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15. The power of place and the 'good citizen'

William Fogarty and Hilde Sollid

Abstract Across the globe, constructs of place are foundational to Indigenous cosmologies and customary practice. Understandings of place are also central to self and collective identity formation. As such, Indigenous understandings of the self as citizen are influenced by connections to land. Similarly, ideas of belonging to 'Country' and customary learnings form a central tenet in Indigenous conceptions of what a 'good' citizen may be. Paradoxically, the role of place in education for Indigenous students is greatly underutilised. Through snapshots from Australia and Norway, we argue for the potential of place-based pedagogy in Indigenous education.

Keywords place | place-based pedagogy | citizenship | land | identity

I (Hilde) am in a school hallway, on my way to a class in Sámi as second language. The hallway connects the L shaped wooden school, from the gym in one end via administration offices, a hall, and to the classrooms in the other end. The building is a sturdy construction for about 90 students and teachers, a shelter from the cold rain, wind and snow that dominates the outdoor conditions most of the school year. Inside, the walls are covered by golden wooden boards. The atmosphere is warm and welcoming. This spring day, windows on one side of the hallway brighten up the room and illuminate the green doors of the classrooms. Beyond the walls and doors there are a number of historical school pictures and some fabricated posters, highlighting national educational priorities like mathematics and science. However, the many pieces of student artwork and teachers' homemade posters are the most prominent. I notice three miniature lávvo,[1] small Sámi tents made of wooden pillars with knitted grey rugs. The knittings are re-creations of renowned, locally woven rugs. In

1 A *lávvo* is a traditional Sámi tent used as a temporary shelter.

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> passing these traces of student activity, I am reminded of how I used to help my mother to spin wool and ball the yarn of local sheep for her knitting, and of my aunt's warp-weighted loom that she used in the making of traditional woven rugs. The miniature lávvu's presence in this semiotic landscape creates a link to the local language and culture, and situates students, teachers and people who pass by in a temporal place encompassing past, present and future. In this hallway, I get a glimpse of the interwoven process of teaching, learning and creation of place. In that moment I think about how a simple knitted rug, so intrinsic to this place, relates to a broader pedagogic movement of students, teachers and researchers engaged in reclaiming Sámi language through knowledge about local livelihood traditions and customary cultural practices.

This chapter is a snapshot of an ongoing conversation about citizenship and education between the two authors, William (Bill) Fogarty and Hilde Sollid. Despite the great distance and differences between our contexts in Australia (Bill) and Norway (Hilde) our discussions through this project have unearthed a great many similarities. One of the similarities is around the notion of place.

In our chapter, we argue that constructs of place, 'Country' and land are foundational to Indigenous cosmologies and customary practice across the globe. Understandings of place are also central to both self and collective identity formation. As such, Indigenous understandings of the self as 'citizen', of either a nation state or sovereign Indigenous nation, are heavily influenced by connections to land. Similarly, ideas of belonging to 'Country' and customary learnings, based in place, form a central tenet in Indigenous conceptions of what a 'good' citizen may be. Paradoxically, the role of 'place' in education provision for Indigenous students is rarely acknowledged and greatly underutilised. In this paper, through snapshots from both Australia and Norway, we argue for the potential of 'place-based' approaches to Indigenous education and pedagogy. Further, we reflect on the dialectic role place-based pedagogy might play in mediating the relationship between the state, Indigenous 'community' and understandings of citizenship.

THE 'GOOD CITIZEN' AND EDUCATION

During his term as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, Australian of the year and Yawru leader Professor Mick Dodson (1993) said, and we quote:

> 'Citizenship' as it applies in the contemporary socio-political context implicitly contains reference to the concepts of nationhood, social organisation, and the structural relationship between peoples and the Nation State. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, each of these terms, as they are currently applied in Australia, are fraught with problems, because they are largely built on assumptions which a priori exclude the claims of Aboriginal people to full political, social and cultural recognition as the first peoples of Australia.

Professor Dodson goes on to suggest that the construct of citizenship, at least as it is applied in Australia, fails to recognise that for many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, citizenship may pertain both to membership of an Indigenous Nation and a nation state. Further he challenges the legitimacy of a nation state which usurped existing First Nations and their citizenry, colonising and debilitating pre-existing social structures of governance, law, leadership and language. To this list we can also we can also add Indigenous forms and modes of education.

Perspectives on citizenship for the Indigenous Sámi people in Norway have similarities with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, despite distance and differences in the process of colonialism. In Norway there was no external settler colonialism, but rather internal colonialism as the politick for gaining control over territories and the Sámi people. This is significant for today's ideas of citizenship, as the process of colonisation created a hierarchisation between different groups of people (Sámi, Norwegian and Kven) who were living side by side like neighbours. Appropriation of land and suppression of Sámi ways of living was at the heart of colonisation, and comprehensive assimilation politics were influenced by 19th-century ideas of nation states and social Darwinism. Ultimately, the aim was to transform Sámi into Norwegian citizens based on Norwegian ideas of the 'good' citizen. It is important here that although there was little space for Sámi ways of life, the Sámi people were not deprived of, or excluded from Norwegian citizenship, but formal citizenship was largely dependent on Christian confirmation and language competence in Norwegian. A new era of state policy towards the Sámi started after the Second World War, initiated by Sámi grassroots movements (e.g., Andresen, Evjen, & Ryymin, 2021; Broderstad, this volume). In this process the Sámi gained more rights in terms of governance and self-determination, without losing access to Norwegian citizenship. Indigenous citizenship here points to a possible duality of citizenship. In fact, there are signs of trust of, and engagement with, both Sámi and Norwegian political and state institutions (see Selle, Semb, Strømsnes, & Dyrnes Nordø, 2015), contrary to what is found in

Australia (cf. Mercer, 2003). There are, however, still tensions and dilemmas concerning the centring of Sámi rights and belonging in the nation state's societal structures – for instance in education.

The sociological literature generally sees 'education', in a mainstream sense, as a major site for the production and reproduction of societal norms. A factory, if you like, for the engineering of productive and perhaps malleable individuals who will contribute both to civic society and the socio-political and socio-economic stability of the nation state. In this sense, education can be seen as a way to fashion a 'good' citizen. As Bulloch and Fogarty (2016) have argued:

> Advanced liberal government seeks to mould a certain type of free subject: autonomous, responsible, enterprising individuals who exercise rational choices in the space of the market and who regulate themselves according to certain disciplined notions of time and space (Rose, 1996a). For example, as liberal citizens, we locate ourselves so that markets and, relatedly, opportunities for formal employment are accessible, allowing us to participate freely as responsible autonomous individuals in the market economy. As free individuals, we regulate ourselves according to the clock. We learn 'to count our lives by hours, minutes, seconds, the time of work and the time of leisure, the week and the weekend, opening hours and closing time' (Rose, 1999, p. 31). Freedom becomes a matter of choosing our vocation in the context of a liberal state and market economy; of choosing items from the supermarket shelf; of choosing how to style our hair, what to watch on television in our 'free' time, and where to go on holiday. As free citizens, we regulate our lives in large part around the market. Being free, in this regard, is a learned behaviour. (pp. 83–84)

But for many Indigenous populations across the globe, this form of citizenry may be complex or even abhorrent, and the education supporting the development of the 'good citizen' a form of structural violence. For Indigenous people, formal education systems may represent a perpetuation of colonial violence through denial of language, societal norms, and customary practices (that are distinctly Indigenous), in favour of the reproduction of the dominant culture (Levinson & Holland, 1996). In other words, the construction of the good citizen for the nation state comes at a cost to what it may mean to be a good citizen of a First Nation. However, a failure within, or rejection of, formal education provided by the colonial state, precludes the Indigenous citizen from enjoying the full benefits of the wider nation state. While not a simple binary, as there is a plethora of educational aspirations across a diversity of Indigenous populations in places like Australia, Aotearoa and Norway,

there is nonetheless an abiding dilemma facing the Indigenous citizen when it comes to education (Fogarty, 2010).

Of course, Indigenous populations have not been agency-less in reforming state education systems. We can point to Kaupapa Māori in Aotearoa, contestations over bilingual education in Australia and the introduction of the parallel Sámi curriculum in Norway as efforts to decolonise and reclaim the pedagogic space. And it is here, in this struggle over what and whose ideas will be reproduced in the development of the future citizen through education, that we wish to introduce the role of place-based pedagogy.

AN INDIGENOUS PLACE

In Australia, as elsewhere, the continued contestation over land and culture has ensured that 'place' in all its meanings becomes critical in discussions concerning the dispossession and marginalisation of Indigenous people. Whose place is whose and who has the authority, rights, tradition and power in, and through, place have all become key questions as Indigenous interests negotiate new meanings of place and identity in response to colonisation and the impacts of modernity and development. This is particularly acute in the jurisprudence of Native Title in Australia where continuity of tradition and connection to place become paramount in legal contestation over land (Edmunds, 1994, p. 4).[2,3] Also in Norway, despite the Finnmark Act of 2005, which was intended as a remedy to resolve contestations over land in a politically highly important part of the Norwegian side of Sápmi, there are legal contestations over land and over interpretations of the practices on land (see Ravna & Bankes, 2017). In both our cases, questions of connections to land remain a juridical and political battlefield.[4]

2 The High Court Mabo Decision in 1992 and the passing of the Native title Act in 1993 dictated the ways in which Indigenous ownership of land in Australia may be formally recognised and incorporated within Australian legal and property regimes. In order to make claims to a 'bundle of rights' in land, Indigenous claimants must demonstrate an unbroken connection to land (see Tehan, 2003).

3 A common source of tension and the emergence of disputes over claims is related to knowledge about place and who possesses it (both the land and the knowledge). It could be argued that in the case of Native title and the onus of proof of continuity of connection that the state, through law, has imposed a concept of place that is hopelessly bounded and ultimately destined to fail.

4 Finnmarksloven (2005) transfers ownership over land from the state to a local ownership body (The Finnmark Estate) and authorises a legal surveying commission. The contestations over land are, however, not limited to Finnmark, but beyond this northernmost part of Norway, the legal regulations do not as strongly consider the rights of the Indigenous Sámi.

In a more transnational sense, issues and concepts of place for Indigenous people have come to the fore in the struggle to redress the 'undoing' of place through colonisation and wholesale dispossession. Mueuhlebach (2003), in her analysis of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous populations (WGIP[5]), argues convincingly that delegates were active in the creation of an 'Indigenous place' within the forum. Through a discourse of imagery and a 'way of being in the world' that transcended the boundedness of geographic differences, they formed a 'transnational political practice' that created a 'place' for global activism. In this way, we see Indigenous people re-making place as a strategic resistance to pernicious dispossessions of place.

Mueuhlebach's form of place making depends upon a distinctly Indigenous concept of place. Indeed, Indigenous people have long expressed a deep and all-encompassing attachment to place. This is also typically, although not universally, presented as different, or in opposition to non-Indigenous understandings of place. In Australia, for example, this is often expressed in the Aboriginal concept 'Country'.

The relationship between Aboriginal people and place has been a key feature of Western anthropological descriptions of Aboriginal people since first contact. In more recent times, Aboriginal people themselves have co-opted and adapted the word 'Country' to describe their relationship to land and place and in the process, positioned the term as central to their identity (e.g., Peterson, Langton & Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1983; Yunupingu, 1997). Inherent in this term is the notion that the people and the land form an indivisible One; a whole that inscribes a partnership transcending the 'material' and intimately connected to the 'cosmological'. 'Country', like place therefore, can hold a meaning far greater than a geographical or physiological descriptor. Rather, Country, with a capital C, can be considered a personal pronoun; a sentient being as it were (Baker, Davies, & Young, 2001). Yet from some Aboriginal viewpoints', a mere personification cannot do the term justice. 'Country' is more than that. It is, in a difficult and paradoxical sense, both a localised and universal essence, an immediately concrete and inordinately abstract concept. Unsurprisingly, the 'Western gaze' (Rose, 1996) has had great trouble seeing and grasping the deeper meanings of the term.

Further clouding the coloniser's metaphoric lens is the fact that Aboriginal understandings of Country and place are neither homogenous, nor reified; they are, rather, an amalgam of the past and present and the individual and the collective, thrown together in what de la Cadena & Starn (2007) have termed a 'dense dialogical formation' (p. 7) of identity. As such, there can be no presumption that

5 The WGIP has now become the permanent UN forum on the rights of Indigenous people.

one understanding of place and another's hold any defined continuity or fixity. Similarly, an attachment to or understanding of Country is much shaped and configured by the discourses and histories of the struggle for rights and place in land, as well as being a deliberate part of constructing an identity differentiated from the settler state. Out of this complexity grows a multiplicity of Aboriginal cultural formation and identity which is very much underpinned by a sense of place.

The Sámi people in Norway navigate by equally strong and complex ties between land, place, and peoples. The use of land varies according to the landscape and is also changing over time. Land and place as social constructs are thus fluid and changing, but nevertheless important in terms of identity and belonging. In the contemporary Sámi context, the cosmological aspects of this relationship are present and intertwined with Christianity. This creates a blurry notion of land-life relationship in Sámi culture, but at the heart of this relation is reciprocity. Perhaps the most widely known expression of this relationship is found in the *sieidi*, a place, typically a rock or a special formation in the landscape, for sacrifice from people to land and other living entities to ensure benefits such as prosperity and good luck in fishing and reindeer herding (see Mathiesen, 2009). To be in and from a place is to learn about its physical, historical and social dimensions. At the core of a place are processes of meaning making of self, community and land.

Given the demonstrable importance of place to Indigenous Australians and Sámi, it is somewhat surprising that very little effort has been made to explicitly link pedagogy and place. While efforts at linking learning programs with the local environment, for example, have been a consistent feature of Indigenous education over time, these have been disparate. There have been no systemic efforts to develop programs which use local Indigenous concepts of place as the main platform for learning. Conversely, the development of a pedagogy of place in more mainstream educational fields has a relatively long and strong history.

PEDAGOGY OF PLACE

The importance of place in the cultural production of the educated person (Levinson & Holland, 1996) has long seen an academic and applied interest in place-based pedagogy of one kind or another. A pedagogy of place can arguably be seen as having its beginnings in John Dewey's (1897, 1902, 1916) progressive education theories which, paradoxically, are perhaps the antithesis of more postmodern readings we mention shortly. Essentially, Dewey was a proponent of a positivist educational approach, seen by many as pragmatic, although its essential elements called for a learner-centred approach through scientific inquiry. Throughout its development, a pedagogy of place has had its roots in environmental and science-based

education. Unsurprisingly, the ecology or physiology of the landscape has been very much at the fore of such approaches.

In more recent times, the advent of critical theories of communication, education and development have reinvigorated place in local pedagogy, but with a neo-Marxist or Foucauldian representations of class, power, gender or ethnicity at its centre. This type of education has many generic terms, but perhaps community-based education is used most commonly. Community-based education, concerned with people and their immediate reality, has a reasonably long history and an international research base (Comer, 1984; Corson, 1999, 2000; Corson & Lemay, 1996; Cummins, 1986, 1996; García & Otheguy, 1987; Greenberg, 1989; Haynes, Comer, & Hamilton-Lee, 1989; Høgmo, 1989; Høgmo, Tiller, & Solstad, 1981). Much of this work draws heavily on the writings of Paolo Freire (1972) and argues that Indigenous communities can reform education by inserting their own educational aspirations into the organisation, management, pedagogy, curriculum and the modes of evaluation in schools. In this way, the community's goals can become aligned with those of educational delivery. This in turn affects which regimes of knowledge can be dominant at a local level.

In 1999, Alberto Arenas coined the phrase 'pedagogy of place'. The notion of a pedagogy of place is positioned as oppositional to the focus on school underachievement as an indicator of social injustice. This approach, in part, can be seen as a reaction to a view of social justice as synonymous with school achievement, because social justice has increasingly been implemented as testing regimes (Arenas, 1999). Furthermore, this position sees a primary focus on statistical achievement as antithetical to place-based education, in that it distracts from a focus on community well-being and other moral purposes of schooling. Therefore, educators

> need to do more than echo the mantra of policy makers to prepare learners (future workers) for high-stakes testing and the global economic competition. They need to examine how the discourse of globalization, the discourse of progress, and the discourse of development shape schooling and community life at the local level. (Furman & Gruenewald, 2004, p. 62)

Despite Freire's influence, the ecology, physiology and hard science of the landscape has continued to dominate both classroom and theoretical approaches to pedagogies of place. In traversing this, Gruenewald wrote a seminal paper in 2003 where he explicitly linked a pedagogy of place with the critical theories of education and discourse. Gruenewald's work (2003, 2004, 2005, 2007) outlines a field of inquiry which encompasses a number of previous areas of inquiry including

'experiential learning, contextual learning, problem-based learning, constructivism, outdoor education, Indigenous education, environmental/ecological education, bioregional education, democratic education, multicultural education, community-based education' (Furman & Gruenewald, 2004, p. 59). Under this approach, Furman & Gruenewald (2004) note the importance of local contexts and first-hand experiences:

> Education for social and ecological justice must provide learners with local contexts where the social and ecological landscape can be studied through first-hand experience; it also must link such experience to the experience of others in other places and to the cultural, political, economic, and ecological forces that connect people and places on a global scale. (p. 62)

Conceptually, this approach is set against a universal trend for Indigenous students to reject compartmentalisation and reductionist nature of school-based knowledge acquisition. Rather, such approaches try to provide what Aikenhead (2000, 2002a, 2002b) and Aikenhead and Ogowa (2007) have referred to as a process of 'border crossing' which provides points of pedagogic alignment between, for example, a student's dominant world view and a scientific experiment (see Fogarty, 2010). Crucially, such approaches are positioned in opposition to the 'normalisation' and 'standardisation' of curriculum and schools while celebrating diversity. In this way, place-based pedagogy rejects the 'atopia' (Carrol, 2017) of schools which can become homogenous in their look, feel and character. A school devoid of connection to place runs the risk of becoming a 'non-place' – a carbon cut-out defined by only its sameness to other schools globally. Airports, mega malls, and office buildings already offer us a dystopian vison of non-places (Arefi, 1999). Pedagogies of place play a vital role in avoiding this.

In tracing the development of a pedagogy of place, its merging with critical theory has allowed a widened frame for examining the role place as a concept can play in education. Finally, if we can agree that education has a role in the creation and recreation of the good citizen, we can perhaps also agree that from an Indigenous perspective we need to decolonise or Indigenise what the concept of a 'good citizen' actually means. It would seem to us, mobilising pedagogies of place can challenge dominant understandings of what being a citizen might mean. More importantly though, place-based pedagogy has the potential to change and challenge existing power relations within education systems.

One powerful example of the role place can play in pedagogy comes from remote Northern Australia, where Bill has long worked with a raft of Aboriginal communities on a program called Learning on Country. Learning on Country is

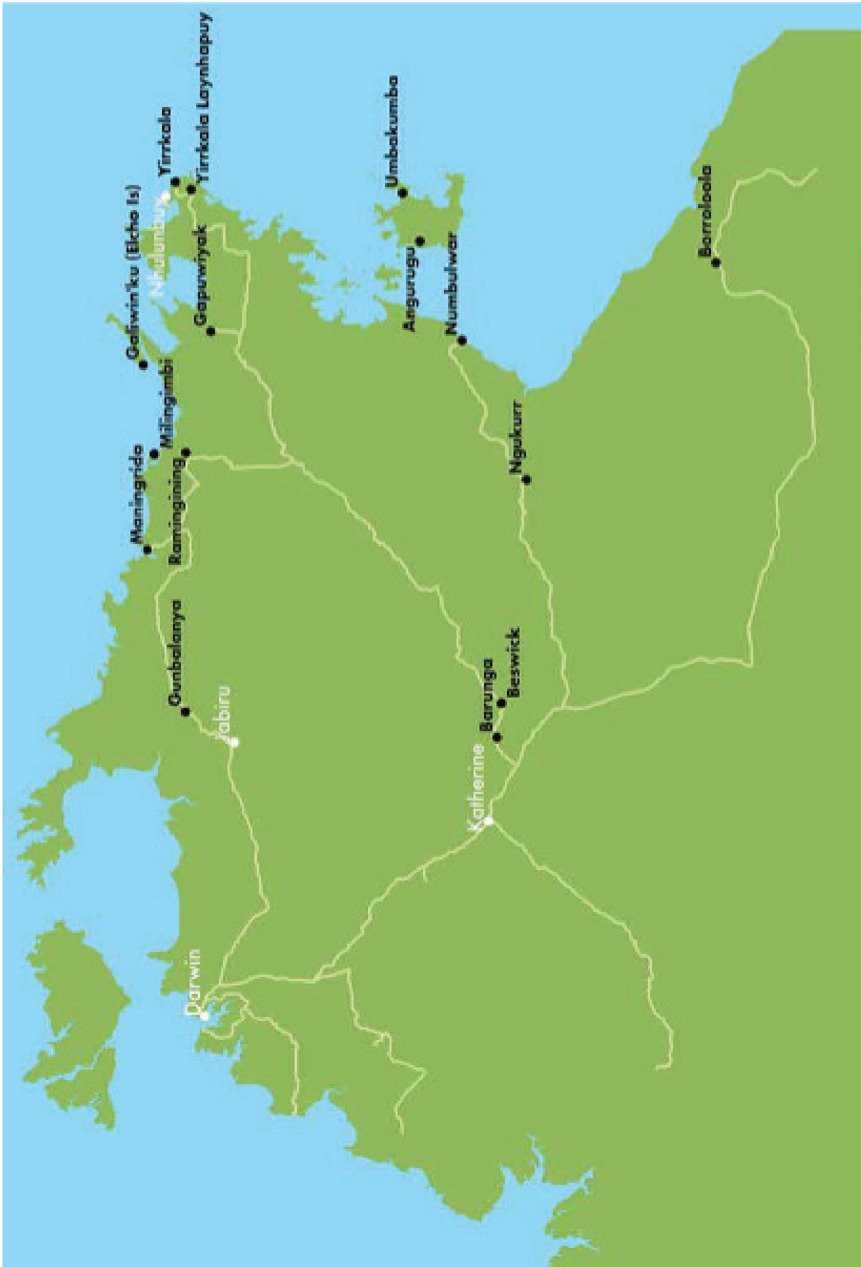

Figure 15.1: Location of Learning on Country Sites, with permission from the Northern Land Council.

a place-based initiative currently running in 15 Northern Territory communities linking Aboriginal land and sea Ranger groups and schools, see Figure 15.1. The program is aimed primarily at late secondary students though children of younger ages are participating in some of the schools.

In many ways Learning on Country (LOC) recreates elements of the original Indigenous classroom, where young people spend time on traditional lands, in the company of Indigenous adults with responsibility for those lands, learning about culture and country, the relationships of various groups to country and one another and the roles and responsibilities in relation to that country they will one day be expected to assume. Ostensibly, Learning on County is about young people learning who they are. The program engages Indigenous Rangers, knowledgeable senior Traditional Owners and other Indigenous adults with responsibilities for those children and that Country. But in addition, teachers from the local school – who in most cases are not Indigenous – play a key role in articulating on-Country learning with learning back in the classroom. At its best there is a fluid movement of knowledge and responsibility where Rangers step forward to lead in the facilitation of Learning on Country while teachers step back; when the learning moves back to the classroom teachers assume the lead and Rangers and others move into a supporting role (Fogarty & Schwab, 2012; Fogarty, Schwab, & Lovell, 2015). In the ten years since its inception, the LOC program has garnered recognition by teachers, parents and students that the opportunity to learn 'on Country', to engage with learning in local contexts that are rich and meaningful outside the confines of a classroom with four walls, invariably engages students and validates them as learners in a way that a classroom alone rarely does.

While the LOC program meets the state education system's want for student engagement (poor school attendance by Indigenous students has long been a policy issue in remote Australia [Altman & Fogarty, 2010]) and English and literacy numeracy outcomes through targeted experiential learning and curriculum, there is a much deeper element of pedagogy and identity at play within the program. In many regards, local communities see the LOC program as both a reclamation of pedagogic power and as a statement about the importance of place and Country, as citizens of their own First Nations. Inherent in this is the value placed by remote communities (and other First Nations communities throughout Australia) on place and Country as a central tenet of learning. Being a good citizen in this context means understanding cosmological and customary connections to place, participation in ceremony for intergenerational transfer of knowledge and having the right understandings to ensure the future stewardship and custodianship of Country.

While the LOC program is a successful example of place being used as an organising tenet for pedagogy, there nevertheless exists deep tensions between the state and local First Nations' communities about education. Elsewhere Bill has referred to this as a discourse of dissonance, where there are fundamental disjunctures between local aspirations for education and the role of education as seen by the national system. To draw on James Scott here, the propensity to see education 'like a state' ensures dominant cultural norms and assumptions dictate certain educational norms for the fashioning of a 'good' citizen. It begs the question, whose interests the education system should serve when it comes to Indigenous Education; the interest of the communities involved or the state? Furthermore, if there is a meeting of educational aspirations between these two interests, what degree of educational pluralism should be countenanced, if, indeed real pluralism is even really possible at all? More positively, however, the contestation and drive to have local and place-based curriculum included continues unabated. Hilde describes a moment in which local languages and traditions of place experience a resurgence to take their place in their curriculum.

In 2018 Hilde was present when two teachers launched a series of 12 textbooks and a teacher guide for the subject Sámi as second language in primary and lower secondary school (Lyngstad & Monsen, 2017; Monsen & Lyngstad, 2017a; 2017b). Although the audience was small, the launch was considered an important event as the production of comprehensive material for teaching and learning an Indigenous language is scarce. The North Sámi title – *Váriin, Vákkiin, Vuonain* – can be translated as 'On the mountains, In the valleys, By the fjord'. The textbook series is rooted in the teachers' local place both in terms of content and pedagogy, but it transcends both the narrow locality and timescale. They use a spinning wheel[6] and the process of making yarn to outline core pedagogical ideas of the books. These metaphors of teaching and learning connect abstract theories to specific local traditions and the sustainable use of resources from sheep farming. These traditions include a structured process to make raw material into artefacts of wool, like woven rugs. The metaphors include ideas of a reciprocal teacher-learner-community relationship. The teacher guides and textbooks provide the teacher and learner with tools and direction in the process of language learning, and as with yarn balling, the teacher systematically returns again and again to expand the topics from slightly different angles. The learners bring along their knowledge of language, and, guided by the teacher, they work to make sense of what they already

6 The spinning wheel is not unique for this place but is considered a good symbol for the community to the extent that it is the municipality's coat of arms.

know and also the new tools and directions for learning Sámi. Parents and the wider community are engaged in the creation of a good environment for learning.

In a context of colonisation and assimilation, it is important to consider, as Leonard (2012) points out, if traditional cultural ways of learning and teaching in a case of reclamation of language and culture might be different from today's mainstream ways. Crucial here is the degree of separation and dichotomy between women/men and Indigenous/non-Indigenous. Considering this critical perspective, one might ask if the wool metaphor for teaching and learning Sámi places pressure on the student to think and act in ways that might be very different from the student's other learning experiences and ways of life. Even if the textbooks point to local Indigenous practices, these practices might be very different from what the students are familiar with. It must be noted that the local handcraft traditions and ideas of sustainable use of resources are both historical and contemporary practices. They are for instance manifested in the semiotic landscape of the local school described in the outset of this chapter. Here we see the students' miniature versions of the traditional Sámi *lávvu*. In addition, as places are amalgams of the past and present and the individual and the collective, we want to highlight the dynamics of the pedagogy of place where the students' experiences of practices and places cannot be assumed to be similar. Also, in communities where colonisation struck hard, the articulation of local Indigenousness might change. Evju (this volume) writes about the complexities of the local articulation of Sámi education. As Olsen (this volume) observes, in some cases, it might be easier to articulate a Sámi pedagogy based on historical rather than contemporary times.

Another question is if the local metaphors for learning and teaching are steeped in what is traditionally (but not exclusively) seen as women's field of expertise. Gender has not been thoroughly discussed in our conversations (nor in this volume) about citizenship and education so far, but we must acknowledge the relevancy of this topic, and briefly elaborate on some aspects of the question. As we see it, the question points to a discourse of the feminisation of the teaching profession (Griffiths, 2006). One part of this discourse concerns a tendency that women outnumber men in the teaching profession. In doing so, women arguably contribute to a female view of teaching and learning, and perhaps also to a feminised school culture. Following Griffiths (2006), one could at the same time argue that in the Sámi case, feminisation is a response to men's hegemonic role in a very formative period of primary education in Norway around the turn of the 20th century. This period was when the state's assimilation policy was at its height. Similarly, the LOC program teaches traditional knowledge appropriate to gender but also extends and challenges these roles through new knowledge creation and employment opportunities for both young men and women in caring for and working on Country. So,

while pedagogies of place challenge state assumptions of education for the formation of the good citizen, they are equally challenging the never static Indigenous constructs of citizenry and tradition.

FINAL REMARKS

This paper is a result of sharing pedagogic experiences and research across two very different places, Australia and Norway. Indeed, it has been through visits to each other's places that we have been able to discuss and understand our contextual differences and similarities. Central to this understanding has been a passionate agreement around the importance of place-based education in Indigenous education contexts. We are far from on our own in this as across the globe, Indigenous populations are driving a resurgence of pedagogic approaches that centre place and 'Country' as at the heart of self-determined educational directions. More broadly, however, our investigation has made clear that the use of education to construct 'good citizens' according to dominant Western ideals is highly contested. Place-based pedagogy is being wielded by Indigenous interests to assert an Indigenous standpoint on what an ideal of the good citizen may actually be. Simultaneously, the same populations are redefining what education within a nation state might look like. This is not without its challenges. Place-based pedagogy can, at times, find itself diametrically opposed to the hegemonic wants and needs of Western education systems and, as we have discussed, such systems have a habit of reproducing themselves. Related to this is the role of colonial educational ideas that works as benchmarks in processes of decolonising education (see Olsen & Sollid, this volume). At the same time, looking at education systems and curricula, there is always an ideological and implementational space for turning the national placeless policy into locally placed practice. Both the Learning on Country initiative (Fogarty & Schwab, 2012; Fogarty et al., 2015), the students' miniature versions of the Sámi *lávvu*, and the Sámi textbooks (Lyngstad & Monsen, 2017; Monsen & Lyngstad, 2017a, 2017b) are examples of place-based pedagogy where local ideas of teaching and learning are at the fore front.

During the course of our deliberations, we were also acutely aware of the changes the COVID-19 pandemic wrought on the notions of place and education. Place-based education, at one level, is premised on ideas of a locality as a point of reference and identification, almost as basic coordinates that we navigate by. This digitisation of education caused by isolation and home schooling has accelerated new lenses to think about place and education in different ways. How can place-based education work when we cannot visit place? In some ways, this is not new. Colonisation has combined with other social and political processes to see many

Indigenous people around the world share experiences of being un-placed and re-placed at another location. This has made many Indigenous populations acutely aware of keeping place histories, and the bonds we share, with different intensities, to the places in our lives (Pascual-de-Sans, 2004). There are thus not 'good' or 'bad' places in a place-based pedagogical perspective. The educational challenge is to create a sense of belonging in the Indigenous students' new locations. Thinking in terms of Indigenous placed-based education in new places does not necessarily break the strong bonds with the homeland, as constructs of place are more than simply geographic, you carry place with you. At the same time, the re-creation of the new place can become a significant Indigenous place for the student, and connections between places can emerge and be recast. This also includes creating Indigenous digital learning spaces as a valid and powerful place both locally and globally. The COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated this throughout Indigenous learning communities, wherever they may be. Regardless, it is clear that notions of place, be they digital, global or local will be essential elements of pedagogy and the formation of the good Indigenous citizen for a long time to come.

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