APPLYING A DECOLONIZED UNDERSTANDING IN HEALING PROCESSES

BY JAN ERIK HENRIKSEN, IDA HYDLE AND BRITT KRAMVIG

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous communities worldwide are all tightly bound to nature and all fear the dramatic ruination of our planet. The scale and speed of destruction is a central concern of environmentalists and indigenous activists confronting the expanding extraction of natural resources to satisfy a global demand. Indigenous communities are participating in ongoing struggles to protect the land and traditional livelihood, and to reject neo-colonial politics. Indigenous people have been, and still are, central caretakers of traditional land, and of the securing of the biodiversity of our planet. Indigenous communities enact a worldview that is different from the dominant states and companies, and through this make obvious to the world its composition of many worlds (de la Cadena & Blaser, 2018).

We bring together here indigenous scholars and their alliances, who together provide ethnographic examples of colonial practices that need decolonial input. Working toward reconciliation, restorative justice and decolonization are central concerns of the scholars contributing to this book, which is built upon studies presented at the 4th International Indigenous Voices in Social Work Conference (IIVSW) in Alta, Norway 2017. During the conference we discussed how to detect, prevent and heal marginalization and exclusion, and invited participants to take part in a dialogue on reconciliation and

HTTPS://doi.org/10.33673/OOA20201/1

restorative practices. Transition, marginalization and empowerment are key terms that need to be addressed. There is also a need for theoretical tools that work in and for the best of contemporary indigenous communities and for the whole of society in a sustainable, global context. We argue that if we are to explore what participatory knowledge-production in different communities can be, then we need knowledge dialogues that take indigenous peoples' voices and democratic participation to be a basic predisposition. If we are to change the dramatic ruination of the planet, then we need to engage with knowledge that rests in indigenous communities and that supports the biodiversity we so much depend upon. To do this we need to engage *with* indigenous people's knowledge and with indigenous knowers. The International Indigenous Voices in Social Work Conference (IIVSWC) showed the need and conviction that indigenous wisdom and tacit knowledge hold the answers to some of these challenges. IIVSWS invited students, social workers, researchers, administrators and policymakers to discuss these issues, and to build knowledge and develop the empowerment methods needed to meet the global demands of sustainability and diversity.

With this anthology, we intend to provide new knowledge about the colonial aspects of our diverse stories and to enable awareness of how the legacies of colonialism operate at the macro and micro level. We are concerned with how colonial and decolonial practices are entangled in globalization and politics, and also in everyday life encounters, engagements, suffering and the ongoing efforts of formulating healing practices. The chapters in this book therefore attempt to disseminate indigenous knowledge, and discuss empirical research and practices that are well-suited to the addressing of the consequences of colonial violations, both in the past and in the way they operate in the present. We know that indigenous knowledge is being destructed through ongoing policies of assimilation, expropriation and cultural appropriation. Contemporary national and international governance by states and companies brings about intended and non-intended disruptions of relationships and kinship within and between communities, landscapes and other earth beings peoples live with. This involves the dissolution of the indigenous knowledge practices, relations to the land, governance and protocols that have co-created and sustained healthy ecosystems over millennia (Kimmerer, 2013).

An indigenous research paradigm is needed. According to Denzin, Lincoln & Smith (2008, p.1) this paradigm is 'ethical, performative, healing, transformative, decolonizing, and participatory. It must be committed to dialogue,

community, self-determination, and cultural autonomy. It must meet people's perceived needs. It must resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretive strategy. It must be unruly, disruptive, critical, and dedicated to the goals of justice and equity' (Denzin et al., 2008, p.1). Wilson (2008) points out that instead of achieving goals of validity and reliability, indigenous methodologies (IM) aim to be authentic and credible to all of these relationships. Indigenous methodologies co-create knowledge with participants and embrace relational accountability, as opposed to trying to stay outside of the experience. IM, instead of intellectualising knowledge, is committed to dialogue, community, self-determination and cultural autonomy. It must, as Denzil et al. (2008) argue, be unruly, disruptive, critical, and dedicated to the goals of justice and equity.

We will emphasize the need for theoretical and practical tools that work in and for the best of contemporary indigenous communities, and therefore for the whole of society, in this era of climate change and mass destruction of species. Knowledge dialogues are needed that take indigenous peoples' voices and democratic participation to be an utmost challenge, and explore what participatory knowledge-production in different communities can be. New knowledge and future solutions must be respectfully embedded in communities and landscapes. We need to pay closer attention to the overlaid arrangements of human and nonhuman living spaces that Gan, Tsing, Swanson & Bubandt (2017) call landscapes. This landscape concept is fruitful, as it asks us as researchers to question what can raise the (indigenous) living spaces that are disrupted and partly invisible due to extractivism and colonial politics. *The landscape* of Gan et al. (2017) is helpful in the questioning of the neoliberal surfacing of the land and in engaging with the memories and practices of those that have been forgotten. It is also helpful in standing up to the constant barrage of messages asking us to *forget* – that is, to allow a few private owners and public officials with their eyes focused on short term gains to pretend that environmental devastation does not exist (Gan et al., 2017). This anthology is part of the effort to use our research to advance a decolonial future, and to advance just social and healing practices.

Colonialism as a political, social and cultural force has contributed to innumerable former and present conflicts, violent, armed, social and psychological – on people and land. Neo-colonisation is still in progress in many countries, even if colonialism is considered to be part of the past. Suffering, poverty and exploitation are still societal and individual threats to all, not only to those who

are directly involved. As Fanon (2008) shows, colonization can be thought of as an internalized, psychological state that distorts our relationships with others and with ourselves. Colonial forms of domination and subjugation are not dissolved by formal political independence, but remain operative in ethnic relations, education, psychosocial relations and health statistics.

Colonialism has affected not only indigenous, but also majority populations. Most countries claim that colonisation, apartheid and assimilation belong to the past. Discrimination and everyday racism, however, seem impossible to control and prevent. Lindner (2006) talks about micro-humiliation. Micro-humiliation often occurs in the context of 'racialization' (skin colour, religion, language, gender etc) as markers of unfamiliarity and otherness. Humiliation is defined as 'the enforced lowering of any person or group by a process or subjugation that damages their dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed in a situation that is against one's interest in a demeaning or damaging way' (Lindner, 2006, p.14). The central characteristics of humiliation are forcing someone 'downwards' towards a state of lowliness or submission. According to Lindner (2006, p.171), humiliation is the strongest force that creates rifts between people, breaks down relationships between people but also disrupts the connection to land and landscape. We have to continue to resist the growing tendency to make multiple worlds into one, and respect other ways of knowing and living on the land. To do so we need to tell other stories; stories of colonialism, but also stories of hope, healing and recognition.

The Compass of Shame (George, 2011; Nathanson, 1992) is a model of how we act when humiliated and forced into a position of shame. We can try to avoid shame by denial, distraction, thrill seeking or medication. Or we can try to withdraw the negative affect by severing the connection with others through hiding or isolation, to avoid their presumed scrutiny and judgement. Withdrawal scripts alleviate the negative affect by removing the person from the supposed glare of others. Sometimes people respond to an experience of shame with scripts that range from self-deprecating humour through to masochistic, self-destructive behaviours. This is the set of scripts Nathanson describes as the self-attack pole of the compass, the person attempting to regain control of the situation by at least controlling the self-condemnation. Or you can attack others. This position enables us to feel better by shifting the blame or by making someone else smaller. This set of scripts ranges from seemingly harmless banter and good-natured teasing, to malicious and hurtful insults and even physical aggression. Gilligan (2000, p.223) claims that 'The

most effective stimulus of violence is the experience of shame… all violence is an attempt to replace shame with self-esteem'. We wish to also add that shame asks us to forget, not only vital knowledge of the past, but also our dependence upon the Earth that is so vital to mankind and others that we live with.

We therefore investigate a view of indigeneity that changes the modern, administrative definitions, not only by including, but also by intersecting social with epistemic diversity and justice. Duran and Duran (1995), who refuse to accept psychological explanations for indigenous peoples being at the top of negative statistics, have coined the term 'soul wound' to suggest the legacy of a long-lasting suppression and colonization. Saus (2004) uses the concept of cultural pain to conceptualize cultural pressure, difficult local community problems, and latent and manifest conflicts in the local community. Such conditions affect the local community's forms of socialization, identity formation and conflict and problem management. How can we engage in decolonial activities that allow inter-existence of multiple worlds and knowledge production that is open to epistemic diversity and a more just world for indigenous people? De la Cadena (2015) provides a helpful concept by bringing 'anthropo-not-seen' to our attention. She wants, with this concept, to highlight world-making that is not conceived through the distinction between humans and nonhumans. Both are, however, obliged to participate in that distinction and surpass it. The anthropo-not-seen not only refers to the particles of the world that are often not seen, and which for that very reason risk destruction. The anthropo-not-seen, as Cadena formulates it, includes the assemblage of human and nonhuman that are understood as being 'articulated collectives' of nature and humans. She claims that anthropo-not-seen protests against world-making practices that insist on dividing entities into nature and culture.

The Nobel prize laureate Amartya Sen proposes another level of problem definition and empirical approach, by questioning the concept of justice. He bridges the world of ideas with the world of policy by asking whether the ideal of social justice might leave us with practical decisions. There are social, economic and political injustices and justices. Sen takes a pragmatic approach to justice, he reasoning 'as much justice as possible', participation, democracy and human rights taken into consideration. How to reduce injustice and advance justice: 'Practical concern, no less than theoretical reasoning, seems to demand a fairly radical departure in the analysis of justice' (Sen, 2009, p.12). There is a need to connect the concept of justice with acts of care, and to conceptual-

ize healing as the entanglement of justice with the recognition of indigenous people and landscape.

We suggest a potential way to approach the use of these in our indigenous context and in the restorative justice discourse in general. The handling of diversity seems to emerge as an overarching challenge. This goes well with a proposal for an alternative approach to justice, relative justice, and the acknowledging of exactly what is at stake: cultural diversity, free will and moral responsibility (Sommers, 2012). The philosopher Sommers develops a new way of thinking about culture, will and morality which takes cultural diversity into account. Like Sen, he acknowledges that there are no objectively correct answers to basic questions of justice and morality, free will and responsibility. As the culture theorist Michail Bakhtin suggested, the best answer to the notion of truth may not be a given, but a task (Bakhtin & Holquist, 1981).

Indigenous ideas (Hart, 2007) also refer to that which privileges Indigenous perspectives; the knowledge and practices that are based upon our traditional values and the beliefs and ways of being in the world that are lived out in the light of the present contexts of Indigenous Peoples, and relied upon as ways to overcome the colonial oppression we continue to face as a people. Indigenous scholars such as Turner (2005) critique classical indigenous philosophy such as Alfred (1995; 1999), and Fixico (2003). They claim that Indigenous peoples have their own perspectives, knowledge, philosophies, and practices that are built on the indigenous peoples' traditional values, beliefs, and manners and that differ from the Western. Turner (2006, p.98) instead suggests that a 'critical indigenous philosophy' should 'unpack the colonial framework of these discourses, assert and defend our 'indigeneity' within the dominant culture, and defend the legal and political integrity of indigenous communities'. We do not, however, need and do not believe in a common indigenous world view. We believe that rituals, beliefs and spiritual needs and companionships exist and are practiced differently from group to group and from person to person.

Critical indigenous philosophy points out that the failure of liberal multiculturalism to adequately address the legacy of colonialism, is caused by its disregard of the sui generis nature of indigenous rights as a class of political rights that flows out of indigenous nationhood and not bestowed by the national state. Multiculturalism does not, therefore, question the legitimacy of the nation state's unilateral claim to sovereignty over aboriginal lands and

people. More importantly, it fails to recognize that a meaningful theory of aboriginal rights is not possible without aboriginal participation.

Critical indigenous philosophy, however, shares critical multiculturalism's (May, 1999) concern with the relations between authorities and minorities; 'There are radical differences between those who 'do' indigenous philosophy and those indigenous peoples who engage European philosophy on its own terms. The asymmetry arises because indigenous peoples must use the normative language of the dominant culture to ultimately defend world views that are embedded in completely different normative frameworks. The dominant culture does not face this hurdle.' Coulthard (2014) argues that recognition cannot easily be divorced from ongoing settler-colonial attempts to acquire Indigenous territories. The granting or delegation of land and governance rights by the state upon Indigenous peoples is a form of recognition that only serves to slightly alter or modify colonial structures of power at the margins, but that leaves intact 'a relatively secure or sedimented set of hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of their lands and self-determining authority' (Coulthard 2014, p.7).

We see the need for further population-wide restorative processes such as of the reconciliation commissions in South Africa, Canada, Australia, Greenland and Sápmi, to learn and heal. The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, even though the focus is on indigenous peoples, is criticised because 'its progress is hampered by the conservative political environment, its weak public profile and to some degree its own emphasis on survivor healing, which provides a ready focal for settlers to individualize Indian residential schools' violence as something of the past. Yet, Indigenous healing is intrinsically connected to structural transformation and reconciliation depends upon remedying colonial violence in the present' (Nagy, 2013, p.52). There will, however, be no healing if the environmental threats caused by global neoliberal investment and extreme industrialization on indigenous lands and waters do not cease.

We consider healing as essential in reconciliation and restoration, and thus a part of restorative justice. We are committed to the project of promoting care as a means of positively transforming society and the condition of democracy. As Wilkinson and Kleinman (2016, p.10–11) state: 'We... see this as the fundamental requirement for the invigoration of human-social understanding. We not only argue that the value of social science should be sought in its promotion of real acts of care in society, but also that it is through the act of caring

for others that we stand to grasp how social life is made possible and sustained, most particularly in terms of what matters for people. We take the provocation of social suffering as a spur towards the alignment of social inquiry with the pedagogy of caregiving.'

One of the first central activities of decolonial theory can be summed up as being the revision of colonial cultural practices and values, undertaken to become aware of how our attitudes towards ourselves and others have been shaped by ingrained colonial conceptions. Such 'backtracking' has also had an activist edge, suggesting new strategies of resistance, empowerment and revival, not just in terms of institutional and political change but also, as Ngugi wa'Thiongo (Thiong'o, 1986) has formulated it, in 'decolonizing the mind'. One important line of critique maintains that it appears to dismiss the fact that colonial structures are still ongoing, even after the land and autonomy of the colonized has been 'devolved'. Such neo-colonization would then be understandable as new forms of hegemony within political culture, and global political and economic institutions. These subtler but perhaps even more powerful forms of economic dependency, established in and through the complex processes of economic integration, are often called 'globalization'. A post-Imperial era which Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (Hardt & Negri, 2000) have nevertheless called 'Empire'. We can assume that the current forms of anti-colonial activism would not be possible unless some sort of attempt at revising a colonial past were present, and allowed by the gradual retreat of colonialist assumptions. The word postcolonial may, in this context, still suggest an awareness of that colonialism is present, 'spectrally' or in actual forms of prejudice and inequality, and that damages individuals and the world we share. Critics of reconciliation such as Critics of reconciliation such as Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird and Hetherington (2003), Povinelli (2002), claim that the actions often take a merely symbolic form, whereas real decolonization requires reconciliation processes to be followed up by concrete measures of economic compensation and justice – also for the future.

Decolonization is, for some, a provoking concept. For others it is a re-imagination of a more just future. 'Decolonising means accepting Indigenous Peoples' lived experience as a starting point when searching for solutions to the problems and issues they face, which, in many instances, are also relevant to non-Indigenous Peoples and global problems, such as climate change, pollution, war, poverty and hunger, to name a few. It means putting people's needs, uniqueness and knowledge first and seeing all the activities in which we

engage from here on in as honest attempts to discern the nature of decolonised social work' (Gray & Hetherington, 2013, p.7).

This book is divided into four parts. The first part of this book is the introduction. This is followed by three parts, one on recognition, one on reconciliation and one on reparation. These three steps are based on a postcolonial, decolonization process. It however can, as a process, be too imprecise and therefore not binding. We will follow other scholars such as Cunneen (2005) and Muller (2007; 2014) who argue that decolonisation is a political-analytical tool to secure reconciliation. A deepening of the concept through thinking in lines of time is, however, needed. Cunneen's decolonization model is based on *the stolen generation inquiry*, of Australia. He points to Van Boven's five components of reparation. The first step is acknowledgement and apology. Acknowledging current realities highlights Indigenous Peoples' suffering, profound disadvantage and their bearing of the burden of gross social, cultural, educational, health and employment inequality. Cunneen's second step requires guarantees against repetition by public dissemination of knowledge of abuse and colonization. Muller's second step is, however, rediscovery and recovery. It highlights the need to acknowledge the process of colonization, and the rediscovery of what has been lost. The past is always in the present, and it is only by re-examining the past that we become better able to reformulate the present. Cunneen's third step is measures of restitution. This means taking control, documenting and restoring language and culture through cultural and historical centres. Muller, on the other hand, believes that this is the time to mourn. In the mourning phase, past and current wrongs need to be addressed and issues relating to grief, loss, shame and anger need to be acknowledged. Stories of mourning need to be told in public. Not only need to be told, but also need to be heard in order to have effect.

The fourth step for Cunneen are measures of rehabilitation through healing and welfare services. The fifth and last step is monetary compensation for trauma caused. Cunneen suggests establishing a national compensation fund for victims of stolen generations. Muller says that healing and forgiveness do not mean ignoring past wrongs or abandoning the right to justice, but is a stage in which persons can find a new acceptance of their losses, themselves and others. The dreaming stage comprises imagining a better future and planning how this can be achieved. The commitment stage, emerging from the dreaming phase, provides the opportunity to move towards the type of society we want to create. Change becomes possible when we accept who we are, and

commit to working towards achieving who we want to be. The last stage is action in which the 'current picture' is transformed into the 'preferred picture'.

Restorative practice is a broad term that encompasses a growing social movement to institutionalize peaceful approaches to harm, problem-solving and violations of legal and human rights (Zehr, 2014). It is a process in which all parties with a stake in an offence, come together to identify and 'resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future' (Marshall, 1996, p.17). Restorative approaches seek to balance the needs of the victims, the wrongdoers and the community, through processes that preserve the safety and dignity of all. One seeks, during the process, to build partnerships to re-establish mutual responsibility for constructive responses to wrongdoing within communities. Restorative resolutions, rather than privileging the law, professionals and the state, engage those who have been harmed, wrongdoers and their affected communities in a search of solutions that promote repair, reconciliation and the rebuilding of relationships. Such processes have been developed in Indigenous areas: Hui or Family Group processes, victim-offender mediation, conferencing and peace-making circles, and boards for community restoration.

Restorative practice and restorative approaches are therefore comprised of recognition, reconciliation and reparation. They also are comprised of a specific world view that originates from different indigenous societies around the globe. In this anthology, we have applied the principles of restorative approaches as an ordering tool to the presentation of the chapters. Some chapters have a stronger emphasis on recognition. Others highlight reconciliation or reparation in their research. Nevertheless, they all both belong, in theory and methodology, to our overall approach of decolonisation. Restorative approaches are also increasingly a part of many countries' individual and social healing processes to the harm committed. Our contribution, for example, is to highlight the interrelationship between restorative processes and decolonisation.

We present the decolonisation-ordering tool and recognition, reconciliation and reparation in the chapters that follow in this book. The chapters of Kunnie and Verbuyst first and foremost serve as an overall overview of the book's intentions. Julian E. Kunnie's chapter 'The Cost of Globalization to Indigenous Peoples: The Need for Decolonization Constructive Social Work Strategies in Turtle Island (North America)', sees the contemporary world in which we live as essentially being a historical product of Western colonization of the past five and a half centuries. Kunnie claims that he is first and fore-

most an indigenous activist. His approach, style, and orientation is therefore to deconstruct and decolonize academia itself using Indigenous cultural frameworks, everything within this (including academic theory, research, production, and engagement) having been shaped by this colonializing history. He thinks of the discipline of social work as specifically being the result of British colonialist occupation and imperialist penetration of nations in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean in the 1930s and the subsequent imperialist project after World War II conducted by the United States. Social work needs to reflect this understanding, both in theory and practice, to be effective transformers of oppression. As humans, we need to recover our essential humanity and take care of the babies of today so that they can save us tomorrow.

The chapter 'Layered decolonization in South Africa: Khoisan strategic essentialism and the notion of incommensurability' by Rafael Verbuyst also focuses more generally on decolonisation, taking the stance from his fieldwork among the Khoisan. South African debates on decolonization tend to centre on the injustices of the apartheid system (1948–1994), rather than on the injustices of the preceding centuries of colonialism. The violent conquest and forced assimilation of the Khoisan goes particularly unmentioned. Their absence in these debates is increasingly challenged by growing numbers of people claiming Khoisan identities, who campaign for indigenous rights in the post-apartheid era. Verbuyst scrutinizes two main factors that add to the complexities of this 'layered' decolonization: the strategic essentialism surrounding Khoisan identity and culture, and the prevalent notion of an insurmountable incommensurability between indigenous people and others.

Kepa Fernandez de Larrinoa, in this book's Part 2. Recognition, takes his stance in Indigenous Amazonia and decolonizing social work. He portrays a conceptual framework and uses this to discuss the notion of indigenous social work in Amazonian rainforests. He argues that a sharply marked intellectual shift is needed in the field of social work: from a currently overall and overlapping notion of social work in indigenous communities, to one which should be rooted in native constructs of the social self. Such a framework points to a model, which he suggests designates indigenous social work in indigenously understood societies. He specifically discusses social work in the Ecuadorian Amazon, examining the later social policies of the Ecuadorian government in the Amazon region. One such is a nationwide social policy in the 2000's and onwards observed in Ecuador, which was decidedly impregnated with a conspicuous cultural patina. Another is the Ecuadorian indigenous social

movement. Its strength, both in terms of group organization and political influence on national and local governments, has been particularly noticeable in the 1980's, 1990's and 2000's. He has, from his ethnographic observations and fieldwork research at different times between 2002 and 2016, kept these questions in mind: Is there an indigenous reasoning that is specifically Amazonian? If so, how should a university program of indigenous social work in the Amazon region be organized? How should this be exercised in the social praxis characteristic of the contemporary rainforest?

Jan Erik Henriksen and Ida Hydle discuss the complexity of restorative justice in Sámi reindeer herding in their chapter 'Restoring justice and autonomy in Sámi reindeer husbandry?' They link experiences and knowledge from anthropology, medicine and social work with interests in Sámi and ecological sustainability. Their purpose is to create an alternative basis for questioning present and future policies in Sámi areas, taking reindeer husbandry as a signpost. Different types of conflicts and confrontations in the reindeer husbandry field are seen as signposts for the need of a restorative and traditional based reindeer husbandry policy. A policy which fully recognize the consequences of the forced assimilation of the Sámi. The repercussions of this are more or less hidden in present conflicts about animals and use of lands, rivers, fjords and sea. They investigate a view of indigeneity that extends the modern administrative definition not only by including, but also by intersecting, social and ecological sustainability. Currently the Norwegian Sámi reindeer policy is neo-liberal self-government, based upon the state's New Public Management polity. The authors aim is to investigate the rise in conflicts at several levels, between Norwegians and Sámi and within the siidas (the reindeer herding collectives) – both at a structural and at a local level.

Catherine McKinley and Kristina S. Laukaitis' chapter 'Elders as Conduits for Indigenous Language and Culture' examines how the promotion of resilience and the offsetting of historical oppression must be carried out by indigenous peoples themselves, for example through the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge. In the United States (U.S.), indigenous people experience poorer physical health than all other groups. The importance of language and intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge has been one of the most severe and devastating casualties of historical oppression. This may give rise to health disparities. The purpose of the authors' critical ethnography was therefore to use the Framework of Historical Oppression, Resilience, and Transcendence (FHORT) to examine the roles played by tribal language, the

oral tradition, elders, and family in well-being and resilience. Thematic analysis of data from 436 participants across two tribes in the U.S. revealed the following overarching themes: a) A strong grounding in tribal languages, including concerns about loss of language and culture; and (b) Elders as the conduits for language and culture, storytelling and the oral tradition. It is important, given that historical oppression has disrupted the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge, to develop and support practices and community mechanisms that bridge intergenerational knowledge and that tend to include the teaching of traditions and cultural knowledge.

Child poverty and persistent low income in Norway, and with particular reference to the Sámi Indigenous Minority, is an important issue of recognition, writes Arnt Ove Eikeland. Economic inequality is increasing in Norway and creates externalization, including in the form of child poverty. Many explain this using neoliberal politics and economics. In a global context, however, the Nordic countries are still those with least economic and social inequality. This is linked to the idea of the Nordic welfare model. The characteristics of the model are universal welfare schemes, emphasis on active labour market policies, gender equality and redistribution through tax-funded welfare. Who is therefore in the lower economy of the otherwise egalitarian Norway? An exposed group is the Sámi Indigenous Minority. A total of 123 children or 22.2 percent of the children in, for example, Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino live in child poverty. What could explain the high numbers in this Sami core area? The article places an emphasis on how relative poverty can be understood in a rich egalitarian democracy such as Norway the author, through this, mapping mechanisms that lead to sustained low income in a Sámi community.

PART 3. RECONCILIATION

'Stories, stones, and memories in the land of dormant reciprocity. Opening up Possibilities for Reconciliation with a politics that works tensions of dissensus and consensus with care' by Britt Kramvig and Helen Verran focuses on the importance of storytelling as an epistemic practice, and asks if/how storytelling can become a tool for reconciliation, specifically in relation to violent acts of past and present colonising. In Sápmi, telling stories is essential in everyday life. Stories are told to engage actively with questions as opposed to referring to an absent past or bringing forth explanations or arguments. Stories are told to bring past events and knowledge on how to live well and respectfully with

both human and non-human beings, into present knowledge. Being enacted in stories is a central part of recalling how earthlings can live together in the Sámi landscape. Stories relating to sieidies; Sámi secret stones are addressed in this chapter. The authors make evident the existence of a land of dormant reciprocity in the Norwegian present, and establish sieidies as ontologically multiple. They propose that stories, with their implicit or explicit recognition of this multiplicity, can act in the ongoing reconciliation addressed by the Norwegian government and the Sámi Parliament.

In their chapter 'Indigenisation into International Social Work', Somnoma Valerie Ouedraogo and Barbara Wedler maintain that international social work is about thinking globally in acting locally and vice-versa when conducting social work. It is a field that requires, more than anything, the acknowledgement of differences and the 'welcoming' of theories and practice models of one's singularity (cultural, political, economic) to provide direction in understanding social work. This reaffirms the context and population specific approaches that build the core identity of the social work profession. The authors follow a context and population specific approach shaped by decolonization as a community movement, to develop a theory of Indigenisation which can explain the disconnection of histories and social relations, the ways of thinking and interacting with the world of social work concepts, and methodologies in the international social work context. Their intent is a pragmatic approach that considers a dialectic of Westernisation-Indigenisation in seeking to connect the local and the global, the North and the South, through developing the concept of indigenisation into the angle of international social work.

Anne Moe and Marianne Hedlund share their 'Critical reflections on an empirical study about South Sámi and welfare services' in their chapter. The authors, after completing their empirical study 'South Sámi and welfare services' to adapt public welfare services to the needs of southern Sámi people, have subsequently critically reflected on their study approach and methodology. The purpose of this chapter is to show what can be learnt from the completed study and how methodologies chosen in the research process can obscure or reveal the power relations and knowledge of the everyday lives of South Sámi people and welfare services. It has long been a political goal of the Norwegian welfare state that all citizens in the country should have equal access to public health and social services, regardless of geographical, social and age-related differences. This goal was finally, and after a long process, con-

cretised into a specialised health and social plan for Sámi in 1995. The basis for the plan was the special position of the Sámi as an indigenous people with their own culture and traditions, this giving rise to special needs and grounds for customized services. Problems with language, a lack of understanding and of support networks that take into account culture and traditions were, and continue to be, challenging in public services for the Sámi, in Norway and in Sweden and Finland. Knowledge about experiences from welfare services for the South Sámi people was lacking in particular. Attention to cultural sensitivity in welfare services and occupations has only recently increased. This is despite Norway always having contained multicultural communities of indigenous peoples, the change being in line with modern migration and immigration in society.

PART 4. RESTORATION

'First 1000 Days: Using 'Emergence' to take social innovation to scale' is the chapter by Kerry Arabena, Luella Monson-Wilbraham, Elle McLachlan, Alana Marsh and Marion Callope. They claim that enhancing health and wellbeing outcomes for infants is at the forefront of global Indigenous social work practice. An evidence informed international 1,000 Days movement, which focuses on nutrition during the period from conception to a child's second birthday, has been expanded by the First 1000 Days Australia model to include Indigenous holistic and cultural perspectives to support First Nation infants and their families. This chapter explores how the model, which was developed and delivered by Indigenous peoples in Australia, Indonesia and Norway, works with the ecological theory of emergence, to support parents and carers enact cultural protection of Indigenous children during the early formation of their families.

The authors Antonia Hendrick and Susan Young of the chapter 'Decolonising the curriculum; decolonising ourselves. Working towards restoration through teaching, learning and practice', use the idea of 'Ally Work' in their work as non-Indigenous social work educators, predominantly with non-Indigenous students. Their framework has been constructed to assist teaching and learning: 'The 'Ally' framework helps us to articulate some of the practices of recognition, reconciliation and restoration and to encourage their use by our non-indigenous students when they are working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This is part of a larger project of decolonising the

curriculum in our separate institutions in Western Australia and we illustrate these practices from our experiences inside and outside the classroom'.

Suzanne Jenkins' chapter describes the history of colonization, racism and the genocide of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia. She documents how Indigenous disadvantage remains in Australia today through mortality and life expectancy 'gaps', through the Aboriginal and Torres Strait youth suicide and incarceration rates being the highest in the world, through profound disadvantage in education and health, and through the removal of more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from families than children forcibly removed during the 'Stolen Generations' that was deemed by the United Nations to be an act of genocide. She describes how Australia was established and continues to be maintained through racism, bloodshed and violence. This racism reflects and is perpetuated by historical, social, cultural, power or authority inequalities in society that are related to colonization and the onset of capitalist industrialization. She argues that any process of decolonization must overcome capitalist imperialism and colonialism at every level. She notes that the expansion of capitalism in Australia is contingent upon the continued acquisition of land and resources. The author warns about the limitations of models and frameworks that do not engage directly with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' resurgence. These can block genuine decolonization and consolidate state power. She concludes that constructive change lies in the active, conscious and ongoing participation of all the people at grass roots level. Decolonization demands an Indigenous framework and a centring of Indigenous land, Indigenous sovereignty, and Indigenous ways of thinking and being.

Restorative approaches, as described in the anthology's Part 4. Restoration, seek to balance the needs of the victims, the wrongdoers and the community, through processes that preserve the safety and dignity of all. One seeks, in the process, to build partnerships to re-establish mutual responsibility for constructive responses to wrongdoing within communities. Restorative resolutions, rather than privileging the law, professionals and the state, engage those who have been harmed, wrongdoers and their affected communities in a search for solutions that promote the repair, reconciliation and the rebuilding of relationships. A number of such processes have been developed in indigenous areas: hui processes, victim-offender mediation, conferencing and peace-making circles, and boards for community restoration. We hope that the anthology's chapters will strengthen some of these voices.

The decolonising, restorative thread is woven back and forth through the chapters of this book, from nation to nation, country to country across the globe. The perspective also shifts through the papers, from the recognition of harm to the different needs, methodologies and layers of reconciliation and healing, reparation and restoration. The current emerging global acceptance of climate change is strongly linked to the woven matter: the economic exploitation of people, other living beings and land. To change this is an ultimate and urgent decolonising task.

LITERATURE

Alfred, G. (1995). *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors. Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism in Canada*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alfred, T. (1999). *Peace, Power and Righteousness.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakhtin, M., & Holquist, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination:four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Coulthard, G. S. (2014). *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. https://doi.org/10.5749/minnesota/9780816679645.001.0001

Cunneen, C. (2005). Colonialism and Historical Injustice: Reparations for Indigenous Peoples. *Social Semiotics*, *15*(1), 59–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330500059130

de la Cadena, M. (2015). *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice across Andean worlds.* Durham and London: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822375265

de la Cadena, M., & Blaser, M. (Eds.). (2018). *A World Of Many Worlds*.

Durham and London, Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478004318

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., & Smith, L. T. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies.* SAGE Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483385686

Duran, E., & Duran, B. (1995). *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Fanon, F. (2008). *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press.

Fixico, D. (2003). *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World. American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge.* New York: Routledge.

Gan, E., Tsing, A., Swanson, H., & Bubandt, N. (2017). Haunted landscapes of the Anthropocene. In A. Tsing, H. Swanson, E. Gan, & N. Bubandt (Eds.), *Arts of living on a damaged planet* (p. 1–14). Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.

George, G. (2011). *Navigating beyond the Compass. Shame, Guilt ans Empathy in Resorative Practices in the School Setting.* Restorative Practices Resources For School Communities. http://www.rpforschools.net/articles-about-theory-and-philosophy.html.

Gilligan, R. (2000). *Promoting resilience: A resource guide on working with children in the care system*. London: Academia.

Gray, M., Coates, J., Yellow Bird, M., Hetherington, T., (Eds.).(2013). *Decolonizing Social Work*. Surrey, Burlington: Ashgate.

Gray, M., & Hetherington, T. (2013). Indigenization, Indigenous Social Work and Decolonization: Mapping the Theoretical Terrain. In M. Gray, J. Coates, M. Yellow Bird, & T. Hetherington (Eds.), *Decolonizing Social Work*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire.* Harvard: Harvard University press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjnrw54

Hart, M. A. (2007). *Cree Ways of Helping. An Indigenist Research Project*. (Phd). University of Manitoba.

Kimmerer, R. W. (2013). *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teaching of Plants.* Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions.

Lindner, E (2006). *Making Enemies: Humiliation and International Conflict*. Westport: Praeger Security International.

Marshall, T. F. (1996). The evolution of restorative justice in Britain. *European Journal of criminal policy and research, 4*(4), 21–43. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02736712

May, S. (1999). *Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education*. London: Falmer Press.

Muller, L. (2007). De-colonization: reflections and implication for social work practice. *Communities, Children and Families Australia*, *31*(1), 79–84.

Muller, L. (2014). *A Theory for Indigenous Australian Health and Human Service Work: Connecting Indigenous knowledge and practice*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Nagy, R. (2013). The Scope and Bounds of Transitional Justice and the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commision. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, *7*(1), 52–73. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijs034

Nathanson, D.L. (1992). *Shame and Pride. Affect, sex and The Birth of the Self*. New York: Norton.

Povinelli, E. A. (2002). *The cunning of recognition. Indigenous Alterrites and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism.* Durham, London: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822383673

Saus, M. (2004). *Kontekstuelt barnevern – barnevern i samisk kontekst*. (PhD). Universitetet, Tromsø.

Sen, A. (2009). *The idea of justice*. London: Allen Lane. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjnrv7n

Sommers, T. (2012). *Relative Justice: Cultural Diversity. Free Will, and Moral Responsibility*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.23943/princeton/9780691139937.001.0001

Thiong'o, N. W. (1986). *Decolonizing the Mind.* Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Turner, D. (2006). *This is not a Peace Pipe. Towards a critical Indigenous Philosophy.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Wilkinson, I. & Kleinman, A. (2016). *A Passion for Society: How We Think about Human Suffering*. Oakland, California: University of California press. https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520287228.001.0001

Wilson, S. (2008). *Research in Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Fernwood Publishing.

Zehr, H. (2014). *The Little Book of Restorative Justice*. New York: Good Books.