews, when they name the resources used in order to find employment. In an almost symbolic way, the *acquaintances* become the substitute for the role which the County Agency of Labour Force Employment was designed to play in the current institutional arrangements.

It appears that one of the main reasons why the Roma do not access the specialized services created in order to provide support for those in search of employment (namely the County Agency of Labour Force Employment) is the lack of trust in the efficacy of these services. The preferred way of finding employment is accessing their own social network, as opposed to requiring assistance from the formal institutions. Moreover, those of the informants who have accessed formal support from such institutions, do not feel that these encounters have been useful. On the contrary, they report on feeling discriminated or abandoned. Hence, the question remains: why are these organizations so distant in their everyday lives and what does this entail? Following the strategy of institutional ethnography we analysed the interviews trying to "keep the institution in view" (McCoy, 2006, p. 109). This means investigating whether there are any institutional barriers segregating the vocational service institutions from the Roma individuals, i.e., what is the social organization of their experiences and which institutional orders come into play (McCoy, 2006, p. 110).

One reason why some of our interviewees are reluctant towards contacting public institutions is their low literacy skills, which seems to be 'exposed' in each encounter the Roma have with the institutions created to provide them support and assistance. According to Smith (2005, p. 101) "institutions exist in that strange magical realm in which social relations based on texts transform the local particularities of people, place and time into standardized, generalized, and, especially translocal forms of coordinating people's activities". However, in some instances these

transformations of local particularities makes institutions inaccessible for people. For instance, our informants recurrently report on the difficulties of accessing the textualized bureaucracy:

> "it is difficult because for those who don't know how to write, they must ask somebody to help them. [Is there somebody in the Town Hall to help you write this application?] There's nobody like this in the Town Hall because they say they're not allowed. [What aren't they allowed?] They aren't allowed to write an application for me. They aren't allowed. All that's left is to ask somebody, a colleague you are with, or to take the application home to be filled in by somebody. And then to go some other time to submit it."

Reports C., a young unemployed female (36 years old), with 4 children, living in a rural community inhabited mostly by the Roma population. She had to give up school after just 4 grades (around the age of 10), because she needed to help around the household, and then never went back to school. The 4 grades she graduated were not sufficient in order to equip her with basic reading and writing skills, so finding a job on a competitive labour market is almost impossible for her, not just because her literacy skills would make a bad impression on the employer, but also because, for her, it is a great struggle even to apply for a job. This is why her employment experience is limited to low unqualified jobs, mostly in agriculture. But, as C. notes later in the interview, even these jobs have become hard to find lately, due to the technological progress and increased use of machinery in agricultural work.

High illiteracy rates among the Roma population is stressed in almost every report or study regarding their social inclusion. Dincă (2014) reports that 25% of the Roma population in Romania is illiterate. According to the Romanian Government, almost three out of ten Romanian baseline illiterates are of Roma origin (Romanian Government, 2015), in spite of the fact that, officially, Roma represent just 3.3% of the Romanian population, meaning the illiteracy is almost ten times higher among the Roma citizens than among the non-Roma. Several of our informants argue that the forms that need to be filled in are too complicated for them. For example, A., a former health mediator for Roma inhabitants of a large city, recalls her experiences with the illiterate beneficiaries and their failures in addressing the institutions from the community because they lacked reading and writing skills:

> "There were many people that couldn't read or write, many would look at that sheet but didn't know what to do, or how to fill it in….The poor souls, there are many that are illiterate, can't write, can't read, and they'd give those forms to someone else to fill them in. If they couldn't find anybody, they'd forget about it and go back home saying they failed, that's it."

However, the governmental response to this reality consists mainly of general policies and priorities, with little to no effect on actual interventions and practices for and with the Roma—for example, the application form for the 'guaranteed minimum income', a support measure addressed to the poorest citizens (among which a lot are of Roma origin), has no less than 9 pages to be filled in by the applicant. The 9 pages refer to a total number of 21 different general fields (varying from personal data to information regarding the type and amount of income) and sometimes use technical terms (as, for example "hydraulic, mechanical or electrical driven machinery") or legislative references (for example, "merit allowance given based on the Law no. 118 from 2002") without subsequent explanations.

Furthermore, in its legal format, approved at national level, the application form ends with 3 short statements on the applicants' own responsibility (that makes him the exclusive bearer of the responsibility on what was declared), the last one stating that "By signing the present application, I acknowledge that the information declared is correct and complete and that the inadequate declaration of the truth is punished under the *penal law*[2]." Acknowledging the distrust towards public authorities (which we will return to), it is reasonable to believe that this sort of textual 'warning' will have a counterproductive effect on integrating Roma individuals in the labour market. Studying texts such as these is a way of extending "ethnography from people's experience and accounts of their experience into the work processes of institutions and institutional action" (Turner, 2006, p.139). The textual routine mapped out here is thereby part of a minoritising practice that keeps Roma individuals from entering the labour market. Hence, the forms are both inaccessible in their written form as well as being a practice that has exclusionary effects.

5. Formal Requirements

Our informants from the Roma population told us stories of the hardships of entering the labour market. Many of them were related to the lack of education, and the fact that the system disfavours people who do not comply with the formal criteria. The first and most important challenge for the Roma population when accessing the formal labour market is represented by the current VET (Vocational Education and Training) Romanian system.

The IVET (Initial Vocational Education and Training)

[2] Emphasis by the authors.

system in Romania provides 3 levels of qualifications[3]:

- Qualifications at level I for graduates of School of Arts and Handicrafts or the Apprenticeship School (corresponding EQF level 2);
- Qualifications at level II for graduates of School of Arts and Handicrafts that followed also 1 year plus a compensatory year as an alternative route in the view of continuing their studies in high school (EQF level 3);
- Qualifications at level III for graduates of the upper secondary education (level 4 EQF) or for graduates of technical post-high schools (level 5 EQF).

In order to occupy a qualified position (meaning qualified worker, as opposed to unqualified worker) one has to either graduate IVET or graduate a minimum of 8 years of schooling and a qualification course provided by a public or private CVT (Continuous Vocational Training) provider.

In the case of an ethnic group where more than 75% of the children do not finish 8 years of study (The World Bank, 2012, cited by Romanian Government, 2015), this requirement presents a major challenge in the process of accessing the labour market, because it hinders the identification of decent jobs and allows them access only to unqualified jobs, often referred to as 'dirty' by the Roma representative voices (in direct reference also to the garbage collection formal jobs, 'traditionally' reserved by the Roma population).

Therefore, for a person with a poor education, not only the job becomes inaccessible, but also the attendance to a qualification course for the position. This could of course be understood as 'lack of education', but it could also be understood as a system that favours education in a way that makes it impossible for people without a formal education to access the labour market. This minoritising practice keeps Roma individuals out of the formal labour market in Romania.

Moreover, the empirical data shows that the 'restorative' measure that should compensate this challenge—the 'Second chance' school programs, that allow adults with no or incomplete education to re-enroll and graduate a certain educational level, is not a measure equally and similarly implemented in all areas (so that all the concerned population could have equal access to it), but it is rather very much dependent on the local will and availability of the schools that organize such programs, and thus they are not permanent nor predictable.

Hence, this accentuates the already existing gap between the Roma (with low levels of formal education) and the non-Roma (holding the ruling model of higher educational achievement) and also leads people with a low level of formal education to the informal labour market, putting them on the outside of all rights granted by being connected to the formal labour market (unemployment benefits/pensions, etc.).

There are also two other important barriers, signalled by the informants, which make accessing the labour market difficult for the Roma ethnics:

First, the lack of political engagement in effectively tackling the 'black labour market' phenomenon—due to their multiple vulnerabilities in accessing employment, the Roma have little access to decent employment and end up in 'informal arrangements'—most of them on the 'black labour market' (meaning without an official employment contract). One of the informants, Mrs. A., reports about her husband's situation on the labour market:

> "He goes [to work] where he finds [work]….For the people, they call him. There is a shepherd and he [my husband] helps him sometimes; also, he goes to collect garbage, and anywhere else where there is work. But no, not with an employment contract. He doesn't have [one]."

The couple lives in a rural community, with a significant number of Roma inhabitants and scarce offers of employment. Neither of the two have ever attended school, so a steady job is virtually impossible for them to attain. In spite of the fact that she is 32 years old, Mrs. A. has never been employed. Her parents didn't allow her to attend school, because she was the eldest child and had to care for her 5 younger brothers and help in the household. Mrs. A. and her husband have 2 children and a third on the way, so the main provider (the husband) has to make great efforts to ensure a decent living for his family. As the job offers in the area are almost inexistent, he has to settle with whatever is available, so an 'informal arrangement' (an offer on the black labour market, where the employer holds total control on the terms of the collaboration) is more likely to happen than employment with a legal contract.

This contributes to the perpetuation of the 'vulnerability cycle' in three inter-connected ways: (a) Not having a documented work activity (proven work record), the person cannot access the financial support he would be entitled to when unemployed; (b) When being evaluated for hiring, not being able to present a formal record of his previous experience (even if, in fact, he has such experience), he would probably be rejected by the potential employer; and (c) the lack of an employment contract makes employees very vulnerable in relation to their employers, who, thus, feel free to hire and fire them as they please or, even worse, abuse their position of authority:

> "They like you, they keep you, they don't like you, they kick you out…if I could film it so that others

[3] You can find more here http://www.eqavet.eu/gns/what-we-do/implementing-the-framework/romania.aspx

> could see....And that lady boss comes and looks at you…and she says 'You, you…and the rest home'….She takes the shoes [produced in the factory] and she hits people on the head."

This account belongs to a 37 year old Roma male, living in a rural segregated community, inhabited mainly by Roma population. Due to the fact that a shoe factory is the only potential employer for the low skilled inhabitants in the area, the employees have to stand and take the abuse of the employers, because they have no other alternative for a decent living.

Informal employment appears to be a practice with a widespread use all over Europe (EC, n.d.). While an independent comparative study from 2011 (Hazans, 2011) found that around 11.8% of the Romanian extended labour force (Roma and non-Roma) were working informally. A report from 2012 released by a Romanian agency (Fiscal Council, 2013) evaluated that the Romanian unregistered work arrangements made up for 27.7% of the total employees (Roma and non-Roma), business administrators and self-employed. Informal employment is a negative phenomenon with direct effects on the social inclusion of vulnerable categories.

Moreover, a recent article (Preoteasa, 2015) shows that, in Romania, the involvement in informal or quasi-formal activities is popular mostly among the low qualified or economically vulnerable, because it allows these categories maintaining the 'socially assisted' status and the financial benefits it entails, while also ensuring an income from paid work.

The second barrier signalled by the informants is that the low level of professional skills make the Roma the most 'easy to replace' labour force, given the recent technological developments—most of the Roma hold a low level of qualification and professional skills, so that, traditionally, their employment paths directed them to the 'traditional Roma handicrafts' (mainly metallurgy, wood work etc.), transmitted from generation to generation, or agricultural work (which required low or no specific training). But, in the last few decades, the demand for such type of work has decreased dramatically, since the traditional Roma handicrafts have remained a market without buyers and the widespread use of machinery in agriculture has no place for manual, unqualified work, as mentioned by. C. (the young mother of 4, who gave up school after the first 4 grades):

> "Three years now, that's about when they stopped coming because now they have machinery. To plant potatoes, to take out the potatoes, to harvest the corn, to cut the corn cobs, they have machinery and they no longer need people."

Many Roma ethnics, all over Romania, are in the situation of C.—holders of obsolete skills, which are no longer required by employer or customers (Research Institute for Quality of Life, 2010; Vincze et al., 2011), and who are thus left with very few opportunities to earn a decent living.

Left outside the labour market, some of the respondents reported using a range of strategies to make a niche for themselves in the work force, by activating individual survival strategies and using their creativity and informal support networks. However, the empirical data shows that there are many legislative and bureaucratic obstacles the Roma have to overcome in order to access the formal labour market in Romania and get a decent job. Voicu (2007, p.10) also states lack of identity documents and ownership titles is a major hindrance for work integration.

6. Mutual Mistrust

This difficulty of accessing a lot of jobs on the formal labour market is also connected to the lack of trust between the representatives of the Roma individuals we have interviewed and the representatives of various institutions. In the interviews conducted among the Roma individuals, one of the main findings is as earlier reported the lack of reported encounters with institutional representatives. As mentioned before, none of the interviewees tells about such encounter without being asked, and when inquired, most of them say that they have not been in contact with any public agencies of vocational assistance. Asked why such encounters are so rare or even absent from their experience, most of them report that they do not see the use of it, and/or that they feel discriminated against in their meetings with them. This experienced discrimination and the cultural stereotypes that exist towards Roma individuals also lead to an objection against reaching out to public institutions in general. One woman from the Roma community, former health mediator employed by the municipality of a large city to keep contact and mediate the relations of the Roma community with the public institutions, tells a story about her experience with this mistrust towards public officials:

> "There was one family, poor people, I'll never forget them, the child was 22 years old and the child had his own children, and his mother had to come because well, I got him an ID card, but first I had to get his birth certificate and then the ID card and she, the poor soul, was from Fratelia (neighbourhood), they were gypsies and she was so frightened and told me 'But what if they arrest me now?'. I told her they wouldn't do that because I'd do the talking, she'd just be there, next to me, in the room, and she'd keep tormenting herself saying 'I'm afraid they'll arrest me, look there's the Police and they'll come and take me away.' I told her nobody would arrest her for not getting an ID card or a birth certificate for her son."

This lack of trust is often related to the fear of having their children taken away from them. Alston (2015) states that institutionalization of children due to poverty still plays a significant role in Romania, and 40% of children placed in institutions are due to poverty. The mistrust in public officials is connected to a long history of discrimination against Roma persons, not only in Romania, but across Europe.

This lack of trust in the role of the formal institutions, which appears as a major issue in almost every interview, creates a metaphorical imbalance, or dilemma, in the life of Roma individuals—there is little or no trust in the public institution, but, at the same time, the public institution regulates more and more aspects of our private life (income, education, spending, parental skills, etc.) The solution to the 'mistrust dilemma' is provided also by the interviewees, and consists in overcompensating with trust in other less formal institutions (like, for example, the social network), which will be presented in the following section.

Following institutional ethnography, our aim was to investigate whether this lack of trust could be traced to organizational practices in some way or another. What we found was that this lack of trust was also found in the interviews with officials working in employment agencies. When asked what they think is the main reason for Roma persons being left out of the labour market all of them answer in various versions of 'lack of motivation'. One representative of a public employment agency states that:

> "From what I have noticed, disabled individuals wish very much to be integrated (on the labour market), but the Roma ethnics *do not want to be employed*."[4]

Most of the representatives from the public employment agencies stated similar opinions, such as:

> "There are individuals who prefer to settle with the social welfare income, than to work….Honestly, my personal opinion is that a person with disabilities tries to find employment more than a Roma person….*The Roma are lazy*."[5]

The interviewee that made this statement has been, for over 10 years, employed at a public institution that has the mission to support, indiscriminately, the unemployed in finding and accessing appropriate employment, by providing information, counselling and mediation services and assisting them to make contact with potential employers.

Other similar informants argued that "they prefer to stay at home" or "it is also a matter of the environment in which they live and their culture regarding work". Thus, it is very clear that the interviews with the public employment system (PES) employees reflect a consolidated image of the Roma as 'unwilling to work', that ultimately makes them *undeserving* of the help provided by such institutions. In a market defined by competition, such as the current labour market, any opportunity or challenge provided by the context (such as the bias of the case manager towards the beneficiary, as a representative of a group of 'others') can have a major impact on an individual's achievement.

This mentality not only constructs a stereotype supporting the concept of *inferior other* that is ultimately shared and reinforced by the PES employees, but also, in their internal circle and organizational culture, motivates the low level of involvement of the PES with this category of potential beneficiaries. Subsequently, this mistrust and categorizing has minoritising effects that continues to marginalize Roma individuals. Consequently, it also reinforces the mistrust felt by this groups of people themselves when approaching these vocational service institutions.

7. 'Stuck in Informality'

The lack of trust towards public institutions also leads to the use of informal contacts, as the single available solution to the 'mistrust dilemma', when approaching the labour market.

When asked about how they entered the labour market all those in employment consistently report that they have had some kind of informal contact who spoke for them or vouched for them and thereby got them connected to an employer. This strategy is probably both caused by actual experienced discrimination, but also by a belief that employers are sceptical towards employing Roma individuals in general. Hence, the fear of being discriminated becomes a barrier in itself. Shan (2013) argues that this kind of 'network-dependent hiring schema' hampers immigrants' employment outcomes, because their social networks tend to be family- and ethnicity-based. Although Roma individuals could not be regarded as immigrants in the European states they reside in, they share some of the problems when it comes to inclusion in work and society (Costi, 2010). It could be seen that they have an even worse situation, due to the fact that they lack a 'mother-country' that could support their cause (Halwachs, 2005).

Most of the informants who had succeeded to enter the labour market had relied on informal contacts in order to get access. As we recall from the testimony of P. (24 years old male), presented in a previous section of our article, he mentioned that most of the jobs he has attained in his life have been with the help of informal contacts (i.e. people he knew privately), who he called *acquaintances*:

> "[I found] the first job given the *acquaintances* [I

[4] Emphasis by the authors.

[5] Emphasis by the authors.

> had] and the third that way also, [by the help] of my *acquaintances*, the forth job, at the hotel, at the hotel I found it in Publitim (local newspaper)…, and the remaining jobs I could say that I've heard of them from certain individuals, meaning acquaintances."

The testimonies of other informants back up this account. For example, M., 26 years old male, uses the exact same terminology when recalling his most important sources of support in finding employment

> "[I got the job] by the help of *acquaintances*, first by the help of *acquaintances*….People must know you, they must trust you, a person that…must represent you."

The acquaintances thus serve as a replacement of what should be the role of the public institution. The interviewees feel uncomfortable when not being represented by an 'acquaintance', probably because they already know they will be perceived not as a single individual, with his/her own strengths and flaws, which are to be discovered over time, but as representatives of a group, with already known strengths and flaws, according to the general perception of the majority, flaws that usually render them unemployable. Only at this point in the argumentation can we fully understand the role of the 'acquaintance'—to testify or vouch that the individuals in question are not as you may think (knowing he/she is a Roma person), but is different than the pattern, the stereotype, the other Roma. In this way, the function of the referee, or the 'acquaintance' is not public—he does not represent the Roma collectively—he represents one Roma individual. The individual representation and inter-personal experience is so important, that it stands out throughout all testimonies collected: with very rare exceptions, the Roma informants almost never mention the name of the institutions they accessed, but most of the time, they recall the first names of the individual who they were in contact with. Basically, for our interviewees, the entire interaction with an institution (be it medical, social, or employment-related) is reduced to the experience they had with the individual(s) they were in contact with.

The testimonies illustrate that the Roma feel that they need someone to represent them in the labour market. This individual has to be someone who holds respect in the community. According to the testimonies of the Roma informants, the 'informal network support' model is mainly reinforced by two concurring factors: (1) the lack of trust in the public institutions, as presented in the previous chapters, and (2) the fear of being discriminated against and/or humiliated in their interactions with potential employers, if they would go by themselves, as it happened to some of the ones who 'dared' to represent themselves in front of the employer. Most of them report discriminatory encounters and stated that "they probably noticed that I wasn't Romanian, that I am of a lower nationality" or "because I'm a gypsy that's why". One young female (24 years) reports on the experiences of her husband with accessing the labour market:

> "People also look at your nationality, what nationality you are. For example, my husband tried to go somewhere to a company as a driver, because he's a driver, and they didn't hire him because he is a Romani."

When the refusal is not accompanied by an explanation on why the person did not get the job, the representation of the individual about the entire application process suddenly has a gap in it, so the applicant is free to imagine anything he/she wants in order to compose a reasonable explanation and fill the gap. It is very likely that the most 'at hand' explanations would be those that have already been invoked by the other community members.

The vivid dissemination of such examples, especially when invoked against the examples of the better approach of being represented by someone else (which could be almost considered as a *good model practice* in the oral accounts of finding employment), has the effect of actively keeping the Roma 'stuck in the informality', when approaching the labour market. This practice has long lasting effects not only on the labour market situation of the Roma themselves (who, in this way, end up mostly in informal arrangements, mainly on the 'black labour market', as presented previously), but also on the institutional policies and arrangements designed to support Roma employment: if their efforts of searching for employment remain undocumented, they are invisible to the PES representatives and continue feeding the 'lazy, unmotivated Roma' stereotype.

8. Concluding Remarks

Previous studies on occupational integration of Roma individuals have used explanatory models that emphasize the role of the culture of poverty and the lack of modernity of Roma communities. Socio-demographic indicators, such as the high school-dropout rate, the percentage of illiteracy, poor housing conditions and health of the Roma population have been stressed (Lazăr et al., 2014). These are of course valuable contributions in order to understand the challenges of entering the labour market for Roma individuals. However, as confirmed by Dincă (2014, p. 193), the challenge remains to de-ethnitise the socio-economic issues, and thereby stop this process of marginalization and discrimination. Therefore, in this article, we have demonstrated that there are issues connected to how the work inclusion system in Romania operates, that are of great importance too. By "keeping the institution in

view", we have sought to bring out the "interface between individual lives and institutional relation" (McCoy, 2006, p. 109). Using institutional ethnography as a method of inquiry has made this possible by always looking out for traces of institutional practices in our interviews. The mapping of work (in a generous sense) being done and work knowledge of Roma individuals and other actors involved has enabled us to spot the textual practices and structural barriers that hinders labour market access. Seen through the lens of institutional ethnography and our informants the employment system in Romania in itself creates difficulties for Roma individuals striving to enter the labour market.

This article illustrates how both practices and discourse connected to the Romanian labour market produce and reproduce minoritising processes that preserve cultural and social order and marginalization. Formal hindrances and mutual mistrust reproduces the stereotypes of Roma individuals and maintains their informal role on the labour market as well as in society at large. This maintenance of informality further reinforces the stereotypes that stick to the Roma individuals as an ethnic group. Moreover, this reproduces the processes of minoritising which creates a greater divide between the majority and the Roma minority. Such processes of minoritising create exclusion in itself, and work counterproductively when it comes to including people on the labour market.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

"I Like to Play with My Friends": Children with Spina Bifida and Belonging in Uganda

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Abstract
This paper describes experiences of living and belonging from the perspectives of Ugandan children with spina bifida and their siblings and parents. We explored belonging at micro, meso and macro level taking into consideration African Childhood Disability Studies, central concepts of family, cultural conceptions of disability, poverty, and the notion of 'ubuntu', and using child-friendly culturally adjusted interview methods including play. Whilst children with spina bifida had a strong sense of belonging at household level, they experienced more difficulties engaging in larger social networks, including school. Poverty and stigma were important barriers to inclusion. We propose strengthening the network at family level, where the environment is more enabling for the children to find a place of belonging and support, and expanding investment and awareness at community and national level.

Keywords
daily functioning, development assistance; disability; hydrocephalus; inclusive education; poverty; social discrimination; spina bifida; Uganda

Issue
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1. Background

1.1. African Childhood Disability Studies and Conceptions of Disability

Disability studies in sub-Saharan African countries have largely focused on adults with disabilities and caregivers of children with disabilities, and have primarily been conducted in South Africa. Children's narratives are absent in most disability literature (Curran & Runswick-Cole, 2014), and more so in African studies. Disability studies have argued for greater awareness and appreciation of diverse understandings of disability in low resource settings and highlighted the need for a different discourse (Grech, 2009; Meekosha, 2011; Seligman & Darling, 2009; Whyte, 1995).

Schalock (1997) argues that in cultures with an interdependent focus, acceptance in the group is a more significant contributory factor to quality of life than in independence or individualistically oriented cultures. Chataika and McKenzie (2013) build further on this, and explain that care and belonging may have a more prominent place than formal education and independence in the lives of African children with disabilities (Chataika & McKenzie, 2013). They suggest it is important that African Childhood Disability Studies explore family andcultural conceptions of disability, poverty, and the notion of 'ubuntu' ('I am because we are' or 'humanity to others').

Perceptions of impairment and disability are social

phenomena subjected to 'substantive temporal, cultural and situational variation' (Ingstad & Whyte, 1995). Social-anthropological and historical studies have described cultural and belief systems of disability in Africa (Braathen & Ingstad, 2006; Devlieger, 1998; Ingstad, 1999; Miles, 2002, 2004). Findings show a complex range of cultural concepts including the child being 'cursed', 'bringing misfortune',being a 'gift' or presenting a challenge to the family (Devlieger, 1998; Franzen, 1990; Wright, 1960). Chataika and McKenzie (2013) describe the complexity of disability concepts in Southern Africa, and point out how they are strongly associated with spiritual understandings of the nature of disability (Chataika & McKenzie, 2013).

In Uganda, the focus of this study, most dialects lack a single word that translates into the English word "disabled"; however all descriptions combine the notion of physical limitation and powerlessness (Lwanga-Ntale, 2003). The definition of disability in Ugandan laws and policy documents is not harmonized. The Persons with Disabilities (PWD) Act 2006 defines disability as 'a substantial functional limitation of daily life activities caused by physical, mental or sensory impairment and environmental barriers resulting in limited participation'. By recognizing that disability is the result of the interaction between impairment and external barriers, the PWD Act aligns the legal definition of disability in the Ugandan law to that enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), which Uganda ratified in 2008 (Enable, 2015). However unlike the CRPD, the PWD Act requires that disability be substantive, which has implications for disability rights at a practical level (Ojok & Wormnæs, 2013). The Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) estimates 12.5% of the population in Uganda lives with a disability (UBOS, 2014). Discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, a gap in implementation of the regulatory framework, lack of coordination between government and civil society, and a fragmented programmatic approach all challenge the implementation of the CRPD in Uganda (UNICEF, 2014).

2. Children with Spina Bifida in Uganda

2.1. Spina Bifida

Spina bifida is a neural tube defect, a congenital abnormality causing disability, whereby the spinal cord and vertebrae do not form completely and the neural tube fails to develop normally. Worldwide incidence of spina bifida varies between 0.17 and 6.39 per 1000 live births (Bowman, Boshnjaku, & McLone, 2009; Kinasha & Manji, 2002; Msamati, Igbigbi, & Chisi, 2000; Shaer, Chescheir, & Schulkin, 2007). Incidence and prevalence rates in Uganda may be higher due to inadequate folate consumption by pregnant women (Bannink, Larok, Bauwens, Kirabira, & van Hove, 2015; Whyte, 1995) lack of pre-natal care (Miles, 2002), absence of secondary prevention services (Frey & Hauser, 2003), and higher exposure to environmental risk factors such as dioxins (Safi, Joyeux, & Chalouhi, 2012) and fumonisins intake (Hendricks, 1999; Marasas et al., 2004; Wild & Gong, 2010). Although Warf et al. estimate that 1,400 children are born with spina bifida in Uganda annually (Warf, Wright, & Kulkarni, 2011), no national data are available.

Most children with spina bifida have some degree of paralysis, which affects their mobility as well as bowel and bladder control (Northrup & Volcik, 2000; Verpoorten & Buyse, 2008). Sixty-six per cent of children with spina bifida in low-income countries develop hydrocephalus (Warf & Campbell, 2008).

In Uganda, concepts describing children with spina bifida vary by region. Descriptions often refer to the physical appearance of the child, e.g. 'swelling on the back' (*ekizimba mu mugongo* in the Central Region), 'the one with a split spine' (*owacwekire orukizi* in the Western Region) or to the secondary impairments a child may have, e.g. 'the one smelling of urine' (*langwece* in the Northern Region) for children with non-managed incontinence problems, or 'the one with the big head' (*baana be gimitwe migali* in the Eastern Region) for those with hydrocephalus (Bannink, Stroeken, Idro, & Van Hove, 2015).

2.2. Health and Rehabilitative Care

Most children born with spina bifida need surgery to close their back in order to prevent infections. Children with spina bifida and progressive hydrocephalus also often need surgery to prevent secondary impairments (IFSBH, 2014). Children with spina bifida experience mobility challenges and incontinence which affect their participation in daily activities, and require the use of assistive devices and continence management (Abresch, McDonald, Widman, McGinnis, & Hickey, 2007; Andren & Grimby, 2000; Danielsson et al., 2008; Jansen, Blokland, de Jong, Greving, & Poenaru, 2009).

Surgery and rehabilitative care is expensive and inaccessible for many children born with a disability in Africa. Their families are often their main source of care and protection (Guyer, 1981). Families living in poverty often struggle to find resources to provide this care and protection (Miles, 2002) as external and government support is limited (van der Mark & Verrest, 2014). In 1990, the Government of Uganda adopted Community Based Rehabilitation as a health service strategy to reach more persons with disabilities (NUDIPU, 2007). This strategy is still in place, but the efforts that arebeing made to provide basic services at community level for children with spina bifidaremain largely remain funded by international donors and charities (Mertens & Bannink, 2012).

At the time of this study, the initial surgery (closure of the spine) in Uganda was only available in two public government funded hospitals (Mulago National Refer-

ral Hospital in Kampala and Mbarara Regional Referral Hospital), and one private specialized neuro-paediatric hospital (CURE Children's Hospital) in Mbale, eastern Uganda. In north, west, and central Uganda three rehabilitation centers, funded by international donors and charities offered occupational therapy, physiotherapy, continence management, and social support services for children with spina bifida and their families (see Figure 1: Map).

2.3. Education

A special needs education department was created in the Ministry of Education in Uganda in 1973 (USDC, 2003). To date, government policies continue to promote special needs education and the establishment of special schools rather than inclusive education for children with intellectual disabilities (UNICEF, 2014). In a study on parental stress of 139 parents of children with spina bifida in Uganda, we found that more than half of the children with spina bifida were going to mainstream schools, none were going to special schools. Inclusion in these schools remained limited, with parents reporting discrimination, exclusion, and lack of services to manage incontinence at school for their children (Bannink, Idro, & Van Hove, 2016). Challenges with inclusion have been reported earlier in South Africa (Chataika, McKenzie, Swart, & Lyner-Cleophas, 2012). Disability grants are available for families with a disabled family member in South Africa. While these grants helped financially, they were not found to improve the education or employment outcomes of persons with disabilities (Loeb, Eide, Jelsma, Toni, & Maart, 2008).

2.4. Poverty

Persons with disabilities typically live in poorerthanaverage households (Emmett, 2006; Filmer, 2008; Lwanga-Ntale, 2003). Palmer further explains that most studies examine the income poverty rate of persons with disabilities, without taking into account the additional expenditure they incur which are attributable to their disability (Palmer, 2011). Looking after a child with spina bifida increases financial costs for families in the form of medical treatment, rehabilitation, and transport. It also has an indirect cost, by reducing the amount of time a parent is able to devote to income-generating activities, as many are directly involved in rehabilitation activities such as continence management. The monthly income of families in our study ranged from $28 to $689 with a median of $82 (income derived from all sources, including wages, market sales, cattle, land and other assets). This is much lower than the total national average of $156 (converted from Ugandan Shillings), though closer to the average rural income of $112 and related regional variations (UBOS, 2014). We found that looking after a child with spina bifida increased financial costs for families in terms of medical treatment, rehabilitation, and transport. Living in poverty may also have increased the risk of having a child with spina bifida in the first place, as the mother was unlikely to attend antenatal care, eat foods rich in folic acid or take supplements before and during her pregnancy, all of which could have prevented spina bifida.

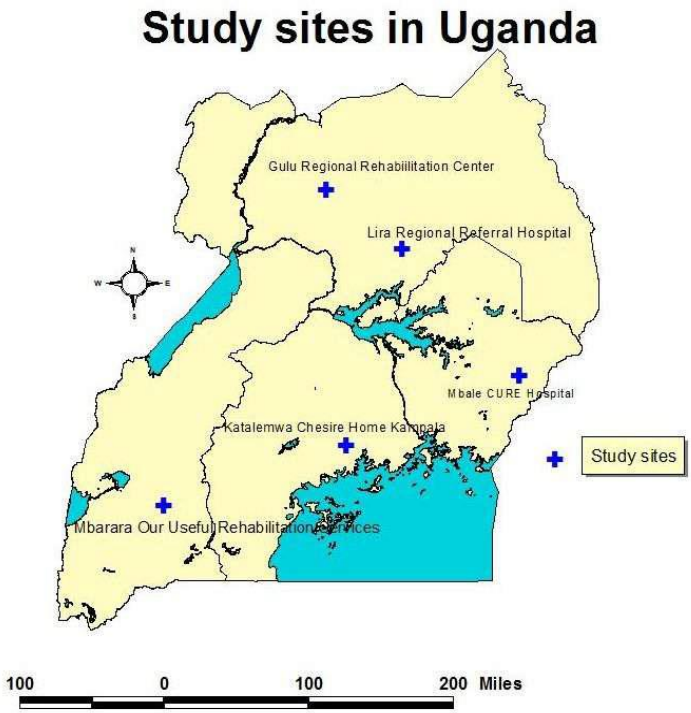

Figure 1. Map study sites.

In this paper we describe experiences of belonging and being of children with spina bifida and their families living in Uganda. Themes of belonging at micro, meso, and macro level were explored, taking family, friends, health care, school, and socio-economic factors into consideration.

3. Methods

Ethical approval and research clearance were obtained from Ghent University, Belgium, the Uganda Virus Research Institute, and the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. Informed consent was obtained from all parents, and assent from children and siblings of 8 years-old and above where possible. Consent forms were translated into the local languages and discussed and agreed with the participants, with assistance of a translator if the participant or child did not speak English.

In total, 139 families were recruited and 139 parents, 97 children with spina bifida, and 35 siblings between 4 and 14 years of age were interviewed. Due to lack of contact details, children could not be traced from medical files and databases of CURE and Mulago hospitals as initially planned. Therefore, purposeful sampling was used in Mbarara, Kampala, and Mbale where CURE holds bi-monthly clinics. CURE hospital and the partnering rehabilitation centers in Kampala and Mbarara were requested to list the children registered with spina bifida in their follow up programs, and inform them of the study during home visits and during reminder clinic attendance telephone calls. In Gulu and Lira, where no follow up system or registry of the children was in place at the time, radio announcements were aired to inform parents of the forthcoming review clinic in the area. The announcements specifically invited parents of children with spina bifida and hydrocephalus between the age of 4 and 14 years to attend.

Qualitative semi structured interviews, observations, and quantitative functioning scales measurements were combined and administered to 100 families at the clinic and 39 families at home between June 2011 and December 2014. The siblings interviewed were recruited during home visits, purposefully selecting the sibling closest in age to the child with spina bifida in the household. Observations were carried out during home visits and during clinic days. The clinic observations were held at least twice in each of the five sites during review days held specifically for children with spina bifida and hydrocephalus.

The semi-structured interviews contained questions about the child's family, home setting, their typical day, what they like and dislike, friendships, school, and health care. Ugandan-made dolls, drawing paper and colours for children were used during the interviews to help children open up and narrate their stories. E.g. when asking children about their family, children were encouraged to select a doll for each family member or draw their family and talk about them. The same approach was used to help children narrate stories about what other people would say to them e.g. at school, and to act out or draw situations which they enjoyed or disliked. The children enjoyed the interaction and were keen on visually demonstrating their family members and school setting.

In addition to the semi structured interviews, the Vineland Adaptive Behaviour Scales (VABS) Daily Functioning and Social Skills Sub Scales were administered by interviewing the parents and observing the children's abilities. The interviews with the children, siblings, and parents were held in the local language of the area, and a translator was hired and trained to assist in conducting the interviews, and observations. Some of the interviews were conducted in English, if parents or children were fluent and requested it.

The semi-structured interviews were not audio recorded, but answers were written out during the interviews and transcribed upon completion. Family set up and drawings were noted and kept. The interview data were analysed by thematic coding and analysis of the manuscripts using NVivo10. In this process, themes were identified representing experiences of children with spina bifida.

Handheld records for the questions of the VABS subscales were kept during interviews, and entered into a database after completion. The sub-total scores for each subscale were calculated to compare means of the scores of the children with spina bifida and their siblings using SPSS16. Observations on interactions and non-verbal communication were noted and checked with the text transcribed.

4. Results

4.1. Demographics

A total of 97 children, 35 siblings, and 139 parents out of 139 families with a child with spina bifida were interviewed. Table 1 describes the demographics of the study population. The mean age of the 82 male (59%) and 57 female (41%) children with spina bifida was 6.04, ranging from 4 to 14 years of age (SD=2.01). 55.9% of them were going to school: 36.8% (50) in nursery school, 16.2% (22) in primary school, and 2.9% (4) in secondary school.

Parents' ages ranged from 25 to 49 years, with an average age of 35.7 (SD 5.5). Mothers constituted the majority of the parental respondents, followed by fathers and grandmothers. Almost half of the respondents were farmers.

Of the 35 siblings interviewed, 40% were male and 60% female. The median age was 7.8, ranging from 4 to 14 years of age (SD=2.53). All of them were schooling; 25.7% (9) in primary, and 74.3% (26) in secondary school.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the study population (N=139 children, N=35 siblings)

Variable	Child	%	Sibling	%
Gender child				
Male	82	59.0%	14	40.00%
Female	57	41.0%	21	60.00%
Child is schooling in				
Nursery school	50	36.8%	0	
Primary school	22	16.2%	9	25.70%
Secondary school	4	2.9%	26	74.30%
Not schooling	60	44.1%	0	
Type of disability				
Spina bifida	76	54.0%	0	
Spina bifida and hydrocephalus	64	46.0%	0	
Location/region				
Central	65	46.8%	35	100%
East	26	18.7%	0	
West	29	20.9%	0	
North	19	13.7%	0	
Religion				
Christian	101	72.6%	32	80.0%
Muslim	26	18.1%	6	17.1%
Other	13	9.3%	1	2.9%
Relationship parent				
Mother	105	75.5%	26	74.3%
Father	17	12.2%	6	17.1%
Grandmother	10	7.2%	2	5.7%
Other	7	5.1%	1	2.9%
Education level parent				
None	6	4.5%	3	8.6%
Primary	75	56.4%	22	62.9%
Secondary	29	21.8%	6	17.1%
Vocational	12	9.0%	1	2.9%
University	11	8.3%	3	8.6%
Marital status parent				
Single	12	8.8%	0	
Married	103	75.2%	26	74.3%
Separated	11	8.0%	6	17.1%
Widowed	11	8.0%	3	8.6%
Monthly household income				
< 30 euro	25	18.8%	9	25.7%
30–60 euro	31	23.3%	10	28.6%
61–90 euro	28	21.1%	7	20.0%
> 90 euro	49	23.3%	9	25.7%
Occupation parent				
Finance / administration	4	3.0%	2	5.7%
Small scale private business	30	22.6%	7	20.0%
Teacher / education	8	5.6%	3	8.6%
Medical / paramedical	4	2.6%		
Technical / transport	10	7.1%	1	2.9%
Civil service / government	3	2.3%		
Peasant farmer	62	46.6%	19	54.3%
No occupation	13	9.8%	3	8.6%

Household size ranged from 2 to 13 with an average of 8 people per household. The average monthly household income was $82.

The majority (96.4%) of the 139 children with spina bifida in the study had undergone surgery to close their spine (myelomeningocele closure) earlier in life. Of the 64 children who had both spina bifida and hydrocephalus, 23 (35.9%) had undergone endoscopic third ventriculostomy while 12 (18.6%) had ventriculo-peritoneal shunts placed. Only 5 (3.6%) of all children in the study never had surgery. Most of the children (127 or 91.4%) received rehabilitation services such as physio- and occupational therapy.

Of the 139 childrenstudied, 136 (97.8%) could sit unaided and 64 (48.9%) could walk unaided. Of the 75 who could not walk unaided, 23 (30.6%) used a wheelchair, the same percentage used crutches, and 5 (0.7%) used other aids. In total 23 (16.5%) used no aids and crawled.

Over 85% of the children in our study were incontinent. Table 2 shows percentages of children using clean intermittent catheterization (CIC) and bowel management to manage their incontinence.

Table 2. Incontinence in children with spina bifida in Uganda (N=139).

	Yes	**No**
Child is continent of urine	15 (10.9%)	122 (89.1%)
Child uses clean intermittent catheterization	100 (78.2%)*	27 (21.3%)
Child is continent of stool	18 (13.1%)	119 (86.9%)
Child uses bowel management	92 (76.7%)**	28 (23.3%)

Notes: * 22 (22%) practices CIC without assistance of another person; ** 7 (7.6%) practices bowel management without assistance of another person.

Table 3. Vineland Adaptive Behaviour Daily Functioning and Social Skills Subscale Outcomes for children with spina bifida and siblings in Uganda (means, SD, and t-test).

Variable	**Children with SB**	**Siblings**	**Difference**
Daily functioning (Vineland) N=131	13.91 (5.1)	19.23 (2.1)	t=6.03 p<0.000
Social skills (Vineland) N=133	11.49 (1.8)	11.97 (0.2)	t=1.59 p=0.112

Table 3 shows parents' ratings on the Vineland Adaptive Behaviour subscales. Daily functioning tasks such as removing a jumper, drinking from a cup, face washing and hair brushing were achieved by most of the children, while other tasks which involve more movement were more challenging, e.g. fetching water and dressing independently (including trousers/skirts and shoes). Compared to siblings (N=35) in the same age group, the scores were significantly lower with a mean total subscale score of 13.9 (SD 5.1) for the children with spina bifida and 19.2 (SD 2.11) for their siblings ($p<0.001$). Social skills subscale scores of children with spina bifida were slightly but not significantly lower (11.49, SD 1.8) than those of siblings (11.97, SD 0.2).

4.2. My Home

When asked to describe their home, most of the children explained where they lived and who they lived with. In describing their families, most started by mentioning their parent(s), followed by their siblings and aunties or grandparents. Househelps were often referred to as 'aunts'. The majority of children also talked about their neighbours and physical environment.

> "There is a mango tree in our compound. When it is mango season, we eat a lot of mangoes. We sit in the shade and play games. I like playing meso [a board game] with my neighbor." (14-year-old boy with spina bifida, Central Uganda)
> "It's just me and my mum. We live in a hut. The neighbours are far. I sit outside under the tree when my mum is digging. Sometimes I do the dishes." (8-year-old boy with spina bifida and hydrocephalus, Northern Uganda)
> "This is my home. It is on a hill. I like to play there with my sister [points in the direction of the corner of the compound]. My grandmother looks after us. Most of the time I stay home." (10-year-old girl with spina bifida during home visit, Eastern Uganda)

The majority of the children participated in some of the common Ugandan daily household activities, such as doing the dishes, and washing clothes: "I like to wash plates. My sister gets water and then I wash." (7-year-old girl with spina bifida, Central Region). Other common household activities were more difficult for most, e.g. fetching water and sweeping the compound. Children with both spina bifida and hydrocephalus experienced greater difficulty in participating in daily household activities, as they tended to have relatively less developed motor skills.

> "His head is too heavy, he cannot balance well, he easily falls or knocks things, he cannot help in the house." (Parent of a 9-year-old boy with spina bifida and hydrocephalus)

Interactions observed during home visits showed how children are often allowed to participate and interact with others, but are not actively encouraged. Only a few parents made arrangements to improve accessibility in their compound, or encouraged their child to join others in play or household activities. Siblings often

helped the children with spina bifida by doing household activities such as washing together. In two observations, a sibling brought a jerrycan with water, and poured water in the basin for the child with spina bifida, so that they could then help in washing the clothes. Not being able to go and fetch water on their own was something children expressed sadness about:

> "I would like to go with my sisters and collect water, but it is not possible, they go and I am left at home, I cannot meet others on the road and talk about secret things like they do because I am always home." (12-year-old girl with spina bifida, Eastern Uganda)

In some homes, children were neglected and not encouraged to participate in daily household activities and games. The majority of the children were found sitting on a mat or outside on the bare ground when visited at home. This was more common for those with both spina bifida and hydrocephalus, who had more severe cognitive and motor skills difficulties.

The games children with spina bifida participated in were often board games or swinging. Occasionally a child would participate in a ball or tap game while crawling. Mostly children with spina bifida would be observers if siblings were playing games which required more movement. In some cases, they would not be allowed to play outside, mostly when they had pressure sores or infections.

> "I like to play outside but when I have a wound [pressure sore] I am not allowed to crawl and play outside, then I watch them from the house." (7-year-old boy with spina bifida)

Family events such as family meetings and prayers, weddings, funerals and memorials are often referred to as 'functions' in Uganda are an important part of family life. When asked about these 'functions', children and siblings explained that they attended church functions, and occasionally weddings or funerals, depending on the location and distance they would have to travel. Single parents said they found it challenging to attend events together with their child with spina bifida as some felt stigmatized by relatives and others at the events.

> "I went to the kwanjula [traditional wedding] of my aunt, it was here in the village, we enjoyed it." (Child with spina bifida, Central Region)
> "Sometimes our parents take us with them for functions, but if it is far we don't go." (Sibling of a child with spina bifida, Central Region)
> "Our family buries near our home, when there is a funeral, we are around. If it is far we don't go, I can't carry her and people will talk." (Mother of a child with spina bifida, Western Region)

4.3. My Friends

The majority of the children said they have at least one good friend, most of them said they have a number of friends, and play with neighbours and other children from their communities: "My best friend is Daniel [his neighbour, same age]. When he comes back from school we play together." (5-year-old boy with spina bifida, Central Uganda, not schooling), or "My friends are Sheila [sister] and Mariam [neighbour], we make homework together" (12-year-old girl with spina bifida, Central Uganda).

About a fifth of the children interviewed say other children sometimes verbally abuse them: "Children say that my head is big like a pumpkin" (12-year-old boy with spina bifida and hydrocephalus, Western Region), or "In my community the children abuse me, they call me mulema [lame]" (10-year-old girl with spina bifida from the Central Region).

Most of the children were shy in speaking to others or initiating play when observed in their home, school and clinic setting. During interviews, parents expressed their concern that while their children had friends close by home, e.g. neighbours and siblings, they had difficulties socializing in school and the wider community: "My child doesn't want to go far from home, they bully him about his big head." Siblings commented that their brothers or sisters have friends, but that sometimes other children call them names because of their disability: "Children who don't know her abuse her that she is cripple", and "Our friends don't allow my brother to play football with us because he uses crutches."

4.4. My Healthcare, Mobility and Continence

When asked about health care, children generally expressed excitement and happiness at attending rehabilitation services. Some differentiated between 'going to the local clinic' for general health issues, and going to their rehabilitation centres to see their occupational or physiotherapist. Most children knew the rehabilitation workers by name, and felt close to them. They described how the rehabilitation workers would visit them at home when they did not come to the clinic, and said they were happy to see them. A few children mentioned they did not like going to the general health facility, as the nurses often told them to go back to the rehabilitation center: "We cannot manage children with that condition here." Parents confirmed this, and explained that health workers appear anxious when they came to the clinic with their child for a malaria test or treatment of diarrhea or cough, and sometimes sent them back. The rehabilitation centers encourage families to attend general health services, as they do not provide this type of health care, but are focused on the disability specific rehabilitation only.

When asking about impairment-related difficulties,

the majority of children, siblings, and parents mentioned 'getting around' and practicing Clean Intermittent Catheterization (CIC) as the most stressful parts of their daily life.

4.5. Getting Around

For children with mobility challenges, all the children, siblings and parents interviewed mentioned the difficulty getting around. A third of the children who could not walk did not have access to an assistive device. Those who did possess aids said they often crawled at home, and in places where their wheelchair cannot access public spaces. Some children who lived in hilly geographical areas said there was no point in having a wheelchair.

> "I don't like using my wheelchair at home, there is no space in the house, and outside there are the gardens, we live on a hill, it's easier to crawl, especially in the rain season. I leave the wheelchair at a shop down at the main road." (8-year-old girl, Western Uganda)

Almost half of the wheelchair users could use the wheelchair on their own. However, they reported that they often needed help on the roads as these were full of potholes and humps, which made it very difficult for them to move without another person. Siblings often assisted their brother or sister to go to school or other places.

> "I would like to go to school by myself but it is not possible, I cannot cross the road near school, there is a deep ditch and many potholes, my wheelchair gets stuck, someone needs to push me." (12-year-old boy with spina bifida, Central Uganda)

Most of the younger children were carried by their mothers when travelling. Parents explained that this made it hard to move long distances, as the children can be quite heavy, and are not easy to carry. Nevertheless, many parents continued to travel in this way, as there was no alternative and they wanted their child to go to school or the rehabilitation center.

> "I have no choice, the wheelchair my child has cannot pass the road we take home, it is big, it is for adults, someone gave it to us. We leave the wheelchair at school, and I carry her on my back. I walk for almost one hour. I cannot change the school because here they understand her, and help her. Other schools have refused her to enroll. I cannot afford to use public transport, I would have to pay for both of us and the wheelchair. Passengers may complain about having a disabled on board and having to wait for the wheelchair to be loaded into the vehicle too." (Mother of a 7-year-old girl with spina bifida and hydrocephalus, Central Uganda)

Siblings indicated they felt responsible for their brother or sister since they were using a wheelchair and often needed their help to get around. Whilst most of them referred positively to helping out, some said they preferred to go somewhere alone, so they did not have to watch their sibling and make sure they are ok. Others indicated that the wheelchair or tricycle was helpful because they could carry things on it.

> "I always push my sister to school. It's heavy and the dust makes it hard to push her [in the dry season]. But the rainy season is worse, sometimes she has to stay home, because the wheelchair cannot pass the road." (12-year-old sibling of a 9-year-old girl with spina bifida)
>
> "My mother always tells me to take my brother with me but if I go around with him people look at us and call him names because he has a big head. I don't like that. I want to just meet with my friends alone." (14-year-old sibling of an 8-year-old boy with spina bifida and hydrocephalus)
>
> "I have to help my sister to get to the main road because there is a ditch she can't pass on her own. Her tricycle is good for fetching water, we can carry the jerrycans on it." (9-year-old sister to a 14-year-old girl with spina bifida)

4.6. Incontinence

All children and parents said incontinence is a big challenge to them. The siblings interviewed were not engaged in continence management, but did say it was sometimes difficult to find a space for their brother or sister to practice CIC. Whilst most of the children explained they got used to practicing CIC and bowel management, it still interfered with their daily functioning. Most explained it was easier when at home. When travelling or at school or other places, it could be very difficult to find an appropriate place and water to practice CIC or bowel management.

> "My child cannot use a normal latrine, they are often dirty, there is no space to do CIC or water to wash. Sometimes we just have to do it outside behind the latrine." (Mother to a 4-year-old girl with spina bifida, Eastern Uganda)

Some of the older children who practice by themselves say it interrupts their class, as the time they need to practice CIC does not always match with break times. They said it was hard explaining the need to go at certain times to their teachers and classmates. However, if children had enrolled and stayed in the same school over a longer period of time, they felt teachers and

students started understanding their needs better.

> "I have to get out of class to do CIC, it is not easy, I miss part of the lesson, and it took long for my friends to understand that I had to go out, they thought I was just dodging." (13-year-old girl with spina bifida in Western Uganda)

4.7. My School

Just over half of the children are in school, yet all are in the school going age. All 35 siblings in the similar age range were in school. Some of the children with spina bifida dropped out of school because of bullying: "I dropped out of school because my hands shake, I cannot write, they said I was stupid." (8-year-old boy with spina bifida and hydrocephalus, Northern Region).

Others did not get a school place, as no school in their area would accept them: "I went to five primary schools. No one wanted my child, they said they cannot manage disabled children." (Mother of a child with spina bifida, Eastern Region). Other parents said they did not have the finances to send all their children to school, and therefore preferred to select the ones without a disability as they would be more likely to complete their school successfully and find employment later:

> "I have 7 children and I can afford to send 4 to school. I cannot send her [the child with spina bifida], I have to add transport for her too as she cannot walk to school, and it is unlikely someone will give her job when she finishes." (Parent of a 5-year-old girl with spina bifida, Eastern Uganda)

Many parents also felt their child with spina bifida would be dependent on them the rest of their lives, yet children themselves had dreams about what they would to be in future: "I want to be a teacher" (7-year-old girl with spina bifida, Central Uganda). "I want to be a doctor so I can make people better" (10-year-old boy with spina bifida and hydrocephalus, Northern Uganda), and "I will become a lawyer so I can make sure all children with disabilities go to school." (12-year-old girl with spina bifida, Western Uganda). Other parents said their child could not manage school because their brain had been affected by their illness and the schools could not accommodate them.

Most of the children who were in school, said they enjoyed it: "My teacher is nice, she helps me and she tells stories." (6-year-old girl with spina bifida, Eastern Uganda). They have made friends, though are not able to participate in some subjects such as physical education (PE): "They carry me to play with them outside. Sometimes they say I cannot do something because I am disabled." (8-year-old girl with spina bifida, Central Region). Her sibling confirmed this: "She is doing well at school but they don't let her to do PE because they think she cannot do sports".

Children and parents rated their performance in school as average. Some complained of secondary disabilities which hindered their performance, such as poor eye sight and difficulties in writing. None of the children had ever been assessed for cognitive functioning.

4.8. What I Enjoy Most

When asked to tell a story about something which happened that the child enjoyed and made him or her feel happy, the majority narrated situations in which they were playing with their siblings or friends in the neighbourhood:

> "When I was playing hide and seek with my friends. I found the best hiding place under a bush and they could not find me." (5-year-old boy with spina bifida, Western Region)

Some mentioned going to church or special days such as Christmas when they got new clothes:

> "I like going to church with my mum and my sister, they have Sunday school and we sing songs and the teacher tells us stories about Jesus. It makes me very happy." (7-year-old girl with spina bifida, Eastern Region)

A few older ones mentioned situations at school in which they did well in exams or got a compliment from the teacher:

> "One day I had a math test. I find mathematics very difficult and usually I fail, but I worked very hard, and this time I passed. I was very happy, and my teacher said I had done a good job." (13-year-old boy with spina bifida, Central Region)

Siblings often mentioned games their brother or sister enjoyed playing, and mentioned things they would do together. Parents described similar activities and explained how their children are less clingy and more comfortable at home.

> "At home we are at peace. Nobody looks at us, no one calls us names. We just get on with what we need to do. She is calm when she is home, I can put her down and she doesn't cry." (Mother to a 4-year-old girl with spina bifida and hydrocephalus, Northern Uganda)

4.9. What I Don't Like

When asked to tell a story about something which happened that the child did not like and made him or

her feel sad or angry, the majority narrated situations in which they were called names, had a fight with their sibling or friend, or were not allowed to play with others.

Parents explained that their children were often anxious in social situations and public places, and were clingier compared to their siblings, e.g.: "I cannot leave her with anyone, she needs me, I always have to be around, she fears people". A few siblings made similar statements such as "She doesn't want to be alone when we go somewhere, I have to stay close to her".

Similar observations were made during the interviews, in which many children were initially nervous and clingy and stayed very close to their parent(s). A few of them were able to express their fear verbally, as with this 9-year-old boy with spina bifida from the Northern Region: "I don't want to go somewhere without my mum, people say bad things".

Although not expressed directly by all children, most of them did seem to have a (negative) awareness of their impairment following comments made by other people. This was illustrated by statements about preferring to be at home, and avoiding or being anxious in larger public settings, and was observed during home and clinic visits. A few older children mentioned they would like to be treated the same way that children who do not have spina bifida are treated.

5. Discussion

Children with spina bifida in this study had a strong sense of belonging at household level, but experienced more difficulties in engaging in wider social networks including school. A discussion of belonging divided in thematic areas of family (micro), community (meso), and poverty, services and policy (macro) level is outlined below.

5.1. Micro—Family Level

Belonging to a family is a central and key concept in African societies (Bigombe & Khadiagala, 2003; Chataika & McKenzie, 2013; Guyer, 1981; Malinowski, 1929). In our study, children described their households as extended family units, often including not only direct relatives such as parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, but also house helps and neighbours. Whilst some of the children stayed alone with one parent, the majority lived in larger households of about 8 members. Children, siblings and parents described daily activities, play and interactions in and around their home compounds in which they were all involved. Participation in household activities is a key part of daily life and belonging in the Ugandan home setting. Children are often expected to assist in chores such as fetching water, washing clothes, dishes, and sweeping the compound. Children who participated in doing the dishes and washing clothes expressed a sense of accomplishment in this. The daily household activities provided social interaction between siblings and neighbouring children. Children in our study expressed sadness about not being able to participate in fetching water.

Interviews with siblings and parents confirmed the same. Parents' ratings on the VABS daily sub-scale showed that children with spina bifida had more difficulties in daily functioning than their siblings. The lower scores could be explained by mobility challenges, lack of assistive devices and poor infrastructure. This is in line with findings from high income countries where physical wellbeing and functioning were significantly lower in children with spina bifida as the disease affects ambulation, functional mobility and self-care (Abresch et al., 2007; Danielsson et al., 2008; Roebroeck, Jahnsen, Carona, Kent, & Chamberlain, 2009).

In cases of more severe disabling impairments, we noted that children were less involved and had less interaction with household members. When not participating in an activity, most children sat outside under the shade of a tree or, if living in a larger urban environment, inside, watching what others were doing. A number of children with spina bifida appeared neglected, malnourished, smelling of urine and in very dirty cloths. Warf, Wright et al earlier described finding situations of child neglect during home visits in the Eastern Region (Warf et al., 2011).

Children and siblings said that they participated in family events such as church functions, weddings, and funerals. Some parents explained that participation in these activities was sometimes challenging due to limited mobility and negative attitudes, which is in line with earlier findings of the authors (Bannink, Stroeken, et al., 2015).

5.2. Meso—Community Level

Most children describe a mix of experiences of acceptance and enjoyment of play with their friends, and being called names or bullied by others. Bullying and being stared at affected children's self-esteem and increased their anxiety, as we noted during interviews.

In the area of health and rehabilitative care, children said that they liked their rehabilitation worker, usually an occupational or physiotherapist, but described negative experiences with accessing general health care facilities. Children, siblings, and parents all cited mobility and continence management as challenges for participation in the community. These challenges have also been pointed out in other studies in high and low income countries (Kabzems & Chimedza, 2002; Martin, White, & Meltzer, 1989; Smith, Murray, Yousafzai, & Kasonka, 2004).

More than half of the children were going to school and enjoyed doing so. Inclusion physical education and accommodation of secondary disabilities which affect

learning was challenging. Some parents were financially unable to send their child to school; the child with spina bifida was unlikely to go to school till all other siblings were in school, as parents expected the child with spina bifida would be less likely to complete school successfully and be employed later.

Most children in our study had at times experienced negative attitudes, verbal abuse, as had their siblings and parents. This left the children feeling unable to participate, and made some of them avoid or feel anxious about going to school and public places. Other children were able to develop a sense of belonging at school. Our study did not look at bullying over time. It is expected that as a child participates in school for a longer period of time and can "prove" he or she is able to do the same or similar activities as other children, attitudes and behavior of classmates and parents change. We noticed this when studying community attitudes and behavior over time as described by parents (Bannink, Stroeken, et al., 2015). In wider public settings, this may need more awareness raising and behavior change.

In high income countries, children with spina bifida faced more social skills and inclusion challenges than their peers (Wyszynski, 2006), and had lower social integration regardless of whether they could ambulate or use wheelchairs (Dicianno et al., 2009). Our study also found that access to assistive devices did not necessarily make ambulation or social inclusion easier.

5.3. Macro—Poverty and Services

5.3.1. Poverty

The monthly income of families in our study ranged from 28 to 689 US dollars with a median of $82 (income derived from all sources includes wages, market sales, cattle, land and other assets), which is much lower than the total national average of $156 (converted from Ugandan shillings), though closer to the average rural income of $112 and related regional variations (UBOS, 2014).

Whilst poverty was not mentioned directly by participants, the reality of living in a low resource community affected participation in our study population. For example, feeling sad about not being able to fetch water would not have been an issue if running water were available in the home, or the water point could be easily accessed by a wheelchair Educational access for children with spina bifida is affected when parents can only afford to send 3 out of 5 children to school: the child with spina bifida is unlikely to be selected, as they may have secondary disabilities which make learning more difficult, while it may cost more to transport them to school than would be the case for children who can walk or bike to school on their own.

Witter and Bukokhe (2004) found earlier that "They [Ugandan children] have a positive view of their own potential role in mitigating poverty, and are highly critical of the current performance of local government". The children in our study did not speak about the role of the government. However, they spoke about wanting to enter professions in which they could help other children with disabilities access education and health care.

5.3.2. Services

None of the families spoke about the CRPD which Uganda ratified (UN, 2006). Parents, neighbours, and teachers were mentioned as making the biggest difference and helping out in the inclusion of children in their communities. Reference was made to kindness of others and humanity (e.g. 'obuntu bulamu' in the Central Region), in line with the key concept of 'ubuntu' in the African setting. Access to formal systems such as public rehabilitative and social services were not mentioned in our study.

Lack of an enabling environment hindered children's participation. The children experienced their impairments as being restrictive. Their experience of the world with their impaired body (Campbell, 2009; Hughes, 2007) and perception of their body prevented them from engaging in daily activities such as fetching water, going to school, or play, which they saw as a missed opportunity to socialize. Some pointed out that assistive technology could be a burden when living in a hilly place. It is hard to imagine a parent or child living in a rural hilly area without roads arguing for a rights-based approach and the right to assistive devices for their child given that the entire population in the area lives in poverty, with limited access to health care, education, and has no running water.

In a study in South Africa, physical access, transport and medical information, and training and supporting teachers to respond to particular learning disabilities were identified as key areas that need to be addressed to allow children with disabilities to participate in the existing education system (Vosloo, 2009). A study in Uganda showed that children with disabilities are admitted without proper assessment of their educational needs, and resources are not available to provide them with an appropriate range of experiences (Kristensen, Omagor-Loican, Onen, & Okot, 2006). This is something that parents in our study referred to as well. Implementation of inclusive education is negatively affected by non-supportive attitudes of parents and community members, distance to school, unconducive school environment (access, materials, equipment), and lack of trained special need teachers (Abosi & Koay, 2008).

6. Limitations

Our study was limited to involving children who were receiving or attending follow up and rehabilitation

care, and were able to speak. Comparing regional differences was limited by the low numbers of children with spina bifida found in Northern Uganda. Here a 22-year long conflict between the Government of Uganda and the Lord Resistance Army displaced over 90% of the population. Persons with disabilities often faced severe mobility and sanitation challenges in the camp (Muyinda & Whyte, 2011). Whilst some persons received assistance (Mbazzi, Lorschiedter, Hollyne & Opok, 2009) those with congenital disabilities such as spina bifida were less likely to receive services living in a conflict zone compared to those living in poverty in other areas of the country. This may explain the low number of children found in the northern region, as few were able to survive without the initial surgery.

The presentation of a 'voice' is time and space bound (Mazzei, 2016). We were unable to present an ontological voice in which past, present and future were united. However, we did attempt to present voices of the children, their siblings and parents their parents, partly representing an enactment of forces. We took into account observations, and used nonverbal interview methods such as play and drawing. We were limited by translating these into verbal language (Tisdall, 2012). Children could not be included as researchers in this study, resulting in the expert-child bias in interpretation of the text and nonverbal communication (Tisdall, 2012). However, we worked with support groups of parents of children with spina bifida to contextualize findings and checked interpretations with expert parents and rehabilitation workers.

7. Recommendations

In line with Chataika and McKenzie (2013), our findings support African Childhood Disability Studies in which family, cultural conceptions of disability, poverty, and the notion of 'ubuntu' are central concepts. We advocate working with children in their home setting, where belonging is felt. Family members and peers also play an important role in advocacy and agency in order for belonging to be experienced in the community and school settings.

Rather than employing a child rights based approach, we argue for a family based approach, in which interventions include relatives, start from home, and focus on supporting the family network. Instead of autonomy, interdependency is key in the lives of children with spina bifida. By having expert parents, siblings, and children, families can argue for better services and discuss their needs with health care workers and schools. Through self-advocacy, in which the self is defined in relation to others and humanity to others, rather than in relation to an individual, attitudes and practices of community members can change over time.

Key interventions requiring implementation at the national level include poverty alleviation strategies, improvement of general health care, community based rehabilitation services and better access to education. Inclusion does not and cannot exist in a dysfunctional system of services based on right based policies which are not implemented. Critical analysis is needed of how to implement ratified conventions and policies in the Ugandan context, to make them applicable and useful.

8. Conclusion

This study contributes to African Childhood Disability Studies by describing how children with spina bifida and their families experience their daily life and create a sense of belonging in Uganda.

Provision of neurosurgery, rehabilitation, and assistive devices are key services which should be provided and certainly remove certain barriers. However, attitudes and the strong perception of having to 'fit in' the able bodied society (Campbell, 2009) still override the possibilities of children being included in their wider communities. Children mainly belong in their families; 'obuntu' or 'ubuntu' (Chataika & McKenzie, 2013) is key and is felt at micro level. We argue for building onto a network at micro level where the environment is more enabling for the children to find a place of belonging and support, and expand this at meso and macro level in support interventions for children in low-resource settings. A bottom up approach is needed to shift the paradigm at meso and macro level from an approach of excluding children with disabilities or making them 'fit in' the norm, to valuing them as unique persons with a sense of belonging and ability to create a society in which they are considered as participants and actors of change.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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