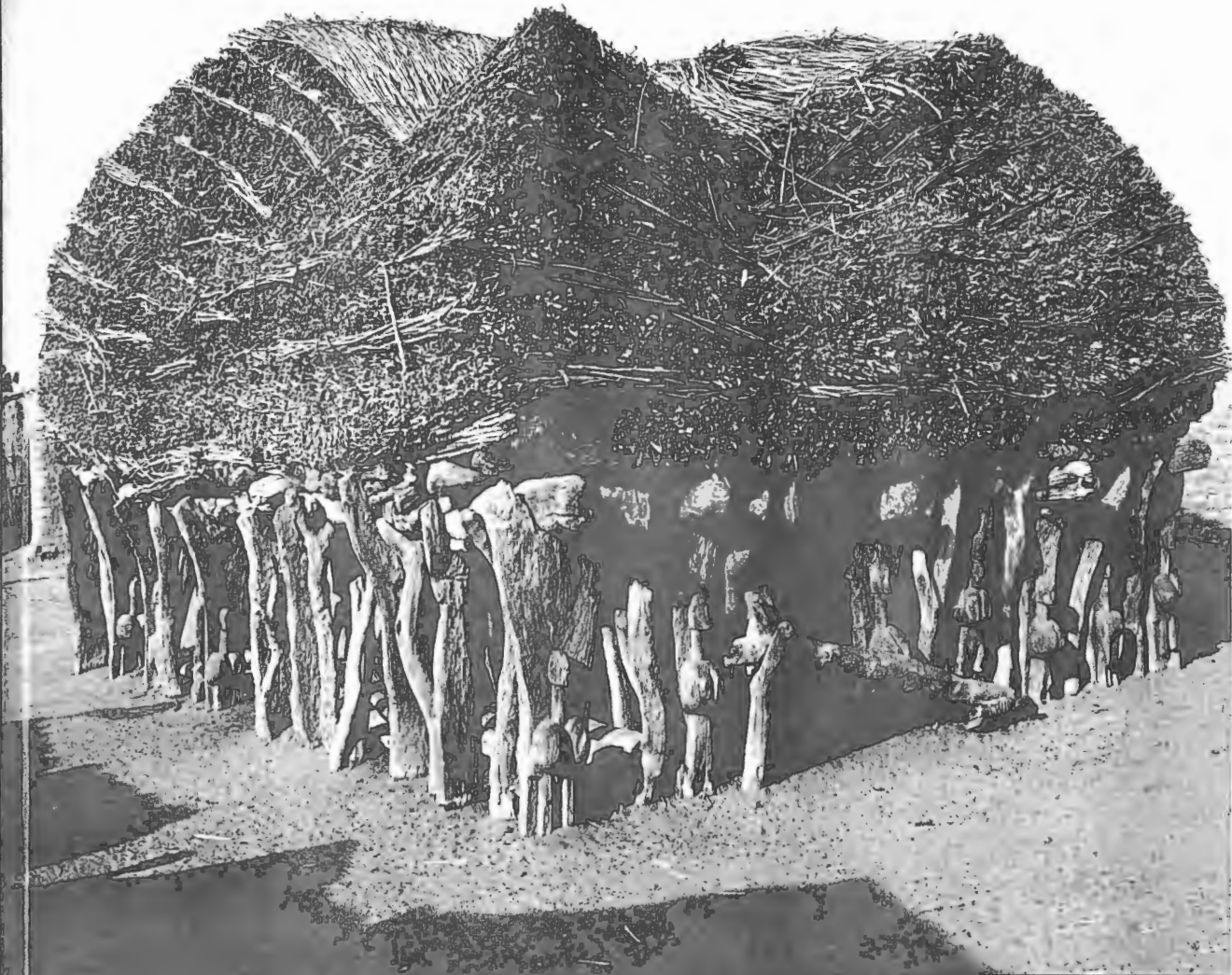


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HANDBOOK OF
CRITICAL AND INDIGENOUS
METHODOLOGIES



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Thousand Oaks, California 91320
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B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044
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SAGE Publications Ltd.
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP
United Kingdom

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd.
33 Pekin Street #02-01
Far East Square
Singapore 048763
Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies / editors, Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, Linda Tuhiwai Smith.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4129-1803-9 (cloth)

1. Ethnology—Methodology. 2. Ethnology—Research. 3. Social sciences—Research. 4. Critical theory.
I. Denzin, Norman K. II. Lincoln, Yvonna S. III. Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 1950-

GN345.H364 2008

305.8001—dc22

2007047620

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

08 09 10 11 12 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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INTRODUCTION

Critical Methodologies and Indigenous Inquiry

Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln

Despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Waitangi, the colonization of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the subsequent neocolonial dominance of majority interests in social and educational research have continued. The result has been the development of a tradition of research into Māori people's lives that addresses concerns and interests of the predominantly non-Māori researchers' own making, as defined and made accountable in terms of the researchers' own cultural worldview(s).

—Bishop (2005, p. 110)

The capitalist system, and globalization theory which speak of ethics, hide the fact that their ethics are those of the marketplace and not the universal ethics of the human person. It is for these matters that we ought to struggle courageously if we have, in truth, made a choice for a humanized world.

—Freire (1998, p. 114, paraphrase)

There is hope, however timid, on the street corners, a hope in each and everyone of us. . . . Hope is an ontological need.

—Freire (1992/1999, p. 8)

When I discovered the work of . . . Paulo Freire, my first introduction to critical pedagogy, I found a mentor and a guide.

—hooks (1994, p. 6)

We seek a productive dialogue between indigenous and critical scholars. This involves a re-visioning of critical pedagogy, a re-grounding of Paulo Freire's (2000) pedagogy of the oppressed in local, indigenous contexts. We call this merger of indigenous and critical methodologies *critical indigenous pedagogy* (CIP). It understands that all inquiry is both political and moral. It uses methods critically, for explicit social justice purposes. It values the transformative power of indigenous, subjugated knowledges. It values the pedagogical practices that produce these knowledges (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 15), and it seeks forms of praxis and inquiry that are emancipatory and empowering. It embraces the commitment by indigenous scholars to decolonize Western methodologies, to criticize and demystify the ways in which Western science and the modern academy have been part of the colonial apparatus. This revisioning of critical pedagogy understands with Paulo Freire and Antonio Faundez (1989, p. 46) that "indigenous knowledge is a rich social resource for any justice-related attempt to bring about social change" (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 15).

In this introduction, we will outline a methodology, a borderland epistemology, and a set of interpretive practices that we hope will move this dialogue forward. This will entail a critique of traditional research approaches to indigenous life—that is, those positivist and postpositivist approaches that address the concerns and interests of nonindigenous scholars (Bishop, 2005, p. 110; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 15).

Such inquiry should meet multiple criteria. It must be 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. Such a framework lays the foundation for the Decade of Critical Indigenous Inquiry.

At this level, *critical indigenous qualitative research* is always already political. The researcher must consider how his or her research benefits, as well as promotes, self-determination for research participants. According to Bishop (2005, p. 112), self-determination intersects with the locus of power in the research setting. It concerns issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimacy, and accountability. Critical indigenous inquiry begins with the concerns of indigenous people. It is assessed in terms of the benefits it creates for them. The work must represent indigenous persons honestly, without distortion or stereotype, and the research should honor indigenous knowledge, customs, and rituals. It should not be judged in terms of neocolonial paradigms. Finally, researchers should be accountable to indigenous persons. They, not Western scholars, should have first access to research findings and control over the distribution of knowledge.



Our argument unfolds in several parts. We begin by locating qualitative research and the current move to indigenous inquiry within their historical moments. We then briefly discuss the obstacles that confront the nonindigenous critical theorist. We next take up a group of terms and arguments, including critical methodology, indigenous epistemology, pedagogy, discourses of resistance, politics as performance, and counternarratives, as critical inquiry. A variety of indigenous pedagogies are briefly discussed, as is indigenous research as localized critical theory. We elaborate variations within the personal narrative approach to decolonized inquiry, extending Richardson's (2000) model of creative analytic practices, or what she calls CAP ethnography (p. 929). A politics of resistance is next outlined. We conclude with a discussion of indigenous models of power, truth, ethics, and social justice.



Sandoval (2000), Collins (1998), Mutua and Swadener (2004), Bishop (2005), and Lopez

(1998) observe that we are in the midst of “a large-scale social movement of anticolonialist discourse” (Lopez, 1998, p. 226). This movement is evident in the emergence and proliferation of indigenous epistemologies and methodologies (Sandoval, 2000), including the arguments of African American, Chicano, Latina/o, Native American, First Nation, Hawaiian, African, and Māori scholars, among others. These epistemologies are forms of critical pedagogy; that is, they embody a critical politics of representation that is embedded in the rituals of indigenous communities. Always already political, they are relentlessly critical of transnational capitalism and its destructive presence in the indigenous world (see Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000).



Qualitative research exists in a time of global uncertainty. Around the world, government agencies are attempting to regulate scientific inquiry by defining what counts as “good” science (for the case in Australia, see Cheek, 2006; for the case in the United Kingdom, see Torrance, 2006). Conservative regimes are enforcing evidence-based or scientifically based biomedical models of research (SBR). Yet, as in the case with such ill-conceived endeavors as, in the United States, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002, this experimental quantitative model is ill suited to

examining the complex and dynamic contexts of public education in its many forms, sites, and variations, especially considering the . . . subtle social difference produced by gender, race, ethnicity, linguistic status or class. Indeed, multiple kinds of knowledge, produced by multiple epistemologies and methodologies, are not only worth having but also demanded if policy, legislation and practice are to be sensitive to social needs. (Lincoln & Cannella, 2004a, p. 7; see also Lincoln & Cannella, 2004b)

Born out of a “methodological fundamentalism” that returns to a much-discredited model of empirical inquiry in which “only randomized experiments produce truth” (House, 2006, pp. 100–101),

such regulatory activities raise fundamental philosophical, epistemological, political, and pedagogical issues for scholarship and freedom of speech in the decolonized academy.

In response to such challenges, a methodology of the heart (Pelias, 2004), a prophetic, feminist postpragmatism that embraces an ethics of truth grounded in love, care, hope, and forgiveness, is needed. Love, here, to borrow from Antonia Darder and Luis F. Mirón (2006),

means to comprehend that the moral and the material are inextricably linked. And, as such, [we] must recognize love as an essential ingredient of a just society . . . love is a political principle through which we struggle to create mutually life-enhancing opportunities for all people. It is grounded in the mutuality and interdependence of our human existence—that which we share, as much as that which we do not. This is a love nurtured by the act of relationship itself. It cultivates relationships with the freedom to be at one’s best without undue fear. Such an emancipatory love allows us to realize our nature in a way that allows others to do so as well. Inherent in such a love is the understanding that we are not at liberty to be violent, authoritarian, or self-seeking. (p. 150)

Indigenous scholars are leading the way on this front.¹ During the “Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples” (1994–2004), a full-scale attack was launched on Western epistemologies and methodologies. Indigenous scholars asked that the academy decolonize its scientific practices (Battiste, 2006; Grande, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2006). At the same time, these scholars sought to disrupt traditional ways of knowing, while developing “methodologies and approaches to research that privileged indigenous knowledges, voices, and experiences” (L. T. Smith, 2005, p. 87). An alliance with the critical strands of qualitative inquiry and its practitioners seemed inevitable.

Today, nonindigenous scholars are building these connections, learning how to dismantle, deconstruct, and decolonize traditional ways of doing science, learning that research is always already both moral and political, learning how to let go. Ironically, as this letting go occurs,

a backlash against critical qualitative research gains momentum. New “gold standards” for reliability and validity, as well as design, are being advanced (St. Pierre, 2004). So-called evidence-based research—including the Campbell and Cochrane² models and protocols—have become fashionable (Pring, 2004; Thomas, 2004) even while its proponents fail to recognize that the very act of labeling some research as “evidence based” implies that some research fails to mount evidence—a strongly political and decidedly nonobjective stance. The criticisms, it seems, are coming in from all sides.

■ THE HISTORICAL FIELD

The term *research* is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 1). L. T. Smith (1999) contends that “the word itself is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. . . . It is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism” (p. 1), with the ways in which “knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified, and then represented back to the West” (p. 1). Sadly, qualitative research in many, if not all, of its forms (observation, participation, interviewing, ethnography) serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power, and for truth. The metaphor works this way: Research, quantitative and qualitative, is scientific. Research provides the foundation for reports about and representations of the other. In the colonial context, research becomes an objective way of representing the dark-skinned other to the White world. Colonizing nations relied on the human disciplines, especially sociology and anthropology, as well as their field note-taking journaling observers, to produce knowledge about strange and foreign worlds. This close involvement with the colonial project contributed, in significant ways, to qualitative research’s long and anguished history, to its becoming a dirty word.

Anthropological and sociological observers went to a foreign setting to study the culture, customs, and habits of another human group. Often,

this was a group that stood in the way of White settlers. Ethnographic reports of these groups were incorporated into colonizing strategies, ways of controlling the foreign, deviant, or troublesome other. Soon qualitative research would be employed in other social and behavioral science disciplines, including education (especially the work of Dewey), history, political science, business, medicine, nursing, social work, and communications.

By the 1960s, battle lines were drawn within the quantitative and qualitative camps. Quantitative scholars relegated qualitative research to a subordinate status in the scientific arena. In response, qualitative researchers extolled the humanistic virtues of their subjective, interpretive approach to human group life. In the meantime, indigenous peoples found themselves subjected to the indignities of both approaches, each methodology used in the name of a colonizing power (see Battiste, 2000b).

In North America, qualitative research operates in a complex historical field that crosscuts at least eight historical moments. These moments overlap and simultaneously operate in the present.³ We define them as the *traditional* (1900–1950); the *modernist*, or golden, age (1950–1970); *blurred genres* (1970–1986); the *crisis of representation* (1986–1990); the *postmodern*, a period of experimental and new ethnographies (1990–1995); *postexperimental inquiry* (1995–2000); the *methodologically contested present* (2000–2008); and the *future* (2008–), which is now. The future, the eighth moment, confronts the methodological backlash associated with the evidence-based social movement. It is concerned with moral discourse, with the development of sacred textualities. The eighth moment asks that the social sciences and the humanities become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalization, freedom, and community.⁴ Successive waves of epistemological theorizing move across these eight moments. In the first decade of this new century, we struggle to connect qualitative research to the hopes, needs, goals, and promises of a free democratic society.

Many critical methodologists and indigenous scholars are in the eighth moment, performing culture as they write it, understanding that the

dividing line between performativity (doing) and performance (done) has disappeared (Conquergood, 1998, p. 25). But even as this disappearance occurs, matters of racial injustice remain. The indigenous other is a racialized other.

Any discussion of critical, indigenous qualitative research must work within this complex historical field. Qualitative research means different things in each of these moments. Nonetheless, an initial, generic definition can be offered, understanding that there is no longer an objective, god's-eye view of reality. *Critical qualitative research* is a situated activity that locates the gendered observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices are forms of critical pedagogy. They transform the world.

Critical qualitative research embodies the emancipatory, empowering values of critical pedagogy. Like critical race theories and poststructural feminism (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000), critical qualitative research represents inquiry done for explicit political, utopian purposes, a politics of liberation, a reflexive discourse constantly in search of an open-ended, subversive, multivoiced epistemology (Lather, 2007, pp. x–xi).

Interpretive research practices turn the world into a series of performances and representations, including case study documents, critical personal experience narratives, life stories, field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. These performances create the space for critical, collaborative, dialogical work. They bring researchers and their research participants into a shared, critical space, a space where the work of resistance, critique, and empowerment can occur.

As indicated in the Preface, we locate indigenous methodology in an intersection of discourses, the site where theories of performance, pedagogy, and interpretive practice come together. This produces a focus on performance, interpretive pedagogies, indigenous inquiry practices, and theories of power, truth, ethics, and social justice. Taking our lead from the performance turn in the human disciplines (Denzin, 2003), we assert that the performative is always pedagogical, and the

pedagogical is always political. Critical personal narratives enact this view of the pedagogical. They can be turned into performance texts that function as performative interventions. Such work may queer autoethnography, by politicizing memory and reconfiguring storytelling and personal history, as counternarratives. Such work disrupts taken-for-granted epistemologies, by privileging indigenous interpretive pedagogies and inquiry practices.

■ A CAVEAT

In proposing a conversation between indigenous and nonindigenous discourses, we are mindful of several difficulties. First, the legacy of the helping Western colonizing Other must be resisted. As Linda Smith observes (1999), "They came, They saw, They named, They Claimed" (p. 80). As agents of colonial power, Western scientists discovered, extracted, appropriated, commodified, and distributed knowledge about the indigenous other. Māoris, for example, contend that these practices place control over research in the hands of the Western scholar. This means, Bishop (2005) argues, that the Māori are excluded from discussions concerning who has control over the initiation, methodologies, evaluations, assessments, representations, and distribution of the newly defined knowledge. The decolonization project challenges these practices that perpetuate Western power by misrepresenting and essentializing indigenous persons, often denying them a voice or an identity (Bishop, 2005).

Second, however, critical, interpretive performance theory and critical race theory, without modification, will not work within indigenous settings. The criticisms of G. Smith (2000), L. T. Smith (1999, 2000), Bishop (1994, 1998), Battiste (2000a, 2000b), Churchill (1996), Cook-Lynn (1998), and others make this very clear. Critical theory's criteria for self-determination and empowerment perpetuate neocolonial sentiments while turning the indigenous person into an essentialized "other" who is spoken for (Bishop, 2005). The categories of race, gender, and racialized identities cannot be turned

into frozen, essential terms, nor is racial identity a free-floating signifier (Grande, 2000, p. 348). Critical theory must be localized, grounded in the specific meanings, traditions, customs, and community relations that operate in each indigenous setting. Localized critical theory can work if the goals of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation are not treated as if they have “universal characteristics that are independent of history, context, and agency” (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 229).

Third, there is a pressing need to decolonize and deconstruct those structures within the Western academy that privilege Western knowledge systems and their epistemologies (Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p. 10; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). Indigenous knowledge systems are too frequently made into objects of study, treated as if they were instances of quaint folk theory held by the members of a primitive culture. The decolonizing project reverses this equation, making Western systems of knowledge the object of critique and inquiry.

Fourth, paraphrasing L. T. Smith (2005), the spaces between decolonizing research practices and indigenous communities must be carefully and cautiously articulated. They are fraught with uncertainty. Neoliberal and neoconservative political economies both act to turn knowledge about indigenous peoples into a marketable commodity. There are conflicts between competing epistemological and ethical frameworks, including (Western) institutional human subject research regulations. Research is regulated according to positivist epistemologies. Indigenous scholars and native intellectuals are pressed to produce technical knowledge that conforms to Western standards of truth and validity. Conflicts over who initiates and who benefits from such research are especially problematic (Bishop, 2005). Culturally responsive research practices must be developed. Such practices would locate power within the indigenous community. What is acceptable and not acceptable research is determined and defined from within the community. Such work encourages self-determination and empowerment (Bishop, 2005). In fact, in some indigenous communities, such practices are already codified (L. T. Smith, 1999);

such codes, regulating the activities, roles, and powers of nonindigenous researchers, might serve as a preliminary model for other such communities.

Fifth, in arguing for a dialogue between critical and indigenous theories, Denzin and Lincoln recognize that they are outsiders to the indigenous colonized experience. We write as privileged Westerners. At the same time, we seek to be “allied others” (Kaomea, 2004, p. 32; Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p. 4), fellow travelers of sorts, antipositivists, friendly insiders who wish to deconstruct from within the Western academy and its positivist epistemologies. We endorse a critical epistemology that contests notions of objectivity and neutrality. We value autoethnographic, insider, participatory, collaborative methodologies (Fine et al., 2003). These are narrative, performative methodologies—research practices that are reflexively consequential, ethical, critical, respectful, and humble. These practices require that scholars live with the consequences of their research actions (L. T. Smith, 1999, pp. 137–139).



In calling for a dialogue between indigenous and nonindigenous qualitative researchers, we are mindful of Terry Tempest Williams’s cautious advice about borrowing stories and narratives from indigenous peoples. In her autoethnography, *Pieces of White Shell: A Journey to Navajoland* (1984, p. 3), she praises the wisdom of Navajo storytellers and the stories they tell (p. 4). But she warns the reader we cannot emulate Native peoples: “We are not Navajo . . . their traditional stories don’t work for us. Their stories hold meaning for us only as examples. They can teach us what is possible. We must create our own stories” (p. 5).

As nonindigenous scholars seeking a dialogue with indigenous scholars, we (Denzin and Lincoln) must construct stories that are embedded in the landscapes through which we travel. These will be dialogical counternarratives, stories of resistance, of struggle, of hope, stories that create spaces for multicultural conversations, stories embedded in the critical democratic imagination.

■ PERFORMANCE AND CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Shaped by the sociological imagination (Mills, 1959), building on George Herbert Mead's (1938, p. 460) discursive, performative model of the act, critical qualitative research methodology imagines and explores the multiple ways in which performance can be understood, including as imitation, or *mimesis*; as *poiesis*, or construction; and as *kinesis*, movement, gendered bodies in motion (Conquergood, 1998, p. 31; Pollock, 1998, p. 43). The researcher-as-performer moves from a view of performance as imitation, or dramaturgical staging (Goffman, 1959), to an emphasis on performance as liminality, construction (McLaren, 1999), to a view of performance as embodied struggle, as an intervention, as breaking and remaking, and as kinesis, that is, a sociopolitical act (Conquergood, 1998, p. 32).

Viewed as struggles and interventions, performances and performance events become gendered, transgressive achievements, political accomplishments that break through "sedimented meanings and normative traditions" (Conquergood, 1998, p. 32). It is this performative model of emancipatory decolonized indigenous research that we endorse (see the Chapters 4, 9, 18, and 19, this volume).

The call to performance in the human disciplines requires a commitment to a progressive democratic politics, an ethics and aesthetics of performance (Pollock, 1998) that moves from critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005) to the radical pedagogical formulations of Paulo Freire (1998, 1992/1999, 2000), as his work is reformulated and reinvented by Antonia Darder (2002), Mirón (Chapter 28, this volume), Kincheloe and McLaren (2000, 2005), McLaren and Jaramillo (Chapter 10, this volume), Giroux and Giroux (Chapter 9, this volume), and others. This performance ethic borrows from and is grounded in the discourses of indigenous peoples (Mutua & Swadener, 2004).

Within this radical pedagogical space, the performative and the political intersect on the terrain of a praxis-based ethic. This is the space of post-colonial, indigenous participatory theater, a form

of critical pedagogical theater that draws its inspirations from Boal's major works: *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1974/1979), *The Rainbow of Desire* (1995), and *Legislative Theatre* (1998). This theater performs pedagogies that resist oppression (Balme & Carstensen, 2001; Greenwood, 2001).⁵ It enacts a politics of possibility (Madison, 1998) grounded in performative practices that embody love, hope, care, and compassion.

Consider the following:

In *House Arrest and Piano*, Anna Deavere Smith (2003) offers "an epic view of slavery, sexual misconduct, and the American presidency." Twelve actors, some in blackface, "play across lines of race, age and gender to 'become' Bill Clinton, Thomas Jefferson, Sally Hemings . . . and a vast array of historical and contemporary figures" (Kondo, 2000, p. 81).

In Native Canadian Bill Moses' play *Almighty Voice and His Wife* (1993) Native performers, wearing whiteface minstrel masks, mock such historical figures as Wild Bill Cody, Sitting Bull, and young Indian maidens called Sweet Sioux. (Gilbert, 2003, p. 692)

Contemporary indigenous playwrights and performers revisit and make a mockery of 19th-, 20th-, and 21st-century racist practices. They interrogate and turn the tables on blackface minstrelsy and the global colonial theater that reproduced racist politics through specific cross-race and cross-gender performances. These performances reflexively use historical restagings, masquerade, ventriloquism, and doubly inverted performances involving male and female "impersonators to create a subversive theater that undermines colonial racial representations (see Gilbert, 2003; Kondo, 2000, p. 83). This theater takes up key diasporic concerns, including those of memory, cultural loss, disorientation, violence, and exploitation (Balme & Carstensen, 2001, p. 45).⁶ This is a utopian theater that addresses issues of equity, healing, and social justice.⁷

■ A GLOSSARY AND A GENEALOGY

• **Pedagogy:** To teach in a way that leads. Pedagogy is always ideological and political.

Cultural pedagogy: The ways that cultural production functions as a form of education, as “it generates knowledge, shapes values and constructs identity . . . cultural pedagogy refers to the ways particular cultural agents produce . . . hegemonic ways of seeing” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 285; McLaren, 1999, p. 441).

Critical pedagogy: To performatively disrupt and deconstruct these cultural practices in the name of a “more just, democratic and egalitarian society” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 285).

▣ DEMOCRACY AND PEDAGOGY

The “democratic character of critical pedagogy is defined largely through a set of basic assumptions” (Giroux & Giroux, 2005, p. 21). Educational and everyday realities “are constructed in and through people’s linguistic, cultural, social and behavioral interactions which both shape and are shaped by social, political, economic and cultural forces” (Fishman & McLaren, 2005, p. 33). It is not enough to understand any given reality. There is a need to “transform it with the goal of radically democratizing educational sites and societies” (Fishman & McLaren, 2005, p. 33). Educators, as transformative intellectuals, actively shape and lead this project.

Through performances, critical pedagogy disrupts those hegemonic cultural and educational practices that reproduce the logics of neoliberal conservatism (Giroux & Giroux, 2005). Critical pedagogy subjects structures of power, knowledge, and practice to critical scrutiny, demanding that they be evaluated “in terms of how they might open up or close down democratic experiences” (Giroux & Giroux, 2005, p. 21). Critical pedagogy and critical pedagogical theater hold systems of authority accountable through the critical reading of texts, the creation of radical educational practices, and the promotion of critical literacy (Giroux & Giroux, 2005, p. 22). Critical pedagogy is “a transgressive discourse, a fluid way of seeing the world, a pedagogy of insubordination” (Steinberg, 2007, p. ix). In turn, critical pedagogy encourages resistance to the “discourses of privatization, consumerism, the methodologies of standardization and accountability, and the new

disciplinary techniques of surveillance” (Giroux & Giroux, 2005, p. 23).

Critical pedagogy and its related critical methodologies can be summarized in terms of a small set of principles involving cultural politics, political economy, and critical theory. Critical pedagogy embraces a dialectical, relational view of knowledge. It conceives of the human agent in active terms. Following Gramsci, there is an emphasis on critiques of ideology and the development of counterhegemonic forms of discourse and praxis, as well as theories of resistance that presume the historicity of knowledge (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003, pp. 12–14). With the Frankfurt school, efforts are made to show how theory and praxis are intertwined. Truth claims are subject to the critiques of praxis as well as to critical pedagogy, to counterhegemonic discourses that embrace an emancipatory cultural politics, including principles of radical democracy.

New regimes of truth are sought. What is true must also be just and right. What is just is based on pedagogies of kindness, hope, and love (Darder, 2002, p. 32). Critical pedagogy and its methodologies honor the experiences of indigenous persons and build on these experiences to construct empowering cultures of compassion and care (Darder et al., 2003, p. 11).

▣ THE CRITICS

Critical pedagogy has not been without its critics (Darder et al., 2003, pp. 16, 21; Ellsworth, 1989; Grande, Chapter 12, this volume; Kincheloe, 2005, pp. 48–49; Lather, 1991, pp. 43–49, 1998; Luke & Gore, 1992; L. T. Smith, 1999, pp. 185–189). While committed to critical pedagogy’s key values of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation, critics nonetheless take issue with how these values are implemented in practice. Indigenous scholars argue that some versions of critical pedagogy undertheorize and diminish the importance of indigenous concepts of identity, sovereignty, land, tradition, literacy, and language. Grande (Chapter 12, this volume) fears that some critical pedagogy theorists persist in imposing

Western, Enlightenment views of these terms on the indigenous experience.

Poststructural and postmodern feminists assert that critical pedagogy did not adequately engage the issues of biography, history, emotionality, sexual politics, gender, and patriarchy. Furthermore, they challenge the privileging of reason “as the ultimate sphere upon which knowledge is constructed” (Darder et al., 2003, p. 16). Critics contended that the rationalist premise silences the voices of repressed persons (Darder et al., 2003, p. 16).

Ellsworth (1989, p. 309) argued that the theory failed to interrogate the perspective of the White male theorist. She and others asserted that this failure compromises the emancipatory goals of the theory (Lather, 1991, p. 48; L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 186). Feminist scholars of color pointed to the failure of critical theory to take up “questions of subordinate cultures from the specific location of racialized populations themselves” (Darder et al., 2003, p. 17). Working-class educators criticized the theory because they felt its language was elitist and created a new form of oppression. Classroom educators and curriculum theorists contended that critical pedagogy was about politics and not education. Political economy critics argued that critical pedagogy theorists were obsessed with struggles surrounding culture and identity politics. This meant they were retreating from issues of class and capital, politics and the media.

Indigenous Research as Localized Critical Theory

Indigenous critics, including Bishop (1994, 2005) and L. T. Smith (1999, pp. 185–186), observe that critical theory failed to address how indigenous cultures and their epistemologies were sites of resistance and empowerment. This criticism, however, was muted by the commitment of indigenous scholars to the same values as critical theory—namely, to resistance and struggle at the local level.

Indeed, L. T. Smith (2000) connects her version of indigenous inquiry, Kaupapa Māori research, with critical theory, as well as cultural studies,

suggesting, with G. Smith (2000), that Kaupapa Māori research is a “local theoretical position that is the modality through which the emancipatory goal of critical theory, in a specific historical, political and social context, is practised” (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 229; see also Bishop, 2005). However, critical theory is fitted to the Māori worldview, which asserts that Māori are connected to the universe and their place in it through the principle of *Whakapapa*. This principle tells Māori that they are the seeds or direct descendants of the heavens. Whakapapa turns the universe into a moral space where all things great and small are interconnected, including science and research.

The “local” that localizes critical theory is always historically specific. The local is grounded in the politics, circumstances, and economies of a particular moment, a particular time and place, a particular set of problems, struggles, and desires. There is a politics of resistance and possibility (Madison, 1998; Pollock, 1998) embedded in the local. This is a politics that confronts and breaks through local structures of resistance and oppression. This is a politics that asks, “Who writes for whom? Who is representing indigenous peoples, how, for what purposes, for which audiences, who is doing science for whom?” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 37).

A critical politics of interpretation leads the indigenous scholar to ask eight questions about any research project, including those projects guided by critical theory:

1. What research do we want done?
2. Whom is it for?
3. What difference will it make?
4. Who will carry it out?
5. How do we want the research done?
6. How will we know it is worthwhile?
7. Who will own the research?
8. Who will benefit? (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 239)

These questions are addressed to indigenous and nonindigenous researchers alike. They must be answered in the affirmative; that is, indigenous

persons must conduct, own, and benefit from any research that is done on, for, or with them.

These eight questions serve to interpret critical theory through a moral lens, through key indigenous principles. They shape the moral space that aligns indigenous research with critical theory. Thus, both formations are situated within the antipositivist debate. They both rest on antifoundational epistemologies. Each privileges performative issues of gender, race, class, equity, and social justice. Each develops its own understandings of community, critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 228). Each understands that the outcome of a struggle can never be predicted in advance, that struggle is always local and contingent; it is never final (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 229).

By localizing discourses of resistance and by connecting these discourses to performance ethnography and critical pedagogy, indigenous research enacts what critical theory “actually offers to oppressed, marginalized and silenced groups . . . [that is] through emancipation groups such as the Māori would take greater control of their own lives and humanity” (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 229). This requires that indigenous groups “take hold of the project of emancipation and attempt to make it a reality on their own terms” (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 229). This means that inquiry is always grounded in principles centered on autonomy, home, family, and kinship. It presupposes a shared collective community vision. Under this framework, research is not a commodity or “purchased product . . . owned by the state” (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 231).

Localized critical indigenous theory and critical indigenous pedagogy encourages indigenists, as well as nonindigenous scholars, to confront key challenges connected to the meanings of science, community, and democracy. G. Smith (2000, pp. 212–215) and L. T. Smith (2000) have outlined these challenges, asking that indigenists

1. be proactive; they should name the world for themselves—furthermore, “being Māori is an essential criterion for carrying out Kaupapa Māori research” (L. T. Smith, 2000, pp. 229–230);

2. craft their own version of science and empirical activity, including how science and scientific understandings will be used in their world;
3. develop a participatory model of democracy that goes beyond the “Westminster ‘one person, one vote, majority rule’” (G. Smith, 2000, p. 212);
4. use theory proactively, as an agent of change, but act in ways that are accountable to the indigenous community and not just the academy;
5. resist new forms of colonization, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), while contesting neocolonial efforts to commodify indigenous knowledge.

In proactively framing participatory views of science, empirical research, democracy, and community, indigenous peoples advance the project of decolonization.

■ INDIGENOUS VOICES, CRITICAL PEDAGOGY, AND EPISTEMOLOGIES OF RESISTANCE

Indigenous pedagogies are grounded in an oppositional consciousness that resists “neocolonizing postmodern global formations” (Sandoval, 2000, pp. 1–2). These pedagogies fold theory, epistemology, methodology, and praxis into strategies of resistance unique to each indigenous community. Thus, the oppositional consciousness of Kaupapa Māori research is like, but unlike, Black feminist epistemology (Collins, 1991, 1998), Chicano feminisms (Anzaldúa, 1987; Moraga, 1995), Red pedagogy (Grande, 2000; Harjo & Bird, 1997), and Hawaiian epistemology (Meyer, 2003). Still, there is a commitment to an indigenism, to an indigenist outlook, which, after Ward Churchill (1996), assigns the highest priority to the rights of indigenous peoples, to the traditions, bodies of knowledge, and values that have “evolved over many thousands of years by native peoples the world over” (p. 509).

Indigenist pedagogies are informed, in varying and contested ways, by decolonizing, revolutionary, and socialist feminisms. Such feminisms, in turn, address issues of social justice, equal rights,

and nationalisms of “every racial, ethnic, gender, sex, class, religion or loyalist type” (Sandoval, 2000, p. 7). Underlying each indigenist formation is a commitment to moral praxis, to issues of self-determination, empowerment, healing, love, community solidarity, respect for the Earth, and respect for elders.

Indigenists resist the positivist and postpositivist methodologies of Western science because these formations are too frequently used to validate colonizing knowledge about indigenous peoples. Indigenists deploy, instead, interpretive strategies and skills fitted to the needs, language, and traditions of their respective indigenous community. These strategies emphasize personal performance narratives and *testimonios*.

■ A MĀORI PEDAGOGY

As an example, Māori scholar Russell Bishop (1994, 1998, 2005; see also Chapter 21, this volume) presents a collaborative, participatory epistemological model of Kaupapa Māori research. This model is characterized by the absence of a need to be in control, by a desire to be connected to and to be a part of a moral community where a primary goal is the compassionate understanding of another’s moral position (Bishop, 1998, p. 203; Heshusius, 1994). The indigenist researcher wants to participate in a collaborative, altruistic relationship, where nothing “is desired for the self” (Bishop, 1998, p. 207), where research is evaluated by participant-driven criteria, by the cultural values and practices that circulate, for example, in Māori culture, including metaphors stressing self-determination, the sacredness of relationships, embodied understanding, and the priority of community over self. Researchers are led to develop new story lines and criteria of evaluation reflecting these understandings. These participant-driven criteria function as resources for resisting positivist and neoconservative desires to “establish and maintain control of the criteria for evaluating Māori experience” (Bishop, 1998, p. 212).

Extending Sandoval (2000), indigenists enact an ethically democratizing stance that is committed to “equalizing power differentials between humans” (Sandoval, 2000, p. 114). The goal “is to consolidate and extend . . . manifestos of liberation in order to better identify and specify a mode of emancipation that is effective within first world decolonizing global conditions during the twenty-first century” (Sandoval, 2000, p. 2).

■ TREATIES AS POLITICAL PEDAGOGY

These pedagogies confront and work through governmental treaties, ideological formations, historical documents, and broken promises that connect the indigenist group and its fate to the colonizing capitalist state. Thus, for example, during the “first 90-odd years of its existence the United States entered into and ratified more than 370 separate treaties . . . [and] has . . . defaulted on its responsibilities under every single treaty obligation it ever incurred with regard to Indians” (Churchill, 1996, pp. 516–517). First Nation tribes in Canada did not have aboriginal rights recognized in law until the Constitution Act of 1982 (Henderson, 2000, p. 165). In New Zealand, Māori debate the Treaty of Waitangi, which was signed between Māori chiefs and the British Crown in 1840. Pedagogically, these treaties inscribed and prescribed only one way of being indigenous—that is, as a person subservient to the colonial powers-to-be.

When Rigoberta Menchú accepted the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of indigenes, she reminded her audience that “we indigenous Peoples attach a great importance to the Treaties, Agreements, and other constructive accords that have been reached between Indigenous Peoples and the former colonial powers or states. They should be fully respected in order to establish new and harmonious relationships based on mutual respect and cooperation” (Menchú, quoted in Cook-Lynn, 2001, p. 34). Thus, does Menchú announce an ethical tenet, a requirement that the agreements of the past be respected and honored, held as sacred truths (Cook-Lynn, 2001, p. 35)?

■ DECOLONIZING THE ACADEMY

As argued above, critical indigenist pedagogy contests the complicity of the modern university with neocolonial forces (Battiste, 2000a, p. xi). It encourages and empowers indigenous peoples to make colonizers confront and be accountable for the traumas of colonization. In rethinking and radically transforming the colonizing encounter, this pedagogy imagines a postcolonial society and academy that honor difference and promote healing. A decolonized academy is interdisciplinary and politically proactive. It respects indigenous epistemologies and encourages interpretive, first-person methodologies. It honors different versions of science and empirical activity, as well as values cultural criticism in the name of social justice. It seeks models of human subject research that are not constrained by biomedical, positivist assumptions. It turns the academy and its classrooms into sacred spaces, sites where indigenous and nonindigenous scholars interact, share experiences, take risks, explore alternative modes of interpretation, and participate in a shared agenda, coming together in a spirit of hope, love, and shared community.

This decolonizing project attempts to rebuild nations, communities, and their people through the use of restorative indigenous ecologies. These native ecologies celebrate survival, remembering, sharing, gendering, new forms of naming, networking, protecting, and democratizing daily life (Battiste, 2000b; L. T. Smith, 1999, pp. 142–162).

Theory, method, and epistemology are aligned in this project, anchored in the moral philosophies that are taken for granted in Māori and other indigenous cultures and language communities (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 225). A pedagogy of emancipation and empowerment is endorsed, a pedagogy that encourages struggles for autonomy, cultural well-being, cooperation, and collective responsibility. This pedagogy demands that indigenous groups own the research process. It speaks the truth “to people about the reality of their lives” (Collins, 1998, p. 198). It equips them with the tools to resist oppression, and it moves them to struggle, to search for justice (Collins, 1998, pp. 198–199).

Pedagogies of Resistance

In response to the continuing pressures of neocolonialism and neocolonization, L. T. Smith (1999, pp. 142–162) outlines some 25 different indigenous projects, including those that create, name, democratize, reclaim, protect, remember, restore, and celebrate lost histories and cultural practices.⁸ These indigenous projects embody a pedagogy of hope and freedom. They turn the pedagogies of oppression and colonization into pedagogies of liberation. They are not purely utopian, for they map concrete performances that can lead to positive social transformations. They embody ways of resisting the process of colonization. They encourage processes that mobilize and transform communities at the local level. They honor indigenous cultural practices and, in so doing, contribute to steps that heal the wounds of colonization. Thus are issues of cultural survival and collective self-determination addressed.

■ CRITICAL PERSONAL NARRATIVE AS COUNTERNARRATIVE

The move to the politics of performance has been accompanied by a shift in the meaning of ethnography and ethnographic writing. Richardson (2000) observes that the narrative genres connected to ethnographic writing have “been blurred, enlarged, altered to include poetry, [and] drama” (p. 929). She uses the term *creative analytic practice* (CAP) to describe these many different reflexive performance narrative forms.

These forms include not only performance autoethnography but also short stories; conversations; fiction; personal narratives; creative nonfiction; photographic essays; personal essays; personal narratives of the self; writing stories; self stories; fragmented, layered texts; critical autobiography; memoirs; personal histories; cultural criticism; co-constructed performance narratives; and performance writing that blurs the edges between text, representation, and criticism.

Critical personal narratives are counternarratives, testimonies, autoethnographies, performance

texts, stories, and accounts that disrupt and disturb discourse by exposing the complexities and contradictions that exist under official history (Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p. 16). The critical personal narrative is a central genre of contemporary decolonizing writing. As a creative analytic practice, it is used to criticize "prevailing structures and relationships of power and inequity in a relational context" (Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p. 16).⁹

Counternarratives explore the "intersections of gender and voice, border crossing, dual consciousness, multiple identities, and selfhood in a . . . post-colonial and postmodern world" (Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p. 16). The *testimonio* is another form of counternarrative. Its purpose, in part, is to raise political consciousness. In it, the writer bears witness to social injustices experienced at the group level (Mutua & Swadener, 2004, p. 18). It is always an indigenous project, for it presumes that the subaltern can speak, and does, with power, conviction, and firsthand experience.

The *testimonio* has a central place in this project. Rigoberta Menchú (1984, p. 1) begins her *testimonio* with these words: "My name is Rigoberta Menchú, I am twenty-three years old, and this is my testimony." Critics contended that Menchú made up her story, that it was not truthful and could not be verified through scientific methodology (Cook-Lynn, 2001, p. 203). But as Cook-Lynn (2001) observes, respectfully remembering and honoring the past, not factual truthfulness, is how the *testimonio* should be read. Furthermore, Menchú was asking that the treaty agreements of the past be respected, so that new and harmonious relationships based on mutual respect and cooperation could be built (Cook-Lynn, 2001, p. 34). This ethical tenet and utopian impulse have been ignored by Menchú's critics (Cook-Lynn, 2001, p. 35). The struggle of colonized indigenous peoples to tell their own stories is at stake in these criticisms.

■ PERFORMANCE, PEDAGOGY, AND POLITICS

Clearly, the current historical moment requires morally informed performance and arts-based

disciplines that will help indigenous and nonindigenous peoples recover meaning in the face of senseless, brutal violence, violence that produces voiceless screams of terror and insanity. Cynicism and despair reign on a global scale. Never have we had a greater need for a militant utopianism to help us imagine a world free of conflict, oppression, terror, and death. We need oppositional performance disciplines that will show us how to create radical utopian spaces within our public institutions.

The central tensions in the world today go beyond the crises in capitalism and neoliberalism's version of democracy. The central crisis, as defined by Native Canadian, Hawaiian, Māori, and American Indian pedagogy, is spiritual, "rooted in the increasingly virulent relationship between human beings and the rest of nature" (Grande, 2000, p. 354). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) discusses the concept of spirituality within Māori discourse, giving added meaning to the crisis at hand:

The essence of a person has a genealogy which could be traced back to an earth parent. . . . A human person does not stand alone, but shares with other animate . . . beings relationships based on a shared "essence" of life . . . [including] the significance of place, of land, of landscape, of other things in the universe. . . . Concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, and then to appropriate, and then to claim, are critical sites of resistance for indigenous peoples. The value, attitudes, concepts and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent . . . the clearest contrast and mark of difference between indigenous peoples and the West. It is one of the few parts of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control . . . yet. (p. 74)

A respectful performance pedagogy honors these views of spirituality. It works to construct a vision of the person, ecology, and environment that is compatible with these principles. This pedagogy demands a politics of hope, of loving, of caring nonviolence grounded in inclusive moral and spiritual terms.

■ CULTURAL POLITICS AND AN INDIGENOUS RESEARCH ETHIC

There is much to be learned from indigenous scholars about how radical democratic practices can be made to work. As indicated above, indigenous scholars are committed to a set of moral and pedagogical imperatives and “to acts of reclaiming, reformulating, and reconstituting indigenous cultures and languages . . . to the struggle to become self-determining” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 142). These acts lead to a research program devoted to the pursuit of social justice. In turn, a specific approach to inquiry is required. In his discussion of a Māori approach to creating knowledge, Bishop (1998) observes that researchers in Kaupapa Māori contexts are

repositioned in such a way as to no longer need to seek to give voice to others, to empower others, to emancipate others, to refer to others as *subjugated* voices, but rather to listen and participate . . . in a process that facilitates the development in people as a sense of themselves as agentic and of having an authoritative voice. . . . An indigenous Kaupapa Māori approach to research . . . challenges colonial and neo-colonial discourses that inscribe “otherness.” (Bishop, 1998, pp. 207–208)

This participatory mode of knowing privileges sharing, subjectivity, personal knowledge, and the specialized knowledges of oppressed groups. It uses concrete experience as a criterion for meaning and truth. It encourages a participatory mode of consciousness (Bishop, 1998, p. 205), asking that the researcher give the group a gift as a way of honoring the group’s sacred spaces. If the group picks up the gift, then a shared reciprocal relationship can be created (Bishop, 1998, p. 207). The relationship that follows is built on understandings involving shared Māori beliefs and cultural practices.

In turn, research is evaluated by Māori-based criteria. Like Freire’s revolutionary pedagogy, West’s (1993) prophetic pragmatism, and Collins’s (1991) Afrocentric feminist moral ethic, the Māori value dialogue as a method for assessing knowledge

claims. The Māori moral position also privileges storytelling, listening, voice, and personal performance narratives (see also Collins, 1991, pp. 208–212). This moral pedagogy rests on an ethic of care and love and personal accountability that honors individual uniqueness and emotionality in dialogue (Collins, 1991, pp. 215–217). This is a performative, pedagogical ethic, grounded in the ritual, sacred spaces of family, community, and everyday moral life (Bishop, 1998, p. 203). It is not imposed by some external, bureaucratic agency. This view of knowing parallels the commitment within certain forms of Red pedagogy to the performative as a way of being, as a way of knowing, as a way of expressing moral and spiritual ties to the community (Grande, 2000, p. 356; Graveline, 2000, p. 361).

Moral Codes and the Performative as a Site of Resistance

Because it expresses and embodies moral ties to the community, the performative view of meaning serves to legitimate indigenous worldviews. Meaning and resistance are embodied in the act of performance itself. The performative is where the soul of the culture resides. In their sacred and secular performances, the members of the culture honor one another and the culture itself.

A new set of moral and ethical research protocols is required. Fitted to the indigenous (and nonindigenous) perspective, these are moral matters. They are shaped by the feminist, communitarian principles of sharing, reciprocity, relationality, community, and neighborliness (Lincoln, 1995, p. 287). They embody a dialogic ethic of love and faith grounded in compassion (Bracci & Christians, 2002, p. 13; West, 1993). Accordingly, the purpose of research is not the production of new knowledge per se. Rather, the purposes are pedagogical, political, moral, and ethical, involving the enhancement of moral agency, the production of moral discernment, a commitment to praxis, justice, an ethic of resistance, and a performative pedagogy that resists oppression (Christians, 2002, p. 409).

A code embodying these principles interrupts the practice of positivist research, resists the idea of research being something that White men do to indigenous peoples. Furthermore, unlike in the United States, where an institutional review board (IRB) model of inquiry is used that is not content driven, indigenous codes are anchored in a culture and its way of life. Unlike the IRB mode, it connects its moral model to a set of political and ethical actions that will increase well-being in indigenous culture. The code refuses to define indigenous peoples as subjects who have been turned into the natural objects of White inquiry. Indigenous codes reject the Western utilitarian model of the individual as someone who has rights distinct from the rights of the larger group, "for example the right of an individual to give his or her own knowledge, or the right to give informed consent . . . community and indigenous rights or views in this area are generally not . . . respected" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 118). Individual Māori do not have these rights.

Research ethics for Māori and other indigenous communities "extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality" (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 241). These ethics are not "prescribed in codes of conduct for researchers but tend to be prescribed for Māori researchers in cultural terms" (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 242). These terms ask that researchers show respect for the Māori by exhibiting a willingness to listen, to be humble, to be cautious, to increase knowledge, to not "trample over the *mana* of people" (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 242).

■ CONCLUSION: TURNING THE TABLES ON THE COLONIZERS

Here at the end, it is possible to imagine scenarios that turn the tables on the neocolonizer. It is possible to imagine, for example, human subject research practices that really do respect human rights, protocols of informed consent that inform and do not deceive, research projects that do not harm, and projects that in fact benefit human communities.

Indigenous ethical and moral models call into question the more generic, utilitarian, biomedical, Western model of ethical inquiry (see Bracci & Christians, 2002; Christians, 2000, 2002). They outline a radical-ethical path for the future. They transcend IRB principles that focus almost exclusively on the problems associated with betrayal, deception, and harm. They call for a collaborative social science research model that makes the researcher responsible, not to a removed discipline (or institution) but rather to those studied. This model stresses personal accountability, caring, the value of individual expressiveness, the capacity for empathy, and the sharing of emotionality (Collins, 1991, p. 216). This model implements collaborative, participatory performative inquiry. It forcefully aligns the ethics of research with a politics of the oppressed, with a politics of resistance, hope, and freedom.

This model directs scholars to take up moral projects that respect and reclaim indigenous cultural practices. Such work produces spiritual, social, and psychological healing. Healing, in turn, leads to multiple forms of transformation at the personal and social levels. These transformations shape processes of mobilization and collective action. These actions help persons realize a radical performative politics of possibility. This politics enacts emancipatory discourses and critical pedagogies that honor human difference and draw for inspiration on the struggles of indigenous persons. In listening to the stories of indigenous storytellers, we learn new ways of being moral and political in the social world. We come together in a shared agenda, with a shared imagination and a new language, struggling together to find liberating ways of interpreting and performing in the world (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 37). In this way, does *research* cease to be a dirty word?

■ NOTES

1. The list of names is long. It is nearly impossible to be complete. In addition to the indigenous authors in this handbook, see Bishop (2005, p. 111), L. T. Smith (2005, pp. 103–107), Ladson-Billings and Donnor (Chapter 4, this volume), and Battiste (2000a, 2000b).

2. For a concise overview of the Campbell and Cochrane models, see Mosteller and Boruch (2002).

3. Jameson (1991, pp. 3–4) reminds us that any periodization hypothesis is always suspect, even those that reject linear, stage-like models. It is never clear what reality a stage refers to. What divides one stage from another is always debatable. Our eight moments are meant to mark discernible shifts in style, genre, epistemology, ethics, politics, and aesthetics.

4. See Denzin and Lincoln (2005, pp. 2–3, 13–20, for an extended discussion of these moments). This model has been termed a “progress narrative” by Alasuutari (2004, pp. 599–600) and Seale, Gobo, Gubrium, and Silverman (2004, p. 2). The critics assert that we believe that the most recent moment is the most up-to-date, the avant-garde, the cutting edge (Alasuutari, 2004, p. 601). Naturally, we dispute this reading. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, pp. 5–8) have modified our historical periods to fit their historical analysis of the major moments in the emergence of mixed methods in the past century.

5. This theater often uses verbatim accounts of injustice and violence in daily life. See Mienczakowski (1995, p. 5; see also Chessman, 1971) for a history of “verbatim theater” and Mienczakowski’s extensions of this approach, using oral history, participant observation, and the methods of ethnodrama. A contemporary use of verbatim theater is the play *Guantanamo: Honor Bound to Defend Freedom* (Riding, 2004). This anti-Iraq war play addresses the plight of British citizens imprisoned at Guantanamo. The “power of Guantanamo is that it is not really a play but a re-enactment of views expressed in interviews, letters, news conferences, and speeches by various players in the post-Sept 11 Iraq war drama, from British Muslim detainees, to lawyers, from U.S. Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, to Jack Straw, Britain’s foreign secretary” (Riding, 2004, p. B2). Nicolas Kent, the play’s director, says he believes “political theater works here because the British have an innate sense of justice. When we do stories about injustice . . . there is a groundswell of sympathy . . . people are furious that there isn’t due process. With Islamophobia growing around the world I wanted to show that we, too, think there is an injustice” (Riding, 2004, p. B2).

6. W. E. B. Du Bois (1901/1978) reminds us that “the problem of the twenty-first century, on a global scale, will be the problem of the color line . . . modern democracy cannot succeed unless peoples of different races and religions are also integrated into the democratic whole” (pp. 281, 288). This democratic whole cannot be

imposed by one culture or nation on another; it must come from within the culture itself.

7. At another level, indigenous participatory theater extends the project connected to Third World popular theater. This is political “theatre used by oppressed Third World people to achieve justice and development for themselves” (Etherton, 1988, p. 991). The International Popular Theatre Alliance, organized in the 1980s, uses existing forms of cultural expression to fashion improvised dramatic productions that analyze situations of poverty and oppression. This grassroots approach uses agit-prop and sloganizing theater (theater pieces devised to foment political action) to create collective awareness and collective action at the local level. This form of theater has been popular in Latin America, Africa, parts of Asia, India, and among Native populations in the Americas (Etherton, 1988, p. 992).

8. Other projects involve a focus on testimonies, new forms of storytelling, returning to, as well as reframing and regendering, key cultural debates.

9. Cast in this form, the critical personal narrative counters the criticisms that it is inherently conservative because it romanticizes marginality, ignores issues of political economy, and engages in simplistic, chauvinistic essentialisms (see Darder & Torres, 2004, pp. 103–104).

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