Decolonisation as the Absenting of Harm

An ultra-realist reading of Indigenous education literature

By

Heather Burton
<Bachelor of Arts (Asian Studies) (Hons), Australian National University

Thesis
Submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of

Doctor in Public Health

College of Medicine and Public health
29 October 2021

Contents

Abstract

My doctoral research investigates, as a non-Indigenous person how First Nations people experience school education in Australia, as a social determinant of health in the context of middle to senior years of high school. This is a crucial time when young people are determining their future, potentially making decisions that can influence their life trajectory significantly. Education access, as an 'upstream' determinant and human right, is complex and difficult, yet necessary to research. I set out to problematise an implied assumption embedded in Closing the Gap (CtG), the Indigenous health strategy promoted by the last nine Australian governments. If increasing the number of First Nations young people who complete high school or an equivalent qualification significantly contributes to levelling education and health outcomes, what specific circumstances are necessary to allow this to happen? I uncover how barriers to equity are experienced as colonising by First Nations people through the literature and, what non-Indigenous people can learn that promotes health equity through decolonising education, from First Nations authored literature.

Papers reviewed for this research suggest First Nations people have experiences at school that can seriously undermine their health and wellbeing and as such are a source of harm. Ultra-realism was employed to theorise harms that emerge from the industrial and consumer logic of modern and late capitalism, resulting in mechanisms that avoid risk to dominant groups and act to protect the economic system in increasingly complex ways. These suppress and hide the harm embedded in everyday experiences, going some way to explaining the disappointing, in most cases negative, progress on all CtG targets. As my research shows, when First Nations perspectives are consciously fore-fronted, harm can be exposed, its transitivity owned, and its inevitability challenged. Most importantly an ethics of *accountability as respect* emerges from First Nations knowledge, restoring an ontology of social relations to further challenge colonisation as anti-intelligence, driving the destruction of the social, and ecological principles of sustainable life.

My original contribution to knowledge is an analysis and investigation of the contexts in which school education can function to support Indigenous health and the mechanisms through which contemporary colonisation as an expression of neoliberalism undermine it. The thesis considers how decolonisation is understood in dialectical relationship to colonisation. When non-Indigenous practitioners engage with de-colonising dialectic in their praxis, it opens space in which structural change can occur. This is a space where First Nations peoples have the conditions and resources to assert their rights and transmit their culture including a safe transition from childhood to adult being and accompanying responsibilities.

The research process embodied my determination to learn from, respect and apply First Nations scholarship knowledge and methodology. I turned to First Nations literature for guidance with my epistemology and selection of methodology to enhance the study's authenticity and relevance of this work. I sought to transfer and add value to knowledge created by First Nations authors to establish what underlying mechanisms contribute to colonising and decolonising experiences in

school. Colonisation is foundation for racialized social harms to First Nations people, as this research attests. My interpretation was guided and supported an expert panel of First Nations people.

One outcome of my research is the configuration of a methodology where a non-Indigenous person can dialogue with and learn from scholarship and research produced by First Nations peoples. Critical realist methods involved reviewing and coding of ten articles into four dialectical perspectives. Together they highlight and help explain apparent internal contradictions in systems. For example, school education is a right and is also compulsory and is acknowledged as a positive social determinant of health and yet, it is implicated in social harms. With the wisdom, guidance and feedback I have received from Expert Panel members, I have expanded knowledge of the necessity of and capabilities for non-Indigenous agency; an alternative understanding of the health equity 'gap' and six themes in Indigenous education, assembled from First Nations scholars through their ten analysed texts. To ensure that the voice of young people was included in the study, three of the ten studies report the views of young people of which two are large quantitative studies and two include perspectives of parents and carers. Collectively the texts present a critique of the education system, its historical development and an exposition of tendencies that are harm rather than health promoting to First Nations young people. Racism and whiteness are explored as mechanisms that support and maintain colonisation, denying the reality of Indigenous sovereignty.

Indigenous education emerged in this research as a movement within the education system through which First Nations people and local knowledge systems continue to assert a past, present and future reality, resisting and challenging all forms of colonisation. Non-Indigenous people who find a place within this network have a place from which to rethink and implement a philosophy of respect through which to challenge colonising behaviour and support First Nations young people to assert their identity and position.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis:

1. does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and

2. to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed Heather Mary Burton Dated 6 April 2021

Acknowledgements

Firstly, to Mum, June Brimson thank you for wanting this for me, for your encouragement, support and belief over the decades to pursue academic studies. I am sorry to have taken so long, but we made it! A huge debt of gratitude to my husband Tim for your patient endurance over the last few years, now a different kind of chapter begins. Dale, Jesse-Lee, Thomas, Ilyth and Josh, Pam, and Richard and Marian and families – I love and thank you all.

I acknowledge the invaluable support, care and guidance of Professor Tara Brabazon who was my primary supervisor in the later stage of my thesis and helped me to find my writing stride and conjure up the finish line. Tara established the Write Bunch, a weekly virtual writing group for postgraduate research students and a place to call home. Thank you, Write Bunch fellow travellers, it has been a deep privilege to share your doctoral journeys and intertwine our experiences.

Dr Lorraine Muller was my supervisor from start to finish, your wisdom, practical advice and expertise from completing not one but two PhDs has been helpful and inspirational. I can't thank you enough for always being there and your continual reminder of my reasons for embarking on this doctoral thesis. Professor Steve Larkin generously offered to exchange being an Expert Panel Member to joining my supervision panel, thank you for your insights and expertise, warmth, encouragement and support. It is an extreme privilege to have one First Nations supervisor and an extraordinary gift to have two. Thank you both.

I acknowledge with gratitude my initial supervisors, Professor Colin MacDougall, who invited me on this journey and patiently supported me through innumerable challenges; and Dr Annabelle Wilson who provided invaluable guidance and experience in writing, and in conducting research with cultural respect and sensitivity as a non-Indigenous person.

I am indebted to all Expert Panel members and leaders who have for your contributions and conversations. I take full responsibility for the positions outlined in this thesis and all errors and omissions, which lie entirely with me. in the early stages I received advice and support from Riverland Elders the late Aunty Frances Day, and Aunty Faith Morgan; also from Dr Tyson Yunkaporta, and the late Aunty Gail Clark and to Donna Quinn, Vikkie Taylor and Leanne Kassulke for their guidance. In the NT, I acknowledge with great respect and appreciation the input provided by Elders, respected persons and community Leaders in Tennant Creek and surrounding region, Linda Turner, Rosemary Plummer, Valda Shannon and Heather Grant. Thank you to three First Nations educators from Mungkarta, Chrystaline Kamarra Peterson, Charmaine Kamarra Corbett and Taralyn

Miller Martin Napangardi who generously shared their time with me. A special thank you and acknowledgement of my indebtedness for the feedback provided by Louise Martin, who provided extensive comment and suggestions on my interpretation of findings based on her personal experience of the school system with three generations of family. Melanie Baldwin provided feedback on draft findings from a non-Indigenous teacher perspective which were invaluable.

I especially acknowledge and thank Barb Shaw and Anyinginyi Health Aboriginal Corporation for allowing me to take leave at critical times towards completion. I also am indebted, and blessed to have friends who were peer supports and fellow travellers at different stages and places, Jillian Marchant, Melanie Baldwin and Vemel (Resh) Ramasamy. Thank you for the long chats, important theoretical discussions, and throwing me many a lifeline in precarious moments.

Finally, a very special word of thanks to friends who have a part in this story from beginning to end and whose laughter is always my favourite medicine: I look forward to catching up Dr Lucy Atkinson, Cathy Roberts, Zoe Luz and Oscar Abdulla and thank you for always being there. To all friends and family who are not individually named I am grateful for your encouragement, interest and patience. I hope to see you soon.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to Aunty Frances Day, whose mentoring and friendship and love and passion for fishing got me hooked.

The determined goal of this thesis is, as a non-Indigenous person, was to privilege the perspectives of First Nations people in a critical examination of non-Indigenous agency. It is a response to an open invitation from Dr Lorraine Muller, Indigenous Social Health researcher and scholar (2007), who writes 'I would like to invite [non-Indigenous people] to join in rejecting the process of colonisation and challenge the social norms that enable it to continue'.

Tables

Figures

Prologue

Respectfully following First Nations protocols I acknowledge past, present and future Elders and leaders of the Lands on which I have prepared and written this thesis.

According to protocol, here I introduce myself to readers, as my researcher identity and positioning express intention and calibrates my research lens. I am a white British migrant, holding dual (British and Australian) citizenship; married to an Australian born white man also of Anglo-Celtic heritage. In different ways we share a commitment to anti-racism and Indigenous rights. The following account of family and personal circumstances, and some details from my work life history, are given to explain why I could not settle for any other research topic and why I have taken the approach that I have to this study. Collectively the following autobiographical moments have shaped how I see myself and my responsibilities as a migrant settler/citizen.

Almost 20 years before we met, my husband was married to a First Nations, Nunga woman. She left the marriage and died a few years later, when their son was young. This young man has grown up aware of his Aboriginality and affected by these painful events, with questions about his identity, being mostly isolated from his birth mother's family as a child and growing up. Although our son was working as a trainee and living independently in the city when we met, we caught up with each other whenever we could and continue to do so. Issues of belonging, identity, being stolen, racism and harms of colonisation do not define him or us, yet are pertinent themes to our family on many levels. He is my son through his father, and we are all connected to his mother's family through him. The actions of myself and my husband as non-Indigenous people in this family context have consequences on many levels that are mostly invisible to and often unfelt by us.

Three further stories illustrate some of my learning journey about Indigenous education. Early in my career, I worked for several years in Commonwealth higher education equity in Indigenous higher education funding. During this time the newly elected Howard government in 1996 attempted to dismantle ABSTUDY, and abolish away from base funding on the false premise that these affirmative policies were divisive and inequitable. The growing dissonance between serving the government and serving the people weighed heavily on the collective conscience of my colleagues and me. Earlier brief periods of tertiary teaching in Indigenous education showed me that First Nations people pursue education in ways that liberate them and defend their culture and ways of being, knowing and doing. I was employed to teach in an away-from-base funded language maintenance course in the Northern Territory and later an adult literacy program in rural New South Wales.

In the NT, I worked with women who were studying to maintain the vitality and vigour of their languages, to keep their culture and communities strong. It was a time when there was comparatively strong national support to document and preserve Indigenous languages. In introducing herself to me, one young woman spoke up straightaway. She told me I was a visitor to Aboriginal Country, and I needed to be willing to learn her language and culture in order to relate to her. The students' young children also embraced me as a visitor, proudly teaching me the names of plants in the school's garden.

In the NSW literacy program, a class of mainly women took charge of the curriculum, pointing out the irrelevance of the mainly British fictional literature to their literacy needs and priority to reclaim the past and their First Nations identities. They sought to overcome stolen generations' pain and trauma, to research lost family members at the AITSIS library, to recover and rekindle culture.

These experiences altered and broadened my perception of education. The educational goals and agendas of the two groups implicated their different experiences of colonisation. The agency demonstrated by both groups of students in challenging the dominant student/teacher relationship were an early lesson in cultural safety, the need to put aside our professional power and acknowledge what we do not know about our professed area of expertise as it is known and enacted through someone else's culture. Education can be a tool for social justice as the Royal Commission into Deaths in Custody findings highlighted (Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, 1991). The above stories also serve as a bridge between my earliest reflection on First Nations young people at school, when I was in primary school in Adelaide and my time in the rural higher education workforce where I commenced this study.

As a child, I witnessed, but could not make sense of, or find anyone who could explain to me why, Aboriginal peers in my class were treated differently and uncomfortably. On the 'outer' myself, as a new migrant unfamiliar with white Australian cultural norms, I felt indignant. I was unable to find a rational explanation for what I now understand to be racial discrimination. I know with hindsight that the boys had been removed from their families into alien institutions. They were at this school because of the home they were consigned to. The injustice they experienced stayed with me. A decade later at university studying 'Australian Linguistics' (linguistics studied through and applied to First Nations languages) turned my colonial world on its head. I realised that First Nations people and languages are very diverse expressing philosophies very different from the west, that words can have many deep layers of meaning and can be used in highly sophisticated ways I have not experienced in modern English. The children I met at Primary School were not only badly treated at school, they were cut adrift from their rich cultural heritage. I cannot change that, nor is it a situation

that I created, but I hope that my not forgetting, my personal quest to recognise and respect the prior sovereignty and rights of First Nations people is part of a much bigger movement, and I believe that this is the process of health equity and closing the gap.

Part of the underlying work of this thesis is to come to terms with my responsibilities and how I can express personal agency to a collective effort to 'see' and absent the harms of colonisation. Our family struggles and concepts of those struggles, highlighted to me by these prior experiences inform the methodological tools that I draw on – decolonisation, whiteness, structure and agency, and praxis. To undertake anti-oppressive research from a position of privilege, toward a degree entails an understanding that if I am successful, I will gain an elite qualification - a further privilege. It is incumbent on me to acknowledge this and to be accountable to the people I engage with in the research process and to the faculty, institution and system that enables the research training and qualification to exist. The boundaries and rules of the research process place timelines and other expectations on the research that could negatively impact on research participants and their anticipation of process and outcomes.

Glossary

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (always capitalised)	Collectively, the people of the many First Nations that predate the arrival of Europeans in 1788. Peoples of the Torres Strait identify separately from Aboriginal First Nations and the Aboriginal flag and Torres Strait Islander flag are different
Indigenous people (always capitalised) (also, First Peoples/First Australians)	The status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as belonging to and always having been on the continent and Islands of Australia. Some First Nations people have a strong preference for how they are referred to, so it is respectful to ask or heed someone's preferred terminology.
First Nations people (always capitalised)	A term for Indigenous people gaining prominence that reflects the multitude of different nations rather than one pan-Indigenous identity. There were more than 500 distinct languages and dialects across the continent and Islands. The languages are very diverse and mostly mutually unintelligible, like the difference between English and Korean, or Thai and Urdu.
Non-Indigenous /Settler (Settler capitalised unless used in a general sense)	A person (unless the context suggests otherwise, a person permanently residing in Australia) who is not and does not identify as First Nations
Australia/Australian	Australia, the Commonwealth Nation State is contested as it does not acknowledge prior sovereignty of First Nations peoples. This is an important consideration for this thesis and First Nations/non-Indigenous relations generally.
Colonisation/colonialism	The appropriation and ongoing occupancy of lands by a foreign power and by extension, the practices that assert the foreign power as the sovereign owners and rightful governors of the land and its resources, disenfranchising the traditional owners.
Post-colonial(ism)	An epistemological and methodological critique of colonisation.
Decolonisation	The withdrawal of a colonial power, and/or practices that seek to undo, counter and protect against colonising harms.

Equity/Health Equity	Equity is used in the sense of equal outcomes rather than equal inputs: it favours an affirmative action approach to resource distribution. Health equity is a public health term meaning a state where there are no disparities in health and wellbeing between peoples
Social Justice	Social justice is the rectifying of an unequal distribution of power and capital in societies where some people have the capacity to harm and exploit others due to their social position
Harm/Social harm	Harm is action that leaves a person or group of people worse off than they otherwise would have been.
Risk	Risk refers to the potential for harm to occur to oneself or another person or group if certain actions are taken or avoided.
Health and wellbeing	I use the Aboriginal Health definition 'Health is the complete absence of infirmity and involves holistic wellbeing where mind, body and spirit function harmoniously. In a healthy functioning family or society, the concept is applied to the whole family or society and the way everyone works to support each other and to protect health assets such as food security, shelter and education.'
Mainstream/dominant	The words mainstream and dominant are used to refer to the majority culture in western democratic countries, including Australia and the institutions and organising principles such as law and criminality, education and workforce participation, unitary families, ownership/possession/title, notions of childhood and adulthood and individual rights.
Country Landscape Local	1. Country (capitalised) is used to refer to the nation state of Australia and territories, to show respect for its long interdependent relationship with First Nations people before being claimed and named by the British crown. 2.The First Nations concept of Country as sacred, sentient being conveying knowledge and reciprocal belonging. The meaning of Country is not accessible to me as a non-Indigenous person, but acknowledges that the relationship to/with land is different from mainstream. Use of the terms 'Landscape' and 'Local' are closely related – emphasising that knowledge and practice are intimately connected to place.

Respect	A philosophy and principles for social being where what is said, done, shared and not shared, asked for and not asked for is mindful of the impact on others and self.
Relationality	Acting in a way that respects and connects to others. A spirit of connectedness with all other beings, acting through mutual obligation and respect for people, living things and non-sentient material world
Reciprocity	Two-way exchange where both people/groups give out of generosity, feel valued and respected and value what is received

Conventions

Citing Indigenous authors – using quotations of sufficient length to clarify and give context to the author's intent

A trap for researchers is that we tend to preference authors who share our cultural background. I have searched for and referenced literature by First Nations leaders in a topic where possible. I use the words of First Nations authors in direct quotations where possible to 'preference Indigenous voices', avoid misinterpretation of their intent and unintentional misuse of their knowledge (Muller, 2014, p. 14): The practice of including direct citations demonstrates respect for the author when writing about concepts that involve Indigenous knowledges and practices I do not have direct access to through my own cultural lens. Sometimes, in order to ensure that an author's intent is not misconstrued, longer quotations are given than western academic convention would customarily allow.

Names and naming conventions

First Nations protocols involve using ways of addressing each other which acknowledge reciprocal relationship status. This includes respectful address of Elders and leaders through use of their title, and first names rather than surnames, as these can be impersonal and create distance. In this way I seek to pay my respects to First Nations scholars and, to draw attention to the multitude of voices and the diversity of places represented in First Nations scholarship, as a decolonising act. On introducing a First Nations person in my work, have learned I should include their Country, where possible (L Muller, personal communication). As an example, D'harawal nation scholar Gawaian Bodkin-Andrews and colleagues write in the following style (my emphasis)

> **Kamilaroi scholar Melitta Hogarth** (2017) notes the risks associated with these ongoing tensions … From this, **Hogarth** (2017, p. 33) concludes…(Bodkin-Andrews, Page, & Trudgett, 2018)

It is customary to avoid use of the first name of deceased persons in some parts of Australia and I have followed this convention.

Reference to Country

Unless stated otherwise, Country refers to the lands now collectively known as Australia, and to the places intimately connected to First Nations peoples. This European place name 'Australia' is also used conventionally, for ease of reading, recognising that such words throughout the Country are tools of colonisation, having overwritten and hidden already existing names and references to place.

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I investigated as a non-Indigenous person, a public health issue of primary importance in Australia today: the role of education as a social determinant of Indigenous health, which I demonstrate is more accurately described as how *Indigenous education* functions as a social determinant of health (SDOH). The primary audience for this work is other non-Indigenous people. I address members of the teaching profession who are concerned about, or interested in, the responsibilities and expectations of teachers and schools to make a difference in Indigenous education. This issue was investigated and is discussed in this thesis using the framework and language of decolonisation.

It may seem incongruous to address a public health thesis towards schoolteachers. The level and length of education have been extensively investigated for possible health determining properties without yet gaining a clear picture of whether or how education and health are causally linked, except to acknowledge that there is no unifying picture (Barcellos, Carvalho, & Turley, 2019; Janke, Johnston, Propper, & Shields, 2020). However, education is a significant component of the Closing the Gap (CtG) strategy which aims to achieve equality in life expectancy between First Nations people and non-Indigenous people in Australia. Equitable access and participation in school is widely assumed to benefit health indirectly through increasing employment opportunities and income (Deravin, Francis, & Anderson, 2018) . Most importantly, First Nations people have pointed to inequities and injustices in education as part of the overall pattern of health inequities and called for urgent reforms (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, 2005; National Congress of Australia's First Peoples, 2013). This creates an imperative for the discipline of Public Health to clarify and extend our knowledge of the possibilities for understanding education as a social determinant of health. This research expresses that intention through a focussed review of Indigenous education literature.

As my research question and methodology took shape, my understanding shifted. I recognised that much SDOH research is empirical, attempting to reveal through statistical analysis, the complex relationships and pathways between health outcomes, social structures and government policy. This type of research draws inferences from patterns across and between populations, but is not sensitive to the diversity of contexts and mechanisms which generate those patterns. Qualitative research aims to attend to the experiences and expertise of people who bear the brunt of social inequities. It probes the circumstances that drive inequity and supports development of theory to explain how and why social inequities persist.

Decolonisation studies centre the lives, knowledge and voices of First Nations people, affirming counter-narratives to the settler myths that are internalised as deficit assumptions and racism (Muller, 2015). First Nations researchers such as Wiradjuri woman and renowned scholar, Professor Juanita Sherwood; Public Health leader, Dr Lorraine Muller, Indigenous Social Health researcher and leader in decolonising social health theory; and Professor Pat Dudgeon, Bardi woman and founder in Indigenous psychology, have taken a decolonising approach to interrogate the historical roots and contemporary impacts of racism and whiteness, and their toll on Indigenous social and emotional health and wellbeing. A decolonising lens differs from other forms of post-colonial scholarship, being attentive to '…the specificity of time and place ('land') in ways that 'exceed coloniality and conquest' through focus on 'history, epistemology, and futurity…' (Rowe & Tuck, 2017). As a discipline, decolonisation studies interrogates the dispossession of land and denial of Indigenous sovereignty, bearing witness to the invasion and ensuing devastating assault on Indigenous ways of being, knowing and doing (Sherwood, 2010; Sherwood & Edwards, 2006). It renders visible the connection between colonisation and its legacy of a 'deep and enduring sense of loss and grief' (Dudgeon & Walker, 2015). In the Australian context, Non-Indigenous people enjoy significantly longer life expectancy and better quality of health than First Nations people (Gillan, Mellor, & Krakouer, 2017). It is the maintenance of this privileged position at the expense of First Nations people, in contrast to the rhetoric of Australian society as offering 'a fair go for all' (Rudd, 2008) that demands critical inquiry.

The gap in question

The particular expression of social injustice I interrogate in this thesis is engaged with in public policy through a social movement called 'Close the Gap' and a government policy response called 'Closing the Gap' (CtG). The movement crystallised around a 2005 Social Justice report by then Social Justice Commissioner, Professor Tom Calma, esteemed Elder from the Kungarakan and Iwaidja tribal groups. Professor Calma called on Australian Governments to address the profound gap in life expectancy between First Nations and non-Indigenous Australians. The Close the Gap campaign for health equity followed, which was led by a coalition of Indigenous peak organisations, Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR) and human rights and other non-profit organisations and peak bodies (Australian Indigenous Healthinfonet). The libertarian and conservative liberal government of the time resisted. Then Prime Minister John Howard was experiencing a negative shift in popularity through his refusal to apologise to First Nations people for the policy of forced removal of children, following the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (Dodson & Wilson, 1997), colonial racism laid bare. Howard's successor, Labor

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd made an election promise to formally apologise to the Stolen Generations on behalf of the nation. The National Apology (Rudd, 2008) was his first act in parliament after the election (M. Johnson, 2011), a bipartisan and pivotal event that led in to the CtG.

Education features strongly within the strategy as 'human capital development' (Council of Australian Governments, 2008, p. 6). Others have problematised the logic underpinning the CtG approach, claiming that it is ideologically skewed to a particular positioning of First Nations people whose 'welfare dependence. . .[and] behaviour' needed to be altered by 'promoting personal responsibility and behaviours consistent with positive social norms'. Such positioning addresses First Nations people as responsible for their own lack of health and as being socially errant, while simultaneously posing the market as the solution, rather than a political response (Altman & Fogarty, 2010). Recently the CtG strategy was acknowledged as a dismal failure with little or no progress on most indicators and a backward slide on some. Another historically and unprecedented step was taken in 2020 with establishment of a Joint Council of First Nations people and governments and a new Closing the Gap in Partnership Agreement (Joint Council on Closing the Gap, 2020).

The wealth trajectory to equity myth

As the government's policy response to Indigenous health inequity, CtG is aligned with a global public health agenda that aims to address global health inequities through fairer distribution of economic and social goods (Baum & Friel, 2017; Matthew Fisher, Battams, Mcdermott, Baum, & Macdougall, 2019). The World Health Organisation's Commission on Social Determinants of Health (the Commission) was established to investigate and report on health inequity. The Commission found the pattern of wealth distribution within and between countries is the fundamental driver of health inequity, is a human rights matter, and a responsibility of all governments (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008, p. 1). The Commission attributed health inequity to 'unequal distribution of power, income, goods, and services' and the resulting unfairness in the 'immediate, visible circumstances of peoples' lives their access to health care, schools, education… and their chances of leading a flourishing life' (p. 1). It compiled evidence that the social determinants of health, which impact the risk of preventable chronic disease and diminished life expectancy, are influenced by government policy, including social protection through welfare redistribution and access to a 'healthy living' via the labour market (p. 7), fair taxation and financing of SDOH (p. 12), and market regulation (p. 14).

The work of the Commission has shown that contrary to the supposition that richer countries enjoy better overall health, high levels of wealth influence wealth distribution, increasing health inequity

and reducing average life expectancy for the country as a whole. Health inequities pattern as social gradients which can be compared within and between countries, exposing the link between health equity and even distribution of wealth (M. Marmot & Allen, 2014). There is a linear association between socio-economic status and health, where the health of individuals or groups of a particular status in a given society will on average be better than those immediately below them and worse than those immediately above (Adler et al., 1994; Shepherd, Carrington, Li, & Zubrick, 2012). Recent research has confirmed that in the US, for example, diabetes becomes more prevalent the lower the level of income, occupation and education (Hill-Briggs et al., 2021).

This global social-determinants approach identifies Indigenous status as a source of imposed status hierarchy, whereby the symptoms of social positioning, such as comparative levels of education and employment, are the focus of concern, rather than deliberation about how and why certain populations endure minority status and addressing the root causes. In keeping with this line of argument, it has been suggested by globally renowned epidemiologist Sir Michael Marmot (2011), that health inequity of First Nations people in Australia is caused not just by poverty but unequal access to essential social determinants such as early childhood development, education and training. a living wage, and a social determinants approach to preventative health. Implied is that these measurable lacks must be the focus of policy action, as the sole barriers to living a valued and self-determined life. This logic disregards historical specificities of how and why such lacks occur, or how these public goods might be differentially construed, valued and enacted by dispossessed and subjugated peoples. It overlooks potent similarities with Indigenous peoples whose lands have been colonised by Western countries. By contrast, First Nations scholars in Australia and similar western colonial states have called for decolonisation of education, health, social health, social research and the academy more broadly (Muller, 2014b; Sherwood & Edwards, 2006; Vickery, Faulkhead, Adams, & Clarke, 2007; M. Walker, Fredericks, Mills, & Anderson, 2013; R. Walker, 2004). I argue that public health policy must refute the premise that the situation of First Nations People is analogous to any other group, impoverished solely by their social status, and advance the position that the specific conditions leading to, supporting and arising from colonisation are indivisible from the disproportionate burden of health inequity faced by Indigenous peoples.

When comparing with other minority groups who are socially disadvantaged there are similarities and there are critical differences. the determinants of Indigenous social and emotional wellbeing (SEWB) are described by Professor Pat Dudgeon as complex and embedded in a framework of interdependent relationships between self and 'family, kin, community, traditional lands, ancestors, and the spiritual dimensions of existence' (Dudgeon & Walker, 2015). Health therefore includes, but is far greater than the body and biological function of the individual. In seeking to address

education as a social determinant of health, it is therefore imperative that health be interpreted in this cultural and social context. The model of Cultural Safety developed by Maori Scholar Irihapeti Ramsden for improving culturally informed health care (Ramsden, 1997), highlights inconsistencies between the generalised social gradients approach outlined by the Commission for SDOH and the geo-historical context sensitivity of Cultural Safety. Such Indigenous-informed approaches demand a focal shift from western colonial articulations of health and education to centre on the problematisations identified by Indigenous peoples.

Colonisation is therefore unambiguously primary in Indigenous disadvantage. Rather than inflicting cultural paternalism through the problematisation of health behaviours of First Nations people themselves or perceived deficits in their communities, non-Indigenous agents in education, public health and public policy have an obligation to investigate and understand:

- what First Nations people are being excluded from,
- how exclusion and marginalisation occur
- how this picture contributes to premature loss of life and diminished quality of life in one of the world's wealthiest nations; and
- what can be done to eliminate injustice.

Decolonising research acknowledges that Western knowledge is rooted in and upholds colonialist, imperialist and globalist practices and as such, excludes Indigenous knowledge systems (Chilisa, 2019). However, 'Western knowledge and methods … are situated in certain historical and social realities' and therefore cannot claim universality (Chiumba, 2017). Rather, Western knowledge systems are themselves products of colonial and decolonial processes (Maldonado-Torres, 2017, p10) and its research theories are embedded in a particular cultural system, in which 'views about human nature, morality and virtue' and ways of conceptualising space and time, as well as race, work to inform a particular notion of what is real (Smith, 2012 p95-96). Decolonising research underscores the importance of complementing quantitative population studies with public health research done by and with First Nations people that reveals and critiques problematic assumptions and sources of bias that often go unquestioned in such studies. Methodologies must be sensitively attuned to context and population differences (Walter & Andersen, 2016a). In short, to locate the mechanisms for improving First Nations people's rightful share of public goods we need to engage with the question of how colonisation and colonial knowledge-making has impacted and positioned First Nations and non-Indigenous people differently and collectively.

Troubling assumptions about health equity and education

The above sections have advanced the thesis that that the history and manner of colonisation are central to examining inequities between First Nations and non-Indigenous people in any social policy context. Within the education arena, schools are no exception, being predominantly 'white' institutions in their history, governance, demographics and cultural alignment. Decades of Indigenous education reviews have sought to bring recognition to the impacts of this systemic cultural bias. In the 1980s and early '90s as responsibility for Indigenous education policy shifted from States and Territories to the federal government (Boughton, 2000 p. 14), Successive First Nations leaders have been appointed to investigate and make recommendations on school policy (Bourke, Rigby, & Burden, 2000; Buckskin, 2009; Hughes, 1988; Rigney, Rigney, & Hughes, 1998; M Yunupingu, 1995). The 1995 review report highlighted the relationship between education and health. Dr M Yunupingu (1995), included the following quote from a submission:

> .. there is a terrible price being paid in the lives and health of their Aboriginal community for the incapacity of institutions to respond to the[ir] needs ... Education, the authors argue, is essential to improving these conditions… (M Yunupingu, 1995).

In drawing attention to 'the incapacity of institutions' the authors highlighted the structural failure of the school system, steeped in colonial history and racialised narratives, were and are ill positioned to provide education that can support the 'lives and health' of First Nations people. In considering how the historical realities of colonisation can be addressed as a major determinant of inequity in education and health, I approached this problematic from two fronts. Firstly, I sought to understand what decolonising education entails at the level of policy and professional practice: the key role teaching professionals have to play in the relationship between education and health equity/health justice, drawing the association between 'bodies [and] the body politic' (Agger, 2015, p. 97). Secondly, recognising that colonisation is a product of global economic forces I applied critical social theory to interrogate the concept of equity and the entrenched systemic inequalities that manifest in health harms (McMillan & Rigney, 2018) and ongoing state-sanctioned violence against First Nations people (Bond, Whop, Singh, & Kajlich, 2020).

Colonisation and its impact on the First Nations

To place the gap in educational attainment into its historical context of colonisation is to begin by acknowledging that the arrival of the British launched a history of extreme violence, displacement, dispossession and vilification (Krakouer, 2015, p. 3), a litany of destruction. The well-established, overlapping eras of Indigenous policy include the invasion, protection, assimilation, self-

determination and practical reconciliation eras that trace evolution of Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations from 1788 to the near-present. The stages are important, because they reflect:

- the true horrors of what was done to First Nations people,
- aspects of capitalist 'progress' globally enacted everywhere in the name of this 'progress' and crucially,
- the powerful resonance of each era of colonisation in the present, found in the antagonistic relationship between 'black and white Australia'. History lives on.

Pre-invasion history and the act of colonisation

Pre-1788, the arrival of the First Fleet, First Nations people enjoyed good health and relative equality between groups, favouring inclusive decision-making practices through consensus-seeking and respect for the unique, inherent value of every person (Muller, 2014a, pp. 101-102). Dale Kerwin, Goori man of the Worimi Nation asserts that 'Aboriginal people constituted a real socio-political value for the land' and that younger people would seek and repay advice from Elders with material property and food (Kerwin, 2010, p. 60).

Colonisation of Australia began with the decision by the British crown that the great southern land was available for the taking. The colonial push was driven globally by the industrial revolution in the formation of the capitalist world economic order (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 391). The notion of underdevelopment was conceived to explain the impoverishing effects of being transformed into a 'peripheral [to western colonising economies] raw material producing area' (p. 392), part of 'an appropriation of surplus by core states on peripheral areas' (p. 401). The British arrived with the intention of permanent settlement. The continent was declared to be unoccupied land, known as the doctrine of *terra nullius*, meaning that there was no-one to negotiate with or make a treaty with (Fredericks, Maynor, White, English, & Ehrich, 2014), a legal manoeuvre to justify settlement under international law (Phillips, 2011). As the ships arrived, the new arrivals sought to remove First Nations people from areas considered suitable for settlement, eradicating evidence of First Nations occupancy to support their actions. Spread of imported disease and warfare, reducing the pre-invasion population of upward of 1 million an estimated 93,000 in 1901 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1994) in order to achieve untroubled possession of land. Widespread reprisal killings and massacres took place, many of which cannot be categorised as 'frontier wars' as victims were frequently unarmed and many First Nations people were murdered while sleeping (Ryan, 2013).

Protection, the myth

The protection era arrived in the 19th Century as removal of First Nations people from the land entailed establishing institutions and laws to contain and 'protect' them, which could be described as a policy of supported attrition and eventual demise of First Nations peoples due to a hoped for inevitable process of eugenics (Thunig, 2018). Reserves and Christian missions were established and 'Protectors' installed within each State to provide a basic subsistence to First Nations people, keep them occupied and prevent them from returning to their Country. Trapped residents lived in stagnant living conditions more aptly described as 'concentration camps' (G. Foley, 2000), revealing 'protection' to be an ugly misnomer. With Federation, Australia was constituted as a nation-state of the Commonwealth, regarding itself as no longer a colony but a country (Maddison, 2019, p. xix).

Assimilation and whiteness

The Protection Era overlaps in history with the Assimilation Era, which represented the valorisation of whiteness. The White colonial fantasy entailed a plan to 'merge and absorb' First Nations people both culturally and biologically through 'breeding out of colour'. As scientific racism was increasingly discredited in post war years, assimilation was repositioned as a post-racism move to unite the nation through a single identity (A. Moran, 2005). State governments inspired by scientific racism that had taken hold in the western world feared '…the growing numbers of half-castes, believing Australia would be taken over…' (Sherwood, 2010, p. 46). This was used to defend and intensify the removal of children of both Aboriginal and European heritage to bring them up in white households and institutions, which continued in the 1970s and arguably, to the present (Read, 1982). Removed children, now known as the Stolen Generations were not allowed to have any contact with First Nations people, often reacting with fear and distrust when they did, developing intense shame of their own Aboriginality and skin colour (Read, 1982). These were the tactics employed by colonisers to attempt to deny First Nations people the right to exist even within their own minds.

Self-determination

The era of self-determination represented a rhetorical shift from assimilation to one of Indigenous rights. Non-Indigenous people, familiarised after two world wars with the implications of racism and fascism, were confronted by the realities of racial segregation in Australia. The 1965 Freedom Ride through rural New South Wales led by Arrente and Kalkadoon man, Dr Charles (Charlie) Perkins, built on the groundswell of anti-racism in the US and elsewhere (Perry, 2013, p193). The Freedom Ride exposed the sharp segregation and curfews that had remained hidden from Australian consciousness (Edmonds, 2012) and was pivotal in the decade-long struggle for recognition of First Nations peoples, leading to the 1967 referendum (Burney 2017). Over 90 percent of referendum voters

supported First Nations inclusion in the census through removal of a discriminatory clause in the Constitution, which enabled Federal leadership in Indigenous affairs and funding of Indigenous programs.

A benefit of constitutional change was that it enabled the collection of statistical data allowing for the first time, the measurement of social inequities that First Nations people faced. Efforts commenced to record baseline statistics on the health of First Nations people from which to evaluate health improvements (P. M. Moodie, 1973). Evidence of the extent of inequality emerged, demonstrating the unremitting failure of mainstream health services to cater for First Nations people, and arming Indigenous activists and progressives with incontrovertible evidence. The international exposure of Australia as grossly inequitable in its treatment of Indigenous people paved the way for government support to Aboriginal Community Control. Redfern Medical Service opened in 1971 (Foley, 1991); followed through the 1970s and 1980s, by Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations around the country, who provide health and legal services to their communities. Pointing to the prime source of inequity as illegal occupancy and dispossession, the land rights movement gathered pace. Indigenous history, as opposed to colonial versions of history, became an academic discipline through which historians sought to set the record straight on the past and gather support for land claims (Veracini, 2006).

While a significant turning point, self-determination as a policy agenda was heavily constrained and consigned to the future. The constitutional amendment did not fundamentally breach the racial divide, nor did it confer the rights of citizenship on First Nations people as commonly believed (Moreton-Robinson, 2009). Rather First Nations people were left in an ambiguous position, not recognised at all in their own Country, while 'discrimination was replaced with silence' (G. Williams, 2007). Structural race inequality was preserved, continuing to be supported by flawed legislature to the present day (D Larkin 2018). This was starkly demonstrated by assault on the emergence of historical evidence, changing social narrative and shifting balance toward increased rights and recognition of First Nations people by the Howard government (1996-2007). The pinnacles of the self-determination era were the establishment of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) in 1989, with its structure of elected regional delegates, and the Mabo and Wik decisions. Thanks to the perseverance of Eddie Koiki Mabo to recognise his right to own his land under the laws of Torres Strait Islanders, the legal lie of *terra nullius* was finally overturned in 1992 by the High Court of Australia. Four years later, the Wik ruling found that pastoral title did not extinguish Native Title (Davis, 2015). However, these important advances in Indigenous affairs did not signal a widespread change in race relations. The election of the Howard government in 1996, represented a significant conservative push-back in Indigenous Affairs, shifting the policy discourse

from self-determination to 'practical reconciliation' (Gunstone, 2012). Howard's first public policy speech was an attack on ATSIC and he proclaimed that the 'pendulum had swung too far' in favour of First Nations people, requiring 'correction' (Brabham, Henry, Bamblett, & Bates, 2002). He abolished ATSIC after only six years (Moreton-Robinson, 2009) and introduced the Native Title Amendment Act to extinguish the rights of Traditional Owners where they conflicted with the interests of pastoralists (Davis, 2015). Most egregiously, he and his government sought to deny the stolen generation years, and launched the Northern Territory Intervention which has had devastating effects on Indigenous rights (Gunstone, 2008). He attempted to wind back all affirmative action policies with the argument that First Nations people had no special status and attempted to diminish Aboriginal Community Control. As a result the 'colonial construct[s] of terra nullius and native savagery …are and remain the foundation up on which the Constitution was established' (Watson, 2018). The election of the Howard government in 1996 has been ascribed to a conservative revolt. Howard was backed by the establishment in his move to destabilise the position of First Nations people and destabilise the legitimacy of British sovereign power. The 'history wars' erupted as the conservative right sought to deny the movement to re-examine national history and present First Nations people in a truthful light, reasserting white supremacist myths (Macintyre, 2003). However, this ultra-conservative push produced its own backlash, as a call by the Stolen Generations Alliance for a national apology for decades of forced removal of children developed national momentum and support (Fejo-King, 2011). The Howard Government was finally ousted in 2007 and the road to Closing the Gap was paved as described early in this Chapter.

As the above history attests, far from the rhetoric that First Nations people owe gratitude to the settlement of Australia for bringing progress and enlightenment, colonisation has taken a series of forms, mirrored in other colonial countries, that have never sought to deliver justice and equity but with ongoing motifs of genocide and deprivation have continually recast Indigenous affairs in politically acceptable clothing, assuring First Nations people's separation from their sovereign rights. This necessarily brief account does not do full justice to the concerns and experiences of First Nations people, but provides important context and background to Indigenous/non-Indigenous health inequality. The ongoing dispossession of First Nations people perpetuated by the denouncement of Indigenous identity and denial of First Nations Peoples' true social, cultural, economic and geographical disposition, has funded and facilitated the health and education infrastructure and capabilities that Non-Indigenous people benefit disproportionately from today.

Decolonisation as moral imperative

The history of colonisation imposes a moral responsibility for Australia to name and address historical crimes and refuse to cover them up – to participate in the type of truth-telling envisaged by the Uluru Statement from the Heart (Appleby and Davis, 2018). The increased awareness of history and racism as a social harm are markers of a changing climate of opinion and debate. Even so, schools are increasingly constrained rather than liberated in their ability and inclination to educate young people on human rights and social justice, reflecting ongoing resistance to genuine political recognition of First Nations' sovereignty. Given the neoliberal twin forces of freeing up the market dressed as school autonomy and choice, and the increased burden of efficiency which both militate against equity (Keddie & Holloway, 2020), conversation about the legacy of colonisation and how to address it is stymied. The good news stories about schools that have had an epiphany and are showing great success in the retention and outcomes for underserved groups are of public interest precisely because they are uncommon. They are often due to the dedication of a community or the inspired vision of highly motivated leaders. Further, they lend a misplaced air of legitimacy to politicians' assertions of policy success.

The neo-liberal logic that underpins the current economic and social conditions, relies on the belief that social institutions, such as public health and political structures are unnecessary distractions (Mooney 2012). The market is considered impersonal and removed from ideology, replacing state regulation of services with competition and consumerism (Brathwaite, 2017) which are argued to promote opportunities for economic success to anyone who participates (Davies, 2016, p. 12). Yet, neoliberal ideology has resulted in more authoritarian control of First Nations people and undermined capacity for self-determination (Stanton, Adachi and Huijser 2015). Ethics are viewed as unnecessary baggage, as price ultimately determines everything, mediating relationships and minimising ambiguity (Davies, 2016, p. 7). Neoliberalism is a rebuttal of political discourse through its total allegiance to 'the explicitness and transparency of quantitative, economic indicators' modelled on the market system and can therefore be aptly summed up as 'the pursuit of the disenchantment of politics' (Davies, 2016, p. 6). Because there are a plurality of beliefs about morality and fairness, the human condition and rational truth, the normative political and economic discourses that appear to contain a coherent narrative which people can follow and base decisions on, are in reality a continual process of 'agreements and disagreements that are constantly being renegotiated by the actors who inhabit them' (Davies, 2016, p. 20). In this research I engage in political discourse inspired and informed by First Nations scholarship through a review of literature. This literature reveals some of the norms that continue to inscribe power and whiteness into the education landscape.

Respectful process in ethical research

As a non-Indigenous person, the starting point in this research was a consideration of ethics, that is integral to Public Health research. There are three threshold considerations described by Palyku woman, law scholar, writer and illustrator Ambelin Kwaymullina (2016), for non-Indigenous people doing Indigenous research. Firstly, she asks, should the research be done at all and underscores the many interpretations of silence. She notes there are many First Nations knowledge holders who often go unrecognised or unheard; and that when there is an absence of First Nations voice on a subject it may be a deliberate silence, that needs to be respected. Secondly, we need to be mindful of our positionality which involves understanding the researcher's relative position of privilege. Acknowledging sovereignty is therefore an important starting point. Thirdly, research must fully acknowledge the involvement and contribution of First Nations people, as to deny First Nations sovereignty is to continue to deny First Nations humanity (Kwaymullina, 2016). Questions I grappled with along these lines were: should I pursue, or should I interrogate and resist the strong pull that I felt to examine Indigenous education as a social determinant of health? If I follow this path, what are my ethical obligations recognising I am an outsider – what type of research can I participate in that will maximise benefit and minimise harm? Who defines benefit and harm? Who ultimately do I accept guidance from in considering these questions? Having a First Nations person as supervisor from the beginning of this project was essential in responding the above.

In framing the approach to this research, I was informed by Dr Lorraine Muller, who is on my supervisory panel. Lorraine taught me that the process of research is more important than the outcome (Muller, 2014, p. 95) and as the Yolngu metaphor of *ngathu* bread making illustrates, if there is a flaw in the research process the outcome will be affected (Muller, 2014, p. 95). Bearing this in mind I sought to place the work of First Nations authors and researchers in Indigenous policy and Human Service Work at the centre of my research, acknowledging and legitimising their expert knowledge. With Lorraine's guidance I sought to learn from First Nations' ways of knowing; sharing knowledge appropriately, with permission; and to engage in continuous reflection. Ethical principles adhered to in this research included:

- Centre First Nations voices in the process and learn, informing my own praxis through a cross-cultural study,
- Social justice orientation,
- Focus on non-Indigenous agency/praxis.
- Use literature or documentary-based methods,
- Engage with an Expert panel.

The Expert panel does not refer to the western concept of a group of people who are all considered to have high levels of specialised knowledge and associated power in a particular field. Rather it is an Indigenous approach where the group collectively hold a pool of shared and diverse knowledge in the field that includes professional and lived experience (Muller, 2014a, p. 97, 2017, p. 37). Expert panel members contributed their knowledge to the project by verifying or challenging my understanding and findings at various stages, by phone and/or face to face.

My non-Indigenous supervisors initially stressed the importance of seeking cultural guidance from Indigenous supervisors. However as Associate Supervisor Professor Steve Larkin reminded me when he joined my supervision panel, that Indigenous academics deserve to be recognised and respected for their disciplinary and academic expertise. Indigenous supervisors are researchers, teachers and leaders yet within the academy are often sidelined and relegated as experts only in cultural matters. My Indigenous supervisors' role and contribution to this thesis extended to all aspects of the doctoral journey, reflecting their expert knowledge in sociological, philosophical and educational traditions, and were not confined to providing advice of a cultural or cross-cultural nature.

Ethical approval

Ordinarily, document-based research does not require human to human interaction and is therefore exempt from ethical processes. In my case, I was seeking to conduct research involving First Nations authored literature on a sensitive topic involving the health, wellbeing and rights of First Nations young people. With advice from the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee I wrote to the Aboriginal Health Research Ethics Committee which sits within the Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia with details of the proposed project, methodology and means of consulting First Nations people. I was advised that ethical approval was not required as I was doing documentary research, however it was important to accept First Nations guidance and oversight in interpreting findings.

Methodological considerations – the choice of literature review

For non-Indigenous people seeking a common frame with First Nations people through research, I outline some of the methodological issues that confronted this research project. Qualitative research is not only preferable to produce authentic data on research about matters affecting First Nations young people, it is their right under the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People (United Nations General Assembly, 2007) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly, 1989) to have a say in matters that affect them. I ruled out the possibility of doing

qualitative interviews from a desire to prevent this academic student research from itself being a source of unintended harm to First Nations people. Even with rigorous ethics processes, the risk of cultural misunderstanding or unintended incursions on participants' goodwill are significant and not ethical issues that can be lightly explained away. My experience in working with First Nations young people in school programs and in advocating for Indigenous education pathways taught me that building trust and goodwill requires time and willingness to learn and listen, and to recognise one's own cultural and professional arrogance. I felt that negotiations and compromises, particularly with time and ensuring the fully informed consent of Elders told me that I needed to focus instead on the responsibilities of non-Indigenous people.

For these reasons I constructed a literature review that reveals the nature of colonising experience in education and informs an understanding of health equity from a First Nations perspective, by including only Indigenous authored published works. To ensure that young people's perspectives were included, I paid particular attention to inclusion and analysis of studies that involved qualitative research with young people and their families and carers. These are presented as a discrete section in the findings and analysis. I acknowledge that literature-based research is a static medium as two Expert Panel members commented, in contrast with the oral transmission of knowledge in First Nations Cultures. Despite shortcomings, Expert Panel member and researcher, Tyson Yunkaporta advised:

> Texts are closed systems. Print based cultures are closed systems. It is appropriate and accurate to study these things on a linear model. And I'm sure this culture-in-a-box is indeed moving towards a more just state for many (Tyson Yunkaporta, personal communication)

With this intention, of moving toward a 'more just state' I was compelled to review First Nations' published scholarship to draw attention to their work and its importance as a resource for non-Indigenous people, wanting to learn about education and health justice. I sought guidance from First Nations people as members of an Expert Panel to learn how First Nations teachers and scholars in the education discipline approach the problem of Indigenous/non-Indigenous inequity in school and what action is required from the non-Indigenous majority who dominate the education system and social policy construction. The rest of this introduction examines the topic of the education/health link, how it is discussed in the literature broadly and in relation to First Nations people.

Research questions

1) How does colonisation manifest as harms to First Nations young people in everyday school contexts?
2) Is it possible for non-Indigenous educators to decolonise education or contribute to decolonising the education space? What works to make education accessible and beneficial for Indigenous young people and their health equity?
3) What theories explain how colonisation and decolonisation manifest as harm promoting and health promoting aspects of education?

Objectives

- Identify and select literature that provides First Nations perspectives and insight to Indigenous education success, develop methods for critical realist coding, using an emergent design.
- Highlight, discuss and relate to the literature, the descriptions of non-Indigenous agency described in the 10 articles that and the contexts in which they occurred or are expected to make a difference.
- Provide a theoretical account of harm and risk that emanates from neo-liberal capitalism
- From the research findings, determine and describe existing theories, especially in Indigenous literature both in Australia and internationally, that account for the findings
- critically examine conflicting models and theories of relevance to advance understanding of the phenomena that are evident across the articles

Thesis structure

This thesis examines - from different viewpoints and focal lengths - the way risk is implicated in the denial of education to First Nations people, relative to the national population.

Chapter 1 **Harm and Risk** theorises through an ultra-realist lens, colonisation as non-criminalised, sanctioned forms of harm that erode health and wellbeing. It examines how risk is used to patrol the subject, described by Hall and Winlow as a 'beast within' which learns to function socially through 'constant repression, guidance and discipline' (Hall & Winlow, 2018).

Chapter 2 **Methodology** follows a description of methodology by Walter and Andersen (2016b) to account for the various frames that determined decisions about the research was

conducted, including the type of data from which findings would be drawn, how it would be analysed and why this was necessary to answer the research question.

Chapter 3 **Findings** details the findings and preliminary analysis into categories and themes. The data set comprised ten articles by First Nations scholars, which form the 10 sections of the chapter, preceded and followed by a short introduction and conclusion. The 10 sections are further divided into the units of analysis, Moment, Edge, Level and Dimension which are defined and demonstrated in the Methodology.

Chapter 4 **Discussion PART 1** consists of a regrouping of the findings into semantic clusters, each depicting an aspect of the dialectics of harm and decolonisation. **PART 2** is a theoretical exploration of themes distilled from this work which examine the wider social and historical forces that account for racial and cultural tensions that colonisation inheres.

The conclusion to the thesis considers the significance of the research and its contribution to knowledge about education as a determinant of health. This outcome is configured through a review of First Nations perspectives as paramount and the obligations that this places on researchers. It is a reflection on the intention of the research to engage with and bring to the fore First Nations literature as a non-Indigenous person and the value and benefits as well as the axiological importance of doing so. Lastly it considers some of the challenges presented through discipline boundaries and how this piece of research has sought to address and managed those constraints.

Chapter 1. An ultra-realist illumination of social harm

Ultra-realism (UR) brings a novel and innovative perspective from which to critique colonisation and its contribution to the globalisation of capitalism. UR's philosophical position on social reality swings the lens back from victims and impacts of harm to perpetrators and their motives and means. It critiques the way contemporary neoliberalism encourages us to gamble with each other's lives, through uncritical performance of everyday activities, which presents new insights into the functions of racism and racial inequity. UR's thesis is that an ever more individualistic and competitive society is destroying the social (Winlow & Hall, 2013). Developed by British criminologists Hall and Winlow and championed and extended into the Deviant Leisure perspective (DL) by Raymen and Smith and others, UR's proponents seek to reinstate harm as a core concept in defining and studying crime, attending in particular to social harm that sits beyond the judiciary. Both UR and DL have emerged from ethnographic studies that attend to the voice and experience of certain groups and those who surround and prey on them. A substantial body of work by a core group of contributors has developed and refined significant concepts that support the focus on and interpretation of harm and risk through various forms of contemporary social dis-order and their theoretical implications for justice politics.

Criminology as a discipline overlooks the cumulative trauma that society heaps on its most marginalised and disenfranchised. It narrowly focuses on crime and punishment while allowing society's elites to escape culpability for ruined lives (Raymen, 2019b). DL interrogates harms arising from the commodification of leisure in its diverse forms (Smith & Raymen, 2018), for example the environmental degradation caused by cruise ships (D. Johnson, 2002), the modern slavery involved in fashion sweatshops (Hartsock & Roark, 2020) and the devastation to families caused by payday loans to cover consumer debt (Lim et al., 2014). As a society, there appears to be no accountability for these biproducts of capitalism, nor political recourse to oppose them. This has increasingly sinister consequences for marginalised and oppressed peoples whose plights are articulated in a political void, with no structured response available. The only power that speaks is backed by financial interests, which in turn are influenced by the market. An ironic consequence of this is that, with legislation being the principal arbiter of justice, it is increasingly important that the parliament represents diverse interests, giving the appearance of a more democratic system. However, this does not translate into health equity or justice. As First Nations people as a collective by all measures include disproportionately the most oppressed peoples in Australia, the mechanisms and reasons for social harm demand scrutiny.

UR brings to critical theory the work of psycho-analyst Jacques Lacan and transdisciplinary theorist Slavoj Žižek. This chapter introduces concepts that are attributed to Lacan, how they are used in UR and are applicable to the questions in this thesis. I begin the chapter with a description of the workings of the economy and the shifts in society, democracy and politics that neoliberalism has introduced, through a broad-brush synopsis of recent UR literature, encompassing lifestyle symbolism and special liberty. I then move to impacts of neoliberalism on society and why Winlow and Hall argue that the social is lost. This progresses to a critique of wealth and the effects of the loss of the social, the post political and perhaps the post-democratic on capacity to mobilise and respond to injustice. I introduce Lacan's three registers of reality, Symbolic Order, Big Other and Symbolic Efficiency. I review a call by UR for the return of ethics and reinstatement of morality. Throughout the chapter I refer to harm and risk and make explicit links to colonisation.

1.1 Lifestyle symbolism

The inherent logic of capitalism, the need to continue accumulating capital, has led to a shift in our inner reasoning. We have become global consumers who are incessantly compelled to spend at every opportunity while in the process chalking up massive debt (Steve Hall, Kuldova, & Horsley, 2020; Raymen, 2019a). While once pathologised, the shopaholic is a stalwart of the economy, lauded by business and governments alike. The old morality and parental injunction to save has been swept away with neoliberalism, replaced with a 'super-ego injunction to enjoy' (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 1). DL research on the black Friday shopping phenomenon pointed out that shoppers, willing to behave thuggishly and violently, did so as hyper-conformist consumers, who despite their aggression 'were paying for their items and …queuing for the privilege' (Smith & Raymen, 2017). *Lifestyle symbolism*, is the compulsion to buy goods that project to onlookers a branded identity: symbols that displace 'organic aspects of culture – family, class, community, nation, religion' (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 1). It evolved to overcome the problem of saturated markets by maximising consumer envy and dissatisfaction (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 1). Consumers are lured by the seemingly 'mystical quality' of branded luxury goods that is irresistible, because the items represent an image of the consumer as they imagine they would be seen by someone they admire (Smith & Raymen, 2017).

Commodified symbolism of youth is entrenched through marketing and advertising that purposely incites anxiety and self-doubt, propelling the urge to smother insecurity with external symbols of success or 'cool'. Tweaking the marketing permits youthfulness to be sold to older adult markets and youth hip to be pushed onto children (Smith & Raymen, 2017) who then exhort insecure and guilt-ridden parents to buy. The importance of lifestyle symbolism lies in its ability to drive endless market expansion. This expansion has also been enabled by finance, the ability to lend cash to people on all

levels of income, supported by wage stagnation, wage theft and the amount of interest that debt generates. Ironically the whole of western society appears to be trapped in an addictive state where the lure and fantasy of consumer goods and leisure is so compelling that despite growing awareness of the political and environmental consequences, we are unwilling to stop the ride and get off. This has prompted ultra-realists to declare the end of history as society has entered into what seems to be a permanent state of hyper-reality (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 4). Consumerism is assisted by the neoliberal narrative of liberty or freedom, which revolves around a narcissistic fantasy at the expense of other individuals, groups, society and the environment. Industry, government and media recognise and cynically exalt the power of marketing, the easy lure of product sales and flow of advertising revenue, while sweeping aside the question of risk and harm to social and individual health and wellbeing. At the heart of consumerist logic stands the disconnected individual, hungry for recognition, yearning to belong and to have a measure of control.

1.1 Special liberty

The other aspect of individualism is liberalism, the ideology underpinning capitalist democracy. Employers' belief in their own individual entitlement and denial of social responsibility to employees is an articulation of *Special Liberty*, the extended privilege of neoliberalism. , As witnessed in a spate of revelations in Australia in recent years, employers feel licensed to disregard industrial relations laws and make their own rules, aided by government unwillingness or powerlessness to challenge business interests (Clibborn, 2020). The concept of *Special Liberty* draws attention to abuses of equity and justice that arise through (in this case, corporate and political) privilege: the 'willingness … to inflict harm or at least risk harm to others' (Steve Hall & Winlow, 2015; Stephen Hall & Winlow, 2018; Smith & Raymen, 2018). Within liberal values discourse, 'positive liberty' refers to the provision of contexts that promote ability to achieve our individual desires, our vision of a good life. It is used to describe the provision of public goods such as free health care and education (Trujillo, 2021). 'Negative liberty' is refrain from interference from our rights, such as by avoiding constraints on business, and allowing free speech (Skar, 2019). *Special liberty* takes the liberal concept of negative liberty to its unfortunate conclusion. It allows individual freedom to do anything as long as we do not harm others individually, in direct, demonstrable and accountable ways. In extremity, it leads to untrammelled and ruthless capacity to dominate and exert power over the lives of others in the pursuit of individual goals, without repercussion. Its effect is to license a suite of mechanisms that deepen the economic divide between the super-rich and the rest of the population (Raymen, 2019b). Leisure has transformed the labour economy. DL studies show how leisure industries have an increasing hold on our time, money and desire and our leisure activities are increasingly individual

and anti-social (Raymen, 2019a). The service industries dominate the Australian labour market, accelerating a trend toward piecemeal, casualised and low paid work, where paid leave, regular and dependable hours of work and paid training are rarefied (Birch & Preston, 2020) meaning enjoyment of dining in or out, resort holidays and cruises are all at the expense of workers whose circumstances are increasingly precarious.

At the global economic level, financial elites make use of '*special liberty'*, to entitle themselves to unrestrained market access free from the burden of taxation and moral responsibility (Raymen, 2019b), allowing the rich and powerful to escape the burden of the public purse. Upstream or structural determinants of health or harm such as exposure to environmental pollutants or damage to underground water sources can be traced to the *special liberty* enjoyed by extractive industries. Public lands are sacrificed for the profit of developers, who gain from governments the unfettered right to proceed at the expense of individual land-owners and non-profits. whole towns are disbanded and relocated to facilitate extractive industries and transport networks (Zizek, 1997). In the Australian context, health harms are inflicted on First Nations people through the destruction of sacred sites such as the Juukan Gorge caves (Turner, 2020) and the Djap Wurrung birthing tree (Sissy Eileen, 2020). The principle of *special liberty* 'transcend[s] any remaining socio-ethical norms in the name of freedom' (Raymen, 2019b), prolonging capitalism on a seemingly infinite basis as the codes of social and cultural life are continually written-down in favour of corporate profits.

1.2 The engorgement of wealth

Data leaks on the finances of the super-rich have provided new confidence that wealth concentration is real and is linked to political power (Goda, 2018). Recent wealth modelling in the wake of these revelations, draws on a range of source data to produce strong and convergent accounts of a significant and growing concentration of wealth, both globally and in countries. While overall wealth is growing in all sectors, the wealth of the rich elites grows at the greatest rate, A small minority of the global population are some '500,000 times wealthier than the median individual' due to growth in financial markets and property prices, with the vast bulk of commercial property owned by the wealthy (Goda, 2018). As ordinary people throughout the world shoulder the burden of COVID-19 at the mercy of their governments and national circumstances, the world's rich bounced back from economic loss in just nine months (Berkhout et al., 2021). Government bailout of banks and billionaires is another source of public to private wealth transfer attributed to quantitative easing policies of the world's banks which, through asset purchases largely from the ultra-wealthy (Goda, 2018) have spawned the elite's quick recovery from the GFC. These elites are predominantly white 'old money'. They are assisted by the tech giants and financiers (ostensibly even wealthier although

the true wealth of the ultra-elites is well hidden) (Goda, 2018, p. 97), whose business is to maintain the obscene escalation of wealth, free from public interference and corporate responsibility for their humanitarian and environmental harm.

The phenomenon of wealth accumulation and concentration is therefore a product of capitalism that creates health inequity. The accelerating wealth-transfer from poor to rich has devastating consequences for public services and goods eroding the capacity of ordinary people to enjoy public spaces and to find affordable and healthy sources of family leisure. Privatisation and tax avoidance along with corporate bailouts reduce the public purse and the capacity of governments to respond fiscally to social inequity and crisis (Alvaredo, Chancel, Piketty, Saez, & Zucman, 2017) strip the capacity and the political will to provide such measures as a living wage, tertiary education and public housing. Adjustments through progressive taxation and savings incentives are ill-equipped to close the gaping economic gap between super-rich and the vast majority of global population (Berman, Ben-Jacob, & Shapira, 2016). The result is that funding for initiatives such as Closing the Gap are redirected in favour of political opportunism rather than real progress (Hudson, 2016, p. 11; Hudson, Salvatierra, & Andres, 2017, p. 4).

1.3 The end of politics

There is no political place to question this from. In looking at the current political alternatives with respect to climate change as a looming threat and a source of multiple harms globally, neoliberalism is clearly interested in furthering economic ends, while left liberalism is reluctant to refer to theories of harm because it might involve calling responsibility and goes against the relativist preoccupation with balancing conflicting but seemingly equally warrantable positions (Raymen, 2019b). This results in a consensus that effectively excludes political antagonism and opposition. Whereas democracy once permitted injustice to be named and challenged, it is now subsumed into bureaucratic and legal process (J. Wilson, 2014, pp. 8-15). Any form of discrimination is illegal, therefore any form of inequality is subject to parliamentary or judicial inquiry, where '*special liberty'* ensures that the outcome will most often be unfavourable or fleeting.

The political economy has disengaged from scholarship, eschewing facts and evidence (T. Brabazon, S. Redhead, & R. Chivaura, 2018a). Traditional parties are virtually indistinguishable in their commitment to neoliberalism, migration, deregulated business sector, efficiency dividends and trade agreements, which are all helping to lower wages and erode employment conditions. There is a 'double refusal' of people to be governed and governments to lead, which Brabazon et al argue is a product of the collapse of the left (T. Brabazon, S. Redhead, & R. S. Chivaura, 2018b). Deeply

suspicious of what appears to be a wholesale transfer of property and jobs to foreign ownership, whiteness is familiarity and safety, a beacon of rationality to a working class who is no longer in work (Brabazon et al., 2018b). With longer working hours, tenuous employment contracts and an influx of temporary visa holders, the traditional working class is in a precarious position.

As competitive individualism pulls society apart, insidiously consumerism fosters loneliness and exacerbates an unfulfilled *longing to belong* somewhere, and to someone, which signals a society unravelling. Hall et al argue that incessant marketing has infiltrated social movements appealing to a desire driven by an absent politics of resistance (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 7) and the lure of a prosperous life, 'the political and economic bedrock of consumer culture' (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 6). Consumerism acts as a salve, and is this sense a process through which capitalism colonises the mind, displacing the social with the 'injunction to enjoy'. Yet consumerism comes at a heavy price for social health. Consumer spaces are privately owned, heavily regulated and policed by consumers themselves (Smith & Raymen, 2017), eroding the concept of belonging through shared access in favour of privileged capacity to consume. The notion of the commons, parklands and town squares has been surpassed by 'bland and homogenised shopping precincts operated by corporations' (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 3). Yet there is a premium on café seats in a shopping precinct - there is no time to dawdle (2020, p. 3). Thus 'lack, desire and dissatisfaction' are integral to understanding consumerism, whose logic is directly implicated in injustice and inequality. Universal values, which existed as the glue within and between smaller social groups have morphed into a plethora of conflicting ideologies. Other than the law, there is no agreed standard to regulate public behaviour and standards of decency. This erosion of values is aided by our *fetishistic disavowal,* a concept coined by Žižek which describes the ability to suppress from conscious thinking, our implicit grasp of society's flaws and minimise their consequences, and our refusal to weigh the negative consequences of our actions. As a construct, *fetishistic disavowal* encourages deep analysis of the psyche's embrace of the denial of denial, the refusal to participate in liberation.

Capitalism has replaced the 'Big Other' of state, religious or parental control with a big super-ego, where marketing incites us to over-indulge, denying any real pleasure as it has become an economic imperative that we spend excessively and without clear purpose. As we succumb to the inundation of marketing messages bombarding our collective subconscious, autonomy has become a blurred illusion (Steve Hall et al., 2020, pp. 3-5). The Lacanian explanation of fetishism is the revolving of desire around a lack where counterintuitively, the satisfaction of desire is in the non-attainment of the thing it craves. This produces addictive behaviours where for example, people constantly engage in gambling irrelevant of their wins and losses. The craving is never satisfied with a win because the object of the compulsion stands in for but is different from the lack or void that exists in the

unreachable Real. The result is 'an unstable milieu of competing individuals' which ultimately disrupts the social, exploiting the fact that desire is socially mediated and generated from the enviable desire of others (Steve Hall et al., 2020, p. 4).

Yet capitalism can only function if we collectively believe in it and suppress the knowledge it is irrational. Sceptical mistrust of capitalism and capitalists is essential to its functioning (Mark Fisher, 2009, p. 13). Believing 'in our hearts' that capitalism is bad, is enough to reassure ourselves that we are good people. We fail to acknowledge 'our own complicity in planetary networks of oppression' and that 'capitalism …would be nothing without our cooperation' . Far from being unaware of society's conditions we defend it because we literally see no other option. All that we see is all that we can believe is possible.

1.4 Symbolic order / symbolic efficiency

Lacan's ontology involves a three-tiered conception of reality that includes the Real, the Imaginary and the Symbolic, which are interlinked and interactive in constructing the reality of our lives. Unlike Critical Realism which distinguishes between reality out there, separate from human thought and the empirical, which is reality as we experience, name and describe it, Lacan's reality is only concerned with the human psyche. A Lacanian reading of history is that nothing becomes real without words and symbolism so events are always understood after the fact, constituted and characterised through words and symbols. As we have no meaningful or accessible reality without words and symbols to interpret it, there is always some aspect of the Real which impresses on us, as it is beyond words. We are doomed to recognise it, but not be able to capture it and express it.

The addition of the unconscious to critical realism through UR is to move beyond a simple notion of people as inherently good. The work of Lacan and Žižek presents a conception of reality that challenges this conception. There is a need for 'elevation of ethical conversations' about what 'the good' is, that are opposed to the libertarian individualism that currently dominates (Steve Hall et al., 2020). The concept of social harm is not about identifying the harm but using the identification of harm to think critically about what type of moral framework or symbolic order would produce a society that would produce alternative subjectivities (Raymen, 2019b). Lacan claims that subjectivity and identity are inwardly formed, through our identification with the 'Symbolic Order', which is a 'crucial network of meaning' and a shared 'system of elementary truths' which we all agree on so that we can communicate in the social world (Winlow & Hall, 2013). The symbolic order is illusory, and is maintained through a collective ideological fiction which stems from a social and ideological ethic requiring a shared commitment (Raymen, 2019b). Departing from the normative understanding of

ideology, this fictional world orders our sense of society and a good life, reconceptualising ideology as essential to the existence of our social world (Raymen, 2019b). A healthy Symbolic Order is intended to prohibit widespread actions that would destroy the social group while facilitating social sustainability and growth. It describes the relationships that are necessary to give meaning and structure to society and interprets and ascribes meaning and value to everyday activities. It serves to determine the social forces we are compelled to comply with, under the injunction of the super-ego (Winlow & Hall, 2013). Faced with no right choice, freedom becomes a source of anxiety and anguish. Žižek, as described by Raymen, perceives freedom, in the sense of 'liberation from oppression of the Symbolic Order, to be a hellish nightmare 'of crushing anxiety… and disorienting ontological insecurity as they [the subject] scramble around in search of a set of fragile symbols…that can structure and order their lives'. Externalising our fear of the imagined 'real' we strive to distance ourselves from the uncontrollable wild of the natural world investing heavily in physical barriers between ourselves and perceived environmental threats, feeding our insecurities and stoking consumption.

Symbolic efficiency refers to the capacity of the symbolic order, for example, through the law, to translate into actions and consequences via our belief in them, independent of our private assumptions (Žižek, 1999, pp. 326-329). The symbolic order that is discernible in present-day capitalism is eroded in three respects. Firstly, respect for authority and status is diminished, with trust in institutions being largely pragmatic. The sovereign individual resents governance. Secondly, the collision of diverse beliefs, cultures, languages and identities makes a universal symbolic order somewhat nonsensical. The concept of truth and reality are inherently shaky in the post-modern world. Thirdly and for similar reasons, morality and ethics are relative. Those behaviours which are subject to civil or criminal penalties are clearly out of bounds yet with a few exceptions we are free to believe what we like despite not necessarily being able to act on those beliefs. Hatred based on difference is openly encouraged on influential media channels as standards of journalism are irrelevant in the face of populism and profit, and getting paid. Consumerism relies on advertising and so do journalists, whose living depends on it (Herzog, 2021). Thanks to the neoliberal ascendency morality is rapidly being erased and replaced with a sort of hollow, loose assemblage of beliefs that are held together only by one unifying framework, the discourse of the capitalist economy (Kotze, 2020 p54, Smith, 2018). As Hall states, symbolic orders can be progressive, just as they can be tyrannical. However, no symbolic order, means no protection from the 'real'. We are at an ideological impasse where consumerist symbols are fleeting and contradictory, fulfilling the role for the briefest of moments (2018). Today's social order is a hologram (Witt & deHaven-Smith, 2008) of neoliberal discourses of commodification and rationalism. It acts to mask consumerism's reliance

on our eternal suspension belief, in favour of corrosive cynicism that exhausts the social, imparting a total lack of security and social cohesion (Raymen, 2019b). Paradoxically, universal scepticism rubs shoulders with a grudging awareness of democracy's limitations and subjectivity. The systems we feel compelled to revere and defend for our own protection from the abyss are exposed as hollow, bereft of solutions to the ecological and financial catastrophe looming ahead (Brabazon et al., 2018a). The Lacanian notion of the terrifying abyss which is life without a Symbolic Order must be avoided at all costs, so instead, we cling to capitalism (Raymen, 2019).

1.5 Healing not closing - gaps as symptoms of social harm

Within this chapter I have defined how risk and harm are theorised through UR, a criminological theory that aims to expose and critique harms that are a product of a failing economic system, normalised through discourses and practices of neo-liberalism. This offers a new way to theorise the gap in life expectancy and 'gap thinking' in policy and points to the need for a re-focus on the system as a whole as it favours a redistribution of economic capital and public goods in favour of the private wealth and power of the global elites. Social harm is harm caused through structures that unfairly or irrationally (with no clear ethical or moral basis) bestow benefits such as social choices and legitimacy to some members over others. The evidence of harm is demonstrable through documentation of health inequity.

The ultra-realist attention to the psyche and the ontology of the subject as reliant on a Symbolic Order brings additional perspective to the anguish of cultural genocide. While this chapter has sought to theorise risk and harm as effects of capitalism that are blurred and overlooked in the criminal and legal paradigms, a key purpose of this research and theme of this thesis is the centrality of Indigenous voice. The discourse and language of colonisation/decolonisation purposefully highlights the subjectivity of First Nations people as unique in the world. It draws attention to the problematic way in which Indigenous status is represented in policy and has altered over time. It is essential that the analysis of colonisation as social harm does not lead to a collapsing of colonisation into a critique of capitalism grounded purely in economics. The derivation of knowledge and philosophy from the local is not a geographical accident where relative isolation inevitably led to different beliefs. Western literacy has enabled the development of artifice through debate, propaganda and rhetoric that circumscribe knowledge making. Words are often out of step with body language. Perhaps the literal rescribing of the Symbolic Order into formal text has helped to engender disbelief and mistrust, dividing society through the education system into those with the right to interpret and apply knowledge and those who are held accountable to it.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The relationship between First Nations and non-Indigenous people in Australia is fraught with tension. This tension is captured in, and created by, the media in multifarious ways – through commentary on racism in sport, the legal destruction of sacred sites, the incarceration and removal of children and young people from family and communities. It persists in the casual racist references to First Nations people in non-Indigenous conversations, the studied avoidance of contact, the suspicious stares and policing in public spaces. It reverberates in howls of resentment, parrot relayed by shock jocks that First nations people 'get given too much'. The petty harassment, a cumulative daily burden, in the competition for necessities of life, materialises into something more potent and threatening. Risk compounds in the passing over of applicants for jobs, houses, loan cars, and more. the patronising belief balloons that if it wasn't for white charity, First Nations people would be 'left behind', trapped in welfare safety nets and public housing. First Nations people meanwhile argue that far from occupying a lesser position in society from which to 'catch up', Indigenous knowledges and cultures offer something superior to the world (Hemming, Rigney, Bignall, Berg, & Rigney, 2019; Uncle Charles Moran, Harrington, & Sheehan, 2018; Watson, 2014). This cultural faultline provides the context to health inequity as one of pervasive racial disrespect. Research in this space must consider the limitations of western research conventions both to sensitively handle issues of Indigenous rights, trust and obligations and to facilitate Indigenous knowledges and truths. For this reason, I have looked to a First Nations articulation of research methodology and sought guidance from an Expert Panel to engage in a process of respectful research that entailed reflexive learning, allow the research design to develop iteratively (Attia & Edge, 2017). This chapter details the theoretical frame that emerged, and the key decisions that governed each stage.

Palawa Pairrebenne scholar Professor Maggie Walter, and Chris Andersen (2016a, p. 45) provide a comprehensive description of research methodology and its purpose, expressed diagrammatically (Figure 2.1). Walter and Andersen's work establishes and clarifies the centrality of the researcher's standpoint as determining of their Theoretical Frame. The Research Standpoint is a culmination of the researcher's social position and their Ontology (ways of Being), Epistemology (ways of Knowing) and Axiology (Values) (pp. 46-52), which influence the Theoretical Frame, or research paradigm, which in turn shapes the choice of methods. I have used this model, guided by the authors' descriptive text as a departure from which to explore the Research Standpoint from which I have conducted the study.

Walter and Andersen's 'Conceptualisation of a Research Methodology'

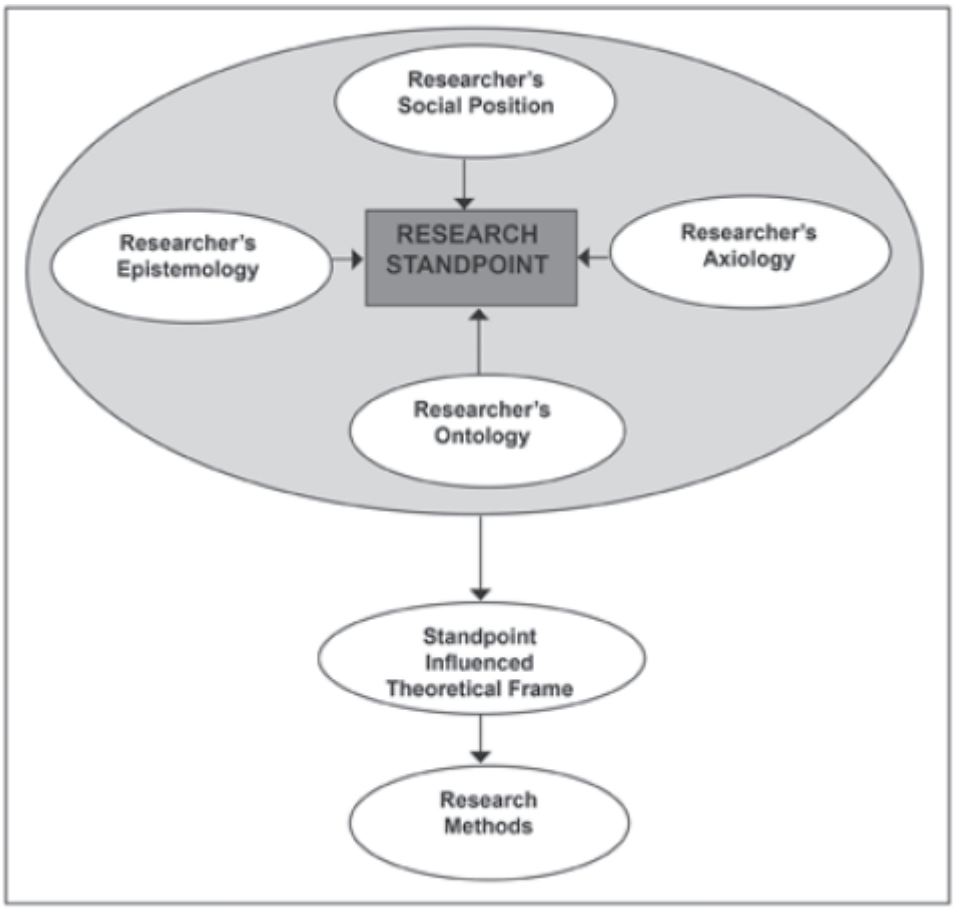


Figure 2.1 Conceptualization of a Research Methodology (Walter & Andersen, 2016a, p. 45)

2.2 Social Position

2.2.1 Defining research frames

Social Position defines the researcher's social, cultural, racial and economic frames. It 'covertly, overtly, actively, and continuously shapes how we do, live, and embody research practice' highlighting the pre-eminence of process. The racial frame includes 'colonization and its processes of possession/dispossession, privilege/deprivilege, and entitlement/marginalization' (Walter & Andersen, 2016a, p. 46). The term 'race capital', reflects that race is a competitive advantage obtained by holding on to and reproducing a specific form of power relations:

> deployed to competitively garner the societal goods, knowledge, status, services, and power relations that are produced and circulates resources in societies (Walter & Andersen, 2016a, p. 46).

From a decolonising perspective, and my settler standpoint, I recognise the embodied privilege of whiteness (J. Z. Wilson, Chihota, & Marks, 2021) in the ever-ready access I enjoy to health, education, shopping, government, business and commercial interactions, which open opportunities to me and my settler family. While always relative and contingent, moderated by class, gender and personal characteristics (looks, personality and style), they contribute to my physical health, emotional wellbeing, social ease and sense of security. Conversations and social niceties smooth the way amongst like strangers. I am especially cognisant that university education and graduate employment have elevated my status in the settler milieu. In the post-modern neoliberal world, these advantages are my right, unnoticed and unquestioned, a freedom to exist at the expense of others as others more privileged enjoy their freedoms at the expense of people like me, a woman of modest means from working class origins.

My Social Position in respect of decolonising research is therefore enacted through racial privilege, which is bestowed and persists despite conscientious efforts to be non-racist. In a reversal of the dominant epistemological perspective, First Nations people make the judgement on when and how a non-Indigenous person displays racist attitudes. While qualities such as insight and empathy do not transform the researcher's Social Position, they can add to it (Walter & Andersen, 2016a, p. 47). Being open to criticism and accepting it sincerely can open us up to read things differently, reacting not from personal guilt but personal responsibility for a collective social position that sustains false privilege and security.

Researchers have to pay attention to their 'paradigm positioning' where a paradigm is an alignment of ontology (what can be known about reality), epistemology (the nature of the process by which we can gain and lay claim to knowledge), methodology (the way research knowledge is constructed) and axiology (influence of the researchers' values) (Haigh, Kemp, Bazeley, & Haigh, 2019). My researcher position is informed by a critical realist (CR) ontology which considers reality to be separate and independent of knowledge. This includes thought, speculation, investigation, categorisation and naming, which are all part of epistemology and methodology. CR understands 'the real' to include anything with power to act on or through social structures to maintain or transform them. (Haigh et al., 2019).

2.2.2 Inferring what is hidden

Social Position also influences what the researcher overlooks or discounts, consistent with critical realism which places emphasis on absence and negativity as the greater part of reality, Beyond the aggregate of what actually exists, there is an almost infinite potential for what could exist now and in the future and which used to exist in the past (Scambler & Scambler, 2015). Research epistemology

involves researcher assumptions and biases at all stages of research design that influence what is brought to the research and what is discarded or hidden from the researcher's awareness (Walter & Andersen, 2016b, p. 49) My Social Position as white, Anglo, able-bodied and cisgender from a 'traditional' family structure led me to overlook an absence in the data of intersectionality, thus I did not explore the intersectional experiences of young people beyond their Indigenous status and socio-economic and first-in-family positioning. Largely obscured are questions about teachers' backgrounds and how teachers from a variety of Social Positions can bring positive and negative experiences and insights into their teaching that are outside of my own experience.

2.3 Ontology

Walter and Andersen define ontology as setting a framework for how researchers think about the world and what they perceive legitimate research to be, as well as how researchers understand what it means to be human. Importantly for understanding Fig 2.1, the authors maintain that our ontology, in the sense of what we 'know' is real, is shaped primarily by our faith in a pre-enlightenment style consensus of social and cultural values (Walter & Andersen, 2016a, p. 53), in contrast with our presumptions to scientific knowledge. The authors refer to the '*homo economicus*' (Walter & Andersen, 2016a, p. 53) conception of human as rational and oriented toward production and consumption, a view of humanity that completely excludes an understanding of altruism as a legitimate way of being. This contrast between what researchers take for granted in their beliefs about reality, confusing scientific discourse with objectivity and rationality, points to an essential difference between the true nature of things and human conceptions of them. Critical Realism (CR) is inherently ontological, in that it insists on a separation between reality and our perceptions and knowledge holds that our knowledge about reality is always partial and fallible (Oliver, 2011), beyond what we imagine, creating a conceptual trap where we substitute our beliefs and names for things with reality itself .

Scientific beliefs and paradigms and religious beliefs and paradigms have a demonstrable impact on human behavioural norms and values. When observable patterns cannot be explained through existing theory and knowledge, critical realists examine the observable mechanisms and the contexts that govern them, working backwards to theorise what must the circumstances be for a given situation or event pattern to arise (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017). CR is critical in the sense that it challenges conventional and ideological explanations seeking to understand the nature and effects of structure and their interactions with human agency. My ontological understanding that First Nations people's ways of being, knowing and doing are distinctive and specific to time and space. I cannot access Indigenous knowledge and understanding of reality for my own interpretation and use. However, in

learning about decolonisation and decolonising ways of being, knowing and doing, I can use CR to explore mechanisms and contexts that facilitate decolonisation.

The implications of a CR/UR ontology for this research are that concepts such as decolonisation and colonialism are recognised as social constructs that are meaningful due to their explanatory power. Decolonisation does not mean a return to a pre-colonised state, but a process by which colonised structures and the psychological mechanisms that reinforce and reproduce them are exposed for critique. A CR informed methodology engages with the social world as layered and complex, while the contribution of UR draws attention to the fallibility of the human psyche. Decolonisation centres on the lived experience of Indigenous peoples to reveal the harmful impacts of laws and policies, unearthing concealed truths about oppressive and racist mechanisms which are embedded in governmental structures. An example is the prerogative of the parliament and courts to determine Indigenous status, which impact on First Nations' peoples preparedness to identify as such and shape the processes of approving/obtaining documentary evidence (Carlson, 2013). This in turn determines who can be legally recognised as Indigenous for the purposes of, for example, establishing an Indigenous business. The simple binary of Indigenous/non-Indigenous obscures the depth of dispossession as some people who were born First Nations and raised by white families are alienated from their birth culture and may identify specifically as a member of the stolen generation (Gilbert, 2019). Some First Nations people of mixed or blended cultural heritage may identify just as strongly with another culture and do not accept a single ethnic identifier (Y. C. Paradies, 2006). Most First Nations people live and identify with their culture and can prove their heritage (Carlson, 2013). CR introduces social reality and the nature of individual identity as layered. While these complications exist at individual and interpersonal levels, at a social and political level it is necessary to be able to publicly identify and defend First Nations status in order to protect and fight for Indigenous rights, positioning First Nations people as 'knowers' and to combat white naming and patrolling of Indigenous status, positioning First Nations people as 'known' (Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson, 2016). However, the addition of UR helps to explain why the weight of claims to truth and evidence alone do not constitute what is considered scientific knowledge. Critique of whiteness and its links to wealth and power is aided by a Lacanian understanding of desire which undermines our ability to unite an understanding of social harm with our capacity to act ethically.

2.3.1 Realist causality

Critical realism offers a working definition of 'real' to be something that has causal powers with observable effects. This is inclusive of a negative construction where something real has causal powers which do not function at all in certain contexts (the maths lesson is lost on a student who can

never sufficiently hear or see the teacher) (Roberts, 2014). Absences are also real, because the lack of something can have phenomenal impact, such as in a famine or drought. However, for the purpose of this study, the intention was not to garner evidence to comprehensively determine causality. Rather I sought to show from the dataset, aspects of society and the education system which may be overlooked or underplayed as influential, along with aspects of risk and harm that are often not perceived as such by mainstream society and non-Indigenous practitioners. While social concepts and phenomena are always 'slippery', open to conjecture and argument, they are attempts to name and grapple with a common shared experience and are therefore imputed to be causally real, that is, they are attempts to name and concretise the cause of a common social experience.

2.3.2 Respect in acknowledgement – establishing truth

I am persuaded by Gracelyn Smallwood that all positions are not equally valid (Smallwood, 2015). Following Bhaskar, Professor Smallwood contends that truth is concerned with understanding the reason for things from a critical theoretical and axiological perspective. That is, power is wielded through the promulgation of discourses that support the interests of the powerful. Critical analysis of colonisation aims to expose falsehoods and restore truth. Decolonisation centres Indigenous voices and testimony as verification of colonising harms (Smallwood, 2011, p. 23). The search for truth is therefore the uncovering of and providing the best possible explanation for injustice. It is also a process of self-realisation. The dialectic of critical realism is concerned with a process of reconciling action with belief and becoming authentic (Mingers, 2011), which enables people to realise and use their agency to advance social justice through changing social structures. This is the aim of critical pedagogy .(Mirzaei Rafe, Noaparast, Hosseini, & Sajadieh, 2021).

Colonisation is perpetuated through stereotypes and misinformation about First Nations people which need to be interrogated and exposed. For example, the history of Stolen Wages tells how First Nations people in several states and Territories were notionally paid a wage for their labour. All or part of the money was banked by the government on the myth that First Nations people could not look after it. The money was kept by the government as a form of State or Territory revenue. While some jurisdictions have reached settlements where there was evidence to prove a debt, the government's failure to keep the legally required records and unlawful destruction of records means that of the surviving claimants, few can prove the extent of what they are owed (Banks, 2008). The real motive of wage theft was to control First Nations people(Australian Senate, 2006). The Stolen Generation was justified in the same way, and motivated by the same reason. Getting to the truth of the stolen wages also exposes the truth about colonisation. It is the theft of land, justified through the construction of systems of law and justice that are based on fabrication.

The ontological underpinnings of this research therefore centre on an understanding that there is a physical and social reality which lies beyond our immediate perception and analysis. To understand and place into context the disparities between Black and White Australia, if is necessary to identify structures and mechanisms which, though not visible are real, detectable through their activity in the form of racialised harms enacted on First Nations people.

2.3.3 Layered depth ontology

Gurang Gurang/Taribelang influential Indigenous educator Dr Chris Sarra worked from the first premise that 'there is a reality and we can get to know it, even if that knowledge is fallible and partial' and that CR as a metatheory, lays out the implications of this premise (C. Sarra, 2005, pp. 31-32). He applied the 'layered depth ontology' of Critical Realism from Bhaskar's A realist theory of Science (1978) as shown in figure 2.1 below. The table shows that there are three layers or domains of reality: the real, the actual and the empirical. Each layer incorporates the level(s) it generates, so Domain of the Real includes 'underlying, and often very abstract' social structures and mechanisms (p.32).

Table 1 critical realist ontology

	Domain of Real	Domain of Actual	Domain of Empirical
Structures & mechanisms	✓		
Events	✓	✓	
Experiences	✓	✓	✓

(Sarra 2005 p 32 fig 1.2, Bhaskar 1978 p 47 fig 1.1)

Structures and mechanisms manifest through events in the Domain of the Actual and they are experienced by individuals in the Domain of the Empirical, but the structures and powers that maintain social relations are mostly hidden. The difference between the domains is illustrated by Professor Gracelyn Smallwood:

> 'I want to establish the actuality of Indigenous Australia. The word 'actuality' is chosen deliberately to indicate that as things actually are, they need not necessarily be. Reality, as Roy Bhaskar has argued, includes the non-actualised and the non-experienced' ((Smallwood, 2011, p. 6)

A depth ontology therefore supports critique of the underlying sources of harm that are invisible at the level of empirical experience. In tandem, it critiques the absence of political action that is needed

to support a public good. Professor Smallwood uses depth ontology to illustrates the difference between racism and colonisation:

> …[A] death in custody such as that of Lygi Vaggs . . . has to be understood not only as a product of racism but also as a result of the historical necessity for the structures of colonialism to regard the First Australians and the Torres Strait Islander peoples as the Feared / Despised Other (Smallwood, 2011, p. 37).

Whereas racism captures the positioning of First Nations peoples as 'feared/despised', which is a key factor in the systemic racial violence exposed by BlackLivesMatter, White social perceptions, discourses and representations of First Nations people arose directly as a result of the genocidal nature of Australia's colonisation and largely unacknowledged slavery.

2.4 Epistemology

The epistemological position concerns what constitutes the researcher's position on knowledge, and how and whether we can know reality (Henry & Foley, 2018). CR epistemology regards knowing and knowledge making as transitive process which involves human knowledge and categorisation, is fluid and subjective (Vincent & O'Mahoney, 2018). To mistake what we know about something, for what it is, in critical realist terms is what Bhaskar calls the *epistemic fallacy* (Bhaskar, 1997). Realists use the term 'ontology' in a purely intransitive sense to discuss reality as 'what is (is not)'. Social forces have structures and powers which gravity-like, pressure us to act, compliantly or defiantly or constrain us from acting in particular ways or situations (Sayer, 2000, p. 11). Whereas realist ontology considers that these forces exist and influence human actions and decisions, realist epistemology assumes that we cannot directly apprehend these forces but we can still observe their influence and make rational judgements about them. Social reality is conceptual because it is grounded in, though not limited to the way agents interpret their actions. It is activity-dependent because it is maintained through conscious human agency (Sarra, 2005, pp. 64-65).

CR is epistemologically relative, meaning that knowledge is always fallible as a more accurate explanation may be revealed. However it refutes judgemental relativism, meaning multiple accounts of something are not equally acceptable, as some provide better explanations and are a better approximation of reality than others (Jessop, 2005). Ultra-realism adds another layer to what is considered 'real'. At the level of human psyche, we interact with the world through imagination and symbolism. The 'real' is a void beyond our symbolic interpretation in which everything exists, and nothing is differentiated (Stephen Hall & Winlow, 2018, p. 15). If exposed to this state without the mediation of the mind, we would be in a state of psychosis and permanent terror. Indigenous knowledge as portrayed through scholarly work, tends to emphasise process, flow and design and is

locally specific. In contrast to efforts to control for social phenomena, resisting the inevitable flow and malleability of the social landscape, Indigenous knowledge is informed by living processes, anticipating how social processes unfold dialogically with structural constraints (Lowe, Backhaus, Yunkaporta, & Brown, 2014).

The nature of Social Position (2.2) helps to remind us that we are emmeshed in these forces in the conduct of research. Universities as sites of knowledge production 'reflect, maintain and sustain dominant societal understandings of how knowers are and can be' (Walter & Andersen, 2016a, p. 49). Status quo research tends to proceed as though the choice of epistemology is natural, correct and does not need to be examined or questioned. Juxtaposed is the assumption that alternative ways of structuring and receiving knowledge are questionable or illegitimate. Indeed the 'epistemic validation and prioritization, the presences and the absences, occur at each and every step of the research process…' (p. 46). This is supported by Potts and Brown (2015), who claim that for research to be 'anti-oppressive' requires close examination of relationships of power with participants and co-researchers, and transparency about who we are and our ethical position. Within the constraints of neo-liberal discourse about health, the more disenfranchised the individual, the more risks to their health they appear to engage in. This is what First Nations scholars have identified as the deficit approach (Walter, 2016), where the most disadvantaged attract the most criticism and blame for their own and their children's position in society.

2.5 Axiology – respectful research process

The researcher's Axiology is the values that are unconsciously bundled, as well as self-consciously introduced, into the research and need to be examined and clarified. Values determine the type of research we do and the questions we ask (Walter & Andersen, 2016b). Taking together the risk and harm narrative of the previous chapter and the theme of decolonisation and rejection of 'settler moves to innocence', UR has a fundamental concern with understanding why a particular group will 'risk harm to others' to pursue its own interests (Stephen Hall & Winlow, 2018, p. 1). UR highlights the way ethics and morality have been manipulated and re-constructed through neoliberal capitalism to support the market at the expense of human flourishing (Smith & Raymen, 2018). A researcher committing to social justice needs to consider not only their own perspective on ethics but that of oppressed peoples they are seeking justice for. UR is concerned with the loss of morality as a basis to distinguish public harm from public good and a key problem with post-modern pluralist thought. Professor Gracelyn Smallwood drew on CR philosophy to highlight this as a shortcoming in contemporary Indigenous affairs, arguing for a reinstatement of ontological truth from which to argue right from wrong (Smallwood, 2011). Axiology therefore goes beyond the values we bring to

research and includes the importance the researcher places on values as the basis for preferencing one set of recommendations or course of action over another and how we or whether we justify all of our actions in the course of research. In the first pages of the Introduction I attempted to uncover some of the motivations that caused me to research this question in this way. Inevitably my values also led me to exclude factors from this narrative and emphasise others. I aimed to demonstrate accountability and a historical context to my present way of thinking while not 'oversharing' or overindulging. The values that I overtly incorporated to inform my approach included respect which was incorporated in the design and the implementation and writing up of stages and a decolonising stance.

CR is inherently axiological, being committed to emancipation and social justice through critique of unjust social structures. It is not wedded to any particular methodology but is 'problem-led' permitting discourse and method to be chosen to best support the research problem (Cashian, 2014, p. 90). A decolonising research methodology identifies and critiques the nature of public institutions and political systems. In particular it examines their colonial roots as sources of present health harm. Examination of truth claims and attention to First Nations voice are ethical necessities in research because the harms perpetrated against First Nations people as a group are sanctioned and normalised through social structures. Even when they challenge public conscience they are routinely defended by government (Klippmark & Crawley, 2018). For example, legal, welfare and criminal justice structures support the NT Intervention, imposition of a welfare card and detention and imprisonment of children. Claims to truth need to be carefully verified as to their positioning of and assumptions about First Nations people and failure to recognise the diversity of First Nations cultures and histories.

2.5.1 Indigenous concepts of respect

Respect as a central element in Indigenous knowledge practices has broad-ranging meaning with some differences to non-Indigenous use (Muller, 2014a, p. 162). Developing respectful methodology requires consideration that Indigenous epistemology or ways of knowing and conceiving reality are bounded and defined separately from, albeit entangled within non-Indigenous settler colonial ways of knowing. Valuing autonomy and making space for difference and diversity are core aspects of respect. Autonomy permits differentiated responses, which collectively result in 'a more complex, reflexive and adaptive organisational state' (Sheehan, 2011). First Nations' ways of knowing continue to be informed by this notion of respect as learning from Country through observation and relationality. It is also an integral part of maintaining relationality, as 'there is a certain amount of punishment attached to the notion based on the need for connectedness' (Muller, 2014a, p. 163).

Respect at an interpersonal level, involves not correcting or contradicting others but listening to their point of view (Muller, 2014a, pp. 162-167). When direct argument is avoided, connectedness is not damaged by one person asserting their will over another. The refusal to contradict others implies self-insight and self-regulation:

> [the Indigenous Knowledge concept of] respect is about showing care and awareness in the way we identify, explore, and assess meaning because we know our view is always incomplete (Sheehan, 2011, p. 69).

The intention carried throughout this thesis is to draw on these wider respectful practices, to learn respectfully from the shared experiences of First Nations people as described in a set of texts. The process involves a practical step of acknowledging the scholarly contribution to knowledge and the authors' status as educators and researchers. It entails respect for cultural difference, not assuming my non-Indigenous ways of knowing override alternative insights and respecting linguistic and structural forms that differ in meaningful ways from western convention. In terms of the subject of the texts, I am mindful that their purpose is the improvement of First Nations young people's social position and access to education on culturally responsive and acceptable terms. The context and methodologies in the text are different but the improvement of educational opportunities as a matter of social justice is the unifying story.

Of particular relevance to this research is intercultural respect (Muller, 2017, p. 6). 'For non-Indigenous Australians, a person should respect the law, whereas, for Indigenous Australians, respect is law. Further, Indigenous understanding of respect includes respect for innate equality of each person' (Muller, 2014a, p. 165). Research is political, about social justice and must prioritise the needs and interests of First Nations people. Non-Indigenous scholars display 'conscious resistance' to seeing how their own work conveys race and culture (Walter & Andersen, 2016a). Research designed to inform redress for First Nations disadvantage demands axiological self-questioning of the researcher. Questions about how our research makes race and culture present, and what actions we can take to identify and challenge colonising harm are demanded of us non-Indigenous people, given we are its beneficiaries. Non-Indigenous research is limited in its capacity to contribute to discipline-specific knowledge and to knowledge about the nature of research itself in pursuit of a decolonising agenda. Non-Indigenous people can engage with a decolonising framework, and need to, in order to recognise how our non-Indigenous identities incorporate our colonial subjectivity (Muller, 2017, p. 71). This inevitably entails engaging with First Nations perspectives.

2.6 Theoretical Frame

As the diagram illustrates, the choice of theoretical frame or lens is influenced by, rather than influential upon, the Research Standpoint. Researchers' values, understanding and beliefs about humans and society and knowledge limit theoretical frames we can and will select from, as do our own perceptions of how they relate to these things and the academic discipline/s they are aligned with and inducted into (Walter & Andersen, 2016a). In my case, my values led me to preference secondary sources of data. External constraints on the types of documentary review that qualify as doctoral standard further honed the methodological possibilities. However, my race position, the awkwardness of living in a racially oppressive country, where talk on race matters arouses often, biased and racialised perspectives led me to explore an under-examined race-class nexus through the historical and modern expression of colonialism.

2.6.1 Colonisation/decolonisation in research methodology

Colonisation is not something that can be debated away. Its nature may be subject to differing views, but a solid body of scholarly literature has shown beyond reasonable doubt that, as Tuck and Yang assert, the act of declaring the various British colonies that became 'Australia' and its dependence on violent dispossession, dehumanisation and genocidal clearance of First Nations people, has functioned to 'authorize the metropole' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). Describing colonisation as 'not a metaphor' intentionally provokes and 'unsettl[es]' the reader, reminding us 'what is unsettling about colonisation' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 1). Colonisation has two aspects (Tuck & Yang, 2012). External colonisation seeks to eliminate any constraints to capital access and control of land and resources, such as Australian laws written to permit miners to destroy sacred sites and override native title. Internal colonisation mobilises the settlers against Indigenous people, through embodiment as inherently criminal and untrustworthy positioned as outsiders through institutional control 'prisons, ghettos, minoritizing, schooling, policing – to ensure the ascendancy of a nation and its white elite' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). These two forms and the way they are inextricably linked, are crucial to grasping the nature and lived experience, from all perspectives, of colonisation. They constitute the painful reality of the past that intrudes on the conscience of non-Indigenous students of Indigenous studies, provoking engagement, denial or defence.

Characterising black/white relations in reference to this evolving history of racial oppression as 'colonising' reminds us that the past has explanatory power. Wakka Gooreng woman Associate Professor Jean (Jay) Phillips argues that to be decolonising, Indigenous studies must reject a preoccupation with Indigenous disadvantage which 'minimise concepts of relationship, which are key to resolving tensions…' and that Indigenous studies developed by First Nations people disrupt

objectifying discourses. This requires interrogation of privilege through programs which 'understand and reconcile the historical dimensions of colonial systems … as a path to the disruption and transformation of [colonial] relationships' (Phillips, 2011, p. 42). According to Gomeroi scholar Amy Creighton, decolonising methodologies reposition research by and with First Nations people from a deficit approach to one of strengths, capacity and resilience (Creighton, 2016, p. 15). This does not alter reality, but challenges the non-Indigenous denial and retreat, by assisting us to identify with what First Nations people have had to endure, and to appreciate the intense struggle that has contributed to the political gains made over the last century. Decolonising praxis is therefore a process inclusive of, 'deconstructing, reconstructing and transforming policies and practices that have dominated, marginalized and disadvantaged Indigenous peoples' (R. Walker, 2004, p. 44).

As we engage with history, the demands of First Nations people in the present can be contextualised along with the tensions between Indigenous rights and the ideology of unlimited consumption. An insight into what a decolonised Australia should be like from a rights perspective is offered by revered First Nations scholar, Professor Gracelyn Smallwood (2011, p234):

> We unfortunately, have never had a treaty in Australia, nor anything [of significant weight] …to mark an agreement between the First Australians and the non-Indigenous peoples of this land. But we can make a beginning towards a thoroughly decolonised nation, where all within it flourish because we are all endowed with common core humanity. (Smallwood, 2011, p. 234)

These words remind readers that we are a collective, albeit with great differences. We have a shared capacity to discuss, debate and reach moral consensus on the grounds for reparation and restoration that extends beyond the limitations imposed by the neo-liberal economy and waning capacity to support any real form of social justice. Taking these points as a framework for action in conducting research, I have sought to bring a strengths-based approach to my analysis and also to illuminate forms of systemic harm, shifting perspective from the problematisation of Indigenous education outcomes to problematisation of the school system and its fitness as a dispenser of public goods.

2.7 What does this approach demand of a research methodology?

Drawing on critical realism and later ultra-realism to theorise Indigenous education as a social determinant of health requires:

- A depth ontology, recognising the existence and powers of obscured and disputed social phenomena, including colonisation and racism;
- A basis for establishing truth claims and privileging one version of the truth over another;

- A basis for advocating moral weight, that goes beyond utilitarian and liberal notions of the good.

Three First Nations authors, Dr Chris Sarra (Sarra, 2005), Dr Grace Sarra (Sarra 2011) and Professor Gracelyn Smallwood (Smallwood 2011) have drawn on aspects of Roy Bhaskar's Critical Realism (CR) to examine and critique colonialism and its contemporary impacts on the lives of First Nations People. The work of these three authors informed and inspired my preference for a CR informed ontology. CR is a philosophy of the social sciences which critiques neoliberal epistemologies and discourses (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017) and looks for evidence in the form of agency through praxis – reflective action to change society and rehumanise ourselves (Bagley, Sawyerr, & Abubaker, 2016). Its methodologies are concerned with explanation rather than prediction (Archer, 2020). CR provides a means for analysing the underlying structures of the above harmful tendencies that are part of the ongoing perpetuation of colonisation and oppression of First Nations people and for explanatory power about why certain proactive strategies work to promote equity and justice. CR is concerned with emancipation and how knowledge can empower individuals to act in ways that promote liberation (Bhaskar, 1993; Sarra, 2005; Smallwood, 2011). The practical task of Critical Realist analysis is to engage in explanatory critique of the practices that sustain social relations (for example between First Nations and non-Indigenous people in Australia) that will lead to 'action rationally directed to transforming, dissolving or disconnecting the structures and relations which the experience of injustice and the other ills … has diagnosed' (Bhaskar 1993: 72). The method of explanatory critique explores how social ills are generated and constructs a case for transformative praxis. This entails altering the structural determinants which have previously allowed these ills to arise.

2.8 Methods

The approach taken in this research, was to identify a corpus of literature by Indigenous writers, the dataset that critiques and offers explanation and insight into the experiences of First Nations young people with the formal education system that contribute to gap in educational outcomes. The authors, First Nations experts in the field of education (Table 2) have clearly articulated what is important to First Nations people, what requires urgent attention and what will make a difference and promote both healing and wellbeing at an empirical level, the level of personal experience through our senses. Informed initially by a realist synthesis approach, I did not seek to apply a hierarchical standard to the 'quality of evidence' in the literature (Pawson, Greenhalgh, Harvey, & Walshe, 2004) but to include published items that included contexts and mechanisms relevant to theoretical frame and research questions. The quality of literature was assessed only in terms of

Indigenous authorship and the author's claim to knowledge of the education system as it relates to First Nations young people.

The research methods centred on prioritising First Nations voices to learn how education and schooling are experienced by First Nations people. I aimed to gather and learn directly or indirectly through published research findings, from the perspectives of First Nations school students, and from Indigenous education experts including teachers and education researchers through their own publications. The limitations my Social Position imposed on interpreting the work of these scholars, necessitated guidance from the Expert Panel members. I sought to challenge my intellectual position and growth through focussed attention on the lived experience and insider knowledge of First Nations authors. Bodkin-Andrews and Carlson argue that insider knowledge and research must be embraced for its valuable 'complexity, uniqueness and validity' which is often disregarded as lacking rigour (Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson, 2016). This required me to consciously read the literature from a cross-cultural position, acknowledging myself as the learner, staying with unsettling moments. While the differences in epistemology and methodology, as well as positioning make reading and understanding Indigenous insider research complex to an outsider, I was rewarded with a greater appreciation and understanding of how First Nations people might be confronted with research that does not fit within Indigenous concepts of respect and ontological relationships to place and people.

2.8.1 Search and inclusion strategy

The research question guided the inclusion criteria. Based on my interpretation of colonisation and decolonisation, articles were included if they were written primarily by First Nations authors. Sometimes this involved research to determine if an author identifies as Indigenous as it was not always immediately apparent. Sometimes a judgement call was required as to whether a listed First Nations author's position was reflected in the work. In this sense the authenticity of research representing the experience and voice and insider perspective on Indigenous education was an essential criterion.

2.8.2 Inclusion criteria

Articles were included initially if they described strategies designed to improve or 'disrupt and transform' education outcomes and close the gap for First Nations students, were about, or at least applicable to senior high school retention and attainment and were in English. Articles were included if they were primarily about the experience of First Nations young people and canvassed both school level and systemic or structural facilitators and barriers, giving insight into what positive school experiences look like from a First Nations perspective. The focus of the question also required the included literature to be about aspects of education that specifically work for or against First Nations

young people in the Australian context. The timeframe was, as with Moodie et al (2019) taken from the inception of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy in 1989. The final year was extended to 2019 to ensure that the literature included contemporary material.

2.8.3 Exclusion criteria

Articles were excluded if they were not specifically about First Nations people in an Australian context or if they were principally concerned with measuring outcomes rather than describing strategies, or interventions. Articles were excluded if the focus was early childhood development or development of or issues concerning specific demographics not relevant to the research question. Articles that dealt solely with teaching a particular subject such as STEM, or intervention such as health promotion were also excluded because the mechanisms were focussed on specific areas rather than what supports school retention to senior years.

The review was confined to peer-reviewed academic literature and therefore excluded potentially important grey literature. Acknowledging that this decision placed potentially significant limitations on the findings, there are also complications with authenticating grey literature that were beyond the scope of this research.

2.8.4 Sampling

I sourced articles chiefly using the Informit database, Google Scholar and snowballing from references. I used the following collections of key words [indigen* aborigin* decoloni* school education] and [aboriginal indigenous school completion retention] where * indicates a wildcard. I monitored google scholar alerts from 2015 to 2019. There were very few peer-reviewed articles that met the selection criteria fully. A core set of seven articles were selected that discuss mainstream schooling contexts. A further three were purposefully selected and added to round out the sample, that further expanded insight into mechanisms identified in the core literature sample. They included an article by one of Australia's best known and influential First Nations experts in education, the late Dr M Yunupingu whose work on two way education provides important context to some of the articles that followed chronologically; a policy discourse critique by scholar Melitta Hogarth which provides insights into some of the policy constraints that have emerged and developed in Indigenous education; and an article that discusses teacher pre-service education and shortcomings in the teaching workforce in providing effective Indigenous education. Selecting the body of articles from which to elicit data entailed significant painstaking work to establish Indigenous or non-Indigenous authorship of a large volume of articles, some of which were revealed only to be primarily 'non-Indigenous' authorship after I had coded and analysed them.

To provide a framework for analysis using critical realism I used Bhaskar's Transformative Model of Social Activity (TMSA) and its four levels, Moment, Edge, Level and Dimension with the acronym 'MELD' The MELD schema comprises the four levels of dialectical critical realism which is the process of social transformation through intentional agency (Bhaskar, 1993, pp. 8-13). Dialectical Critical Realism (DCR) involves the study of social reality as a continual progression towards freedom from oppression (Alderson, 2013, p. 135). Dialectic is a way of studying a social phenomenon that considers the many physical, social, historical and cultural elements of its identity that imbue it with powers, as for example the Hollywood film studios defined the western ideals of romance, beauty, family and heroism that have dominated a century. There are four moments of DCR the first moment (1M), second edge (2E), third level (3L) and fourth dimension (4D), together represented by the acronym 'MELD'. MELD is not a methodology or a set of methods. There is very little published information on how researchers can apply Bhaskar's Dialectical Critical Realism. However, Priscilla Alderson has produced a body of work using MELD in early childhood studies:

> the dialectic of movement and change, the MELD impetus seeks to move from oppressive coercive power (the CR concept of power2) towards creative personal and political freedom, the CR concept of power1, and the flourishing of each person that depends on the flourishing of all in freedom and justice (Alderson, 2016, p. 208).

The methods for this study were developed through 'trial and error' in which I tested ways to locate causal mechanisms for phenomena discussed within the texts. Unpacking and explicitly using the levels of Moment, Edge, Level and Dimension provided a way to frame and respond to four questions,

1M: The 1st Moment is about non-identity and difference, what things are in their essence, rather than how they are identified and known (Bhaskar, 1993; Hartwig, 2007, p. 8). Bhaskar demonstrates that the intransitive subject which is not directly knowable must in its prime moment be non-identical (Bhaskar, 1993, p. 190). viewed from the Moment vantage point, the focus on layered reality and non-identity help focus on the 'real irreducible difference that exists… in each entity or *product*' (original emphasis) (Alderson, 2013, p. 68). I have used Moment to locate real aspects of the social world in the ten texts which are influential. They may not be perceived as relevant by education practitioners, yet they have a bearing on learning.

2E: 2nd Edge focusses on inconsistencies between theory and practice, particularly in relation to power embodied in social structures that is oppressive. The second Edge (2E) is the understanding that social reality is always in flux and contradictions between declared social values and actual experiences generate movement to 'negate the negation' or 'absent the absence' of freedom. Using

an ultra-realist lens, I used 2nd Edge to view the harm and risk to First Nations young people in school education which is described and inferred in the data. In an ethically driven system, harm, risk, injustice and inequality should provide evidence for change of practice at all levels.

3L: From the viewpoint of 3rd Level what are the intra-active and inter-active or constitutive elements of the phenomenon of Indigenous education, that hold powers to promote health equity, through self-empowerment and self-determination of First Nations people? At 3L I code information in the text I consider these wider questions and the different forces operating in mainstream education which support healthy, holistic and successful learning engagement for First Nations young people.

4D: The 4th Dimension is about agency for social change. What acts of agency and learning are required in schools from non-Indigenous teachers and administrators who are responsible for coordinating and facilitating curriculum and pedagogy, wielding significant power and influence over Indigenous education? How do they implement change which will support equity?

As a whole, the MELD dialectic provides an analytic tool to interrogate a social landscape. The structural conditions which human activity continuously reproduces and transforms are sustained through discourses. To the extent that these conflict with lived experience, they generate antagonisms and a desire to absent an absence or ill (Bhaskar, 1993) or internalise, repress and reproduce a perceived problem. Lived experience of First Nations people, backed by research shows that racism is prevalent (Y. Paradies, Harris, & Anderson, 2008; Sarra, 2005, pp. 107-109) yet there is an ideology against naming racism that obscures and represses its existence. 3L is a 'totality' or social order such as the decolonising dynamics in Australian schools that are obscured by neoliberalism. 4D is the conscious integration of our critical and depth (layered) knowledge to inform conscientious action or praxis, the work of decolonisation. The exploration of ultra-realism in chapter 1 provides insights into why this emancipatory transformation fails to gain traction on a mass scale, pointing to the need for a radically different, unifying symbolic order.

Data analysis using the MELD framework focussed on four different perspectives from which to understand how colonisation is actualised in the education setting and what decolonising education strategies work from First Nations perspectives in three different levels of agentive expertise: the student and parent/carers, the teacher/educator and the policy influencer. Coding to the MELD framework was complicated as most parts of a text can be looked at from more than one MELD vantage point. However, in most cases, the context helped to determine whether to code a phenomenon according to one dialectical moment over another. In all cases, the process facilitated deep reflection on the interplay of structure, agency, power relationships, absence and absenting,

historical continuity, culture and social being. It provoked a more nuanced understanding of the Indigenous education and the many complex interactions that comprise and distinguish Indigenous education as a rich area of pedagogy, curriculum, promise for the future and unfortunately a great deal of lost opportunity.

In order to learn from and draw on this knowledge in my own research methodology, I studied each author's intentions and ways of working with Bhaskar's theoretical concepts. I worked to clarify my own understanding of how each author applied these concepts. I introduce the key concepts that combine to make the research methods I have used, and show have I have used these insights to analyse a single text as a worked example. The emergent design meant that the findings were continually informing further the analytical process (David L Morgan, 2008, pp. 246-247).Each of the ten articles explored using this approach was analysed as a whole in turn. This is because each article is a totality – a story told with the aim of communicating learning to the reader which is made up of multiple elements and has its own history and context. All of these aspects come together and comprise a whole that is more than the sum of its elements, in critical realist terms emerges from the elements and their interactions (Bhaskar, 1993, p. 397).

By reading the article and analysing the themes and messages in the context they were written, my aim was to learn from each author by reading the articles with respect and seek to understand their intending meaning and purpose in publishing their knowledge. Each of the ten articles explored using this approach was analysed as a whole, as fragmenting and isolating parts of the text will sacrifice some or all its essence and power. Each article is a story told with the aim of communicating learning to the reader; and is made up of multiple elements with its own history and context. All of these aspects come together and the resulting whole that emerges from the elements and their interactions has a distinct identity from that of its parts (Bhaskar, 1993, p. 397).

The ten articles in table 2-1 are the data set for this study.

Table 2 Articles in the dataset

	Author	**Pub year**	**Title**	**Author biography**
A01	Cara Shipp	2013	Bringing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives into the classroom: why and how	Cara Shipp is a Wiradjuri woman of Indigenous/Welsh descent whose family connections are in Dubbo. Cara Shipp was President of

A02	Cara Shipp	2012	Why Indigenous Perspectives in School: A Consideration of the Current Australian Education Landscape and the Ambiguities to be Addressed in Literacy Teaching	the Australian Association for Teachers of English and authors a blog page Missship on best practice in Indigenous education.
A03	Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC)	2011	Voices Telling It Like It Is: Indigenous Young People on Education	The Victorian Youth Advisory Committee is a peak body for youth affairs in Victoria
A04	Tyson Yunkaporta and Sue McGinty	2013	Reclaiming Aboriginal Knowledge at the Cultural Interface (Report)	Tyson Yunkaporta is an author, academic, educator and Indigenous thinker who belongs to the Apalech clan with ties in the south, born-country is Melbourne and adoptive and community/cultural ties all over, from Western NSW to Perth.
A05	Melitta Hogarth	2017	Speaking back to the deficit discourses: a theoretical and methodological approach	Melitta Hogarth is a Kamilaroi woman; she is an Aboriginal educator and researcher.
A06	Kiara Rahman	2013	Belonging and Learning to Belong in School~ The Implications of the Hidden Curriculum for Indigenous Students	Kiara Rahman is a Yamatji/Badimaya Woman who completed her doctorate on success strategies in Indigenous education for completing year 12.
A07	Kiara Rahman	2010	Addressing the foundations for improved Indigenous secondary student	

			outcomes: A South Australian study	
A08	Gina Milgate and Brian Giles-Browne	2013	Creating an Effective School for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students	Gina Milgate is an Aboriginal woman from the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri clans of New South Wales who works for the Australian Council for Educational Research and has researched and writes about a range of Indigenous education issues.
A09,	Dr M Yunupingu	1999	Double Power	Dr M Yunupingu was a leader and Elder of the Yolngu Gumatj clan he was a pioneer of Double Power an innovative approach to bicultural/bilingual education developed in his time as Principal of Yirrkala school. He held a Master of Education through Deakin University's DBATE program
A10	Jessa Rogers	2018	Teaching the teachers: re-educating Australian Teachers in Indigenous Education	Jessa Rogers is a Wiradjuri woman who was born on Ngunnawal country in the ACT.

2.9 Conclusion

While I have argued that we are all colonised, both in our increasing subjugation to global capitalism and local economic survival, and historically through various means, in the racialised context of First Nations positioning, the experience and meaning of colonisation are very different. First Nations ways of being, knowing and doing through the disruption and degradation of their symbolic order, have been subjugated into an alternative reality. The struggle to resist domination is not just to escape social exclusion and poverty but to retain and regain that status as a self-governing yet inter-reliant and ecologically grounded people.

Chapter 3. Findings and analysis

PART 1: Improving teaching – examples from the classroom

The findings from each article are summarised in a diagram which is an interactive schema. For ease of reading and reference, hyperlinks are included which link each finding in the schema to the relevant example and description in the body of the text.

3.1 Article A1 CARA SHIPP (2013)

Bringing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives into the classroom: why and how

Figure 3.1 MELD schema A1 Cara Shipp 2013

3.1.1 Moment – what is described as intransitive (It is/we are) reality

The above schema has four sections or blocks. The left-hand block labelled 'Moment' includes descriptions in the text of social conditions and realities within which colonising and decolonising actions take place- generating the experiences that influence First Nations students to stay at or leave school.

M1: Cara Shipp urges that First Nations young people are not a homogenous group. Diversity in First Nations identities referred to includes type of Aboriginal English used, being from a coastal or inland area, or a more remote traditional or urban culture.

> Example M1: Australian Aboriginal communities are extremely diverse. …the impacts of dispossession from land and various Government policies vary …. Aboriginal people in more remote areas of the country practise cultural knowledge and language that more closely resembles pre-colonisation culture than those in areas that were heavily colonised, who practise a distinct urban identity… (Shipp 2013)

First Nations identity therefore cannot be essentialised. This reality places an obligation on the school system and non-Indigenous teachers to consider their sum knowledge about Indigenous cultures and people may not be irrelevant to the First Nations students in their class. The author's challenge is to approach each student as an individual while ensuring that the reality of diverse Indigenous Australia is well represented in the whole of the curriculum, debunking stereotypes.

M2: While First Nations people are diverse, Shipp explains that young people are still likely to have a cultural schema or worldview that differs from that of non-Indigenous people.

> Example M2: 'Cultural schemas'– worldviews influencing the way experiences are conceptualised – are … often different from many other Australians. It is therefore important to acknowledge this and to allow space for students to express their identity (Shipp 2013).

The term 'cultural schema' suggests a blueprint of symbolic associations that enable a socially linked group of individuals to communicate through shared language and interpretation. Shared aspects of identity include cultural and spiritual beliefs that make up students' cultural schemas. A non-Indigenous teacher may not appreciate where there is conflict between culture and curriculum, summoning inaccurate interpretations that a student appears disengaged, uncomfortable or concerned. Teachers who are alert and responsive to cues about the student's culture, are signalling respectful interest to the student, that they are open to learning about their culture, which the student does not have to mask.

M3: From a First Nations point of view, normative values and institutional forms can conflict with their own values and expectations, which are influenced by cultural differences. Dominant majority attitudes toward private ownership and market economy can clash with First Nations traditional values of sharing and putting family first. The article stresses that First Nations young people are often denied the opportunity to 'see themselves' in their school environment. This lack of substantive Indigenous content in the curriculum is the key absence that the article addresses:

> Example M3: In most cases, everything we see around us in our classrooms and curriculum is the mainstream Anglo-Australian perspective. (Shipp, 2013).

More than just cultural difference is the absence of expression of First Nations values and cultural property, such as flags, artwork, literature and social forms such as kinship-based family structure.

3.1.2 Edge

The category at the top of the schema 'Edge' lists conflicts that arise from the realities described at 3.1.1. These conflicts risk harm to young people and eventually an unbearable disconnect between what they perceive and are told is real.

E1: First Nations young people must do significant additional work to fit in compared with non-Indigenous students (Shipp 2013). A curriculum lacking in First Nations perspectives challenges authenticity of Indigenous identity.

> Example E1: Indigenous students are negotiating that every day and are either finding ways to fit into that or are not fitting and are disengaging. There is a need to redress that imbalance… (Shipp, 2013).

Teachers who do not create spaces to contest this absence and are reluctant to engage with, or recognise, cultural differences leave First Nations students with little choice but to try to manage the frustration.

E2: Through the article, examples are given which reveal reluctance or psychological resistance by Non-Indigenous teachers to addressing First Nations curriculum and pedagogy. One common excuse is to claim a lack of preparedness or expertise to teach First Nations content would result in tokenism:

> Example E2: At its worst, the word [tokenism] allows many thousands of teachers to continue to teach the Anglo-Australian content with which they are most comfortable and continue to exclude Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives: 'Oh, I'd like to incorporate Indigenous perspectives but I'm scared of doing it in a tokenistic way [so I just don't do it].'

Shipp argues that the notion that Indigenous content might be tokenistic or symbolic becomes a way to avoid engaging with it altogether. A possible conclusion is that the teacher privileges their comfort over that of the student.

E3:. Non-Indigenous people can find it confronting to engage with First Nations people in the community. Shipp suggests that fear is the motivation for this refusal:

> Example E3: If you went to live and work in Japan, would you sit at home all weekend because you were scared… Or would you take a deep breath and go out into the community and get to know people, thereby gradually learning the culture? Yes, it can be confronting, but it also gets easier the more immersed you become (Shipp, 2013).

The comparison with a foreign country encourages teachers to be aware that First Nations cultures are unknown and to be 'gradually learn[ed]' , having validity and status independent of colonisation. It also points to the fear that accompanies exposure to a new and foreign culture when the symbolic order we know has dissolved and been replaced by a terrifying unknown social code which we are entirely unprepared to navigate. Our years of socialisation in doubt, non-Indigenous people find ourselves back on the edge of the abyss. This is an invitation to step out of the level at which non-Indigenous - Indigenous relationships are imbalanced by colonising power and come together as equals. These examples illustrate barriers to effective teaching and learning in a cross-cultural context. Where teachers fail to act in a culturally inclusive way, from failure to acknowledge students' home culture and literacy to avoiding engagement with First Nations community members, these absences escalate the risk of colonising harms.

3.1.3 Level

Level refers to the inter- and intra-connections between humans and social resources that constitute, define and maintain an institution or system, which are defined and influenced by their historical and spatial context. A school has a professional structure which delineates the teacher-student relationship. Teachers are trained, accredited and professionally supervised and governed within a legislative framework, but with a history that has evolved according to social norms. The 'what' components of a school include the curriculum and the body/ies that govern it. Pedagogical principles including forms and methods of assessment are other defining 'how' parts of school education. Reading Article 1 to inform my understanding of colonising harms and decolonising agency I searched for descriptions in the narrative of significant inter and intra-relationships that can help to explain the harmful dynamics explored in Edge, above.

L1: The physical and sensory surroundings differentially align with students' backgrounds. Shipp refers to the need for the school surroundings to physically reflect and reaffirm First Nations culture, for example through display of artwork, murals, flying the Aboriginal flag, posters and media that legitimise and normalise Indigeneity as part of the fabric of the school:

> Example L1: It makes a difference to Aboriginal students when they see themselves, their cultures, their histories and communities reflected on the walls and in the hallways of their school. Students learn best when they feel comfortable (Shipp 2013).

Every student has a right to feel that there is a place for them, where they are comfortable, respected and appreciated for what they contribute to the whole learning environment. Making this environment speak symbolically provides encouraging reassurance for young people to speak up and expect to be heard.

L2 Links to community are described as essential to easing cross-cultural tensions and developing relationships. Shipp calls on non-Indigenous staff to find, meet and get to know the local First Nations communities:

> Example L2: Yes, it can be confronting, but it also gets easier the more immersed you become. True reconciliation will never happen until we break down that invisible barrier between 'black' and 'white' Australians.

As teachers become more immersed with First Nations people, then relationships become less strained, and Elders and parents have more avenues of approach into the school to support Indigenous education. Teachers have new opportunities to learn about local history, the historical positioning of the school and possible implications for students and their families.

L3: The non-Indigenous teacher's valued networks should include First Nations people in and connected to the school and in the community, who are able to facilitate the teacher's inclusion into First Nations networks:

> Example L3: Talk to your school's Aboriginal liaison officer or any other Aboriginal staff members around, to the parents of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, to the local Aboriginal Land Council, to the local university's Aboriginal student support centre (Shipp 2013).

Seeking out First Nations people who are already part of the school community provides connections and introductions to the wider First Nations community and provides opportunity to overtly value their prior knowledge and insights. This builds social capital for non-Indigenous and

First Nations stakeholders in the school. Social capital is defined as networks of mutually beneficial relationships that rely on trust, cooperation and identification of shared values (Walter, 2015).

L4: Thirdly is a pedagogical framework that supports effective learning. Cara Shipp shows how a quality teaching framework can be a tool to address systemic bias in education, through supporting students from different cultures to contribute their own, while comparing and drawing on other perspectives.

> Example L4: Bevan and Shillinglaw's (2010) approach incorporates many aspects of quality teaching. Table 1 shows how the approach fits with the Quality Teaching Model used in New South Wales (See NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006) (Shipp 2013).

In addition to people, resources that foster quality education are important in Indigenous education, particularly given implicit bias and deficit thinking which can be difficult for educators to overcome initially. Quality teaching promotes 'high expectations' education and challenges all students to think laterally, finding common ground among aspects of cultural contrast.

3.1.4 Dimension

The findings summarised in the box labelled 'Dimension' at the base of the schema describe actions that can be incorporated into pedagogy that collectively describe harm and risk mitigation strategies.

D1: The site of teaching needs to be a comfortable space for young people to explore their identity encouraging appreciation of difference:

> Example D1: It is therefore important to acknowledge [different cultural schemas] and to allow space for students to express their identity, whether it be urbanised or traditional (Shipp 2013).

Creating a comfortable space means making culture visible and developing a place where all can belong. Advocating and defending the right of young people to feel comfortable is important.

D2: Including First Nations people into the teacher's network facilitates their own cultural knowledge and creates a welcome environment for community members to co-facilitate learning with Indigenous content and pedagogy:

> Example D2: … you do need to engage with the community and attend Indigenous cultural events. That's where you'll meet Aboriginal people who can come into the school and help, talk to teachers, run workshops with students, or be an artist-in-residence or writer-in-residence (Shipp 2013).

Such actions address the absence of First Nations people in the teaching space, encouraging partnerships which will help to bridge the cultural disconnect that First Nations young people experience. In doing so, the nature of school identity is altered and its functionality in Indigenous education may be enhanced.

D3: When there are few First Nations young people in the school, developing a culturally inclusive space that supports interaction and learning between diverse cultures:

> Example D3: … perhaps students from other non-Anglo backgrounds could add details about how a narrative is understood in their culture…[which] would create a more inclusive cultural space in the classroom and allow students to see 'Australian mainstream' culture as just one culture among the many that operate in Australia (Shipp 2013).

The aim is to lessen the impact of being a minority by enabling diverse students to draw on strengths as part of a valued interactive multiverse rather than alone in a sea of whiteness.

D4: Being brave, identifying and overcoming risk avoidance, preparing to be unsettled:

> Example D4: Stop making excuses such as 'I can't teach Aboriginal perspectives because I don't understand anything about Aboriginal culture. I've never met an Aboriginal person.' We're teachers; we're lifelong learners and active citizens, and we know how to conduct research (Shipp 2013).

Teachers have work to do, in order to probe their own biases and avoidance of First Nations culture. The action suggested by Shipp is exposure and cross-cultural immersion with First Nations people, which is a precondition for being able to create a culturally responsive environment (D2 above).

D5: Focussing not just on the content but context and quality of pedagogy, bridging cultures:

> Example D5: Two teachers at Broome Secondary School describe a learning sequence about narrative that begins by asking Aboriginal students what 'story' means to them (Shipp 2013).

Teachers are urged to draw on a quality teaching framework to explicitly address complex competency acquisition of cross-cultural and bi/multi-lingual learners.

D6: Being proactive in learning about culture and language from a wide range of sources:

> Example D6: ~ Go out there and learn about your country, its history and its peoples;
> ~ Engage with Aboriginal people, organisations and websites;
> ~ Attend Indigenous cultural events….
> ~ Read the *Koori Mail* or the *National Indigenous Times* (Shipp 2013).

Lastly Shipp draws teachers' attention to the enormous range of sources of First Nations literature that can influence literacy learning in support of First Nations students by balancing up the cultural representation in the curriculum.

3.2 Article A2 CARA SHIPP (2012)

Why Indigenous Perspectives in School? A Consideration of the Current Australian Education Landscape and the Ambiguities to be addressed in Literacy Teaching

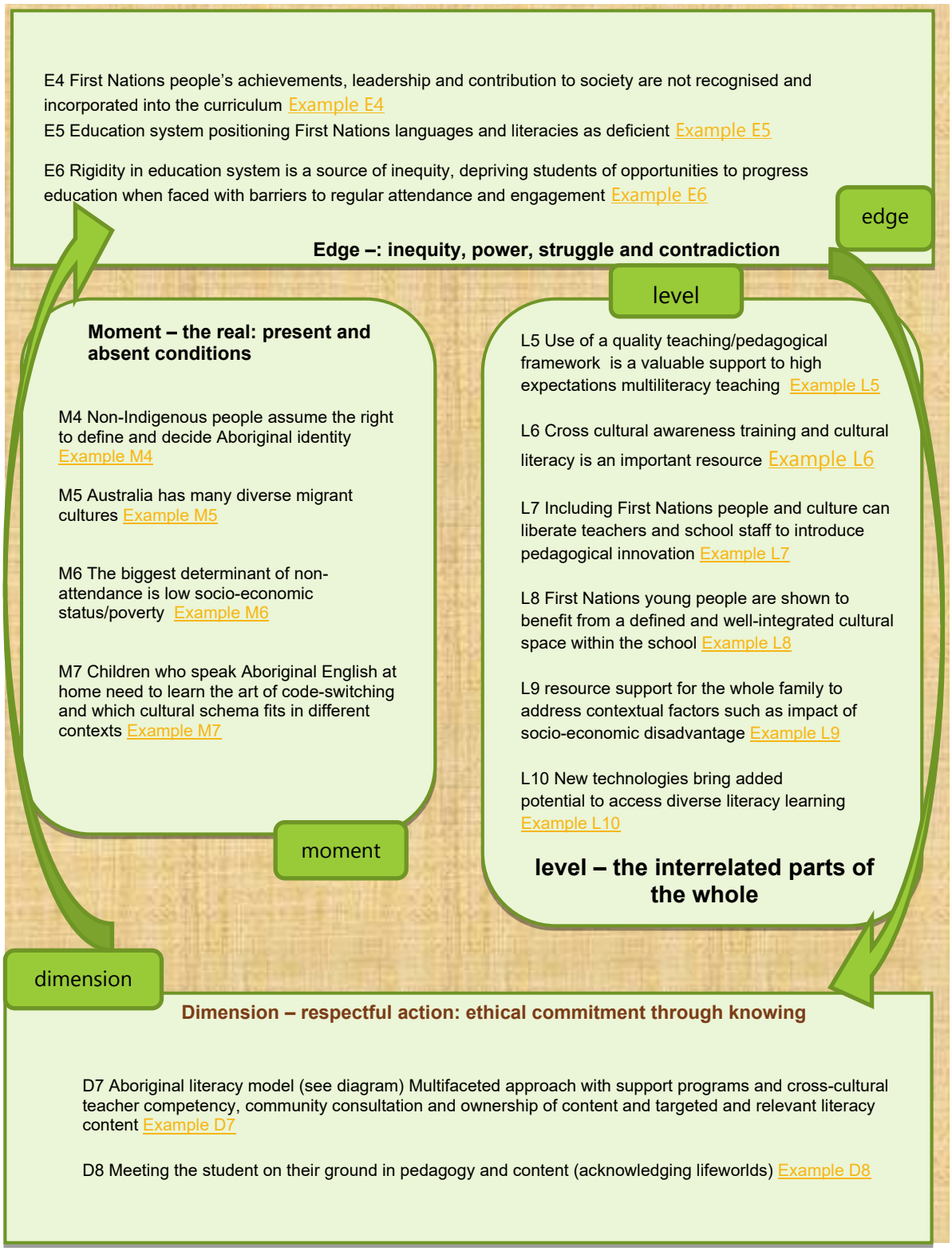


Figure 3.2 MELD schema A2 Cara Shipp 2012

The second article, also by Shipp reinforces and extends the findings from Article 1. It focuses on the reality of literacy as an expression of power, and the consequences of not recognising First Nations literacy in the classroom, for power relations between First Nations and non-Indigenous people. Literacy is revealed to have an exclusionary and harmful aspect through its deployment as an indicator of social status. Dominant culture literacy has an exclusionary role, which is promoted by unwarranted treatment of alternative literacies as subordinate, and indicative of inferiority.

3.2.1 Moment

M4: A nuance of school reality is the power difference between teacher and student. Teachers can harm through wielding authority inappropriately, such as by assuming the right to challenge students' self-identity. Teachers are often blind to difference, assuming, for example that lighter skin colour implies a person will or should conform to dominant 'white' values and culture. The article suggests teachers actively draw on whiteness and colonising language:

> Example M4: The message is that regardless of how many Aboriginal students you have in your classroom, and … your personal opinion of 'how much' they are Aboriginal, it is important to include their perspectives and voices (Shipp, 2012).

Queries about 'how much' someone is Indigenous summons the colonising harms of the community, assimilation era when the blood quantum system determined child removals and broke apart families and peoples' lives. This can damage student's sense of belonging to their family and community and their relationships and self-confidence at school.

M5: A learning sequence discussed in the article involved compared what 'story' meant to First Nations students with stories in mainstream Australian culture as a basis for learning 'code-switching' or moving between two cultural schemas:

> Example M5: For example, a [comparative] table… could be presented as a topic for discussion, and perhaps students from other non-European backgrounds could add details…an approach like this would… allow students to see 'Australian mainstream' culture as just one culture among the many (Shipp, 2012).

When First Nations students are among several minority cultures, the cross-cultural learning can be broadened to reflect the diversity in the classroom, creating a culturally safe space. This strategy could open a space for students to critique the concept of mainstream culture and question the privileging of some values and how they are positioned as norms.

M6: The author also refers to the role of low income or poverty as the largest social barrier to attendance, which in turn is one of the main predictors of school success or early leaving.

> Example M6: The need to conserve limited resources for food and living costs, and the strong emphasis placed on family and community relationships, means that attendance …often has lower priority

Access to education is seen as the way to escape poverty, yet this article highlights poverty as a source of exclusion from education. Shipp identifies how poverty imposes other priorities in life than education, especially where there is a cultural value to care for family and help to manage family issues. Rigidity in the curriculum and assessment systems, which facilitate neoliberal standards and ranking of schools, make it difficult for students who miss school to catch up. It is a function of the power of literacy where complying with deadlines and timetables are enforced to prepare students for the rigours of work and a competitive labour market.

M7: Building on M2 of Article 1 Shipp argues the need for First Nations young people to learn to communicate and structure thought in two cultural schemas, their own and the dominant culture while explicitly valuing both.

> Example M7: Sharifian (2006) recounts one teacher's story where she was able to teach her predominantly Aboriginal class how to write narratives in the Standard Australian English (SAE) structure…which was contrary to the way in which 'stories' were understood in the students' cultural context.(Shipp, 2012)

The need to recognise that First Nations young people have different cultural schemas is a precondition for designing learning that allows the student to bridge the two, moving effortlessly between different cultural and linguistic modes and recognising how to adapt language to context and purpose.

3.2.2 Edge

E4: The article draws attention to a significant absence in schools as a source of harm. First nations authors and artists are overlooked in the curriculum even though they are seminal in their fields and highly acclaimed. Speaking from her own experience, Cara Shipp relates:

> Example E4: '…Why don't our Aboriginal leaders (in literature, arts, politics or any other field) have enough impact on the Anglo-Australian school system to make schools a place where Aboriginal students are expected to achieve similar greatness.' (Shipp, 2012).

The absence denies young people's rich cultural symbolism and inspiring stories of First Nations greatness, potentially damaging self-concept and undermining confidence to identify and relate to their own family and community's heroes and leaders. The act of exclusion reflects whiteness in the way schools and teachers prescribe reading content, and encourage readings of texts, that constitute a white settler perspective. Settler normativity is reinforced as the natural and correct view of the

world. Honouring and exploring First Nations achievements does not fit with the narrative that white settlers brought civilisation and development to a barren country.

E5: Shipp illustrates the presence of systemic bias against Aboriginal English in a quote from Rosemary Cahill and Glenys Collard (2003) which reinforces deficit stereotypes of First Nations people:

> Example E5: Standard Australian English was called things like 'good English', 'educated English', 'his best talk', 'saying it properly', etc (Cahill and Goddard 2003) …Thus, the improvement of Aboriginal participation and achievement in the education system hinges on the ability to create space for Aboriginal cultures and voices… (Shipp, 2012).

The pressure to standardise language forces First Nations students to compete in tests in a language not their own, making it harder to compete and compounding educational disadvantage. Subject matter in tests that reflects a dominant European worldview adds further disadvantage. Teachers who fail to acknowledge these issues are priming the psyche of the student to perceive themselves and their culture as deficient and to expect failure.

E6: Lack of flexibility to accommodate student absenteeism and its relationship to socio-economic hardship is flagged, because of the structural issue at M6. There is inherent harm in inflexible and standards driven curriculum. The school system and teachers are accountable when they fail to accommodate inevitable absences of children who are under prolonged life stresses, compared with those who have a stable and economically secure family to support them with the demands of school.

> Example E6: I believe that schools and teachers need to accommodate these inevitable interruptions in attendance and a less linear approach is needed so that students can pick up where they left off more easily. (Shipp, 2012)

Penalising families for non-attendance such as through withholding social security income can exacerbate conflicting priorities generating untenably high risk where many young people will conclude that school is not a realistic option rather than engaging with what may be perceived as a foreign culture, harm-laden logic.

3.2.3 Level

L5: Cara Shipp shows how using a pedagogical framework can address systemic bias in education, giving tools to the teacher to ensure that students from different cultures can contribute their own perspectives and learn effectively from others.

> Example L5: Bevan and Shillinglaw's (2010) approach incorporates many aspects of quality teaching. Table 1 shows how the approach fits with the Quality Teaching Model used in New South Wales (See NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006) (Shipp, 2012).

The above example refers to one article that describes a practical example of aligning cross-cultural education within a quality teaching tool. The tools serve as a prompt to support teachers with using the same high level of pedagogy in a cross cultural or pluricultural environment than a monocultural one.

L6: Cultural literacy including training for teachers in cross-cultural awareness is identified as necessary to give teachers the tools to include Aboriginal content. Speaking from personal experience, Cara Shipp relates:

> Example L6: …in my own childhood, the classes in which I was most engaged and achieved the best results were those where Aboriginal perspectives were included…it is better to include some perspectives than to exclude a whole population entirely (Shipp, 2012).

This position is counter to some perspectives that teachers need to include the right cultural material. Shipp argues that any perspectives are important. The interactivity between teaching staff, students and content generates a cultural interface and Indigenous education space.

L7: From the Level perspective, this article suggests that bringing the culture and voices of First Nations people into school strengthens a cultural dynamic that underpins Indigenous education. Mainstream culture is revealed as just one way, which reproduces a mostly stable set of social values and practices, which has consequences for the way people of other cultures can function. The First Nations acclaimed authors and artists discussed in Moment above directly challenge deficit portrayals and racial bias, presenting opportunities for First Nations and non-Indigenous students and staff to recognise the abundance of First Nations high level expertise and intellectual traditions that can enliven teaching.

> Example L7: …The project also supports Aboriginal authors to write books for children that are published with biographical information and maps outlining each author's country and heritage. Teachers have reported their students' enthusiastic reactions to these books and the pride they felt when seeing that an author was from the same country as them (Shipp, 2012).

First Nations students have increased access to contextualise their own and their families' experience through the stories of others. Non-Indigenous students can connect to these stories and reflect on what they know of their own history and relationship to the stories of colonial settlement, race relations and family ties.

L8: Shipp cites research supporting benefits of a cultural space:

> Example L8: McGlusky and Thaker (2006) surveyed Aboriginal students and found that having a defined cultural space within the school (but not on the margins of the school or isolated from other school programs) was important (Shipp, 2012).

While such spaces are often portrayed as divisive enclaves, if students' value and draw strength, resilience and support to learning through such spaces then consideration should be given to how they might become an appreciated and necessary part of the school.

L9: Sally Morgan's Indigenous Literacy project, which was an inspiration for the article, proactively addressed the socio-economic barriers to education by resourcing home learning:

> Example L9: 'Another aspect of the Indigenous Literacy Project is that it provides resources to families for home learning, as well as targeting mothers through women's centres and community centres…' (Shipp, 2012)

In this way the school's reach extends out into the community spaces facilitating parents' inclusion in the young person's learning journey.

L10: Last, new technologies open wider possibilities for learning and interacting with different resources and knowledges:

> Example L10: With the new connected learning community (CLC) being introduced in the ACT, there is more potential to provide differentiated learning …. In fact, the literature suggests that new technologies in the classroom can improve Aboriginal students' outcomes (Shipp, 2012).

First Nations young people can tap into resources in learning that reflect their own cultural and intersectional position, identifying multiple viewpoints from which to understand social phenomena and explain harmful absences, or locate new sources of support and connections.

3.2.4 Dimension

D7: A diagram (reproduced at Figure 3.4 with permission from the author) It presents the multifaceted approach needed for Aboriginal literacy, which summarises all of the examples in the article(Shipp, 2012). The diagram is a guide to the many levels at which schools can encourage agency in the teaching workforce to transform literacy in liberating ways. Most of these elements is covered earlier in the Section under previous categories (Moment, Edge and Level). It is a model for an education pathway that can generate an alternative to harmful, colonising school experiences. Each of these areas require depth in application and are inter-related in their operation.

Example D7:

Figure 3.3 Aboriginal literacy- 'a multifaceted approach' (Shipp, 2012)

Harm can arise at the interpersonal level, in the way a teacher speaks to or acts toward a student, or enables students to interact with each other, but the extent to which the teacher's actions are systemically permitted or encouraged will influence teacher agency. The teacher's own cultural and social background, beliefs and experiences further filter the possible options.

D8: One area not covered in the preceding findings is adapting work to build literacy explicitly in a medium and area of interest that engages students who need to undertake learning flexibly:

> Example D8: I had a poor-attending student (moved into the class in Term 3 and Aboriginal, as it happens) who gave me the name of some rappers whose songs were about this topic and I found the lyrics and developed activities for him to complete. His booklet of lyrics and questions would sit in my classroom for weeks …[but] by the end of the semester he had completed a very adapted and scaffolded close text analysis. (Shipp, 2012)

This example demonstrates the approach of developing skills and learning capabilities by attending to the whole person. Shipp acknowledges that the Special Needs environment gave her extra resources to give individual attention to each student, a luxury not afforded most teachers.

From the elements of a learning network described at Level, actions that a school or individual teacher can consider are moves to identify where poverty is a structural barrier to learning and creative ways to bridge the gap between school and the student's home life.

3.3 Article A3 TYSON YUNKAPORTA (2009)

Reclaiming Aboriginal knowledge at the Cultural Interface

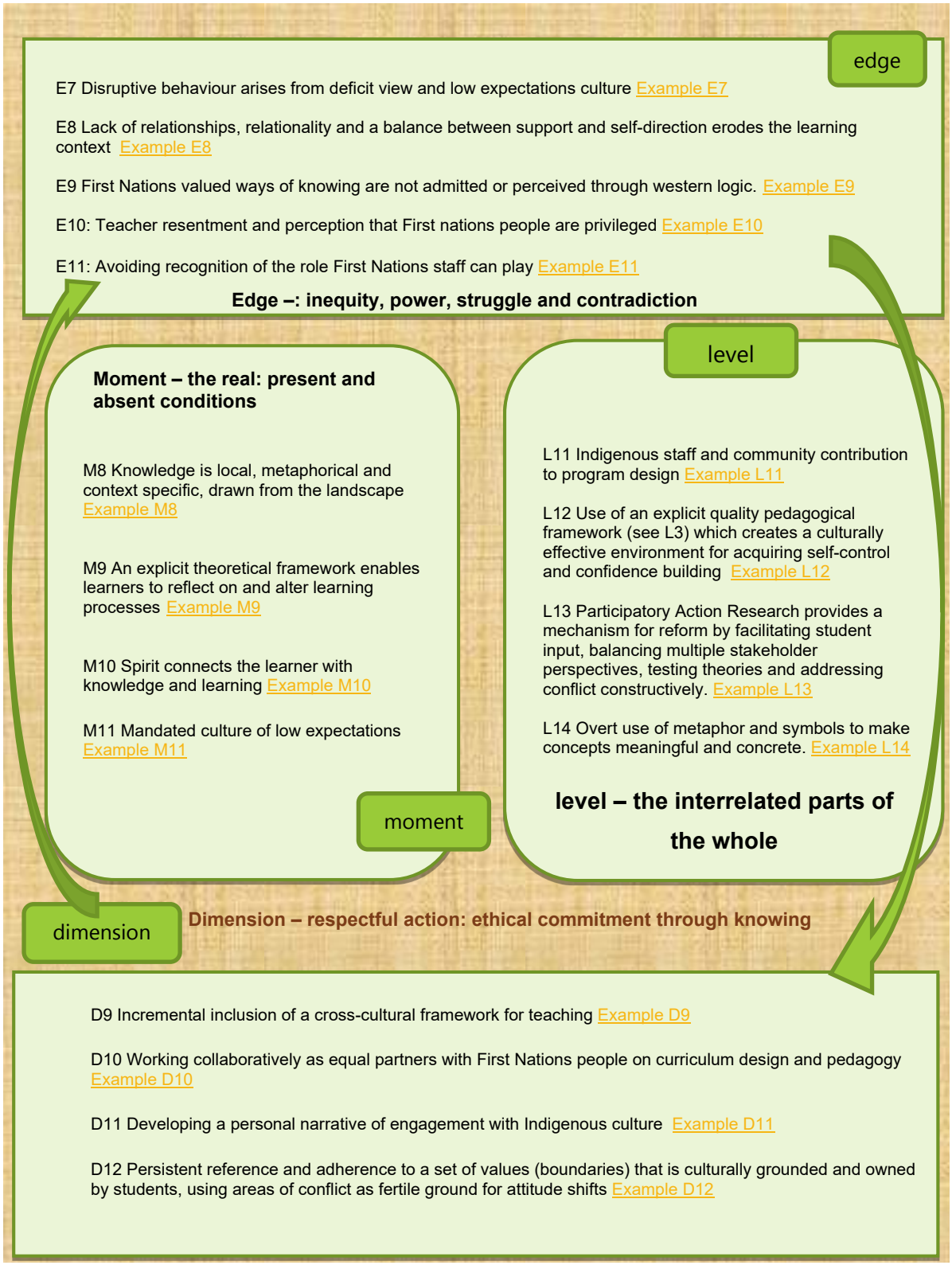


Figure 3.4 MELD Schema A3 Tyson Yunkaporta and Susan McGinty 2009

3.3.1 Moment

Tyson Yunkaporta and Susan McGinty's article describes a Participative Action Research (PAR) project, where knowledge was constructed and tested in PAR cycles. The study reveals several aspects of education that effected changes in learners. A1 and A2 referred to use of a quality framework to develop pedagogical tools. In the case of this study, the facilitator worked with cultural knowledge holders in the community in addition to a quality teaching approach. They developed a culturally informed theoretical framework that drew on common higher order knowledge between western and Indigenous thought and incorporated local First Nations' epistemologies.

M8 The first important aspect of reality is that knowledge is grounded in the local landscape, which results in different logic than western knowledge as shown in this example:

> Example M8: 'In the Gamilaraay worldview, learning pathways are not direct and the outcomes and the journey are one and the same.' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

In western education there is little overt linking of learning to physical or sensory surrounds. Curriculum and pedagogy are designed to be separate from local context and deliverable to anyone in any place. By contrast examples in this article reveal that place has clear and central importance to Indigenous peoples, where there is a strong interdependent relationship between people and land. Metaphor is the linking of a physical property with a conceptual one, for example 'stream of consciousness', while symbolism formally ties a concept to an abstract symbol. Yunkaporta's work with the students involved development of symbols that the students quickly related and referred to. The students also created their own symbols.

M9: The authors contend that when all the framework elements were applied, consistently effective learning, applied knowledge and productive behaviour resulted. When these elements were absent, order and learning were quickly lost. Despite the patchy experience, teachers, co-educators and students all recognised that the framework was successful when consistently implemented and that teachers had power to implement changes:

> Example M9: 'However, all the participants agreed that the curriculum was something within their sphere of influence that could be both observed and changed, particularly at the level of classroom organisation and pedagogy.' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

This experience and acknowledgement of the power to do things differently has arising through the PAR process, through the collective cognitive work and communication between the facilitator, teaching staff and students. The typical PAR spiral structure facilitates the identification of structural

phenomena and the effects of their presences and absences. The teachers could differentiate elements of the system that were in their control and what they could change through use of the teaching framework. Teacher agency appears to have been increased at least partly due to the way PAR provides a means for sharing and collaboration, with difference as a stimulant to critical thinking, between stakeholders.

M10: Attention to 'Spirit in the learning process' and knowledge making as 'sacred or ceremonial' had a positive effect on student focus and connection with learning. The concept of the sacred and spiritual is treated in western knowledge with scepticism, as anti-intellectual and inadmissible as a cultural construct with only ideological or psychosocial power:

> Example M10: 'This procedural text was also based on the traditional local genre called "manday", which referred to steps cut in a tree but is also a procedural text or list of items. Thus knowledge was constructed as something that came not just from teachers and media, but also from land and ancestors. This allowed the inclusion of Spirit in the learning process.' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

Invoking spirit and the holistic, balanced and relational knowledge that frames Indigenous peoples' way of being, knowing and doing connected with First Nations young people's symbolic order or cultural schema, bringing meaning to learning. Invoking spirit could be explored in many other contexts for its potential relevance to young people' sense of learning as empowerment.

M11: A fourth aspect of reality discerned in the text was a sense of implicit systemic support for deficit, racialised thinking which teachers felt rather than heard. The facilitator noted throughout the article that there was a hidden force that seemed to underlie a pervasive culture of low expectations:

> Example M11: 'Despite support from the administration for Aboriginal perspectives and engagement, teachers still perceived unspoken mandates of cultural exclusion and low expectations. These messages were repeatedly described as "drummed in", although nobody could quote or produce actual instances of this being communicated explicitly.' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

The sense of messages being 'drummed in' may have been the result of teachers' blinkered and restricted field of vision causing them to interpret directions through a deficit lens. But this finding seems to suggest that the school administration and community were entrenched in an authoritative model despite the purported investment in change.

3.3.2 Edge

This section presents examples of colonising harm that are described in the article. When young people are routinely 'playing up' within an institutional context, not learning and adjusting to the intended cultural norm, then it is a signal the system and the organisational culture are not meeting their needs. They are being groomed for a maladaptive adult life.

E7: A prominent theme was the lack of pedagogical rigour and standards at the school. The young people enrolled there were assumed incapable of challenging learning, needing alternatives like 'fun cooking activities' and their own culture and family life was implicated in this inability to learn. The deficit culture of the school, the low expectations that teachers had about student ability and performance, the students' disruptive behaviour in class and overall low rates of achievement all signalled potent absences of trust, belief and goodwill:

> Example E7: At various stages during the project, students fulfilled teachers' low expectations outlined previously, in terms of disruptive behaviour, violence, disrespect and refusal to engage with tasks. Every one of these incidents was linked in the data to poor teacher (and facilitator) performance in terms of the pedagogy and content developed at the interface between Aboriginal and curriculum knowledge. (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

Given the deficit assumptions that were clouding teacher-student relationships it is not surprising that a radical shift in teacher expectations would be regarded with scepticism. Students were being conditioned to manage colonising harm by evading it, escaping into their own domain of non-compliance. In this way they were already acting autonomously, and it appears they were routinely abandoned to do so.

E8: There was evidence of eroded capacity to establish trust and build relationships between teacher and student and for the teacher to nurture constructive learning between students. Social breakdown happened when a sharing protocol was not observed by a teacher:

> Example E8: Another day, when a teacher offered treats as a bribe, the established protocol of sharing with the group rather than rewarding individuals was violated. The class responded by reverting to disruption and disengagement, even though they had all been working well [beforehand]. (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

Relationality appears as a corrupted concept in western education that may exacerbate disengagement of young people who are particularly attuned to respect and reciprocity in their relationships. In the authors' words 'perhaps they were disengaged because of their marginalisation

and lack of teacher attention' rather than their disengagement being the cause of their marginalisation.

E9: Teachers reported that the students and First Nations people in the community were 'lacking in logic', describing local attitudes and Indigenous knowledge as 'parochial':

> Example E9: In the struggle to unpack their own subjectivities many entrenched beliefs were revealed. One concept…was a perceived intellectual deficit in the Aboriginal community. Teachers used phrases like "they have no logic"…' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

To understand why an education system would be designed in such a way that professional educators are unable to engage with or even perceive the logic of the people they are supposed to teach, it is instructive to place the situation into the context of colonising history and the logic of capitalism and empire building. Only empirical knowledge is admitted as being rational and reasonable, when it comes to the macro level goals of education. Therefore, it seems the task of teachers is to educate First Nations people away from reliance on traditional knowledge and values toward an enlightened capitalist perspective of survival and success in the language and logic of the economy.

E10: Perversely, the response of teachers when encouraged to challenge deficit thinking can be to consider themselves victims, who are asked to provide services to an ungrateful and unworthy client group:

> Example E10: The perceived pressure to "button up" was linked to a deeper resentment around ideas of teachers belonging to an oppressed Anglo minority servicing a socially privileged Aboriginal group. This emerged in comments like:
> [. . .]
> feeling discriminated against. (I have it all?) (Teacher, Sept. 2007, Field Notes)
>
> felt abused, no respect. No acknowledge [sic], take, they just tolerated me.
> (Teacher, Sept. 2007, Field Notes) (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

The article presents an education system that is prepared to place teachers in a school with little expectation that they will successfully engage students in the level of learning expected for their age and abilities. It is as though the teachers are encouraged to have low or no expectations of themselves.

E11: One other area of harm mentioned in the article is an extension of the cultural discomfort discussed in Article 1 (E2, L2, D2), which was displayed in avoidance of First Nations content but also in non-Indigenous teachers' attitude of reluctance toward First Nations colleagues:

> Example E11: There was a "fear of overstepping" as well as a reluctance to utilise Indigenous staff as sources of knowledge because "sometimes aides are slack – not always reliable" and because "some people might have an issue with ATAs (Aboriginal Teaching Assistants) speaking up". (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

It is unclear who 'might have an issue', but it is commonplace in professional hierarchies to mark and maintain boundaries. First Nations people employed in many mainstream workplaces face deficit assumptions that are rarely challenged and critiqued. Yunkaporta's investigation and commentary on this exclusionary practice provides insight into the way non-Indigenous teachers are culturally primed to think.

3.3.3 Level

L11: Moving to level, extensive examples are supplied of perceived changes in teacher and student attitudes and behaviour due to the locally informed pedagogy, and the months of preparatory relationship building by the facilitator:

> Example L11: The second spiral, the plan phase, was larger in scope, involving more teachers and another class, extending the vision and scope of the action, bringing in more Indigenous staff and community members to contribute to the program, and shifting more decision-making to the students. (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

This short statement does not fully capture the scale of the task in working collaboratively with community to develop a high school unit of learning. Nor does the article detail how this was done. However, the staged inclusion of 'more Indigenous staff and community members' as well as a progressive centring of students as decision makers indicates the facilitator's authenticity in commitment to process which could be expected to influence the students' perceptions of the project and its potential for influencing better teaching and learning.

L12: Six quality teaching pedagogies were incorporated into a technology unit, most of which were 'previously non-existent in the technology subject area'. The six pedagogies were identified as common elements between the NSW Quality Teaching Framework and Indigenous epistemology. The aim was 'to realise a dynamic balance envisioned in the theory of action based on the local river junction'. Together these pedagogies suggest a holistic view of learning in which the inner self, interpersonal or team relationships, reliance on the physical world as a source of knowledge and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge are all acknowledged aspects of the learning process.

> Example L12: 'The students identified the Indigenised/interface content as a major factor in their improved behaviour… [Indigenous knowledge] g[a]ve them confidence, help[ed] them believe they [could] do the work. One said he felt smarter with the kind of talk we have been using…' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

The implication of a cross-cultural model of teaching and learning in stimulating higher order thinking and deep knowledge, integrating young people's own background knowledge and culture is that the alternative pedagogical strategies, described by the authors as 'stimulus-response pedagogy' and 'disconnected content' are failing students and denying their universal rights. This finding also constitutes evidence of how First Nations and western literacies and knowledges are ontologically distinct, though with common aspects and points to the absence and de-legitimisation of First Nations epistemologies in the school system.

L13: At the heart of the success of PAR is the equal status of participants, the level ground on which they can share insights, the inclusion of reflection at all stages and participants to articulate what worked for them. In addition to benefitting teachers' reflection on professional practice it also gave young people a platform to co-design teaching and learning based on their iterative reflection on what worked best for them and to value their own learning capabilities:

> Example L13: '[The students] jointly constructed their own definition of the local Aboriginal "way of learning" which was to "watch first and join in for small parts, then take on larger parts". They clearly identified Social Support as the key pedagogy, balanced with a gradual shift to Self-direction.'(Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

In finding a starting point to connect learning with place and context, the introduction of PAR is shown to have helped to facilitate cross-cultural understanding and reduce negative aspects of power differentials between non-Indigenous staff, First Nations staff, First Nations and non-Indigenous young people, giving everyone a role and a voice in identifying what worked. Existing sources of conflict are not impediments but a force for change, and wellspring of new ideas.

L14: Use of symbols and metaphor was a feature of the cross-cultural learning throughout the article. These mediate between the natural world and students' inner world, providing a language through which complex concepts can be internalised and applied, as shown through one student's interpretation of copyright:

> Example L14: '…An example of this was the class's communal approach to knowledge ownership and production… An analysis was made of a Gamilaraay meeting symbol formed by a circle surrounded with "c" shapes facing the centre… compared with a copyright symbol, which was reframed by the students as a greedy person sitting alone… the [resulting] communal protocol…was often referred to in resolving disputes…and in establishing a community of practice…' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

The successful incorporation of symbols, externalising the students' inner construction of meaning and language in creative engagement with a complex curriculum is instructive. It reveals something

about learning, language and the way placing things into a familiar context, schema or metalanguage renders the terrifyingly unfamiliar as meaningful and relevant. It speaks to both the students' differentiated literacy and cultural schema but also suggests that symbols are a complementary feature of literacy that might be underutilised/underexplored in western pedagogy, outside of formal mathematical expressions and written language.

3.3.4 Dimension

The findings in the first three coding categories for this article, Moment, Edge and Level together reveal attitudes and behaviours in the non-Indigenous school culture which have constrained effective learning for this entirely First Nations student population in central-west NSW. 'Dimension' offers learning from the project which enhanced teaching and student engagement.

D9: Teachers' engagement with a cross-cultural framework allowing non-Indigenous teachers to reflect on and incorporate their own learning into practice at a controlled pace:

> Example D9: … [a non-Indigenous teacher's] attitude shift came during a lesson when she was recounting a personal narrative… [s]he later reflected that working with Indigenous knowledge at the interface is "not necessarily something that happens all at once, but something you develop in pieces". She stressed that learning this knowledge had to be hands-on and modelled… (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

While formal research is not easily accessible in the classroom, cross-cultural learning and exchange is highlighted as essential in the Indigenous education space, where the teacher benefits from a First Nations perspective and learns to recognise cultural differences in learning, working together and literacy.

D10: Working in teams with First Nations staff and community leaders who have links with the school and with education generally, was argued and validated through the research to be a necessary step for establishing local values and looking for points of agreement with quality teaching principles. It involved learning to listen and admit the contributions that others bring, beyond traditional hierarchical restrictions. One teacher described the process as:

> Example D10: 'communicating together, letting ideas and projects evolve with direction; it's a more gentle approach" and "a let-go of my set ways" (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

The example demonstrates the value of engaging in cross-cultural collaboration, firstly for the students but also for the personal growth of the teacher, who in the above example has experienced a shift of consciousness and expanded praxis.

D11: A contextual factor that changed the dysfunctional classroom dynamic to a positive spiral was the culture of high expectations embedded in the new unit of curriculum and adherence to quality teaching. 'High expectations' was more than an attitude of faith that students would achieve. Teachers realised that young people are equipped with capabilities that may not 'look' like the capabilities they are used to identifying in students. The teacher must adapt to a different student reality rather than the student somehow transforming themselves instantly to fit expectations. Teachers were able to achieve this understanding as they started to appreciate the way Indigenous knowledges were working for them:

> Example D11: In reflection, teachers stressed the importance of "accepting students for who they are" and being "able to be creative in finding our personal links with Aboriginal culture" (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009).

The conflict was reconciled through the logic of "students had equal roles" tying together the key elements that promoted learning success which were working together in learning circles and supporting students to work autonomously in creativity allowing students to find self-direction and regulation.

D12: Teachers found that when students were misbehaving, redirection of parts of the lesson back to land and values connections led to students refocussing and regaining interest. Using the three rivers model, conflict was not seen as an intractable problem but as the basis for new ideas. Conflict forces a negative space into which positive change can flow, negating an old pattern and creating new ones:

> Example D12: 'The . . .Three River dialogical model [was used to code data,] with the three streams being teacher conflict, student/community conflict and curriculum/organisation conflict. At the junction of the three lies the learning that came from these struggles, coded as pedagogy and processes, interface content, attitude shifts. These were the themes and concepts that continually arose…' (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)

The project demonstrated that the Indigenous knowledge framework provided a context in which learning was activated, including when the facilitator was not present. Teachers who engaged with the framework found that they were able to internalise Indigenous approaches to knowledge and incorporate them in their praxis.

Summary

The articles in Part 1 draw attention to teacher behaviours, attitudes and techniques shared by First Nations educators as examples of what works to support First Nations young people with school education. They provide a picture of class-based education that recognises and supports culture and the holistic development of the student. This is consistent with a health enabling approach through resistance of deficit portrayals of First Nations people and engagement with the reality of the student's lifeworld.

PART 2: Voices of First Nations young people

Three articles project youth voices on the impact and relevance of school education. The first is a study commissioned by VIYAC (Victorian Indigenous Youth Action Coalition) which involved interviews with young people who were either in school, post school education or training, or employment in an education related area. The second paper in this set is published findings from a doctoral study that also undertook qualitative interviews. The participants are entirely in the target area for this research: young people preparing for or completing year 12, to determine what the factors are in their success. The third is a report on the views of students and their parents and carers, part of a large longitudinal study called the Collegial Snapshot Process (CSP) by the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) which provided an annual 'snapshot' of the state of Indigenous education over a five-year period. The study is phenomenal in its breadth, involving a strong representative sample of schools and their populations from urban, regional, rural and remote locations.

3.4 Article A4 VIYAC (2011)

VIYAC Voices Telling It Like It Is: Indigenous Young People on Education

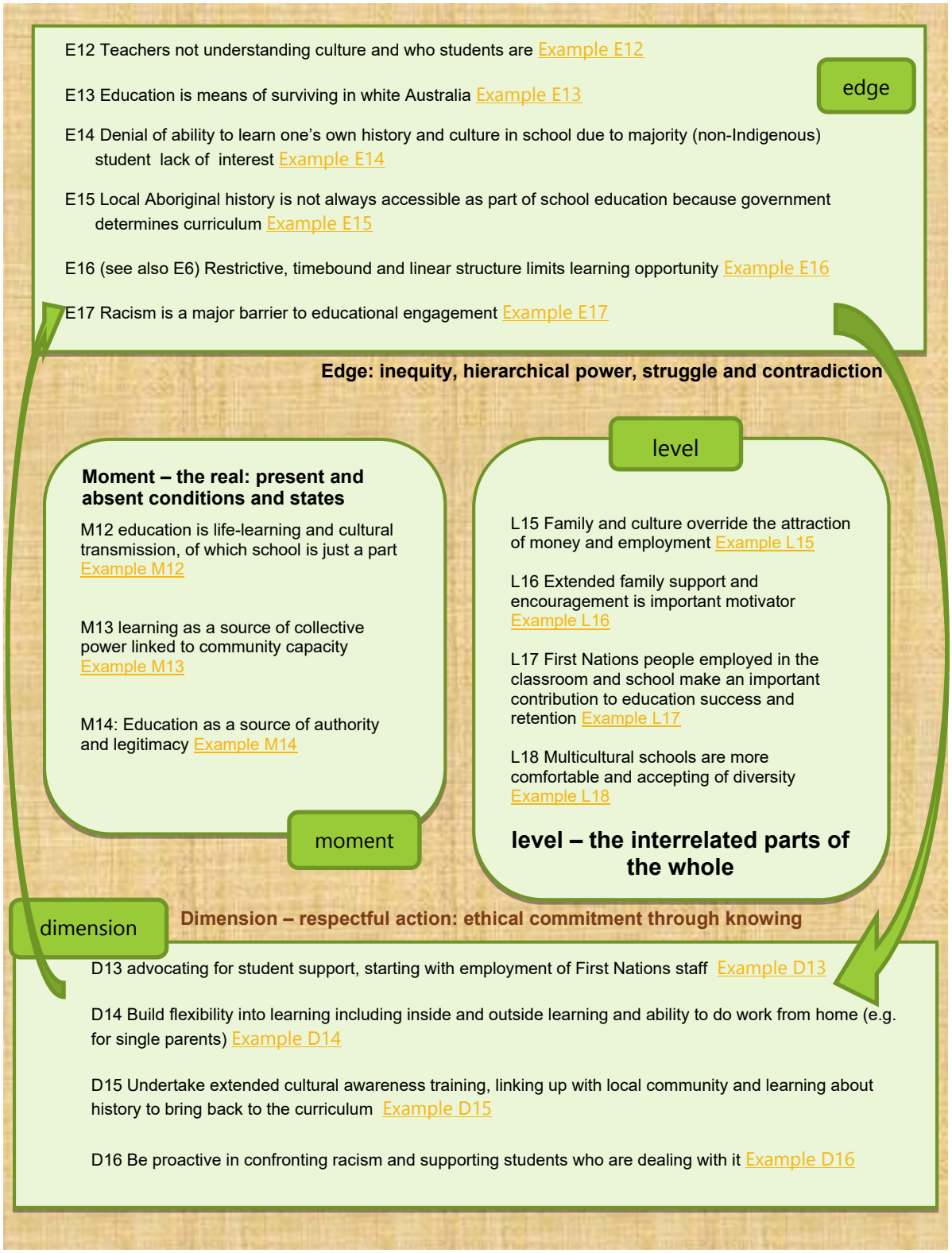


Figure 3.5 MELD Schema A4 VIYAC 2011

3.4.1 Moment

Young people in the described research study were asked why education was important and what it meant to them. Young people's beliefs about education to young people influence how they engage with school and learning and reveal benefits of education that are not highlighted in policy documents.

M12: Young people discussed education as learning from life, including all of life's experiences and not just school or formalised learning, and that this reflects First Nations culture.

> Example M12: [For] Indigenous people. . . their education is their life experience and their life knowledge because, you know, back in the olden days of our ancestors, that's how we learnt. . . by life experience and also being taught by the elders of each tribe... For me, it all kind of connects into that overall thing which is education.(Participant 5, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, pp. 21-22)

The example shows how the culture of handing down knowledge and learning from Country has influenced contemporary First Nations expectations of education. School should complement but not obstruct or denigrate First Nations knowledge and what is important to know. Participants described ways in which future benefits of education from this broader perspective on learning through life. Education was a means to achieve higher levels of learning, empower and contribute back to community and to pass on to children. Despite the plethora of reviews revealing ongoing limitations of the education system to meet or even consider the needs of First Nations people throughout colonisation, these liberating possibilities of education still hold.

M13: Some participants viewed education as having collective benefit to First Nations peoples rather than just to the individual:

> Example M13: 'Knowledge is power. . . If everyone took their own ownership and set out to learn something new, it would just make us as a community so much more powerful.' (Participant 9, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 20).

This suggests that formal learning has mechanisms that protect against marginalisation by giving oppressed peoples a voice and ability to strengthen leadership within the community. It can be related to Double Power discussed at Article 7 in Part 3 of this chapter.

M14: Education was also identified as a source of empowerment through increased authority, reducing marginalisation by giving First Nations people a voice and an avenue to legitimise knowledge.

> Example M14: [it] empowers us. It gives us options … it gives you a voice of authority' '…our old people have really good stories and a lot of things to say but are often marginalised because they don't have the education' (Participant 6, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 20).

Foreshadowing the discussion chapter (chapter 4) there are external systemic constraints on schools and teachers however, as these articles show, there are many options and opportunities for positive intervention into First Nations students' school and learning experiences.

3.4.2 Edge

E12: Of the harmful experiences related in the article many related to schools' or teachers' absence of recognition of the different culture, identity and circumstances of First Nations students. These are ways in which agency works to maintain existing structures seemingly missing opportunities for challenge and transformation.

> Example E12: 'The negative thing is being able to communicate with my teachers and . . . and them not having the cultural thing . . . like if there's funerals in the family and they sort of just don't understand.' (Participant 2, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 23).

Teachers are under pressure not to accept what they might see as irrelevant excuses for non-attendance or missed assessments. However, priorities and obligations toward family and maintaining cultural norms can be untenable sources of pressure when more flexible and supportive learning and assessment mechanisms can make a substantial difference.

E13: Education was discussed by participants as a means of surviving harm from racism and being in a minority culture. Being asked to justify Aboriginality or First Nations identity even in well-meaning contexts was raised as a source of stress at school. One participant summed up a value of education to First Nations people as the tool for surviving discrimination:

> Example E13: ". . . to me, education is the basis for surviving and succeeding in life . . . what I've learnt through schools has also enabled me to, I guess, be able to survive in, you know, a white Australia, that sort of culture." (Participant 7, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 19).

The example demonstrates a doubling of denial inherent in the school system. Through the alienation of students via systemic racism, education as a key avenue for challenging racism and deficit thinking is also absented.

E14: A perceived lack of interest in First Nations content by non-Indigenous people may be a contributing factor in teacher's devaluing Indigenous curriculum content. The area of conflict is

between policy requiring Indigenous content and student agency in minimising it, pointing to wider structural constraints:

> Example E14: There was a subject, Koori history, but not enough people wanted to do it so they cut it and, like, so what good is that? Just because enough people weren't interested. . . I couldn't even do my own history so that's just plain wrong.(participant 4, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 35).

Another participant suggested such constraints risk perpetuating a long-term intergenerational failure to change the ideological frame of the broader non-Indigenous population, because no traction can be gained. The steadily monopolised and sanitised mainstream media are increasingly sensationalist to maximise revenue, preferencing popularity over truth. Young people bring these relativities to school suggesting that this pessimistic prediction has substance.

E15: The importance of teaching local First Nations history and the systemic influences that prevent this aspect of the curriculum from being fully realised was also highlighted.

> Example E15: [It] is not the schools, it's the system. Because the government determines what we learn…[it] is very important, absolutely important that we teach about Aboriginal history and the truth, especially in the local area where you are…' (Participant 5, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 32).

The perception that schools are not required to teach true history of colonisation because of government decisions is supported by a strong and persistent conservative push-back to contain the amount and depth of teaching in this area. The amount of exposure non-Indigenous students have to potentially powerful learning about the nature of the first 200 years of contact and its consequences appears to be inconsistent and reliant on particular teachers' knowledge. Yet knowledge and stories of First Nations people are waiting to be heard in every community.

E16: As discussed at Article 2, E6 a lack of learning flexibility can create trade-off between realising academic potential against family and culture.

> Example E16: 'We focus a lot on chronological ages and we don't have any flexibility for people that want to learn, or that learn differently and learn at different times. . . you keep learning it until you can get it. . . ' (participant 12, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 28).

As this participant emphasises, the scaffolded and iterative nature of learning which is embedded in vocational education is important for students who do not already have the solid foundation of

mainstream numeracy and literacy. However, this flexibility is less common in school certificate-oriented education.

E17: Having to deal with racist stereotypes and denial of identity was suggested to be a major contributor to disengagement from school:

> Example E17: '…And then they go, "You're not Aboriginal" or, "You're not a real Aboriginal" . . . So, it's a huge thing, racism. I would have to say in education it's the biggest thing stopping people from wanting to be educated.' (Participant 4, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 24).

Participants identified truth-telling as an essential step in moving forward (E5) as a country. Overt racism and passive disinterest depict tensions that stimulate young people to try to challenge inequity, but in many cases leads to feelings of exclusion and non-Identity of Aboriginality with school success. How teachers and schools respond or interpret this challenge contribute to whether many students feel able and supported to stay at school or if blamed and marginalised, leave disillusioned.

3.4.3 Level

A good education seen through these interviews with school and post school students emphasised the need for teachers and school staff getting to know students, families and communities to bridge school and community, in order to connect and contextualise classroom and life learning.

L15: Fundamental to this is an acceptance that young people may have different needs and expectations of education than what schools are designed to prepare them for as stridently expressed by Participant 4:

> Example L15: You know, you can't just assume we want money and employment … Everybody else does. We don't. The most important thing to us is family and culture and the government really needs to get that in their head. (Participant 4, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 29).

In the case of Indigenous peoples internationally, the right to an education that respects cultural heritage is enshrined in several international covenants. This includes offering an education that does not compete with or override family and culture. However, this demonstrates a resistance to capitalism in favour of retaining symbolic and real attachment to First Nations culture. It creates dissonance between First Nations' values favouring collective responsibility and individualism which has become the overarching human rights principle.

L16: Family are central supports to students, providing encouragement, role models and living history of the students' family that motivate young people to do well. Sources of family support extend to grandparents, uncles and aunties who take an active interest in young peoples' education:

> Example L16: 'My pop. He's my favourite person. He didn't do anything with his life, but he's always there helping me and supporting me. . . and he makes sure that I'm doing good at school. He asks me how school is going every time I see him.' (Participant 1, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 31).

Family affirmation is especially important where students have close family ties and peer circles are largely centred on kinship relationships. Such feedback from young people suggests that school failure to recognise and engage with this aspect of Indigenous education by encouraging parents and extended family to be involved is a significant missed opportunity.

L17: The role that First Nations teaching and other staff play in bridging students' cultural identity was highly valued in this research although the report states that as many as half the participants did not have a dedicated First Nations educational support worker, let alone First Nations teachers at the school.

> Example L17: '...it would be better balanced and create a better learning environment about Australian history to have an Indigenous and a non-Indigenous person side-by-side. . . being role models to the rest of the class, showing how to talk about it from an Indigenous perspective and a non-Indigenous perspective in a culturally appropriate manner to each other.' (Participant 12, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 38).

Arguably the best way for non-Indigenous teachers to develop sensitivity toward cultural difference and overcome deficit stereotypes is to team teach with First Nations staff and compare and share behaviours and methods. Apart from learning valuable cross-cultural skills, their demonstrated reliance on First Nations colleagues signals to First Nations students that they are taken seriously. Also, that they should take First Nations leaders and themselves seriously, as deserving and capable academic equals.

L18: Multicultural spaces were suggested to be more supportive educationally than primarily Anglo Australian schools, because of the richness of learning, increased acceptance of cultural diversity, leading to greater comfort, a perspective also reflected in Article 2 (M5):

> Example L18: '... I think I probably enjoyed moving over to Meadow Heights a little bit more because it was a little bit more multicultural over there, and I felt a little bit more accepted with my culture compared to

living in Werribee.'(Participant 10, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council & Youth Affairs Council of Victoria, 2010, p. 25).

While not a core element of Indigenous education, a multicultural environment appears to weaken some of the structural mechanisms that make Indigenous education difficult to implement and perhaps create common ground between different approaches to learning on more level playing field.

3.4.4 Dimension

In terms of how teachers can make a difference the eighth question asked of participants was what advice they would give to the Minister of Education. The responses highlight Indigenous young peoples' perspectives on what structural changes would improve education outcomes. Non-Indigenous teachers and other staff can think about how these and similar issues manifest and are responded to or not, in their own local context.

D13: Advocating for pastoral care and support through breakfast programs, homework centres or other locally appropriate means are mechanisms that enable First Nations young people to stay at school, particularly when First Nations staff are involved.

> Example D13: 'Support in schools really needs to be dealt with like firstly, because being here, like, I don't know, having a Koori educator would have been good to start with because then, like, having to build up a relationship with the non-Indigenous teachers here, I don't know, it's just hard.' (Participant 2, , p. 25).

These types of strategies represent an affirmative action approach. Rather than equal inputs to all groups which promotes systemic bias toward the already advantaged, increasing inputs to disadvantaged groups addresses equity of outcomes. A risk with affirmative action strategies is assuming that all First Nations students need them. As argued in Article 1, there is great diversity among First Nations people. Offering or mandating support strategies for students who are already doing well, perpetuates deficit stereotypes and fosters dependency. On the other hand, changing the context such as through greater presence of First Nations staff signals to students that there are jobs for them also when they graduate.

D14: Benefits have already been described of more flexible, tailoring learning to meet individual development and confidence. Teachers can provide and advocate for flexibility with the structuring of work completion:

> Example D14: . . . I think you need a mix, especially with the youth, I believe. It was good to sit in the classroom setting, learn a bit but also to get out…There was a lot of flexible learning so it wasn't where the

> student had to come in all the time. We could always give them work and they could go away for a week or two if they were single mothers or fathers…' (Participant 8, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 29).

While a student centred, scaffolding approach to learning works to support students from backgrounds traditionally disadvantaged by the school system, Flexibility is constrained by structural factors such as the nature of teacher employment. The availability and preparedness of teachers to reach out to students 'where they are' is often beyond the scope of employment contracts and work hours. However, by transferring some of the power and possibilities to the learner, deregulating and de-regimenting the classroom to promote a more 'pro-social' learning context, flexibility can follow.

D15: The need for non-Indigenous teachers to undertake their own learning in First Nations culture, also a feature of Article 2, was elaborated on in this article. Participants suggested they needed to learn more of the history of First Nations people and to extend knowledge by going into the community to learn from local knowledge holders.

> Example D15: '…all should have cross cultural awareness training, and there should be advanced levels for history teachers, and they really need to be linked up with Indigenous communities to validate the other part of history that doesn't get spoken about.' (Participant 12, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), p. 35).

Young people perceived a pivotal responsibility of teachers to encourage fluidity in boundaries between school and community; and to cultivate relationships with respected First Nations community leaders, as teaching partners.

D16: Racism was also a prominent theme among participant responses throughout the article. Racism was explicitly linked to lack of cultural understanding and teaching at school.

> Example D16: 'Create better understanding, I guess, yeah, because I think a lot of the racism stems from not knowing about our culture and our practices. (Participant 3, Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011, p. 33).

This observation by Participant 3 highlights what might be construed as sublimated ignorance on the part of teachers that licences non-Indigenous students to follow suit and judge First Nations people against European cultural norms and expectations. Teachers have a moral responsibility to create a culturally safe environment. However, the effect of '*special liberty'* which involves ethical relativity means teachers can choose the ways in which they demonstrate professional agency but are influenced against ideas that challenge free market individualism as the dominant ethics. Teachers

are therefore constrained in how they define and challenge racism to question whether it really exists or is itself a manifestation of individual 'rights' to say and believe whatever we like.

3.5 Article A5 KIARA RAHMAN (2010)

Addressing the foundations for improved Indigenous secondary student outcomes

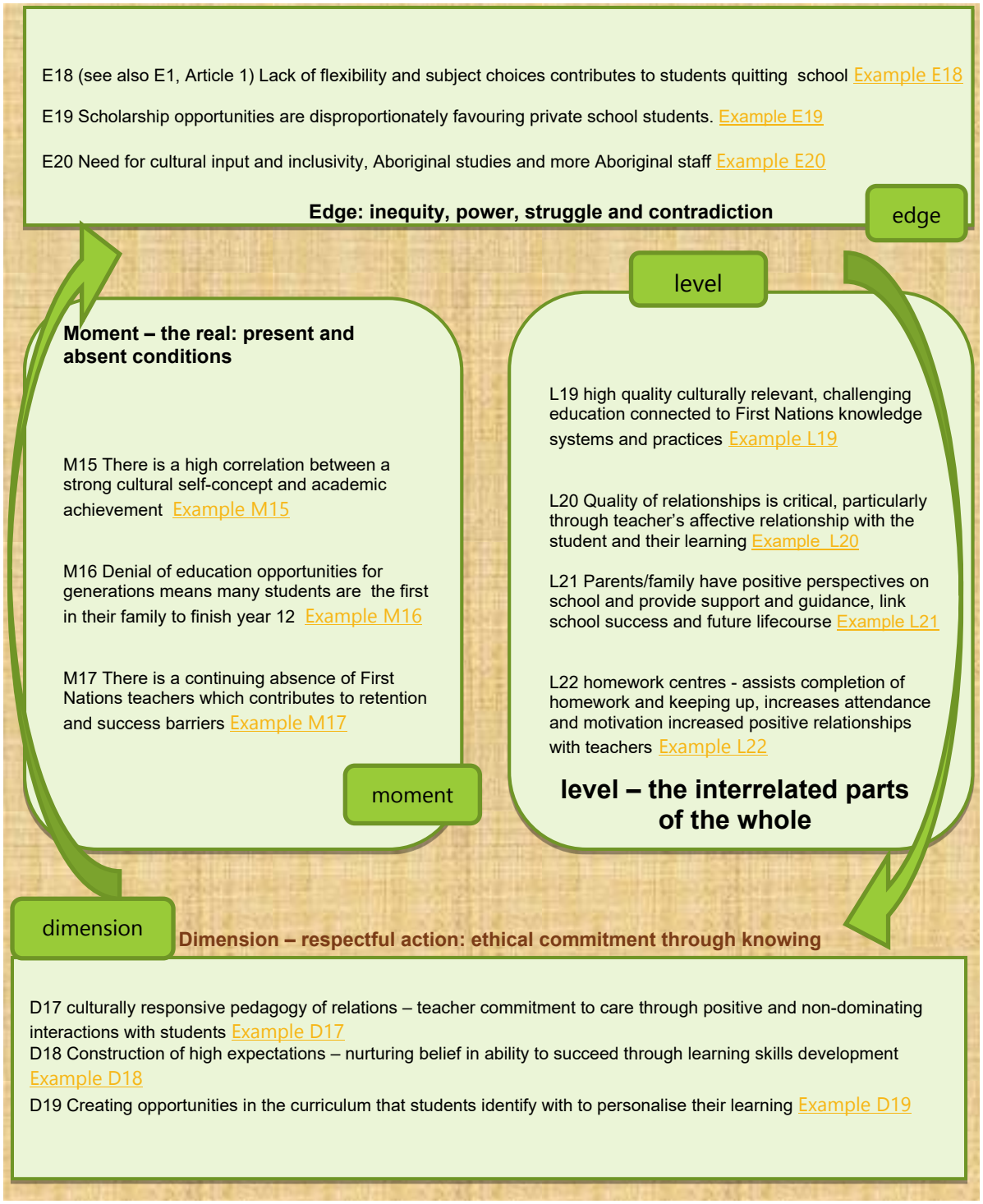


Figure 3.6 MELD Schema A5 Kiara Rahman (2010)

In this article, Rahman (Rahman, 2013) provides a comprehensive review of the hidden curriculum theory defined as the 'unwritten rules, regulations, standards and expectations' (2013)that while not explicitly taught are expected to be acquired through schooling. Rahman is concerned with the way the hidden curriculum is portrayed as promoting a set of universal values or competencies, it reflects an Anglo-Celtic worldview and acts to maintain White normativity (MacDonald, 2019). First Nations children are disadvantaged when their values from their home culture can come into conflict with the hidden curriculum. Rahman seeks to understand how school can be aligned with diversity, supporting bicultural learning and how the skills and knowledges needed to successfully navigate the education system can be explicitly taught, enabling First Nations young people to compete on a more level playing field.

3.5.1 Moment

Real conditions which influence Indigenous education are the subject of Moment. Rahman alludes to several in the article, as follows.

M15: Participant 'Zelda' correlates pride in her First Nations identity with academic achievement. This was a common finding in Kiara Rahman's research across several South Australian high schools. Where school engagement is supported consistently as a valid aspect of culture the young person enjoys a commitment to both:

> Example M15:'it means a lot being Aboriginal when you're achieving higher and higher goals' (Participant 'Zelda' in Rahman, 2010)

Students mapping the way forward and seeing the big picture, combined with positive self-concept and cultural identity appear to be common success factors for completing year 12. Absence of any of these factors may contribute to other students' decisions to leave early. Where families and social supports consistently associate First Nations identity with strong ability and likelihood of success, students seem much better placed to succeed.

M16: The denial of education to generations of First Nations people and exclusion from other social benefits, means that many First Nations students are the first in their family to be in, or have completed year 12, like 'Lowan':

> Example M16: Lowan, a Year 12 student, who lived away from home to attend an urban Aboriginal school was asked why he wanted to stay on to complete Year 12. He says "Cos none of my other family, they haven't been to Year 12 before. I'm the only one in the family". (Rahman, 2010)

Generational loss to the education system means many First Nations young people have been unable to see a clear path to school completion, no help to map one out. However, first in family status is shown in this research to be motivational. Achievements of other First Nations people are a spur, while the responsibility to inspire others is also a powerful incentive to achieve. It is about being inspired and being inspirational - a virtuous circle.

M17: Rahman found First Nations people in the education system are crucial influencers in student success. She reported an absolute correlation between students who reportedly had Indigenous teachers, and self-concept as successful students:

> Example M17: …I think we need more Aboriginal teachers. Because like Nan, as the AEW, she's always in the classes with the girls and they do work a lot better. So, if you've got someone there that's sort of like them [Aboriginal], then that does make it better. 'Yileena' Year 12 student (Rahman, 2010)

It is evident from the findings that First Nations teacher under-representation in schools is an absence which increases the arena of risk in schools to First Nations young people. Much more should be done at the local level to make schools welcoming and culturally responsive environments for teachers as well as students.

3.5.2 Edge

The Edge elements illustrate systemic harms which was not thematic in this paper, given its tight orientation towards factors of success. To infer harms simply by reading into what is working will not satisfy the criteria for Edge. However, some students did reflect on the 'dropout rate' providing Edge insights.

E18: One example of the risks carried by inflexibility in the school system concerned the lack of subject choices at a certain school:

> Example E18: I think that they need to address the Aboriginal dropout rate and of course try to have a more flexible learning system, because if they wanted to try doing Year 10, 11 and 12 subjects here … the only problem is … is that you can't. You've got to do it this way; you have to include this stuff and you can't merge subjects together because it's too complicated. ' Frank Year 12 male (Rahman, 2010)

Reduced course options in some schools coupled with low number of continuing students, especially in regional and remote areas inevitably excludes some young people who with ability to choose something they enjoyed would have interest a purpose in competing years 11 and 12. While more First Nations students are in urban locales, there are more First Nations young people in rural and remote areas as a proportion of local population, compounding disadvantage.

E19: There are no quotes from students that mention scholarship support, but Rahman states that of her participants 'school scholarships were received mostly by those in urban private schools, students living away from home and those completing Year 12'. She notes that all scholarship holders were well motivated with their studies and attendance. However, only a small number of public-school students were able to access financial help, despite the implication of poverty in rates of early leaving:

> Example E19: The results do suggest the need for more scholarship opportunities to be opened up to many other Indigenous students, particularly for those who attend schools in the Australian public education system. (Rahman, 2010)

The motivations of private, mostly church owned schools to offer scholarships to students is equity only in the narrowest sense. Apart from the Catholic system, private schools are inherently elitist, catering for wealth and status. Scholarships are used both to attract gifted and talented students to these schools, and to provide avenues for remote students to leave their communities and become acclimatised to urban norms and expectations.

E20: Students felt the need for more First Nations culture and teaching staff, suggesting that despite their own success, the absence of culture was still an area of risk:

> Example E20: Most student comments reflected the need for more cultural input and inclusivity, within schools; more Indigenous teachers and school staff, as well as the inclusion of Aboriginal Studies as a core subject…(Rahman, 2010)

This finding in Rahman's research underscores the link between self-concept and culture given the sample of students are those who have achieved or are on their way to attaining a year 12 certificate. These are not students who are primarily concerned with rebellion or counterculture and are arguably strong witnesses to the areas of progressive change that might see stronger First Nations commitment to senior high school retention and success.

3.5.3 Level

L19: The inclusion of cultural pedagogy and curriculum content is shown to be a critical factor in supporting many of the students in this study to achieve academically (L1). It appears that there are many points of connection between the two rather than a simple causal relationship. These have been discussed throughout the chapter.

> Example L19: Kala who considered herself a successful student, reflects on her enjoyment of Aboriginal Studies and how her interest and engagement in the subject led to higher levels of academic achievement:

> I like Aboriginal Studies here. I got like the highest mark last year for the exam; 94 percent! In Women's Studies, there's a lot to do with Aboriginal culture and that, so that's really good . . . and in history class also. (Participant 'Kala' in Rahman, 2010)

The function of First Nations curriculum in putting young people's personal stories into context is evident through this example. Having Indigenous content is shown to be motivating through establishment of the relevance and purpose of learning.

L20: As discussed previously in the findings, strength of student-teacher relationships was highlighted as important:

> Example 20: Many students said that they felt comfortable around their teachers, and felt that their teachers care about their education and their future and found them to be very interested in supporting their educational needs (Rahman, 2010)

Rahman's research provides important evidence about what students' value about good teachers. Students feeling that a teacher believes they will succeed is also about the teacher having confidence in their own pedagogical skills to pass on explicit learning skills and encourage identification of students' own learning needs. Their capacity for culturally responsive teaching is important, without which a relationship can quickly deteriorate.

L21: Home environment was another success factor, with those participants who had encouraging and supportive parents generally having a more positive attitude to education. This is not to problematise parent attitudes but to acknowledge that where parents and carers associate school success with a positive future, this supported young peoples' positive identification with academic success. One participant gave a contrasting picture of his cousins:

> Example L21: [...] I've been brought up in a strict household where schooling was the number one thing [...] when I look at my cousins and that, I'm often called a coconut. But they're ok, but hardly any of them have graduated. (Rahman, 2010)

This example suggests that cultural identity can also be associated with resistance to school, which suggests closing the gap between school and culture might be a strong starting principle for intervention strategies.

L22: Homework centres and similar support structures were emphasised as a valuable aspect of supporting students in senior school. They are a source of additional encouragement from dedicated space to study and staff who can contribute the type of educational know-how that gives insight into the hidden curriculum, known also as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 241-247).

> Example L22: “it's always good to have a teacher around to explain it [in the homework centre]. It's good ... especially for the younger students, it's very good.” (Participant Jimmy in Rahman 2010).

Providing additional support, especially after regular class hours requires extra initiative and commitment on the part of school staff and cost to the school or other provider. Explicit funds to support homework centres for all students who need this access would be ideal but detracts from schools’ freedom to determine resource allocation in a way that positions them best in the market overall.

3.5.4 Dimension

D17: Teachers who ‘position themselves within a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations’ (D1) facilitate students feeling safe and encourage self-expression, regularly feeding back to students and believing in them:

> Example D17: When I first started Year 12, I didn't think that my writing and everything was up to the "standards", but like the teachers sort of said to me like ... this is what we want and yeah. Like when we're in class and when they explain stuff ... they [teachers] always help me and lead the way (Participant ‘Yileena’ Rahman, 2010)

D18: Teachers demonstrate a student-centred approach through recognising inequity and put in additional effort to support students with bigger obstacles to overcome, being flexible and relating to the student as an individual. Recognising and addressing students where they are is part of cultural responsiveness, which does not judge or stereotype First Nations students but involves respecting them as individuals, whose bring their culture and history into the classroom. The hidden curriculum, focus subject of the previous article A6, is defined in this paper as ‘the importance of goals and teacher assistance’ reflecting the partnership between learner and teacher:

> Example D18: I think that you'll find that most of the teachers that come to this school are that kind of teacher. They're willing to do that extra mile, they are willing to be there step by step through sickness and health and what have you... (Participant 'Dorak' in Rahman, 2010)

Teachers evince high expectations through believing that students can succeed, modelling and making explicit the skills and behaviours which create success and encouraging students to recognise and utilise their strengths. The article demonstrates that there are many teachers who are conscious of the role of emotion in learning, who are not swayed by personal biases and self-preservation, putting personal time and energy into students, motivating them to excel. These

teachers are also more likely to look for partnerships with First Nations people in the school and community

D19: Creating opportunities in the curriculum to learn about the history of colonisation and the impact on First Nations across Australia supports students to be strong in their identity. Where local stories are included there may be additional benefits for students to make sense of the way things are, perhaps putting family stories and experiences into context:

> Example D19: . . . we did a film review of [Yolngu Boy] and what it's like to be growing up in the 21st century trying to follow tradition as well. I really enjoyed this assignment. It was really good. It made me realise a bit about my own culture . . (Participant 'Alexis' in Rahman, 2010).

The overarching message of Rahman's research is about the overlap between strong cultural identity and academic achievement. Cultural capital, the ability to use one's cultural fluency to gain social advantage is automatically skewed toward dominant culture young people in mainstream schools. However, for First Nations young people who have an inalienable sovereign relationship beyond the nation-state their own cultural capital is developed through strong First Nations identity as an integral aspect of academic achievement.

3.6 Article A6 GINA MILGATE (2010)

Creating an Effective School for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students

Figure 3.7 MELD Schema A6 Gina Milgate and Brian Giles-Brown 2010

To provide context to this article and the voices of young people who contributed to the study, two tables with summary information are included below. Table 3 shows the number of participants and spread of school locality for the research described in this article and Table 4 lists the most common responses by students and their parents and carers.

Table 3 Number of study Participants and schools by locality: CSP (2007-2011)

First Nations Participant groups	Total over 5 years	2011	School location	5-year total number	2011
Students	5,000	(unavailable)	Rural/remote	196	51
Parents and carers	2,200	510	Regional/provincial	295	73
			Urban	184	49
			Total	675	173

Table 4 Most common responses (students, and parents and carers): CSP (2007-2011)

Theme	Student most common response	Parents and carers most common response
Cultural environment of a school	**Identity (45%)**	**Having a whole school respect (43%)**
Quality teachers	Qualities of good teachers (23%)	Parent-teacher relationships (23%)
Community engagement	**Perceptions of the whole community and parent body about the school (48%)**	**Participation of Elders, Parent and Carers in the school (45%)**
Health and wellbeing	**Racism (49%)**	Strategies to support students (28%)
Curriculum frameworks	**Curriculum perspectives currently being taught (62%)**	Inclusion of an Indigenous perspective (38%)
Leadership	Student Leadership (14%)	The parent view of the school (24%)

3.6.1 Moment

M18: The ongoing surveys and interviews investigated what makes an effective school or 'place of learning' for First Nations students. I analysed the article for descriptions of the context in which the parent and students were making their observations, including references to desired yet absent contexts. Firstly, Milgate mentions that the achievement gap in schools between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is a global issue:

> Example M18: International studies such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) indicate that this issue isn't pertained to Australia, but also to Indigenous communities across the globe (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

This observation draws attention to the structural mechanisms that operate in countries with a colonial history, where Indigenous peoples have shared experience of oppression, including alienation from the school system, Commonly, these include structural racism and a history of attempts to disrupt and disable Indigenous cultures.

M19: The authors also stress that a large array of partners is working to address this gap including school leadership, First Nations students, parents and carers, First Nations staff, other teachers, other students and parents and school support staff, who are the groups whose views were canvassed through this longitudinal study:

> Example M19: [This] engagement …can assist "places of learning" to implement policies and practices that met their needs and as a result assist meeting local, state, national and international priorities. However the voices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students and their Parents and Carers are sometimes silent, not heard…' (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

M20: The main source of experiential knowledge about why students disengage resides with students themselves, while their parents and carers often bear witness to the dilemmas and disappointments that contribute to non-participation. The silence of these 'key players' is itself both implicated in and indicative of disengagement a significant contextual factor for closing the gap.

Compounding the absent voices is an absence in the broader education literature:

> Example M20: A literature search focusing on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Parents and Carers and their insights into effective "places of learning" … yielded minimal evidence-based studies both in Australia and abroad. In fact, there was no one study that posed the question "what makes an effective school for your child? (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

Non-Indigenous school leaders and government and independent policy makers are therefore attempting to design policy responses to a problem that is not fully articulated and theorised from a student or parent perspective. This highlights the importance of the Collegial Snapshot Study (CSS) and its contribution to policy at multiple levels.

M21: Within the findings from the CSS it was found that when asked about cultural environment of the school, the highest proportion of student respondents (more than 40% of students) mentioned identity, demonstrating that culture and identity are closely linked for First Nations young people.

> Example M21: The factors that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students highlighted for Cultural Environment included concepts of Identity, Cultural celebrations and school Cultural activities. The most common theme expressed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students was Identity (45%).
>
> > "Proud that the Aboriginal flag is flown at school". (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

This finding underscores the importance of all the cultural elements of inclusion which help to create a cultural environment (both Indigenous specific and in terms of school culture more broadly) where students can safely express their identity.

M22: Findings under the heading 'Health and Wellbeing' demonstrate that parents and carers considered health in a holistic sense involving the young person's life journey and the strengthening foundations of pride, self-confidence and happiness:

> Example M22: The key factors that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander parents and carers highlighted included strategies to support students, aspirations and career development, behaviour, feeling safe and happy, sense of acceptance and belonging, cultural pride and identity, self-confidence and transitions. (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

Irrespective of government policy directions and discourses, First Nations peoples are more likely to consider health as an overall reflection of social acceptance and equal opportunities to live a fulfilling life. While the impetus behind the word 'behaviour' is not clear, it may well reflect the perceptions of behaviour generally across the school population toward First Nations people (degree of inclusiveness and acceptance, positive and proactive engagement with history and culture for example, or on the other hand, degree of intolerance and marginalising attitudes) and behaviour parents and carers were perceiving in young family members at school for example, level of engagement or level of disruption and the wider factors involved.

3.6.2 Edge

E21: As with A5, this article was about success factors, aspects of harm in the education system were not a direct focus, though they can be inferred in some cases from context. Overt references included the absence of First Nations voices, referred to also in Moment (3.8.3):

> Example E21: …the voices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students and their Parents and Carers are sometimes silent, not heard and as a result they may feel disengaged with the "place of learning". (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

Silence in this example is claimed to be instrumental in disengagement from school. It raises questions about how First Nations people's voices are deterred and that the responsibility of educational leadership to listen, amplify, legitimise and create more spaces for First Nations voices to be heard needs is an important area of accountability in considering Indigenous education outcome measures.

E22: A second indication of an area of harm is the emphasis on community engagement where parents and carers overwhelmingly indicated that the priority was participation of Elders, Parents and Carers in the school (45%) and the strong convergence with the views of students:

> Example E22: …The most common theme was the perceptions of the whole community and parent body about the school (48%)
>
> "We know people in the community who could come to the school to help the teachers" (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

First Nations people are physically absent from the school, although they could make a difference to young people's engagement with learning. The quote from a student 'help[ing] the teachers' indicates that teaching would benefit from the community support to better meet students' needs.

E23: In the theme of health and wellbeing, racism was highlighted as the biggest student concern:

> Example E23: The factors that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students highlighted for health and wellbeing included behaviour incidence and management, racism, Identity and fairness. The most common theme from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students was racism (49%)
>
> > "If they know you are Aboriginal then they can get annoyed – they don't think I am Aboriginal as I am not dark." (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

In a paper that otherwise broadly reveals a promising environment for improving 'places of learning' this student quote is a stark reminder of the social reality of racialised harm. It is not clear if the

speaker's 'they' referred to other students, teachers, white or non-Indigenous people generally. The use of the words 'get annoyed' brings power into prominence and the effect of silencing the student from declaring their Aboriginality is palpable. It is an invidious form of hate, menacing others into silence. The example sheds light on the silenced voices phenomenon referred to at 3.8.3.

3.6.3 Level

L23: The importance of First Nations young people having a say, along with parents, carers were brought to the fore in the CSS process. Without these voices, schools' effectiveness in realising the strengths of First Nations young people as future leaders for the benefit of First Nations communities and society are not fully realised:

> Example L23: …students, parents and carers shared openly their thinking, ideas and their aspirations and how schools can embed and bring their ideas to life throughout the school community. (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

The CSS process demonstrated that there is a willingness in communities to engage when schools welcome, listen, seek and act on feedback in good faith. Under the CSS theme of Community Engagement inclusion of Elders, parents and carers in school activities was identified by 45% of parents and carers as the most important aspect. It suggests that the way the CSS process was conducted, and the publication of the results has been instrumental in promoting change and should be continued, increasingly able to influence school and system culture. The invitation to the Dare to Lead team from the hundreds of Principals who wanted to participate suggests that there was a gap between the school and parents and carers that was too wide to bridge without outside support.

L24: Parent and carers' desire for involvement in schools was further highlighted in the theme of quality teaching. In fact, all the attributes of a quality teacher in parents and carers' responses involved relationships. They included the valued role of First Nations education staff, teachers' cultural awareness, their social management, their knowledge and expectations of each student and use of personalised learning plans and their own professional learning, yet:

> Example L24: The most common theme that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander parents and carers highlighted for Quality of Teachers was parent teacher relationships (23%). (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

Again, the relative frequency of the association between quality of teaching and First Nations parent/carer engagement suggests a higher level of willingness to be actively involved with young people's learning than popular wisdom suggests. In the same theme student respondents addressed a collection of qualitative factors that are an indication of what they felt made an effective place of

learning which mostly went beyond the immediate role of the teacher and more to the enablers of learning itself. They included the whole school atmosphere, aspirational education, [student] attendance, providing educational opportunities, personalised learning and First Nations staff. This suggests that quality teaching from a student perspective was not embodied in the profession of teacher but in the way all the networked people and resources functioned interactively.

L25: One way in which First Nations voice can be realised in schools is through committee representation including the establishment of First Nations Advisory Committees. Nomination of First Nations students to leadership positions was the most common factor in School Leadership nominated by students. An example to illustrate the theme was provided in the text:

> Example L25: "The Aboriginal Education Committee makes a lot of decisions, we have two students and two parents on the committee, our voice is heard in the school." [Student participant] (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

Advisory committees present an avenue to increase cultural awareness, elevate student and parent voice and increase broader community involvement if they are taken seriously and incorporated into all major aspects of school planning and process.

L26: The theme of curriculum drew feedback from parents and carers on the need to embed First Nations perspectives for all students, offer cultural programs and activities, and support student centred learning. The inclusion of First Nations perspectives in the curriculum was the most common, addressed by 38% of respondents. This was the only theme where both groups of respondents aligned:

> Example L26: The factors that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students highlighted for curriculum included the level of curriculum content in subject specific areas, the need for more perspectives taught, the involvement of community …and sentiments of other students to the content… the most common theme [they identified] was Curriculum perspectives currently being taught. (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

There are many complex social factors such as SES and employment status and intergenerational trauma that disproportionately weigh on First Nations families and are independent predictors of student outcomes. Nonetheless, there is a strong suggestion from this longitudinal research that the absence of parents in the school might be more due to the efforts of the schools, the teaching body and the power balance of social influencers within the school catchment than to those of First Nations parents and carers.

3.6.4 Dimension

D20: Text allocated to dimension most focussed on what teachers and leaders can/should be doing in schools to support student success, demonstrating praxis. The first area to emphasise is the CSS Process itself:

> Example D20: In Australia, the Collegial Snapshot Process has been a culturally safe, engaging and empowering way for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students and their Parents and Carers to share their insights and ideas about what makes an effective school. (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

The first authorship of this article by Gina Milgate and her key role in the Process along with long term Indigenous education specialist Brian Giles-Brown has led to a process where First Nations people were happy to engage. The CSS included comprehensive data on student and school performance and their curriculum.

D21: The inclusion of First Nations perspectives in the curriculum mentioned at 3.8.5 was illustrated with the following student quote which exemplifies a culturally responsive approach:

> Example D21: "Mrs K…knows a lot about culture, she has spent time with our parents asking questions and making sure she teaches the right stuff". (Milgate & Giles-Browne, 2013).

Despite a political and economic climate that seems increasingly empty of hope for social justice, teachers and education staff who experience genuine partnerships quickly see results and are vicariously rewarded. This can be powerful motivation for teachers to become change agents who value First Nations students for who they are and what they offer, their teaching growing as a vocation.

Summary

Part 2 looks at school education from the student and parent/carer perspective, focussing less on the theory and more on the practical experience of young people. The article on the foundations for secondary school outcomes brings an additional and crucial perspective of young people who have succeeded in reaching and attaining year 12 on what supported their journey. This section draws attention to the necessity of attending to First Nations young people's voice in understanding what decolonising education looks like. This accords with a rights-based perspective, increasing young people's agency. Equally important though is to be critically aware of how and when young people's voices are unheard, ignored or selectively interpreted. The data in Part 2 highlight many examples where and how this occurs with damaging effect on young people's self-belief, with potentially life-long negative consequences.

PART 3: Public policy critique

Part 3 includes four papers which discuss Indigenous education from a wider public policy perspective. Public policy refers to the whole policy cycle from the macro environmental influences on the types of policy that gain currency to the micro level enactment and impacts of policy in particular settings. The Closing the Gap strategy which assumes the importance of year 12 or equivalent educational achievement to Indigenous health equity, is the overarching framework for delivering on health equity. The whole of this literature review essentially constitutes a critical analysis of the alignments and misalignments between education and Indigenous rights and health equity in Australia.

Part 3 thereby focusses on the interaction between macro and micro levels and First Nations critique of policy failures and gaps through analysis of four articles. The first is Double power by Dr M Yunupingu (1999). Dr Yunupingu writes about the necessity to understand western culture and use it in conjunction with his own Yolngu culture - harnessing double power. It is a strategy that he used to great effect to speak back to manifestations of colonisation that he personally experienced in his teaching career, including structural racism and whiteness. The second is another paper from Kiara Rahman (Rahman, 2013)'s doctoral study that describes the effects of the hidden curriculum and critical pedagogies which support students to navigate the system. This article theorises the hidden curriculum in relation to young people in her study, discussing in particular the importance of recognising and overtly addressing cultural difference. Melitta Hogarth (2017) gives a formal policy critique, being a policy analysis of the Indigenous Education Plan. This paper includes a model of Indigenous critical discourse analysis which highlights many of the implicit policy mechanisms which act to disenfranchise First Nations people. Fourth is Jessa Roger's work which describes approaches to improving culturally responsive training in teacher education (Rogers, 2018). This paper considers what is actually involved in increasing numbers of Indigenous educators, which is a persistent feature of Indigenous education policy.

3.7 Article A7 DR M YUNUPINGU (1999)

Double Power

Figure 3.8 MELD Schema A7 Dr M Yunupingu 1999

3.7.1 Moment

Aspects of the reality in which Indigenous education policy is grounded are starkly visible through Dr Yunupingu's story of school reform in North-East Arnhem Land. The reality of cultural difference and failure to recognise this reality are explored, revealing literacy to be a form of coercive power, that is defined and channelled through the enactment of education policy.

M23 Dr Yunupingu's Double Power describes how Yolngu and western cultures are inherently different ways of being, knowing and doing but are complementary rather than incompatible (M. Yunupingu, 1999):

> Example M23: My experience as part of [the legendary Yolngu rock band] Yothu Yindi illustrates the meaning of 'double power'. In Yothu Yindi we bring together music, ceremony, lyrics and technology from two cultural traditions into a fusion which produces something new and different … a kind of multi-literacy, or multimedia and multicultural literacy (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

Rather than one culture being comparatively more/less valid than another, meanings and strengths can be gleaned from different cultures and combined. The Double Power rationale is to insert First Nations ways of being, knowing and doing into policy, bringing the diverse streams of knowledge together into one form of literacy.

M24: Literacy is a form of power which can be a deciding factor in who is included and excluded, and who benefits from distribution of resources and assets. To prompt reflection about this, Dr M Yunupingu posed a series of questions about the function of literacy.

> Example M24: Before I tell my story, I want to put out a few questions and, while I tell my story, I want you to think about what I say in relation to these questions. These questions are:
>
> - When am I literate?
> - How am I literate?
> - Why am I literate?
>
> And
>
> - Who decides if I am literate or not? (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

These questions extend the critique of literacy as a source of power, raised in A1 and A3. This article critically challenges and exposes the power of literacy to control people's lives and generate inequality. The questions in the above quote deconstruct this notion and allow for a different set of answers that act to challenge European dominance. In M Yunupingu's model of bilingual/multilingual, multiliterate and bicultural education, literacy offers emancipatory hope.

M25: The imbalance of power between the dominant culture and First Nations traditions creates tendencies towards assimilation and subjugation which have framed the history of Indigenous education policy under colonisation. Prior to Dr M Yunupingu taking up leadership at Yirrkala School it was run by non-Indigenous administration while students were all local. This is still the case in many remote schools in First Nations communities in central and northern parts of Australia and elsewhere:

> Example M25: All the decisions to do with the school were made by the Balanda administration. Success and ability were measured by Balanda in Balanda ways. Being a black teacher in a Balanda run school meant, more or less, being a Balanda teacher with a black face. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

'Being a Balanda teacher', enacting white power through First Nations agency illustrates that the dominant western influence on education policy in Australia has continued a history of structural racism, failing to recognise the necessity of Yolngu people to receive education in and about their own culture in addition to accessing mainstream education.

Looked at from the Moment vantage point of layered society, the real state of affairs, of unbroken historical connection of Yolngu people to their land and handing down of law and cultural knowledge, is comprehensively constrained by the surrounding dominant culture, economy and education system reflecting a public policy failure. The knowledge gained by Dr M Yunupingu discussed in the article altered the context increasing Yolngu governance and accessible education.

3.7.2 Edge

E24: The assimilatory western controlled education that Dr M Yunupingu experienced in his school education and teacher training posed unacceptable risks to Yolngu future. Within the education system Dr Yunupingu perceived education as 'becoming white', yielding power and being expected to give up Yolngu culture:

> Example E24: From the system's point of view, Western learning meant teaching us to be like them. In the mission school, becoming literate meant becoming 'white': doing Balanda things in Balanda ways. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

Far from liberating Yolngu people and facilitating health and wellbeing, it was undermining identity and culture, corroding the Yolngu social milieu.

E25: Dr Yunupingu describes how the impact on Yolngu culture through these practices led him to resist and assert the rights of his people. The Double Power approach involves incorporating what is useful for Yolngu agency and working within the dominant political system while resisting oppressive

and assimilatory tendencies in the school system, highlighting the need for education policy to reflect both cultures:

> Example E25: Although I went through the system, I'm not a product of the system in the sense that I didn't turn out the way the system wanted me to turn out. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

E26: The third manifestation of Edge is the integral link between language and culture which underscores the importance of retaining and First Nations languages. Dr Yunupingu explains how to demonstrate the power of Yolngu knowledge he wrote an essay in Gumatj:

> Example E26: I wanted to pinpoint the area of language, to show how deep my thinking could be in my own language. I felt that I couldn't get across the ideas that I wanted to express if I had to do it in English without losing most of the meaning. I could have translated it into English words but I would have been left with just the words, the meaning I could make in my own language would have been lost. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

There are things that cannot be expressed in another language. They can be translated, but the meaning becomes separated from its wider cultural context of, for example, how things are done and why they are done. Indigenous education draws attention to the relationship between language and culture and the need for a multiliteracy approach.

3.7.3 Level

L27: Dr M Yunupingu's article describes key aspects of Indigenous education policy that effect 'Double Power'. At Yirrkala school in North East Arnhem Land, Dr M Yunupingu worked with the community to transform the school into an expression of the community's values. The role of Principal was altered to being one of a group of decision makers in a partnership of community leaders:

> Example L27: This group, of which the principal was a member, was to make decisions on behalf of the principal. In this way the community became more directly involved in running the school. This same model still operates today. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

L28: The second was a concrete expression of equity through equal pay. At Yirrkala First Nations and non-Indigenous teachers were paid the same and were partners. This is described as a mentoring system, but unlike the western concept of mentoring where an experienced senior person guides someone new in the profession to learn the structures, the Yolngu concept is bidirectional. Both parties are equals with two-way skills and knowledge transfer:

> Example L28: A system of mentor training was introduced, with Aboriginal teachers working side by side with Balanda, with equal pay. The relationship is one of partnership. This was the start of the mentor system which still continues. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

The context of a remote community under Yolngu control offers a degree of levelling between partners that would be difficult to achieve in settings where First Nations people are a small minority. However, in this context it was possible to demonstrate that exchange and sharing of cultural assets between teachers of both cultures can be a mechanism for to improve the learning environment for students. It underscores the benefits of attracting and retaining First Nations staff in all schools with a view to boosting the proportion of qualified First Nations teachers, which in turn is an increased incentive for First Nations students to excel at school.

L29: Indigenised leadership, governance and teaching transformed the learning context at Yirrkala school to one which was grounded in local culture through First Nations curriculum which changed student attitudes to school.

> Example L29 …Classroom practice and management became more Aboriginal and an Aboriginal oriented curriculum was introduced… As a result of these changes kids started to look on school as a positive place to be. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

Part of Dr Yunupingu's strength of growing up entirely in Yolngu culture put him in a position of a curious outsider to western culture, wanting to learn about its power but not be assimilated by it.

3.7.4 Dimension

D22: The concept of double power presents a way for non-Indigenous people to think about our role in a decolonising process. One way to explore this is exercises in role reversal. Situations where the direction of power reversed challenge us to consider how we become vehicles for harm and risk to others. In the Deakin-Batchelor Aboriginal Teacher Education (DBATE) program, the lecturer marking Dr Yunupingu's assignment accepted a 'short English summary':

> Example D22: They were a bit shocked because they couldn't respond. They didn't know the language and they were locked into a philosophical position of accepting Indigenous knowledge. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

Recognising that the structural power to refuse or fail the essay in another language contravened the educational objectives of the program, the lecturers changed their behaviour and expectations. Dr Yunupingu explains that this was necessary so that non-Indigenous educators could identify with the experience of children attempting to learn in a foreign language and alien cultural context. Reversing positions exposes barriers to learning and the harmful impact when learners' own language and

knowledge are assumed deficient, through presumptions of superiority of western behaviour, values, credentials and knowledge.

D23: While the above example suggests tension between two cultural fronts, Dr Yunupingu refers to the Deakin [University]-Batchelor [Institute of Indigenous Teacher Education] Aboriginal Education Program (DBATE) program's use of action research and case studies. This is a collaborative engagement of Double Power which served to bring two cultures together:

> Example D23: Deakin's attitude appealed to me, particularly their action research, case study approach, which opened up for me at that time different angles on education and freedom of education. (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

Action research allows participants insights into one another's culture and standpoints. It considers the possibility that risks and harms are present and investigates them dialogically through bringing different perspectives and approaches together. The DBATE partnership graduated 25 First Nations teachers in three years, whose collective scholarship and pride still influences remote schools across the NT. The recognition and facilitation of Double Power as an organising principle and tools such as action research and critical pedagogies can support non-Indigenous teaching staff to see how First Nations cultures operate to support learning through principles such as relationality and differences in use of space which can make subtle adjustments to the way power is deployed in school settings.

D24: Lastly Dr Yunupingu explains how he brought two knowledge systems together through the role of interpreter/translator of knowledge literacies.

> Example D24: I worked with the elders, writing down their ideas. I then negotiated the elders' ideas into a form that the Western education system could understand… we had to be able to put our ideas their way (M. Yunupingu, 1999).

This example underscores the value of having people who are familiar with and at ease in both cultures. Non-Indigenous teachers who do not have long interactive experience and reciprocal responsibilities in both cultures are at a disadvantage. First Nations people who are valued in their communities for their ability to navigate and lead in two worlds are crucial to fulfil this role of interpreting the community, parents and young people's requirements for a healthy future into curriculum and pedagogy.

3.8 Article A8 KIARA RAHMAN (2013)

Belonging and learning to belong in school: the implications of the hidden curriculum for indigenous students

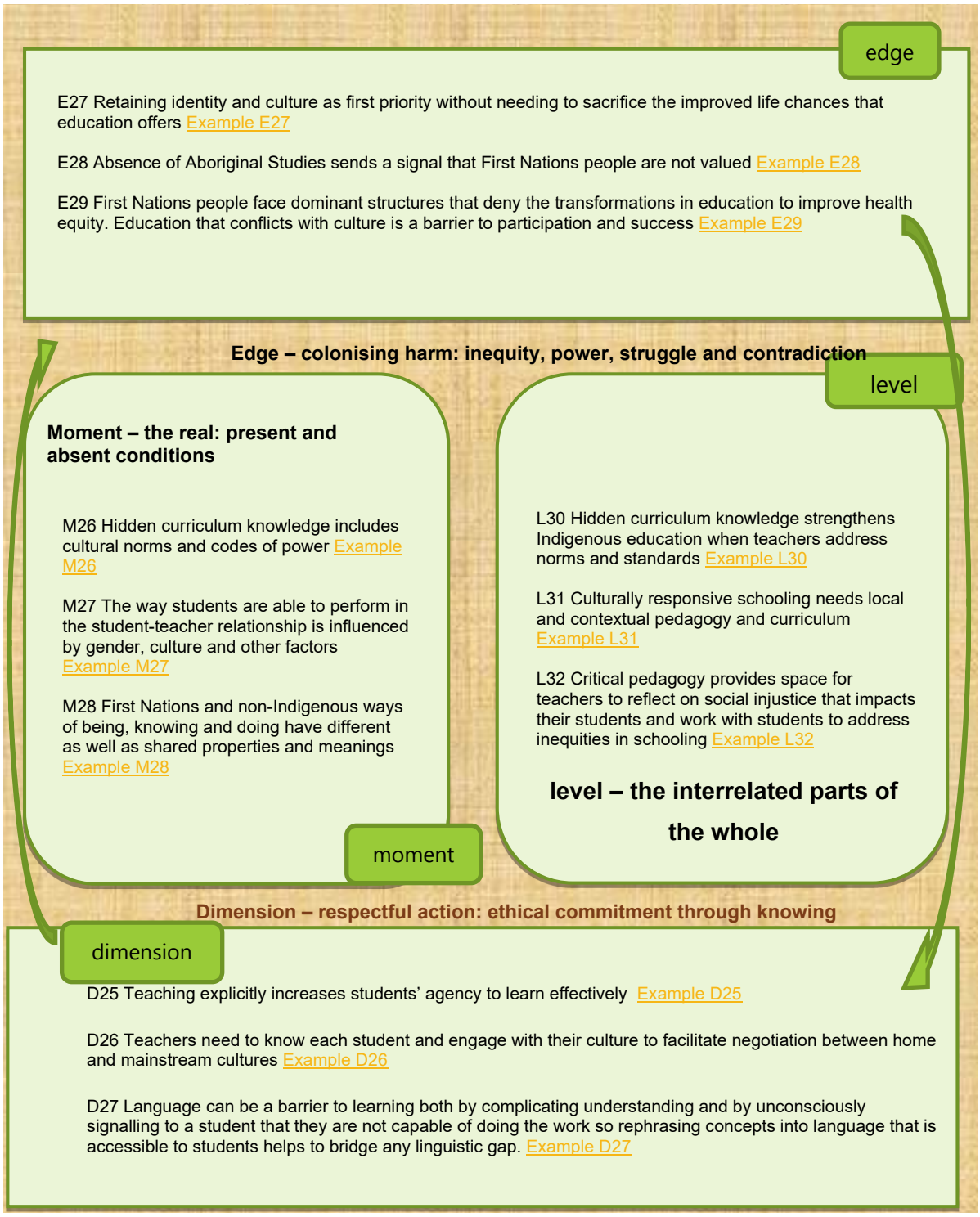


Figure 3.9 MELD Schema A8 Kiara Rahman 2013

3.8.1 Moment

M26: The hidden curriculum is a key theoretical concept in the sociology of education, that featured particularly in American, British and European research and was developed extensively in the last quarter of the previous century. Its focus is the culture of schools and how this culture is unevenly transmitted, within and between schools, contributing to substantial inequities in education and subsequent career pathways (Bain, 1985). This occurs tacitly through the codes of discipline enforced which are designed to shape behaviour and attitudes of students, as well as through the behaviours and attitudes of teachers (Corado et al., 2019) which signal to students how they are perceived and what types of classroom practice will be favourably or unfavourably regarded.

This article by Rahman suggests that an array of First Nations cultural norms influence communication and learning styles and relationship building. They sometimes come into conflict with school norms of behaviour and power that promote favourable study and class participation strategies and enforce discipline to make school life manageable for educators and administrators:

> Example M26: '… in Aboriginal families, children are often raised in ways that encourage self-reliance and responsibility; children often determine their own boundaries, and settle their own conflicts, relying less on adult intervention. Aboriginal children also 'may not follow the same rules of communication and politeness that most teachers come to expect' (Harrison, 2011, p. 11), which has obvious implications for their participation in school (Rahman, 2013).

The example shows, as with Article 7, mechanisms through which First Nations culture and worldview are sidelined in education policy. In this case, public policy is channelled obliquely through utilitarian expectations of compliance considered necessary for 'success' in the dominant culture but can be at odds with the earlier independence and self-regulation encouraged in First Nations culture.

M27: Not only are First Nations students disadvantaged if they are seen to be not fitting in on cultural grounds, other aspects of individual identity can also clash with a teacher's own identity and beliefs. For young people who are LGBTQIA, have a disability or who have mixed heritage reflecting more than one minority background, the 'codes, norms and values' of school life can be especially burdensome and difficult to navigate and comply with:

> Example M27: Ulriksen (2009, p. 519) presents a relevant argument that 'different students have different possibilities and restraints in the way that they can perform the position of being a student, depending on gender, cultural background, etc. and the codes, norms and values in the specific disciplinary culture' (Rahman, 2013).

The article explores a range of strategies that aim to mitigate these realities, that the hidden curriculum favours some students more than others, while students who are more 'like' their teacher have an advantage. Examination of the hidden curriculum reveals the complex environment in which public policy is construed and enacted, and that policy itself has both overt and hidden agendas which teachers both explicitly and implicitly navigate.

M28: Critical pedagogies and culturally responsive teaching aim to give students and teachers a voice and space to challenge oppression and to make explicit the behaviours that support effective learning. Several examples from the education literature are discussed, for example:

> Example M28: Bevan-Brown (2005) and Matthews, Howard and Perry (2003) agree that the inclusion of cultural content in classrooms not only develops Indigenous students' pride in their culture, but it allows for cultural abilities and talents to surface and be identified, and learning outcomes to be improved (Rahman, 2013).

Awareness of this social reality is important for devising compensatory strategies but also to prompt educators to reflect on how diversity might manifest in ways they do not perceive.

Rahman's article reveals how social structures influence what is acceptable to think and believe, and how this serves to reinforce the power of already advantaged groups as well as constraining the possibilities open to teachers and students. The reality that First Nations and non-Indigenous people have a different relationship with school highlights the need for the school system to provide curriculum and pedagogy that acknowledges and celebrates diverse strengths and assets of learners. Policy implementation needs to include overt strategies that anticipate, name and address structural discrimination.

3.8.2 Edge

E27: Unequal power relations are shown to create tensions in school through the hidden curriculum. The norms of power referred to above hamper flexibility. Rigid structures and conformity encourage students to fit a cultural mould. Rahman argues that despite the majority success of First Nations young people, there is a cost, where they may be forced into living contradictory values, to the extent of assuming an identity that may be at odds with their background, while for others, the pressures of managing and conforming are too great:

> Example E27: …if children are to have any chance of succeeding in their education, they must take on another identity – one that is academically attuned, and aligned with the values and practices of mainstream society, sometimes different from their own (Rahman, 2013).

Rahman states that this imposed identification with one culture over another is perceived as a threat to culture, is assimilatory and is counterproductive. As assimilation was an overt political strategy to manage and effectively erase First Nations identity and culture, an extension of the colonising project, the expectation that conformity with western values places young people unambiguously in a privileged social position is, irrespective of intention, likely to be felt as an imposition of power and a further extension of colonialism in neo-liberal guise.

E28: A deliberate path of excluding First Nations culture heightens risk and harm as young people pick up signals that they are not important to the majority non-Indigenous society:

> Example E28: The consequence of schools taking a deliberate path of excluding Aboriginal Studies is that it sends a clear message to students, their families, the school community and others, that the shared history of Indigenous Australians is not … valued… the hidden curriculum is also about the learning areas … that emphasise the knowledge that is or isn't important to school and to society in general (Rahman, 2013).

The paper cites evidence of failure to recognise cultural backgrounds resulting in First Nations students underachieving. Rahman argues that this aspect of the hidden curriculum is related to social class. First Nations people are held in a subordinate position in a pattern of exclusionary control of wealth and power.

E29: Rahman draws attention to the structural power imbalance that impedes First Nations peoples' influence to effect transformation and better alignment with First Nations needs and values:

> Example E29: Aboriginal people have not and still do not have sufficient power to control or change the cultural messages and dimensions of mainstream education. In recent years, Indigenous Australians have argued for their right to access an education that meets both their personal and cultural needs (Rahman, 2013)

Rahman argues that resistance to formal education is often seen as a cultural response to the failure of education to provide a safe and engaging place of learning for First Nations young people. Increasing tightening of standards through increased quality benchmarking, performance indicators and accreditation processes at all levels of education have removed much of the space for alternatives to a strictly linear approach to education. The levels of attainment are firmly anchored to professional and trade qualifications and university admission scores to boost economic productivity and global competitiveness.

3.8.3 Level

Addressing 'Level', the article describes how explicit teaching, learning contextualisation, cultural responsiveness, critical pedagogy and bi-cultural learning work within Indigenous education and the pathways to increase successful outcomes. Importantly, the above strategies do not operate in isolation but support each other as these examples show.

L30: Firstly, explicit teaching empowers students to understand what the learning processes are and what skills they need to navigate their schooling in a context where they are supported through culturally responsive and contextualised pedagogy (L1)

> Example L30: When Indigenous students acquire knowledge of school culture, they come to understand how the school operates in terms of the norms and standards, academic expectations, appropriate codes of conduct, and ways to negotiate their success … [but not] at the expense of their cultural identity, practices and worldviews (Rahman, 2013).

There are many First Nations students who perceive and adopt or adapt to the strategies that are passed on through the hidden curriculum as Rahman notes, however this can come at a cost to culture which poses a risk to their social connections and mental health.

L31: Culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) and bi-cultural learning enables learners to grow strong in both cultures, as Article 7 illustrated with the concept of 'Double Power':

> Example L31: Students who learn as part of a culturally responsive school environment are exposed to culturally supportive and compatible teaching methods… which build on the knowledge, skills and strengths which they bring to school. Students learn to become active and independent learners in school, and develop skills that enable them to think critically and analytically about information presented to them (Rahman, 2013).

This enables the realisation of what many First Nations parents and families hope for, that children can 'walk tall' in both cultures but are able to retain their identity and culture as the first priority' CRP challenges deficit stereotypes as First Nations students are able to access culturally informed and appropriate resources to excel in school, which supports students to challenge prevalent social attitudes. While education policy mandates inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in the curriculum, CRP as a policy strategy would support and defend teachers who already practice the values of CRP by addressing the benefits to all young people and a healthy society.

L32: Critical pedagogy aims to empower learners with the ability to critically read and understand the mechanisms of ideology in order to challenge and critique public policy, the ethical implications of different ideologies and policy positions and their influences on social health:

> Example L32: In particular, Delpit (1995) argues that teachers need to explicitly teach students the norms and codes of the 'culture of power', so that the students, who are not part of the dominant culture, are able to learn and acquire the necessary skills to negotiate the culture when they choose to do so (Rahman, 2013).

A critical stance can engage First Nations and non-Indigenous students together weighing up the costs of an inequitable and divided society as well as who really benefits from injustice.

3.8.4 Dimension

This article on the hidden curriculum shows that teachers can intervene and make a difference to First Nations students, through a variety of pedagogical approaches, making learning explicit, critical, bicultural and culturally responsive.

D25: Explicit pedagogy involves scaffolding learning, using deconstruction and reconstruction (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009).

> Example D25: Rahman (2010b, p. 96) explained that, …[some students] said that their learning was enhanced when their teachers broke the learning tasks into small steps; talking through and explaining work repeatedly', using a variety of teaching methods, also 'showing students methods of organizing and remembering information' (Rahman, 2013).

This act of agency on the part of teachers, increases students' control and ownership of learning. It also helps to address the deficit myth by highlighting the hidden curriculum as a source of cultural bias that can disadvantage First Nations learners.

D26: In addition to making mainstream norms and codes explicit, teachers need a good understanding of each student's background. This supports teachers to assess what types of support might be relevant to the student and counter the tendency to revert to stereotyped assumptions. The lack of policy levers to ensure that First Nations languages and literacy and literature are readily available and required within the curriculum reduces opportunities for First Nations young people to remain connected to their culture and identity and their capacity to advocate their position.

> Example D26: Children need opportunities in school that allow them to grow in both their primary culture as well as the dominant culture, and to learn skills that enable them to negotiate between their home culture and the majority culture (Rahman, 2013).

. Bi-cultural learning adds the advantage of protecting and validating First Nations identity, which strengthens links between school and home, encouraging stronger family and community relationships.

D27: Teachers also need to be mindful of language and stylistic differences where their cultural and social backgrounds differ from mainstream as Rahman demonstrated from her own published findings (see Article 5):

> Example D27: He [the teacher] makes it easier for me to understand. Like when the teachers give us the assignment sheet and the criteria that have to be in it, I just look at it and I'm like 'Oh, I can't do it'. But he makes it sort of my language, I suppose. . . (Rahman, 2013).

Unfamiliar language not only creates a barrier to understanding but can feed into self-doubt and deficit stereotypes, undermining students' self-confidence. Contextualising teaching to meet the students' own language and concepts also helps to demystify the hidden curriculum.

The hidden curriculum is one way that First Nations students can experience frustration with apparently contradictory messages and behaviours. In some cases, those behaviours actively exclude young people through subtle forms of racism, that send the message that they don't belong. This creates a power differential, which can lead to disengagement of students or in some contexts may be a catalyst for change. Policy shift is needed to facilitate more critical and bicultural education that provide this context, creating awareness of the source of dysfunctional school culture and challenge it. However, this runs counter to the short-term interests of governments and politicians who rely on divisiveness and allegiances based on personal interest for their political survival

3.9 Article A9 MELITTA HOGARTH (2017)

Speaking back to the deficit discourses: a theoretical and methodological approach

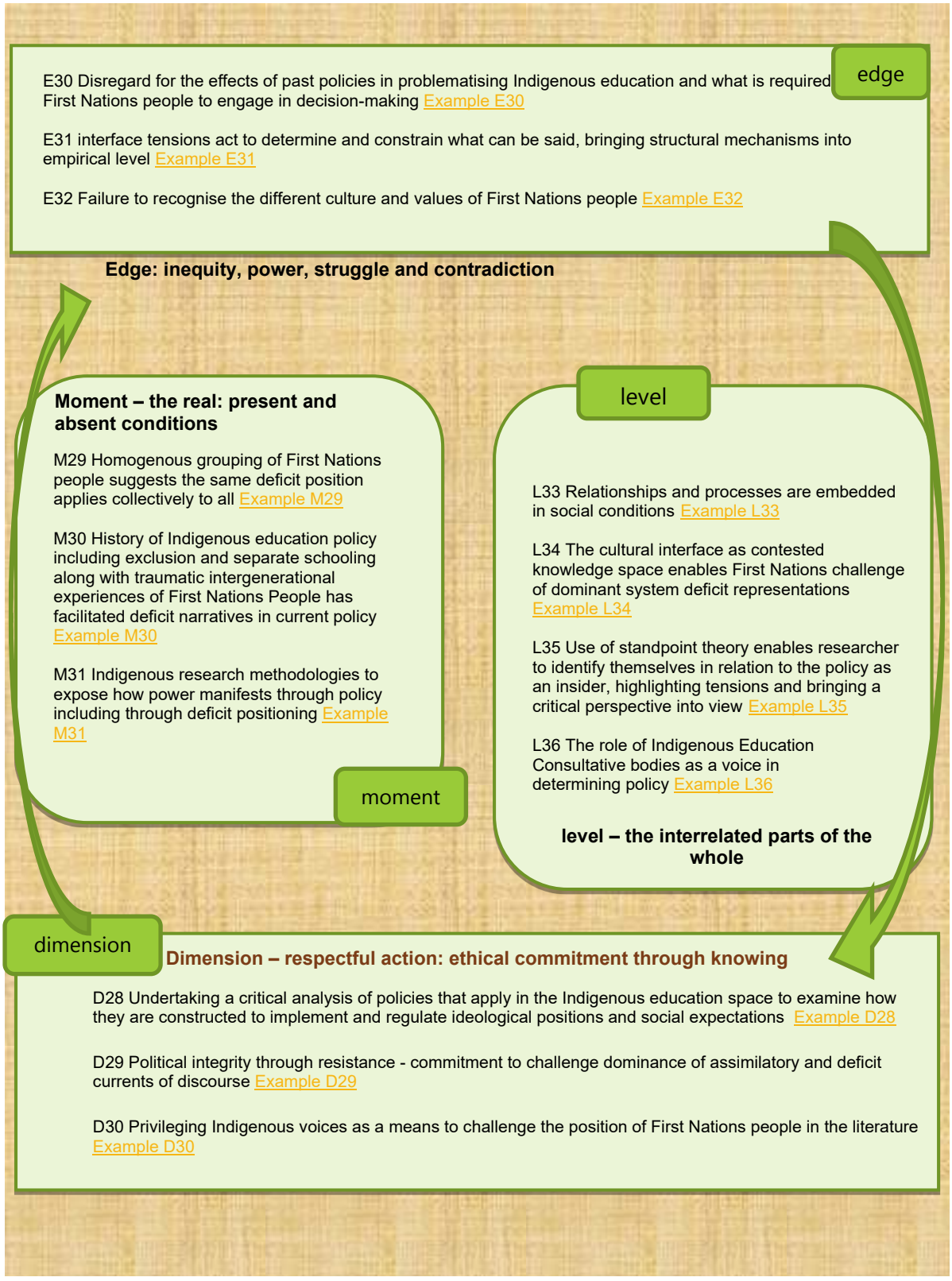


Figure 3.10 MELD Schema detail A9Melitta Hogarth 2017

3.9.1 **Moment**

The use of Indigenous Critical Discourse Analysis in Melitta Hogarth's research explores the layered nature of policy and the location of policy discourse between the macro policy setting and the micro level interaction between individuals and policy.

M29: Melitta Hogarth's research found that the gap in education outcomes as construed in the 2010 to 2014 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan created a false binary that made First Nations people the problem.:

> Example M29: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have been placed within a homogenous grouping whereby the statement alludes that…[they] do not understand the necessity to gain an education or to participate in wider Australian society. This is because the statement lacks reference to 'some', 'most' or 'a few'… there is an assumption made that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders lack the education to contribute to their child's learning (Hogarth, 2017).

By representing First Nations people as homogenous, ignoring diverse values, norms and aspirations, the significant percentage of First Nations young people doing well at school are overlooked. This attitude supports deficit thinking and undermines the capabilities and achievements of a substantial proportion of First Nations people who excel in their professions.

M30: Another underpinning reality of Indigenous education policy is its failure to critically interrogate its own historical roots in colonialism and defunct deficit models. For much of the last 240 years, First Nations peoples were excluded from schools based on their race and isolated from the growing European mainstream. Melitta Hogarth argues that this history and the ensuing discontinuity of Indigenous agency has contributed to inequality and injustice. The structures that oppressed first Nations people in the past have been perpetuated through the self-reinforcing circularity of deficit discourse.

> Example M30: Previous policy and reform implemented by past governments greatly influences the engagement and/or disengagement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students within the education setting (Gray and Beresford 2008) and, therefore, further exacerbates the limited pool … of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to be [who are] in the position to contribute at all levels of decision-making (Hogarth, 2017).

When thought of in terms of macro, meso and macro policy environments, Indigenous education policy seems to have failed to articulate what exists in terms of opportunities and barriers to Indigenous progression in the education professional stream in terms of structural supports, self-determination and culture change at the macro-level, which would facilitate effective identification of

changes required at the meso-level and a detailed and funded bilateral plan (Indigenous and non-Indigenous leadership) for how the change will be achieved, that would result in more First Nations staff and an altered context for Indigenous education success at the micro-level of classroom interaction. At the micro level However, this reflects the process whereby policy is attempting to solve a problem for mainstream Australia, which is the need to fix a perceived deficit in Indigenous people, rather than addressing the social milieu that fosters division and leads to inequity.

M31: Melitta's use of Indigenous Critical Discourse Analysis from an insider First Nations standpoint acts to bring this normalised inequity through deficit positioning to the surface. Through Melitta's First Nations voice, the research highlights crucial silences and absences in the policy such as the failure to realise a commitment to Indigenous input at every level:

> Example M31: The [theoretical] framework enables researchers to identify the deficit discourses in the texts and, in turn, challenge how language has been used to maintain the accepted social 'norm' whereby "disparity in the educational outcomes … is 'normal' [while] incremental gains are acceptable" (MCEETYA 2006, p. 4) In doing so, the approach rejects the notion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as victims… [and] contests the power of the coloniser… (Hogarth, 2017).

The author describes how western methodologies were combined with Indigenous standpoint theory to investigate how discourses of power constrain possibilities through policy. Speaking from her standpoint as a First Nations person, she reveals how the policy is deficient in its failure to represent the interests of First Nations people as equal citizens, rather positioning their citizenship as incomplete, aspirational and contingent, which in turn places responsibility for the gap in educational achievement to be inevitable and its resolution dependent on the efforts of First Nations people to subscribe to western values, rather than to address the prevalence of colonising misconceptions in society through the vehicle of education policy.

3.9.2 **Edge**

E30: While policy has the effect of maintaining power structures it is also a dynamic area intended to stimulate systemic change. Policy action plans are time limited and intended to progress an area of policy over a specified length of time. One form of internal contradiction is when the policy implicates reforms at one policy level while ignoring mechanisms at a higher level. The policy focusses on the gap in educational outcomes as if it were able to be solved at the school level rather than addressing broader social factors that have generated the inequity. An example is the overreliance on change at the school workforce level with higher proportions of First Nations teachers. Yet graduation and retention of First Nations teachers is not occurring to the level required in the policy, given ongoing issues of systemic racism and employment barriers.

> Example E30: A paradox is identified here. While the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan 2010–2014 advocates for Indigenous peoples to be in leadership positions, the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers within the workforce is limited (MATSITI 2014). This is despite the call by Hughes and Willmot (1982) for a thousand Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers by 1990 (Hogarth, 2017).

Internal contradictions such as these provoke challenge and resistance. Indigenous Critical Discourse Analysis has revealed these discrepancies and refocussed attention on the wider social and cultural mechanisms hindering school progress in closing the gap. Research is a means of resistance against the embedded and inherited systemic biases that have continued to result in minimal progress for a substantial, but mostly misplaced effort.

E31: A further means of deflecting attention from the real causes of social injustice is through the role of discourse to shape what cannot be said, presenting a 'purely positive or ontologically monovalent' (Bhaskar, 1993) account of the policy problem, meaning it considers only what can be empirically verified. Any failure to gain traction appears as further evidence that the deficit is correctly located within the First Nations population.

> Example E31: This interpretation of discourse, as Luke (2002, p.99) states, provides "an understanding of the centrality of language, text and discourse in the constitution of not just human subjectivity and social relations, but also social control and surveillance" (Hogarth, 2017).

This logic serves to legitimise the harms committed against Indigenous peoples through colonisation globally. It deflects attention from the calls of First Nations peoples for land rights and political restitution. Discourses of shared national interest position demands for justice from the margins as threatening to national security and prosperity, exposing the contrast between policy rhetoric and social reality.

E32: The article, in drawing attention to an underlying deficit discourse in Indigenous education policy, exposes the narrow alignment of academic success in the western school system with adherence to dominant culture and values as discussed in previous articles. Hogarth compares this with the historical policy of assimilation:

> Example E32: '… [The] Australian Government in collaboration with education providers is to promote the cross-cultural value of formal education … to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander parents and families (p. 14). That is, they are to actively advocate the coloniser's values … There are parallels here to the sentiments shared within the policy of assimilation (Hogarth, 2017).

Melitta's reference to 'the coloniser's values' draws attention to the hidden assimilatory intent behind the government's assumption that attaining formal education is a 'cross-cultural value', echoing past overt assimilation policies. She suggests the opposite inference is created, that formal education cannot be an aspiration when it potentially undermines First Nations culture and values.

3.9.3 **Level**

L33: Level, the aspect of analysis concerned with interactivity of people with each other and resources is in this instance about the interactions at the micro (personal) – meso (institutional) - and macro (structural/ ideological) levels in which policy is created and translated and which underlie its purpose. These are represented graphically in an intricate diagram (Figure 3.11) - a wheel with micro level factors in an inner circle working outwards to macro level factors. At the centre of the diagram depicting Indigenous critical discourse analysis, is the text and its use of metaphor, binarisms, declarative statements, euphemisms and expressive and relational modalities. Resistance as emancipatory imperative, Indigenous standpoint theory, political integrity and privileging Indigenous voice are the interactive facets of the methodology from which the discourse is analysed and critiqued at all three levels. The meso ring is in two parts. At the bottom of the meso level are social processes and practices and ideologies that are instantiated in the policy. In the upper half are the people, processes, performances, literary medium and economic drivers that interact with these processes and give it form. Policy, Society, Economy and Culture are in the top half of the macro circle: the conditions that in turn, condition and constrain the meso level. At the bottom of the wheel, the macro ring shows aspects of Edge that represent the contested territory of Edge: politics, social justice, deficit discourse, marginalisation resides here. L33 depicts the wider social and political conditions and the problematisations created through discourse to which policy seeks to respond (reproduced here with permission from the author).

Example L33: A conceptual overview of Indigenous Critical Discourse Analysis (Hogarth, 2017, p. 25)

Reproduced with permission from the author.

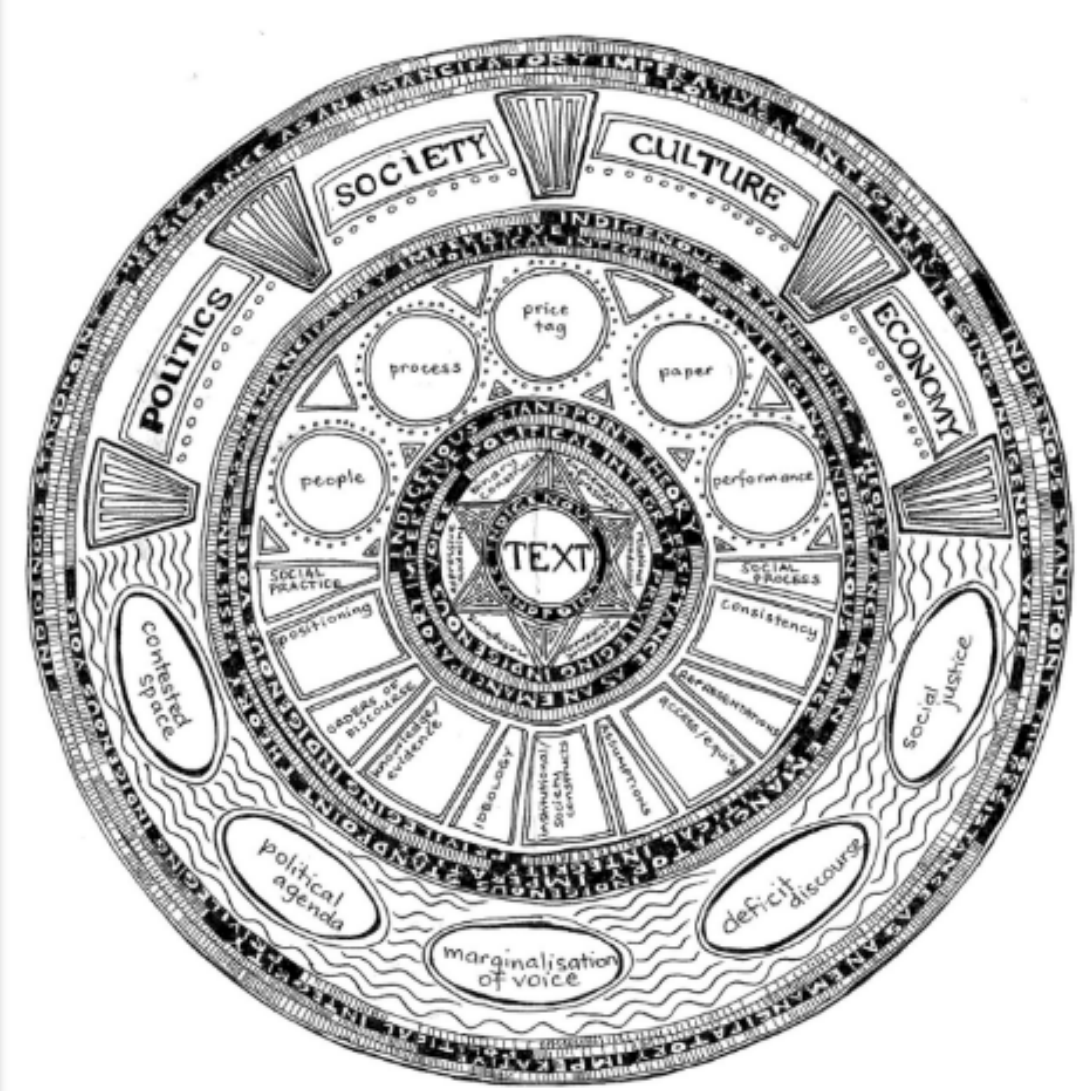


Fig. 1 A conceptual overview of Indigenous Critical Discourse Analysis (Hogarth 2016). *Source*© Melitta Hogarth (2016)

Figure 3.11 A conceptual overview of Indigenous Critical Discourse Analysis

L34: Melitta Hogarth questions a policy assumption that teachers can meaningfully engage with First Nations communities by espousing the value of education, when there is a warranted history of mistrust. She highlights a clear power differential between parents with little power and teacher who are vested with authority:

> Example L34: Further contradiction is identified in the statement that [promoting the value of cross-cultural education to First Nations families] will help to create partnerships (MCEECDYA 2011, p. 14). The assumption taken by Government … ignores the positioning of Indigenous peoples within the discourses. …

> the inequitable social positioning contradicts the Government's objectives of authentic and meaningful partnerships (Hogarth, 2017).

Establishing authentic partnerships requires both a shift of power and a determined effort to build trust. Hogarth contends that the powers embedded in Indigenous education are diminished when these connections to community and external sources of cultural and social support are absent or one-sided.

L35: As a teacher – academic – researcher, Hogarth has used her insider position to examine Indigenous education from her insider position using Nakata's Cultural Interface Theory, contesting the apparent truths implied in the policy and illuminating powers and constitutive elements of the Indigenous education that discourse renders invisible:

> Example L35: By personalising the methodology, the research itself becomes a reflection of the researcher, illustrating their position and world view… it enables me to speak back to the deficit discourses…it proves a means to present an Indigenous standpoint on how policy positions …students' educational attainment. (Hogarth, 2017)

Her research is therefore a contribution to the policy process, exposing gaps and weaknesses that need attention. By 'speak[ing] back to the deficit discourse' from an Indigenous standpoint the whole basis of policy is portrayed in a different light. Indigenous education policy has continued to develop along a colonising fault line that fails to address the resetting of relationships and social positioning that characterises the gap.

L36: The last aspect of the article I highlight in the 'Level' column is the role of Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups mentioned in the article. These groups are comprised of First Nations people from within the education system and the surrounding communities and have been a significant force in highlighting inequity and bringing an Indigenous lens to policy.

First funded as part of Labour Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's radical reforms only a few years after the watershed 1967 referendum the State and Territory based AECGs have been a consistent force in totalising and reinforcing Indigenous education: However, this voice has been confined:

> Example L36: After the referendum, the election of the then Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam and his actions to review educational disadvantage through the formation of the Schools Commission ensured the stark disparities [in Indigenous education] could no longer be ignored. … [they] encouraged the formation of an Aboriginal Consultative Group to specifically present the educational 'disadvantage' experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students' (Hogarth, 2017)

Rather than seeking a Consultative Group that could speak and advocate for the rights of First Nations young people to learn about and in their own culture and languages, the role of the AECG was presented as a response to a deficit problem, which has continued the theme of disadvantage and deficit into subsequent iterations of policy.

3.9.4 **Dimension**

D28: Utilising Professor Lester-Irabinna Rigney's Indigenist Research Principles, Professor Martin Nakata's Cultural Interface theory and Indigenous Standpoint Theory, Melitta Hogarth has demonstrated how agency or praxis can be enacted through critical analysis of education policy. The testing of assumptions against social, political, cultural and economic realities reveals the absences that need to be attended to and addressed. Teachers can gain a deeper understanding of how First Nations people are collectively positioned by reflecting on and challenging assumptions and deficit language in the prevailing Indigenous education policy.

> Example D28: By drawing on both Indigenous and Western methodologies, theorising and articulating Indigenous and non-Indigenous theories further develops understanding of how research itself can be used proactively to speak back to the deficit discourses, to challenge the societal norms and to contribute to the struggle for self-determination (Hogarth, 2017).

Agency expressed through selection of a critical and emancipatory research methodology, exposes underlying reasons for apparent policy failure, for example through use of deconstruction and reconstruction as modelled by Hogarth.

D29: Challenging aspects of policy that create inconsistencies and loopholes is a form of resistance. The same principle applies to teachers and other school staff who oppose oppression of First Nations people:

> Example D29: The principle Political Integrity acknowledges the research of non-Indigenous academics who have contributed to the Indigenous struggle for self-determination (Hogarth, 2017).

By taking a stand, teachers express solidarity, build credence and steps toward the type of community connections that as the Education Plan claimed, are necessary for success. A common purpose in exposing and tackling injustice becomes the goal, rather than extolling the virtues of a western education. Hogarth asserts that resistance is an emancipatory imperative, citing First Nations scholar Lester Irabinna Rigney.

D30: A third area in which non-Indigenous educators can act to enhance an Indigenous education space is by listening to, reading and incorporating Indigenous voice.

Example D30: Research conducted by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics on Indigenous issues provides a means to privilege Indigenous voice. Further to this, the use of an Indigenous research methodology promotes the use of research conducted by other Indigenous researchers and allows for circumstances whereby the ''dominance of Western-oriented discourse'' (Rigney 2006, p. 45) is challenged (Hogarth, 2017).

In the area of policy, Hogarth maintains that Indigenous researchers challenge the dominance of western discourse and introduce important perspectives. Non-Indigenous people further disseminate these perspectives, signifying their importance in professional and academic practice.

By situating Indigenous education policy in its historical context and considering the intentions and assumptions that surround it, Hogarth has revealed limitations of the policy in relation to its stated aims and therefore its potential effectiveness. Bringing this awareness to the Indigenous education learning space is important in seeking to shift deficit narratives. Drawing attention to the documented experience and interpretations of policy by First Nations people helps to rescript and reorient the Closing the Gap strategy to an urgent matter of redress for harmful historical and continuing injustice.

3.10 Article A10 JESSA ROGERS (2018)

Teaching the Teachers: Re-educating Australian Teachers in Indigenous Education

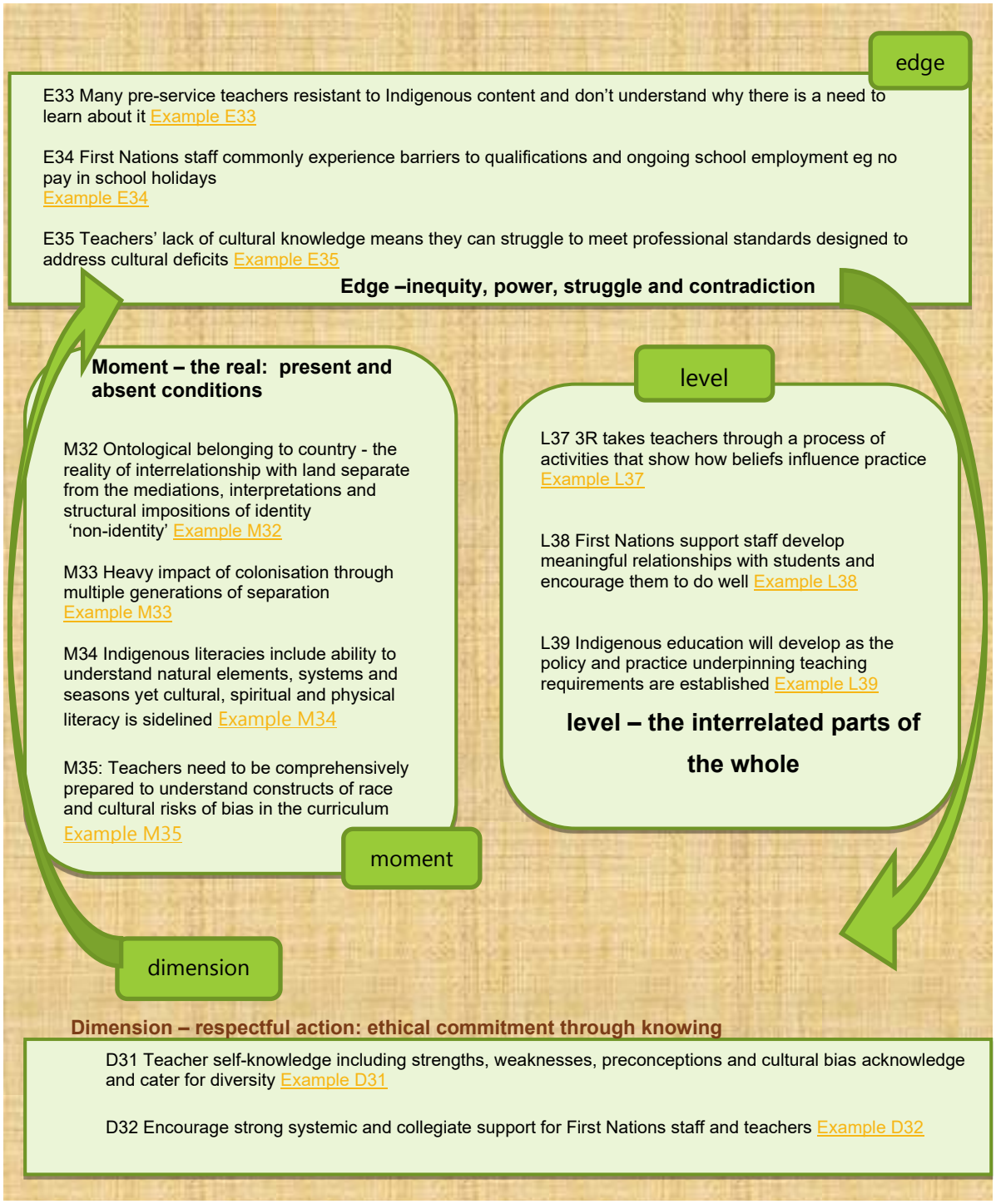


Figure 3.12 MELD Schema Detail A10 Jessa Rogers 2018

3.10.1 Moment

M32: Jessa Rogers views First Nations peoples' organic link to land as 'ontological', claiming that at the intransitive level of the real (Rogers, 2018), First Nations people are inextricably connected to the country that nourishes and also relies on them and that this is a difference from non-Indigenous people

> Example M32:" Our relation to land, what I call ontological belonging, is omnipresent" (Moreton Robinson, 2003, p. 24). This is different to traditional or stereotypical beliefs about Aboriginal identity, connection to country or Indigenous belonging, incorporating all Indigenous people who have connection through blood to country in Australia. (Rogers, 2018)

This statement makes a comment on the Indigenous relationship to land as more than a construct or way of understanding the world but as a matter of truth. It recognises that there are structural aspects to the way First Nations people have traditionally lived on and practiced care and management of land which go beyond pragmatism and spiritual beliefs and represent a way of being that is embedded in place and the interrelationships of all elements of the environment.

M33: Rogers shares from her own experience the effects of broken lineage due to the stolen generation removal of children and reflects on how many students are also affected by this impact on their knowledge of their family history and connections to Country:

> Example M33: Many Indigenous students today are from families such as mine, with broken and unknown parts of their genealogy, culture and histories. I have no lived experience on my own Aboriginal country. This does not affect my sovereignty as an Indigenous woman, and my Aboriginality is the identity I have always proudly claimed since we met my birth Grandmother (Rogers, 2018).

This reality prefigures the harm of challenging Aboriginality because not all the knowledge of connections and traditions is present. This highlights transfactual nature of past acts of removal and other functions of colonisation that occurred in the past, but their harmful impacts are felt by First Nations young people today and highlights the importance of history.

M34: The concept of literacy as a means of reading and writing the dominant language as demonstrated previously in this chapter is ignores the power of literacy to transmit and express culture and denies the reality of cultural, spiritual and physical literacies such as capacity to weave, sing and dance knowledge from natural systems and to read signs of nature to manage ecological systems.

> Example M34: For Australian Indigenous peoples, our literacies (yarning, stories, song, carving, weaving, painting and languages) have for many years been considered inferior to the 'real' business of education in this country…Australian schooling has often continued to push cultural, spiritual and physical aspects of literacy aside, and as a result intellectual literacy is limited to the use of English language only. (Rogers, 2018)

Rogers argues that First Nations literacies are not valued as literacies are ideological and reflect power structures. The focus on English language as the sole measure of literacy attainment diminishes First Nations young peoples' means of self-expression through the forms of literacy and expression valued within their own social and cultural base, and undermines their capacity to make sense of the 'whole richness of one's self'. She maintains this has been 'devastating…both socially and academically' for First Nations people which teachers need to appreciate.

M35: The fourth element of reality shown in Rogers' article to impact First Nations learning and literacy is teacher preparedness which she argues is a significant success factor. Preparedness includes supporting learner teachers to understand how race is constructed, the purpose it serves, and the way society is structured to bestow privileges on select groups, historically white Europeans.

> Example M35: Taking teachers through a series of activities and self-reflections allows them to realise that western constructs of knowledge, education, literacy, culture and identity among others can influence teaching practice. (Rogers, 2018)

However, the lack of preparedness Rogers attributes to deficit portrayals of Aboriginal people which have dominated the education landscape to date, causing governments to overlook the shortcomings in teacher's cross-cultural repertoire. This lack also undermines the capacity for teachers to appreciate that Indigenous cultures reflect a rich educational heritage.

3.10.2 Edge

E33: In addition to lack of teacher preparation perpetuating the inequity of outcomes between First Nations and non-Indigenous school leavers, Rogers finds that many pre-service teachers resist learning about Indigenous content and do not appreciate there is a need for it.

> Example E33: Questions have been asked of me as a lecturer in this space including, why such content is necessary when we have never had it in the curriculum before; why Indigenous content should be included in subjects such as mathematics; and why all teachers should be forced to include Indigenous perspectives if they don't all teach Indigenous students? (Rogers, 2018)

The reluctance of teachers to engage, Rogers attributes partly to 'fear and resistance in the existing teaching workforce' meaning that education students inherit the professional norms of their past teachers and at the micro level align their personal interests with structured professional norms of whiteness. This refusal to see and address structural inequity and the potential for harm, if teachers are not able to recognise it in themselves, continually cascades risk to future generations of First Nations school students.

Unpacking this further, Rogers says the 'informal curriculum' is the way teachers select what is of value to teach Indigenous students based on their own understanding of knowledge and often pre-scripted expectations of student behaviour and learning ability. These are revealed through the way time allocation is preferenced and signalling of what is considered unimportant through non-verbal cues.

E34: Another structural vehicle for inequity identified by Rogers is the failure to recognise barriers to employment of First Nations teachers. While macro level policy asserts the need to increase First Nations teachers, at the meso level, budgetary considerations and the limited political influence of First Nations people combine to undermine Indigenous employment. At the micro- individual level, employment becomes an unattractive or unviable option for First Nations people when discrimination is too confronting and expectations to be everything to every First Nations student and family are too demanding.

> Example E34: Indigenous people face discrimination in their positions within the school system, and are often expected to deal with Indigenous students when teachers are unable, or unprepared. (Rogers, 2018)

Rogers highlights that First Nations employees are often in low paid casual employment with restricted hours, going unpaid over the long summer break. This structural discrimination along with the racialised expectations imposed on them as described in the above example, risk pushing First Nations staff to the margins which appears in a colonising reading of the whole school population to confirm the racist deficit portrayal of Indigenous people as yet to arrive and dependent on white competence.

E35: A third source of risk and harm identified is the absence of recognition of the assets First Nations young people bring to school:

> Example E35: The level of cultural ignorance towards Aboriginal intellectual and spiritual capital has led to many students being isolated in a system that was never built for them, and as a result, individual

> communities are being blamed for the 'failure' of Indigenous students in the school system. (Rogers, 2018)

As stated in 'Moment' above, and in Article 2, non-western literacies reflect First Nations modes of learning which are an important bridge to acquiring further literacies including language and numeracy skills. For this reason, teacher education which broadens understanding of diverse modes of literacy is important to be able to identify strengths and assist students to build on them.

3.10.3 Level

L37: The most significant messages in the article that suggest the type of education which can produce more equitable academic engagement and outcomes is the capacity for teachers to recognise their own cultural lenses and to have the skills for reflection. An example is the Respect, Relationships, Reconciliation (3R) framework is advocated by Rogers for its strength in facilitating self-reflection and identification:

> Example L37: It encourages preservice teachers to look at stereotyping, privilege, power and race as a social construct, … through a series of activities and self-reflections [it] allows them to realise that western constructs of knowledge, education, literacy, culture and identity among others can influence teaching practice. (Rogers, 2018)

Understanding one's 'internal self' is fundamental to teachers' appreciation of both what they focus on in the curriculum as well as how they teach, Rogers explains. She considers that for First Nations people, mind, body and spirit are often inseparable, but this is not a concept that many non-Indigenous people relate to, or at least, acknowledge professionally. As Article 3 suggested, spirit may be an overlooked factor in inspiring young people to find meaning and connect with learning on a deeply personal level. For teachers also, consideration of what spirit means in a learning encounter might be a source of courage and fresh insight in cross-cultural education.

L38: Also, a theme in previous articles, is the inclusion and important role of Indigenous staff, both their presence as teachers, support workers, leadership, administration and other roles in the school. In terms of intra-activity, as described by Dr M Yunupingu (A7) First Nations and non-Indigenous teachers working in partnership has crucial benefits. Jessa describes the More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative (MATSITI) with which she is involved:

> Example L38: If students and educators have the opportunity to work with an Indigenous educator, the learning appears to happen more naturally. … an increase in the number of Aboriginal teachers per school is critical to improving educational outcomes for Indigenous students…[while] the continued dedication of Indigenous support workers continues in schools.(Rogers, 2018)

MATSITI showed promising results in its five-year lifespan to 2016, a time in which Indigenous teacher numbers significantly increased. However Indigenous educators at all levels of employment are 'key to students feeling connected and welcomed'.

L39: The foundations of Indigenous education policy and practice are other crucial elements in increasing student success.

> Example L39: In the coming years, as policy and practice firm up around the requirements nationally of Australian teachers, Indigenous education will surely develop. In the interim courses developed to prepare teachers in meeting such standards can do little but help teachers to help themselves. (Rogers, 2018)

Despite setbacks described in the article, it is optimistic, pointing to self-awareness and openness to others as foundations for change. However, self-interest has proven to be a powerful motivator. Policy and recruitment and promotion practices that clearly align professional attainment and recognition with collaborative cross-cultural teaching skills may assist in attracting more ambitious and committed teachers to choose Indigenous education as a focus for career excellence.

3.10.4 Dimension

Lastly, Dimension captures indications of where non-Indigenous teachers can interject agency, as a catalyst for change toward greater equity and opportunity for First Nations young people.

D31: The first point is to facilitate the Indigenous education space that is described in this and the preceding ten articles, which features vibrant intra-actions between First Nations content, teaching methods, community, language and literacies as part of everyday learning.

As stated above, self-knowledge is identified as a critical factor in teaching success:

> Example D31: Being aware of our own preconceptions, biases, histories, worldviews, as well as weaknesses and strengths is essential if we ever hope to educate another (Rogers, 2018).

Given the substantial number of First Nations students who are opting out of school, there is a strong ethical motive to ensure teachers have this opportunity for learning and self-evaluation in pre-service years and have continuing support in the first few years of teaching.

D32: Working alongside in collegiality with First Nations staff valuing the opportunity to learn from them about their perspectives as an Indigenous educator, demonstrates respect for Indigenous knowledge signalling confidence towards First Nations students, parents and community.

> Example D32: Indigenous support is key to students feeling connected and welcomed in Australian schools (Partington,2002) . . . Indigenous Support Officers positively influence Indigenous students, by providing strong, supportive relationships encouraging students to work to their full potential . . .(Rogers, 2018).

Non-Indigenous teachers cannot always work alongside First Nations education staff but can take steps to work with them wherever possible, or other community leaders and volunteers. Canvassing parents and community members to find out whether they are aggrieved if there is a lack of support staff opens avenues to advocate for and with the community. Non-Indigenous teachers, as teachers for all students are in a privileged position to push for social change, working together as a profession to address inequities and social injustice.

Summary

The four articles in the public policy critique section provide micro- meso and macro level insights into the interaction between structure and agency. The concentration of power and authority through policy in the school system are highlighted. Dr M Yunupingu's Double Power articulates one Indigenous educator's effort and strategy to shift the balance of power by challenging the system to recognise the strength and power within the Yolngu cultural and social structures. Rahman's discussion of theory including hidden curriculum and the role of critical and culturally responsive pedagogies. She articulates the importance to First Nations student success of both explicitly teaching codes of behaviour and meaning in the school system and routinely incorporating First Nations history, pedagogies and culture in the curriculum. Melitta Hogarth's analysis of education policy examines Indigenous education policy critically, from an Indigenous standpoint, revealing the deficit thinking that pervades policy making, contributing to the whiteness of schools. Jessa Rogers' article provides further depth through her critique of teacher education and critical pedagogy as an important absence. Together this body of literature presents an Indigenous perspective of the education system's lacks and failures with regard to Indigenous education and the way neoliberal individualism continues to dominate policy to the detriment of Indigenous health equity.

3.11 Conclusion

The textual and graphical analysis of the expert knowledge of eight First Nations authors, has highlighted non-Indigenous attitudes and behaviours commonly encountered in schools. These are experienced as sources of colonising harm that demean and circumscribe the agency of First Nations young people. A synthesis of strategies and approaches is elucidated that are protective against and work to defuse these harms. The findings represent a critical appraisal of teachers' and the education

system's tendency to resist engaging with these protective strategies. It seems that education can only sporadically and sparsely respond to First Nations people's calling-out of systemic injustice. Crucially, the authors' and participants' diverse lived experience, feelings and determinations delineate First Nations Peoples' desire and expectation of a decolonising project. The data show a high level of congruity between themes and from them, a rich landscape of Indigenous education emerges. The space is contoured by the influence of history on First Nations people's encounters and activism in the school system, the varied positions and identities of First Nations young people; and a body of authentic knowledge, that is foundational to understanding perspectival and symbolic cultural differences. Collectively these insights name and defy colonial interpretation and definition of the Indigenous education space. However, the neo-liberal ideological machinery amplifies and legitimises racism and bigotry to new levels of symbolic and actual violence. The implications that this unstable and explosive dynamic has for equity and justice are considered in the following chapter, which represents the discussion of the research findings.

Chapter 4. Discussion

Introduction

The nature of colonising health harm in schools undermines the neo-liberal capitalist myth of meritocracy, that achievement in school is based on merit through the fair and equitable measure of talent and hard work, rather than social advantage (Mijs, 2016), while social inequity is similarly the effect of a system that rewards individual ability and effort (Mijs, 2021).. It is patently untrue to claim that 'we are all Australian [now]', as though the absorption of First Nations people into mainstream culture is a *fait accompli*. The interplay between structural determinants and the health and wellbeing of First Nations young people was revealed in Chapter 3 to be mediated by issues of culture and identity, both pan-Indigenous and within specifics of space-time and colonial relations. Addressing colonising harms therefore necessitates a shift in emphasis from a meritocratic rendering of success, to an identification of specific types of risk-transfer to First Nations young people in the school system, at both local and systemic levels. I consider micro or interpersonal operation of risk-transfer through the way young people become positioned as at-risk based on their Indigenous status and then caught in a cycle of low expectations and blame, and macro or systemic factors that permit risk-transfer as a societal norm through failure to acknowledge the historical harms of colonisation to young people's immediate wellbeing and future health prospects. The main proposition in this chapter is that it is possible to improve outcomes for First Nations young people in each setting, when context and content are simultaneously attended to. At a system-wide level part of the context that needs to change is a radical shift in present model of democracy away from libertarianism. While the possibilities and strategies to achieve radical transformation of our current system is out of scope, the review findings suggest that Indigenous Knowledge systems (IKS) provide important insights into the logic of colonisation and can assist in understanding how the current system is dehumanising and anti-intellectual.

The Discussion chapter is the part of the doctoral thesis which shakes out and gathers productive knowledge from the findings and makes an original contribution to knowledge on the research topic. The new insights must be transferrable into improving social health awareness that can inform social health praxis in the education sector. The findings provide ambit for the professions to pursue decolonising strategies with greater insight into why they work; and to regroup and reimagine alternative pedagogical models that are more flexible, more truthful, more inclusive of First Nations people. These findings also amplify a voice that within the education system struggles to be heard, where calling out racism and bigotry is regarded as politicising an apolitical space. In short, in the

current economic and political situation, wide-scale decolonising transformation of the type presaged in the findings seems increasingly unlikely, yet this only adds to the urgency of the topic.

Chapter 4 is presented in two parts. Part 1 discusses clusters of findings, organised according to their position, again within drawing on the MELD dialectic. The presentation and description of each diagram was checked and refined in discussion with an Expert Panel member, Louise, a First Nations woman. Having personal life-long experience as a former student at school and tertiary levels and as mother and grandmother, the findings represented well known terrain. Louise's feedback was invaluable in checking and refining my assumptions. Expert Panel feedback from knowledgeable and experienced First Nations people, led to changes in wording and placement of some data in this section, indicated by capital letters in the 18 diagrams. The second part of the chapter draws these 18 clusters further into six themes. These are the critical points of learning and understanding that support a decolonising approach to education; and a critique of the system that initiated and continues to wrench profit from colonisation in the first place.

PART 1 Learning from the findings

The MELD framework used in the preceding chapter was based on illustrations and explications of the four vantage points that underpin DCR's process of social transformation. Bhaskar's belief in innate goodness, as though humans are endowed with a moral compass that, in the absence of interference will steer us to an ethical North Pole, is contested philosophical ground. It is ably challenged by UR's exposure of the human psyche as perpetually restless and earnestly defending the existing order, irrespective of moral beliefs and empathy. Ethics are not a universal concept but are grounded in the symbolic order we readily commit to in order to survive. The transformative model that MELD describes is useful for its commitment to 'absenting absence (where an absence is an ill or harm)'. If we accept Freire's reasoning that education is a process of personal and collective growth and if we are collectively diminished by inequity, then a model of education that can promote such change is necessary. Bhaskar's DCR makes a compelling case that absence and negativity are logically prior to presence and positivity. It is possible to conceive and work towards previously and currently non-existent desired states through human agency, social and structural transformation, for example zero carbon emissions across all countries in 30 years' time. However, UR points to the limited capacity for agents to challenge the status quo given the lack of a visible and believable alternative. Hence, we witness scepticism in industries reliant on carbon-based fuels, that this target can be accompanied by secure employment and personal wealth. There is little confidence that governments can reverse the continuing erosion of the social and the public good.

Decolonisation provides a theoretical frame through which non-Indigenous people can conceptualise harm beyond their own personal safety and confront the likelihood of continuing inequity without a radical transformation toward a shared vision of the social. However, as critical realists acknowledge, social conditions are historically shaped so there is a lag between the effort invested in change and the elaboration of structures toward social transformation (Archer, 2020, p. 142).

Consistent with the MELD model, searching and coding the data to produce the findings in Chapter 3 involved attending to critical absences and negatives as causally important and demanding of redress.

Part 1 draws together findings from the dataset into the four moments of the MELD dialectical model Collectively, the articles transcend individual differences to cohere a picture of school education and the structural deficits arising from its grounding in Australia's colonial and racial history. This permitted a structure within which to share the findings with an Expert Panel member that transcended the ten review articles. It demonstrates how I identified meaning and message from First Nations people's accounts of social injustice that inform the theoretical discussion. I start with consideration of the Lacanian symbolic order in the western, if not global context, that UR reveals in post-modernity to be grossly disfigured and dysfunctional. The symbolic order is the language and symbolic representations that support human communication and lay the basis of culture. It is the systems and institutions which govern society and individuals and structure our relationships. In western modernity and post-modernity the symbolic order is firmly distanced from nature, whereas Indigenous Knowledge does not engender a separation of people from place, but integrates them, in a triangulation of physical, human and sacred worlds (D. Foley, 2003). In Indigenous Knowledges, language collectively represents human, geographical and sacred/spiritual features, as they are entwined in First Nations philosophy (Dodson, 2003). While this is impossible to convey in an English worldview and language adequately, acclaimed First Nations leader, Yawuru man Professor Mick Dodson explains it as follows:

> In English at least, the words "land" and "earth" have become barren, and have all too often been stripped down to signify little more than an exploitable resource. In an indigenous language, the one word may mean country, hearth, everlasting home, totem, place, life source, spirit center and much more. When I speak of the earth, I may also be speaking of my shoulder or side, of my grandmother or brother. Removed from our lands, we are literally removed from ourselves (Dodson, 2003, p. 298).

The elaborate inclusion of many meanings on one word is an example of symbolic efficiency that is quite different from contemporary European literacies, an important point that I will return to in

greater depth. For now, I introduce the use of metaphor to elaborate on the subtle distinctions of the four moments of MELD as I have used them in the following discussion.

The practice of referring to a process of intellectual engagement and growth metaphorically as a 'journey' is well established across cultures. As alluded to in the introduction, journey metaphors in Anglo-European literature tend to emphasise a starting point and a goal, whereas according to an Indigenous journey metaphor for learning, the outcomes are along the way and therefore, the journey is the outcome (Yunkaporta, 2009, p. 94). A metaphor for First Nations young people's engagement with education is described by Sara Loynes, in an article she co-authored with prominent First Nations scholars (Lowe et al., 2014). Sara introduced herself then as an 'academically-minded [secondary] student' of Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraay and English descent'. She drew on a story from her culture to explain a theory of learning. The river represents students who 'will one day be the rain that influences the landscape we live in':

> As the land would direct the movement of the river, creating paths to the sea, the role of the curriculum is to provide guidance for students' present and future aspirations (Lowe et al., 2014)

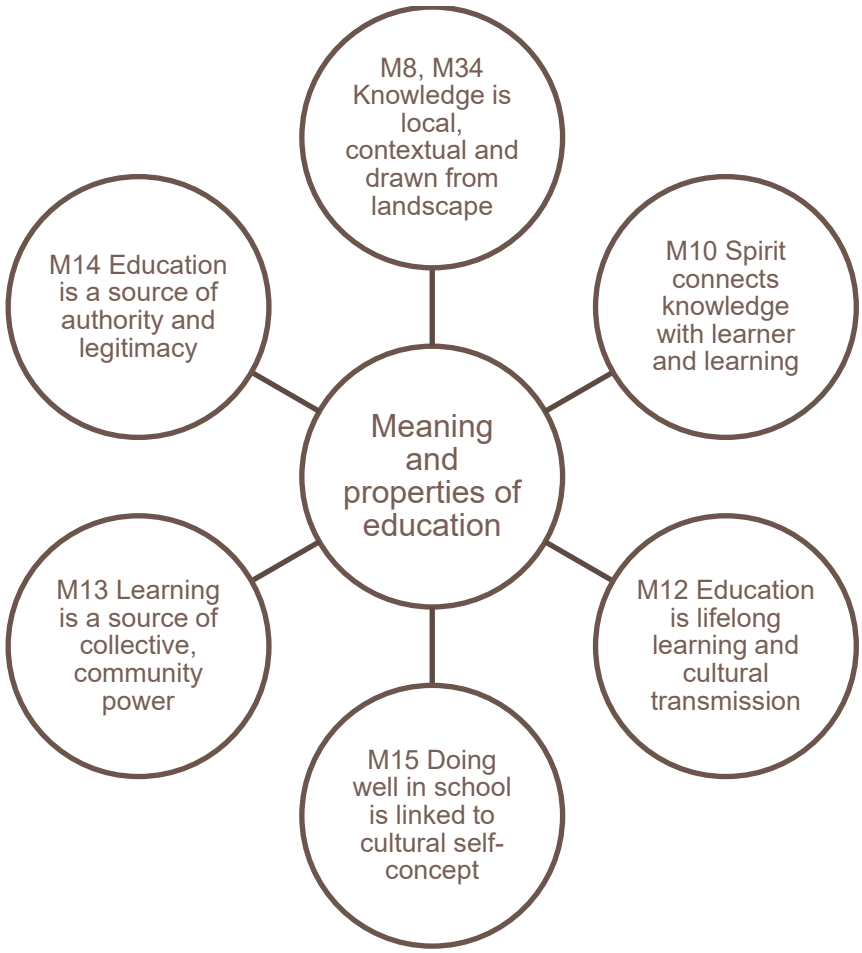
The landscape represents the meso level of structure which is the school system, which is interactively shaped by the agency of the river, the students. Curriculum and policy, as river banks, structure formal learning while policy/decision makers are represented through mountains (Lowe et al., 2014). Racism and deficit positioning reveal these riverbanks as constraints on equity and self-determination:

> Some students never overpower those banks due to externally imposed mindsets and opinions regarding the capacity of Indigenous students in Year 11 and 12. (Lowe et al., 2014)

My reading of this metaphor is that the neoliberal and colonial symbolic order disregards First Nations culture. I have no access to this river story, the meanings and knowledge that it conveys to Gamilaraay/ Yuwaalaraay people its owners, except to read Sara Loynes' application in this article. However, it illustrates the point that the journey metaphor is about process rather than destination. When education is authentic and culturally responsive, First Nations knowledge-holders sustain an Indigenous education framework, introducing and implementing content, reminding the settler teacher, assisting the student to navigate unfamiliar terrain, defining success in culturally-laden terms. Yet the white teacher is seen as the decision maker, seeing themselves as the knower, reinforcing the discourses of meritocracy and white privilege (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004).

4.1 1M Matrix of the macro-economic and political landscape

Figure 4.1 Meaning and properties of education



The first thing that is not named and differentiated in the education system is the meaning that First Nations people attribute to concepts such as 'education' and 'learning'. Two thirds of the data in this cluster were from Findings B – voices of young people and their parents and carers. They described education as protective, part of culture, spiritual, empowering and legitimising. School curriculum and learning opportunities that contain these attributes are more likely to resonate with First Nations young people. Education offers promise of being an inspiration to the next generation, adding to the collective knowledge and skills of the community, being an example of First Nations achievement, attaining the hidden curriculum knowledge to 'survive in White Australia' and walk in two worlds. Education is portrayed as a lifelong process of growth and challenge, from engagement with different contexts and worldviews. Young people described school as just a part of the journey and milestones of life, that is subordinated to the needs of family and culture. These interpretations are muted in the mainstream systemic discourse about Indigenous education.

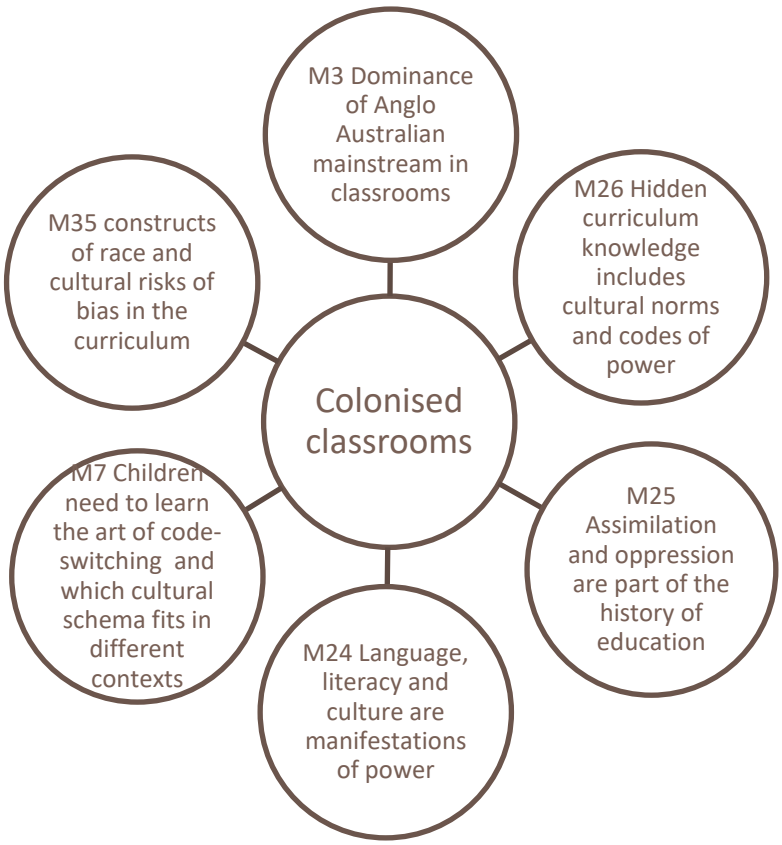
Figure 4.2 Being is culture is health

The second theme synthesises those findings which illuminated First Nations' understandings of health. Concepts such as 'double power' in A7 (M. Yunupingu, 1999) and 'cultural interface in A3 (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009)' draw attention to the way First Nations people skilfully navigate two cultures. Related to this was the First Nations concept of health as holistic and inclusive of the future, emphasising that education conceived in this way, acts as a social determinant of health as the successful transition to adulthood and doing well in life. Young peoples' freedom to think, learn and apply learning in their own culture and language stood out as being important for happiness and success, which builds confidence and increases comfort to participate in mainstream culture. Risk to young people's health escalates when their cultural and social truths are frequently violated. The findings suggest that health and wellbeing concepts are not static and universal and there are some important points of difference from western concepts of good health. Health is discernible in young people's accounts in the findings as the disruption of balance and dislodgement of one's place in the world. Indigenous literacies appeared to address this imbalance, allowing First Nations young people to connect with their cultural heritage as legitimate and relevant to their learning possibly leading to an increased self-confidence and self-actualisation.

Figure 4.3 Scars of colonisation

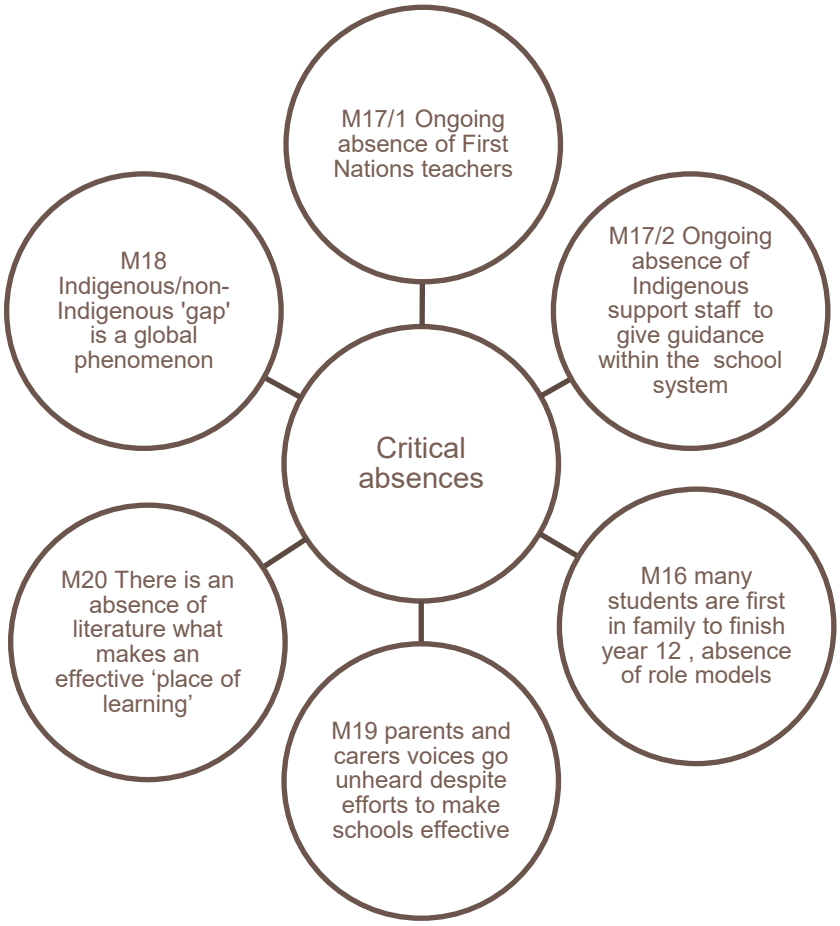
Colonisation is present, though hidden in social structures. School participation and success are constrained in ways that descend from invasion and dispossession. Settler-teachers display colonising behaviour when they presume the right to tell a student who they can and cannot be regarding their First Nations status. This is an act of epistemic violence where the teacher represents themselves as all powerful, all knowing, as it feeds into the power imbalance between coloniser and colonised. Low expectations, where First Nations students are encouraged to downplay their own prospects is still common in schools. Deficit expectations are part of the system of meritocracy where teachers convey through racist attitudes that they don't expect First Nations young people to do well therefore potentially undermining their capacity to compete on merit. The risk can be quantified in persistently disproportionate number of First Nations young people that exit school before year 11. Teachers also need to be sensitive to the layers of intersectional discrimination experienced by young people who are represented in multiple categories of disadvantage. First Nations students' experiences of discrimination and alienation are likely to be compounded significantly if they have a disability, identify as LGBTQIA and/or a minority religion or are considered an outsider by their family or community for any reason. Without doubt, compounding layers of discrimination impact heavily on self-esteem and positive identity (Ramasamy, 2020).

Figure 4.4 Colonised classrooms



The fourth feature of the education landscape is the function of school systems and symbols to deflect and hide colonisation and the existence of cultural schemas. Descriptions are drawn from Findings Part 1 and 3 of the Findings. The absences described undermine the vital connections which sustain culture and identity and are a source of health harm. The presence of a class based 'hidden curriculum' described in article 8 reinforces white normativity, rendering First Nations literacies, language and culture inferior and irrelevant for standardised assessment, and define a meritocratic order in which First Nations young people are presumed to fail , contexts which further marginalise First Nations students. The school curriculum has improved in mandating Indigenous content, but western culture continues to treat First Nations values and culture as antiquated and irrelevant. Language and literacy in the classroom reflect the dominant white mainstream meaning that First Nations young people must work harder to learn to switch between their own language, codes and schemas and those of the mainstream. The devaluing of Aboriginal English and languages also contributes to the positioning of First Nations young people as deficient in the language and literacies of success.

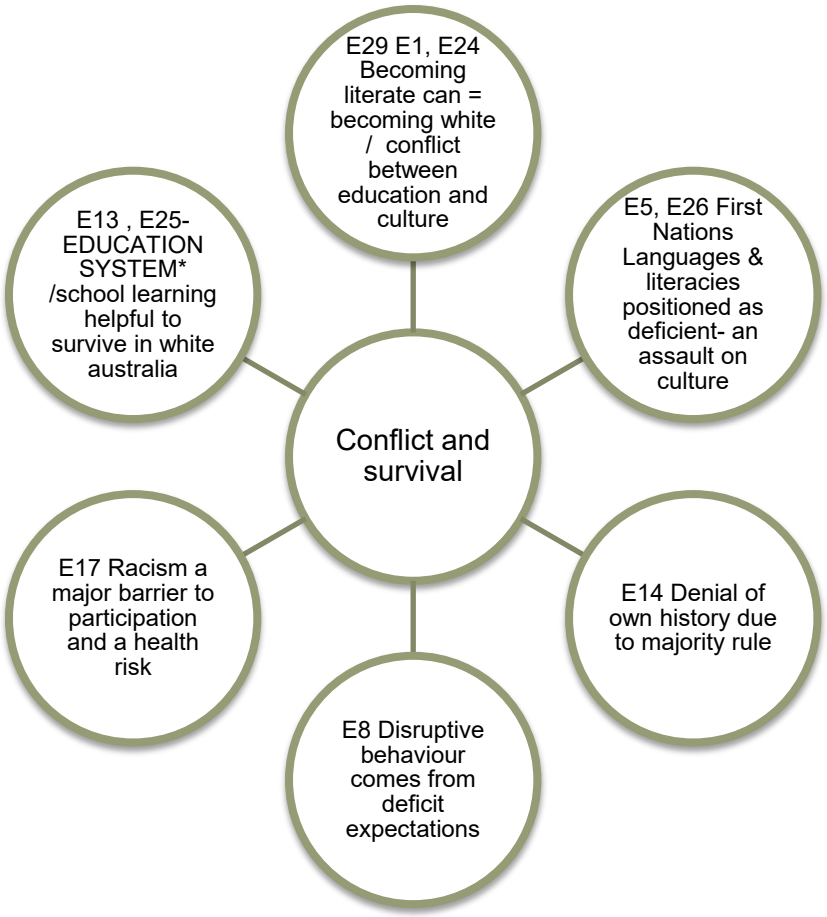
Figure 4.5 Critical absences



This thematic cluster focusses on success factors identified as necessary but missing, absented as symbolically irrelevant. The findings are all from Part 2, young people's voices. First Nations teachers and education workers are underrepresented in the system, a gap which is not addressed as a significant concern in education policy. First Nations actors such as staff and community elders and family can strengthen cultural safety and protective factors by educating young people about colonisation and behaviours which are associated with racism and whiteness. First Nations people have been disenfranchised for generations, meaning many young people completing year 12 are 'first in family', without family who can place school as relevant to their life, or share their tips for success. The widespread lack of consultation and input from parents and community is another important absence that escalates risk to young people's identities. Without the active, regular presence and involvement of First Nations community, the impact and learning about contemporary First Nations culture is minimalised. Young people are more likely to be alienated from school and White excuses not to include Indigenous studies are further justified. These factors contribute to the racialised school space, projecting one culture as dominant and silencing the other.

4.2 2E Harms that 'enrage and engage'[1]

Figure 4.6 Conflict and survival

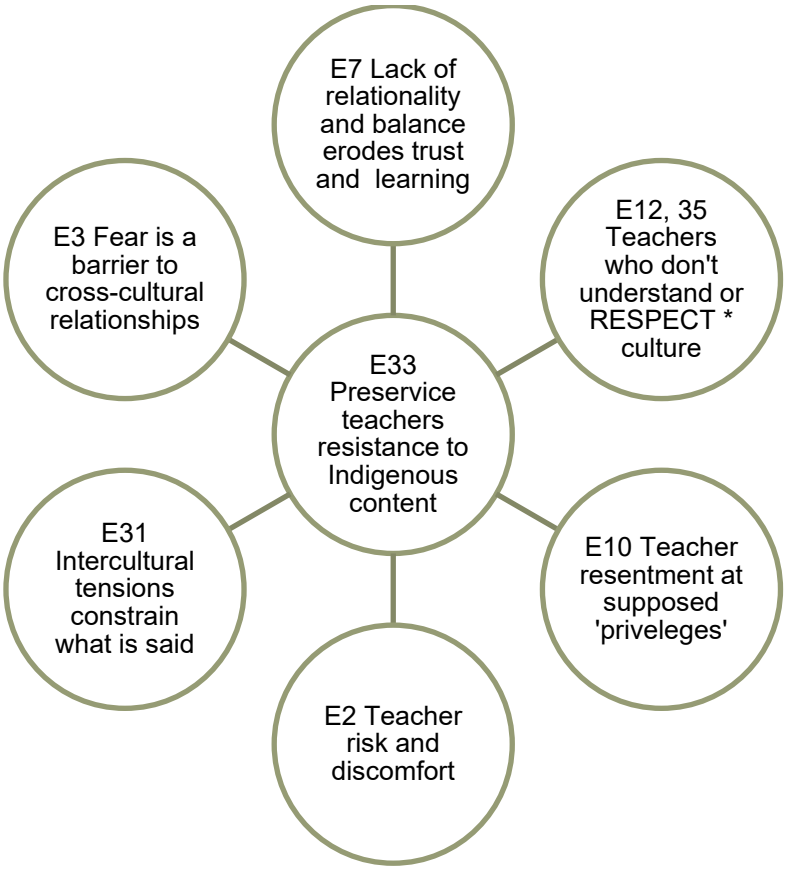


The Edge thematic clusters are about tensions with potential to activate structural transformation. These findings were drawn from Parts 1, 2 and 3 of the data set. Racism was identified as a strong impediment to student participation and a risk to health. Racism has been identified as one of the 'greatest public health challenges of our times' due to the body of research demonstrating its substantive contribution to health inequities (Bastos, Harnois, & Paradies, 2018). Institutional racism has flourished under neo-liberal capitalism (Mayes, Paradies, & Elias, 2021) as the capacity to challenge populism is eroded under discourses of libertarianism and free speech. School and school experiences are simultaneously 'Othering', projecting a hostile identity of the undesirable 'Other' but also through presumption of universality, highlight the non-identity (non-identical being) of First Nations young people. These messages serve as a continuation of the historical processes of dispossession and assimilation. Making space for and carefully considering what young people

[1] A reference to Gracelyn Smallwood's '*engage* and … even *enragé* tone' (Smallwood, 2015, p. 1)

report, opens up space to increase consciousness of non-Indigenous and First Nations young people around the impacts, origins and functions of racism, although without necessarily changing anything about the system itself (P. Moran & Murphy, 2012).

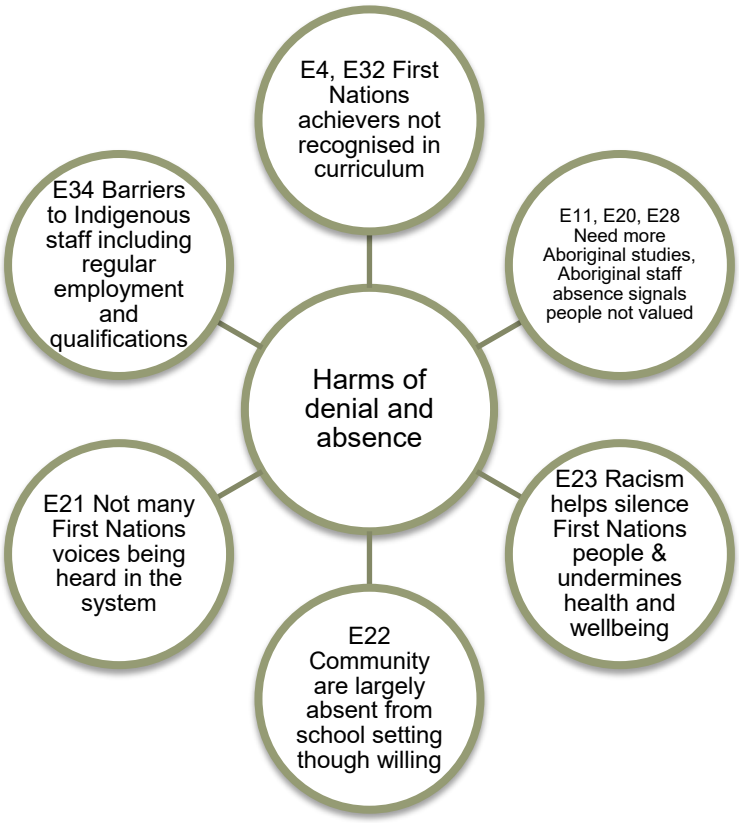
Figure 4.7 Frontier Conflict as white teacher resistance to Indigenous content



The second 'Edge' cluster focusses on the risk and harm to young people if teachers actively resist and deny the realities of First Nations' position as one of constantly having to prove themselves, to be seen and heard in a White imagined state. Devaluing and dismissing First Nations staff are engaging them in tokenistic or utilitarian roles sends powerful messages to First Nations students that they are also not valued. Non-Indigenous teachers may resist using First Nations content, and resent pressure to engage with Indigenous curriculum. They might be uncomfortable or not encouraged to go into the community and get to know people. These are all aspects of the 'hidden curriculum', covertly signalling that First Nations people are not valued and respected In colonised countries it continues to function in ways that undermine and obscure Indigenous accounts of history and create superficial notions of Indigeneity that shape teacher attitudes and deficit portrayals of First Nations young people (MacDonald, 2019).Direct health impacts arise from the psychological impact of implicit and structural racism, which can compound to do severe damage to First Nations young people's mental health. Indirectly, being marginalised in school erodes

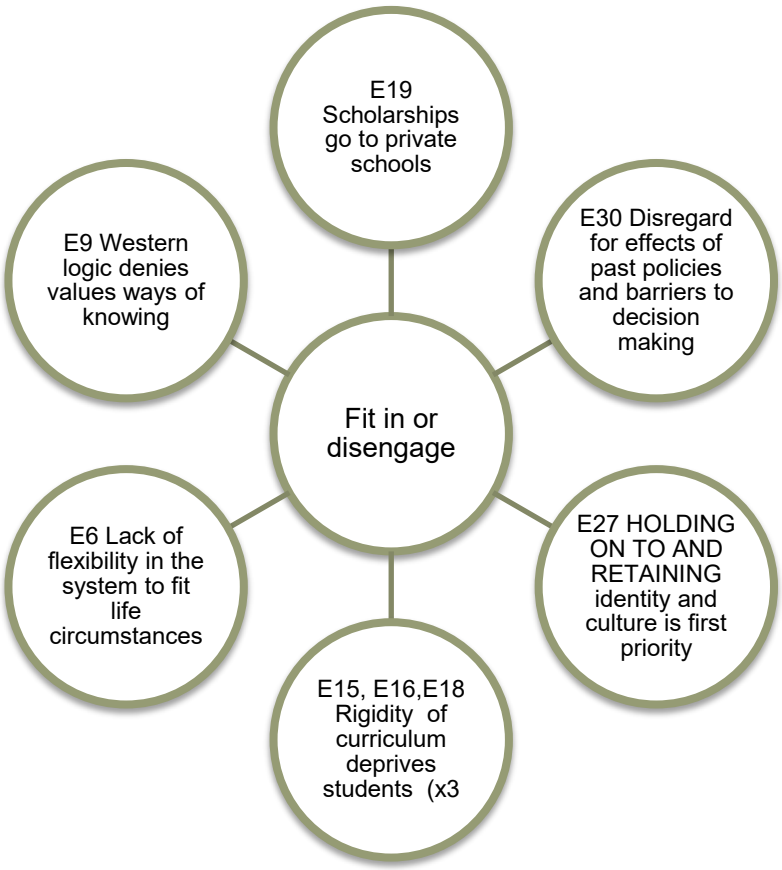
participation potentially leading to low self-efficacy and self-worth. Discomfort and being unsettled by these realities are an opportunities or 'pricks of conscience' to try different approaches and clues about how colonisation is maintained (L. Williams, Bunda, Claxton, & MacKinnon, 2018).

Figure 4.8 Harms of Denial and Absence



The risk factors in this cluster were identified by student participants as barriers to student engagement and retention, suggesting they are important to track and address. Harmful absences apparent in the findings contribute collectively over time to the burden of risk to First Nations young people and culture. This reveals a gap in the education system's quality frameworks and risk management that is not systematically evaluated and reported. Racism, and the lack of a platform to safely disclose and discuss it in the school system (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004), is implicated in ill health (Bastos et al., 2018; Y. Paradies, 2006). Low participation and/or self-identification of First Nations educators at all teaching levels. The set of articles which focussed on the views of students and caregivers (articles A4-6) drew attention to the importance of First Nations staff as a dominant factor in student success. Two papers discussed experience and benefits of cross-cultural teaching partnerships. Non-Indigenous staff in schools may easily identify some of these features and assume that the barriers lie mostly within the First Nations community, not appreciating that with a change of focus, their reassessment of the barriers as systemic in origin, requires thought and imagination that can immediately lessen the antagonism and lighten the load for the student.

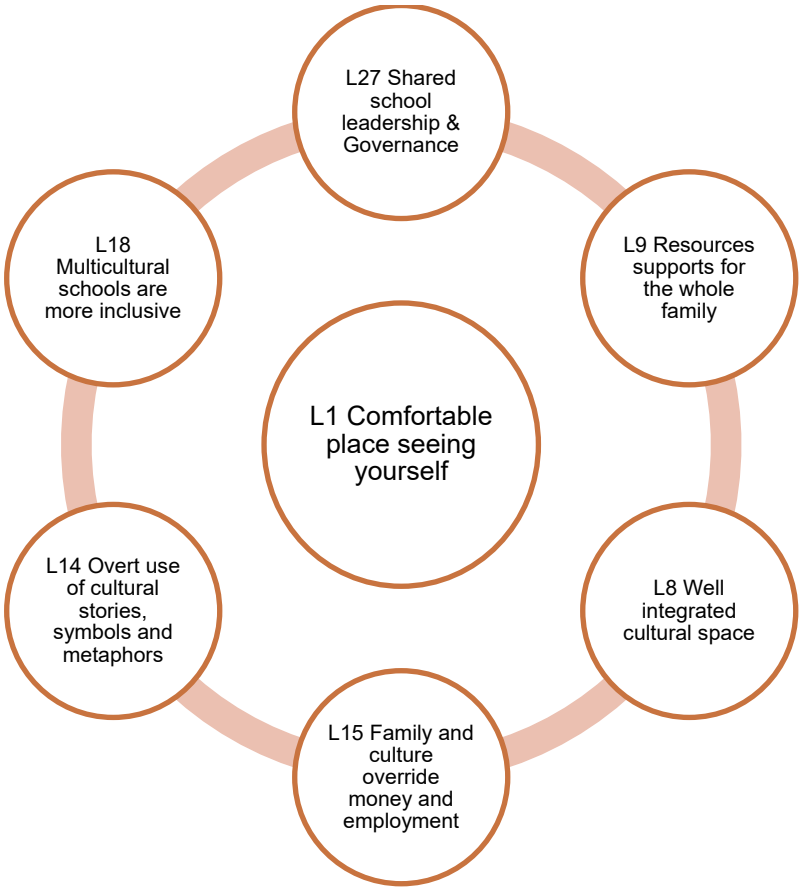
Figure 4.9 Discouragement from accessing education



Structural factors that put pressure on young people who are 'not fitting and disengaging' included political influence silencing First Nations history, inflexibility in the curriculum and the system, being poor, yet not having access to scholarships. In the policy arena, there has been a lack of attention to past policy failings and the need to change direction, with deficit approaches continuing to dominate and silence Indigenous knowledges. When considering upstream Indigenous health determinants, the historically situated nature of policy is an important consideration. By failing to acknowledge the origins of race relations, pivotal factors are missed, such as the way some assumptions and expectations embedded in interpersonal communication are modelled on obsolete beliefs. White presumptions of superior knowledge and education over people of colour, and expectations of higher social status are examples, where continual exposure to narratives from scientific racism, apartheid and the slave trade continue to loom large in White imaginations. The impacts on young people are exacerbated by the lack of First Nations people, voices and cultural expression in the school environment and curriculum, who alter the environment in immersive ways, reshaping attitudes. This results in missed opportunities for reflection and emotional growth of non-Indigenous staff and students, that could make schools more culturally mature and safe.

4.3 3L Learning opportunities and local contexts of Indigenous education (IE)

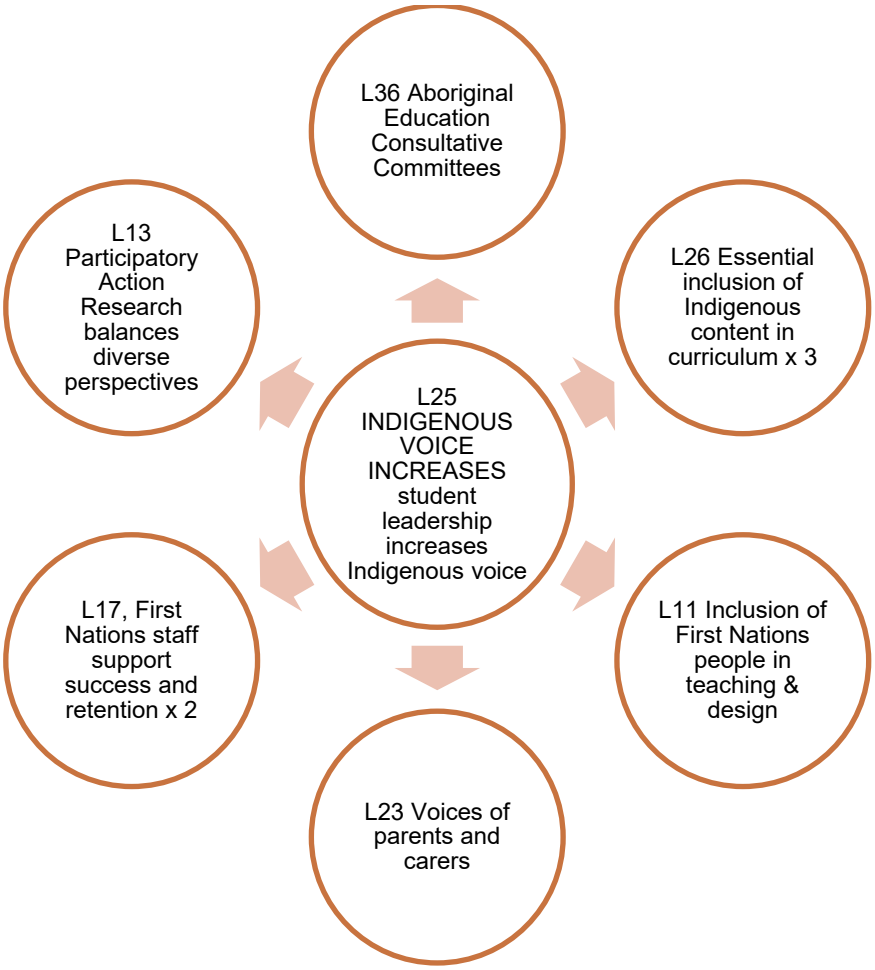
Figure 4.10 Comfortable Place



In response to Cara Shipp's statement that we learn better when we are comfortable (Shipp, 2013), the first cluster in this section responds to the question 'what makes a comfortable learning space'? Without cultural presence in the school, young people are sometimes forced to choose culture and family, or school and learning. Findings that addressed this 'how' of this question start with the model of shared leadership and governance described by Dr M Yunupingu, which was important to facilitate changes in pedagogy and curriculum. This leadership needs to come not just through the education hierarchy but the community, in keeping with the messages about learning from the local and the strength the school gains through reflecting its community. The major benefit is that students who know their community is valued, feel pride in their identity; and this emerges from these findings as a major element of retention and success. The literature on community engagement suggests that time commitment, deep engagement and sustained meaningful

relationships are important and depth of relationships is supported by employment of First Nations staff (Frawley, Larkin, & Smith, 2017)

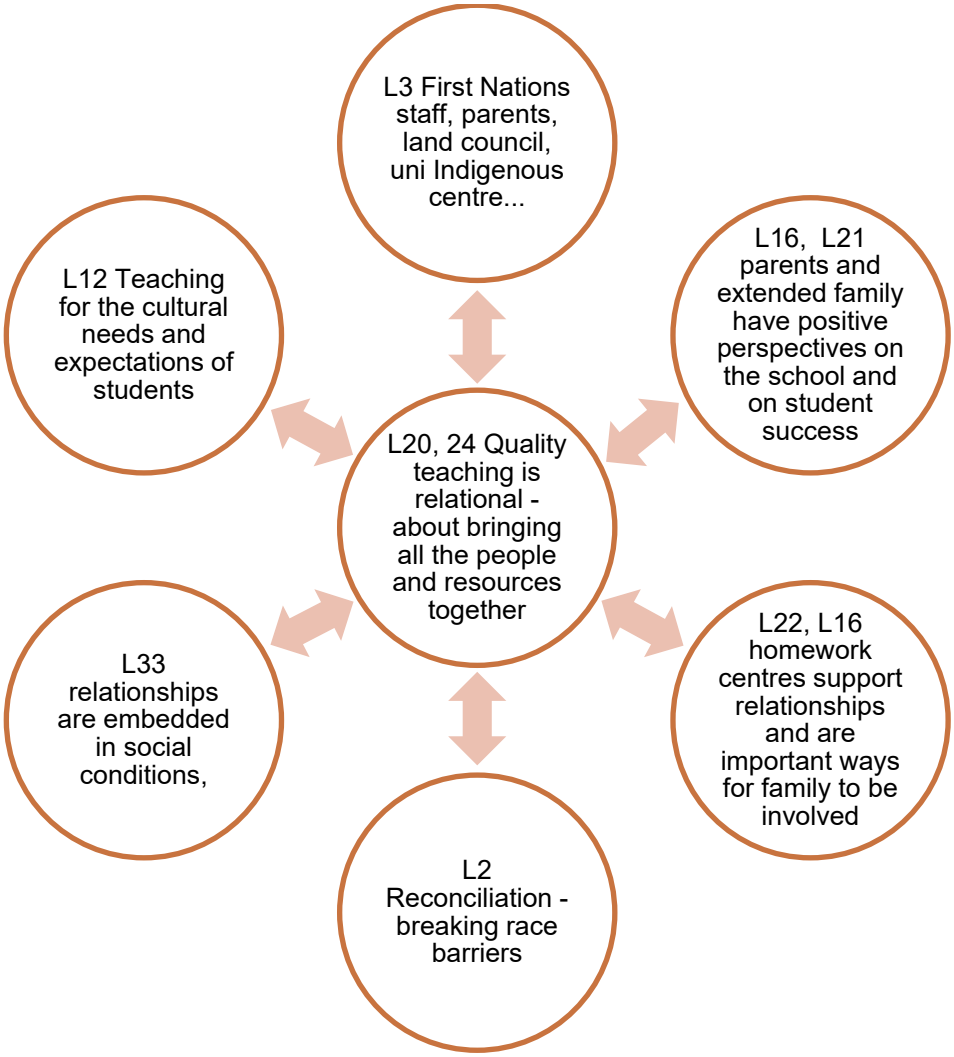
Figure 4.11 Self Determination



Self-determination is the right of First Nations people to control their own lives and destinies, free from oppression and subjugation (Dodson, 2003, p. 299). It is a position where First Nations people's voice and presence in all aspects of school strengthens identity and belonging. It implies that Indigenous knowledge and structure has a determining influence in First Nations people's lives that is not obstructed by paternalism and includes First Nations young people having the opportunity to take on leadership roles. Indigenous rights and Indigenous health are therefore inextricably connected. Active involvement of First Nations young people through committees, student leadership, input to the curriculum, and direct involvement in teaching will bring to the surface, the level of experience and empathy, examples of oppression and paternalism that can open up valuable debate on the nature of the problem and its impacts. First Nations voice through the involvement of parents and carers demonstrates to young people that their parents value their progress and gives teachers an avenue to get to know their parents' concerns and perspectives. Participatory action research (PAR) can formally engage First Nations and non-Indigenous students and staff in

collectively deconstructing and re-designing the principles of good teaching, learning strategies and content.

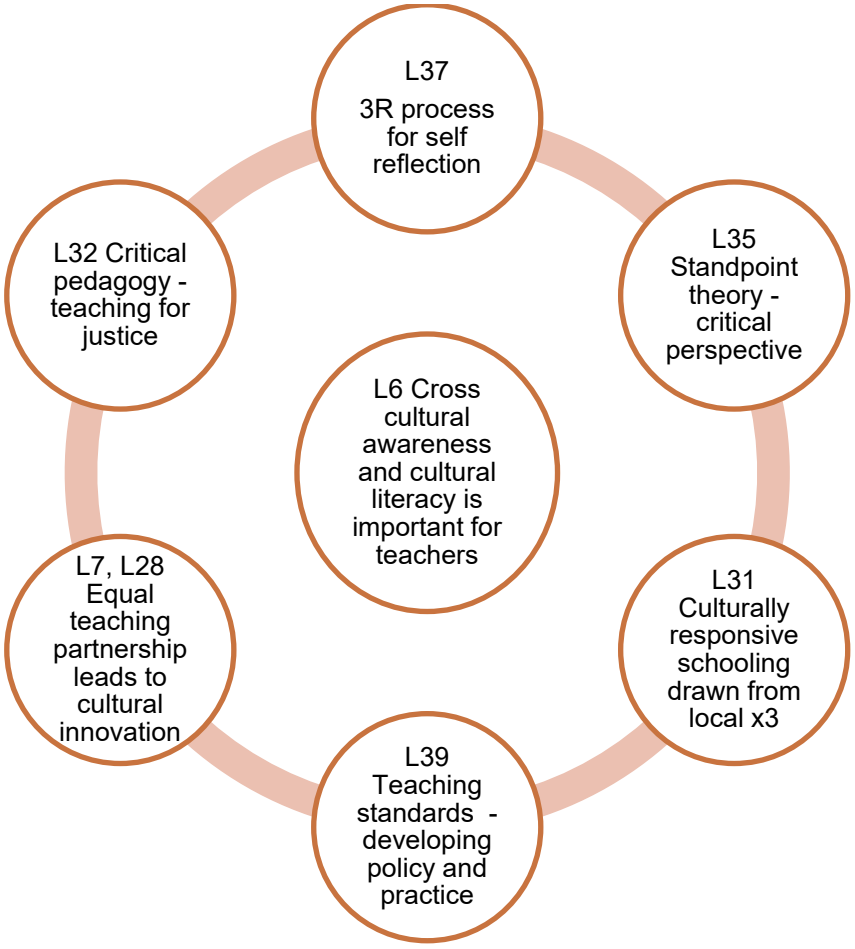
Figure 4.12 Quality and equity teaching in practice



Quality in teaching through use of a culturally aligned and tested quality framework involves bringing all relevant people and resources together into the school and the curriculum, diminishing power imbalance and unintended hidden curriculum effects that undermine student wellbeing. The teacher is responsible to tap into the living library of local knowledge that Indigenous people are willing and hoping to share. It is important for young people that their main supporters, family and extended family view their school positively, facilitating a functioning relationship between community and school. One example is homework centres which are credited by students as an important retention strategy. Breaking down race barriers through teachers' active reconciliation efforts is an ongoing part of building long term cross-cultural partnerships. However, the nature of teacher-student relationships is crafted through systems and social structures and influenced by deficit portrayals of First Nations learners in education policy (Article 9). Quality teaching scaffolds teachers' praxis and reflexive learning helping to develop teachers' capacity to critically assess

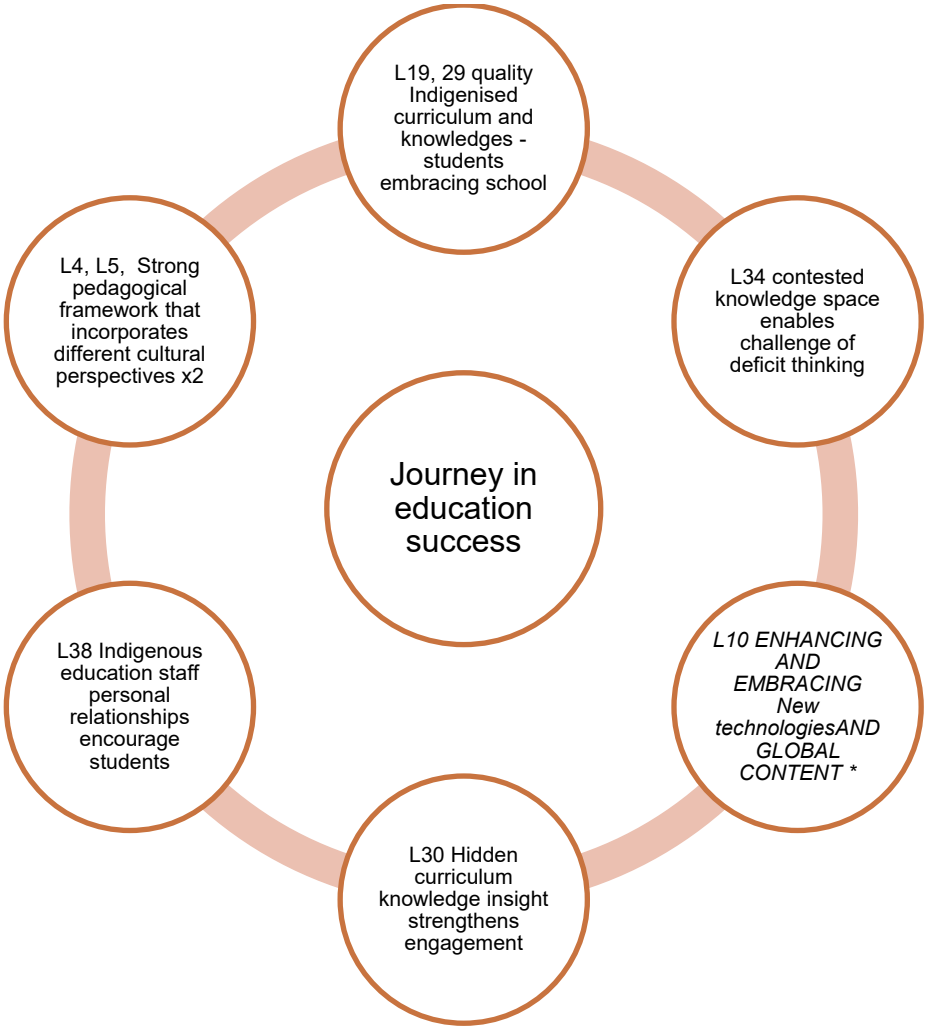
barriers to and create a culturally responsive school environment in which racism can be challenged, supporting young people's health and wellbeing.

Figure 4.13 Teacher becoming Learner



This *Level* cluster is about the teacher as the learner. Part of the learning is lowering barriers to absorbing or being receptive to other people's opinions/ideas/perspectives. Self-reflection aimed at understanding and developing teacher standpoint enhances critical thinking and culturally responsive practice. Access to tools such as critical race pedagogy and standpoint theory provide opportunities for teachers to consider previously unseen and unacknowledged risks to health and wellbeing. Building relationships, through becoming attuned to student behaviour and responses, opens space for questions and locating and challenging assumptions. Culturally responsive teaching involves being open minded, questioning our own mindsets and cultural lenses, e.g. looking beyond standardised testing. It also involves working openly and collaboratively with First Nations leaders and colleagues. However, decolonisation demands that critical pedagogy must include examination of coloniality and focus on the lived experiences of colonisation. Further, a focus on ethical accountability and empathy requires an examination of our complicity in colonisation in order for empathy to translate into action, beyond feeling good about oneself (Zembylas, 2018). In a society that has lost much of the 'social', justice-oriented teaching has transformative potential for young people and for teaching staff.

Figure 4.14 pathways of learning



* Capital letters in the diagram indicate suggested corrections made by the Expert Panel member who gave advice on this section.

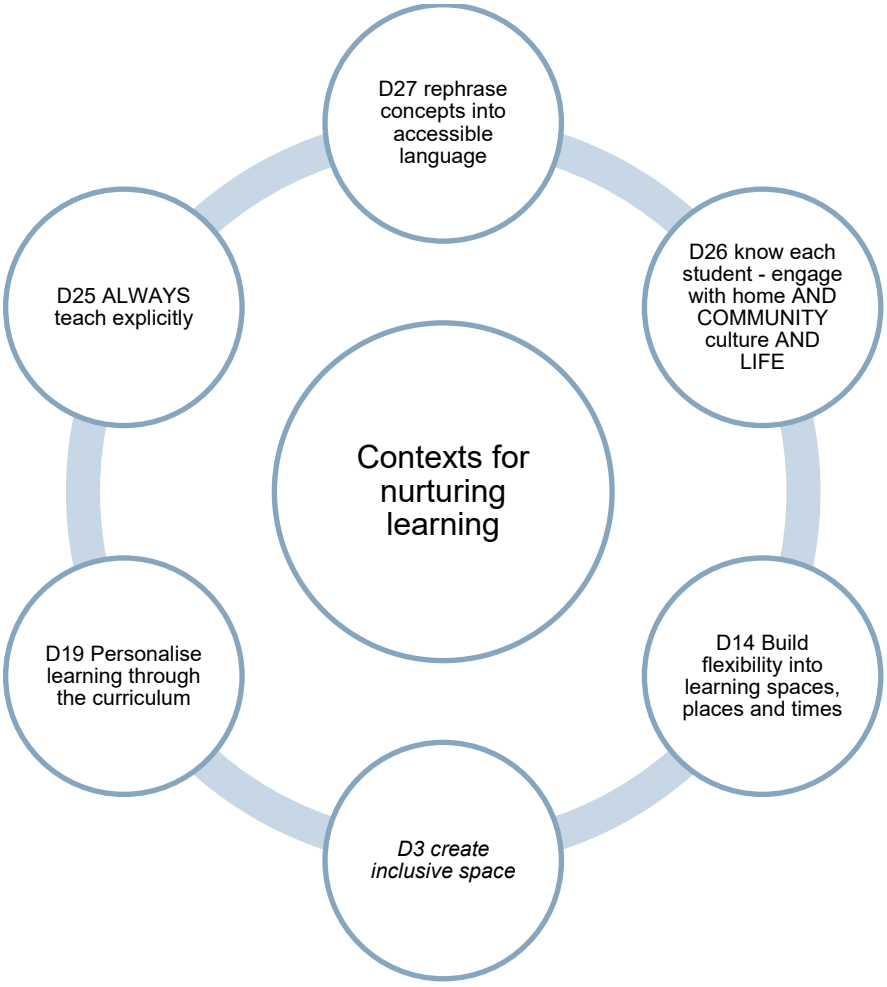
This cluster describes parts of a young person's journey, celebrating success in education while keeping culture. Schools are contested knowledge spaces which provide an opening to challenge deficit thinking, and acknowledge the history and current reality of the local area and First Nations people. Challenging limited awareness of Indigenous issues can be supported through new technologies which allow students to access global information on history, science and technology including evidence that supports Indigenous worldviews. The review articles provide evidence of how internalised assumptions of inferior capability that arise from deficit thinking contribute to health inequity by reducing confidence and willingness to engage with school (Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC), 2011). First Nations young people flourish when opportunities are available to complete on equal terms, when technologies and explicit teaching are available to reduce cultural bias and systemic disadvantage (Shay & Heck, 2015).

4.4 4D Decolonising 'daring to do' opportunities to intervene

Figure 4.15 Cultural Responsiveness

The first cluster of data coded to 'Dimension' from the collection of articles is concerned with bringing cultural responsiveness to learning. This includes acknowledging the vast breadth of contexts in which culture is practiced differently and involves different beliefs but is still integral to First Nations ways of being. Having high expectations of each individual student recognises that many stereotypes and myths that influence thinking and beliefs about First Nations people affect the thinking and assumptions of teachers, administrators, students and peers. Robust and culturally informed pedagogy challenges this thinking. To this end teaching staff need high self-expectations, being creative in forming partnerships and exploring new pedagogies through diverse cultural resources. Practical effort to strengthen pedagogy and the curriculum is part of the fabric of education as a health determinant, engendering empowerment and consciousness, fundamental to health equity and social justice. Thinking overtly in terms of a cross-cultural framework guides teaching staff to continue to acknowledge culture. However, the hidden curriculum values imparted at school should also be culturally informed and respectful of different beliefs and practices.

Figure 4.16 teaching-learning relationships – 'Walking Together'



This cluster is about teachers developing relationships with students that are responsive to and respectful of their cultures. This includes, adapting mainstream teaching into culturally responsive education and teaching in a way that is inclusive of all students and their backgrounds, so that students see themselves and their potential in the curriculum. As one of the expert panel members comments: 'this involves a narrative style of teaching, that fits the story of the student's life and brings that into the classroom'. Flexibility is essential, related to student's own life experience, not 'whitefella way' straight down the line (Louise Martin, personal communication).

Figure 4.17 Self-awareness: mindful steps

Cultural awareness, specific to location and community is an important first step for all pre-service and registered teachers and school staff. Appreciating that First Nations people have a relationship with and history in a place can be invaluable background to understanding the relationship between community and school and families' expectations. In addition, teachers need opportunities to explore and interpret their self-motivations, to explore assumptions and their origins in order to challenge deficit thinking. Peer and hierarchical pressure can be a stumbling block to developing culturally responsive teaching and relationships. Where teachers encounter resistance from other colleagues and leadership, having knowledge of colonisation and how it appears in day to day situations is good preparation. Approaching community, can be daunting but being regular and reliable in efforts to make connections give community members the message that the teacher is serious, committed and interested and that they are prepared to be accountable as a teacher for First Nations young people.

Figure 4.18 Committed Advocacy

This cluster concerns building relationships and advocating for justice, being able to identify what might be offensive and/or racist to Indigenous students and to intervene and speak up. Teachers need to include, appreciate, share and exchange learning with Indigenous colleagues whose important knowledge of curriculum, teaching and lived experience is often repressed and silenced by lack of confidence when there is no endorsement or support. The question of how particular attitudes and behaviours of non-Indigenous professionals are reflected as colonising harms is the subject of theories of Cultural Safety, Cultural Responsiveness and Cultural Competence which aim to describe power imbalances between the professional and client and their debilitating impacts on health care delivery. Culturally Responsive Teaching/Pedagogy is the equivalent of these practices in the discipline of teacher education. Failure of universities and health and education systems to seriously engage with these theories and implement them articulates the heart of the issue. Australian society continues to ignore and deny First Nations disadvantage precisely where it must be challenged.

Summary

The clusters described in Part 1 of this Chapter encompass all the findings analysed across the 10 articles in 18 groups which were then discussed in turn within the MELD framework as change journey metaphor. Table 5 Clusters of meaning presents these in a simple matrix. Putting the gathered findings into a table reveals dialectics that play out in the education system between the various agent-stakeholders in Indigenous education. To round off the metaphor, we look back over the journey, perhaps from a hilltop, noticing that the enduring features of the landscape include First Nations beliefs, knowledge systems and aspirations along with colonial systems that have been superimposed. These features are obscured by haze to non-Indigenous folk. Along the way, these conflicting Indigenous and imported systems engender hurt, anger, shame, guilt, grief, revisionism and escapism. These feelings and behaviours find their way into stories, empowering sources of healing, challenging hegemonic myths, inter-cultural dialogical works in progress.

Table 5 Clusters of meaning

Moment (the way things are, seen and identified or not)	**Edge (antagonisms between First Nations student wellbeing and the school system)**	**Level (presence and identity of First Nations in schools)**	**Dimension (settler teacher agency)**
Meaning and properties of education from First Nations perspective	Frontier conflict (power differential)	Self-determination (reclaiming place)	Walking together
Being is culture is health	Negotiating survival	Comfortable place	Cultural responsiveness
Presence of colonising harms in the wider system	Discouragement from accessing education	Quality and equity in teaching	Self-awareness
Colonised classrooms	Harms of denial	Teacher becoming learner	Advocacy
Critical absences		Forging new pathways	

PART 2 Themes

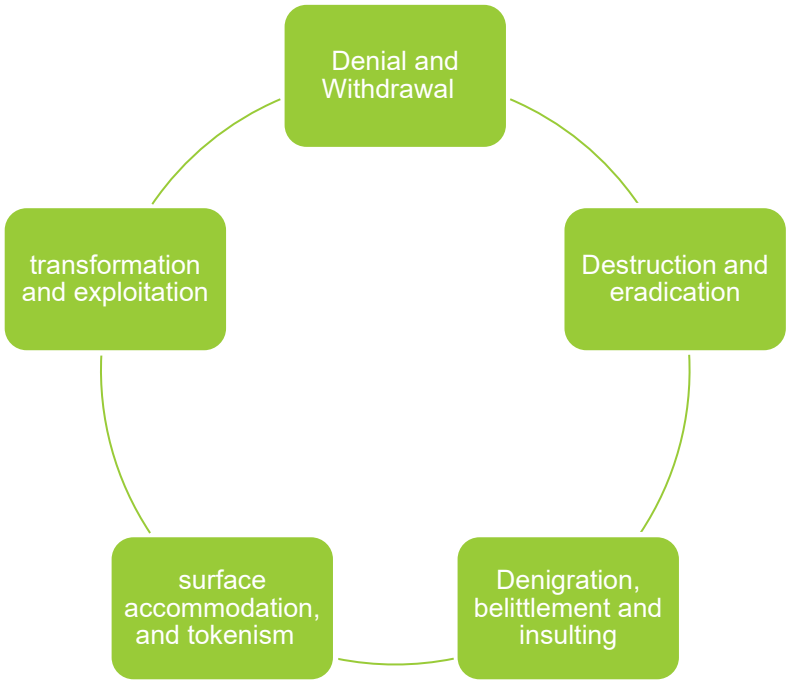
In Part 1, I looked out from our vantage point over the landscape. As we see the storm clouds rolling in, we hurriedly descend to find shelter, in the rush, the jostling of white shoulders and elbows heave their way into the warm and waterproof embrace of a cosy home and close [and lock] the door. With a sigh of relief, the foray into the world of the Other is over for today. It seems that sharing is impossible for most of us. It would mean the undoing, the sacrifice, of everything that makes life attractive and sweet.

This discussion offers a theoretical perspective on processes of transferring risk and enacting harm. I draw on the ultra-realist concepts discussed in Chapter 1 to examine how the risk-transference and colonising harm are made visible in the articles and what might be occurring that can inform a policy and practical health policy response. The subject of inquiry at the micro level is the non-Indigenous education professional – the settler teacher. The position of teacher is sculpted through pre-service education and placements which, like schools manifest both a formal and hidden curriculum. The hidden aspects of teacher education include the transmission of implicit knowledge about the profession's challenges and how to manage them, including the path to permanency and promotion and the hazards of managing student and parent behaviour. These aspects of the profession are influenced by the macro economic and political environment which interacts with their own social and cultural background, mediated by the meso level of school and community context. The macro-environment in which policy and praxis are generated, govern to a large extent the factors that encourage or enable persistence in risk-transfer and harm, rather than resistance and change. Before looking critically at the interaction between these micro and macro factors, I turn to the discussion of the findings in relation to what works for First Nations young people.

The themes that have emerged across the MELD dialectic are firstly the location of Indigenous education within First Nations sphere of knowledge and culture, a position that contrasts with the commodification and packaging of what is taken to be the Indigenous Education project through neoliberal logic. Second is the nature of cultural schemas and identity-in-difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. This theme returns to the notion of the symbolic order. Thirdly the concept of the sovereign individual's *special liberty* is probed for its relevance to settler-teachers' agency. These three areas are discussed in terms of risk and harm in the school system. The discussion rounds off with an account of freedom and belonging as complementary, paradoxical desires whose meanings alter and expand in the shift from colonising to decolonising logic.

The themes that arise from the findings can be mapped to the stages of colonisation that were identified by The late Dr Virgilio G Enriquez, Father of Filipino psychology', Sikilohiyang Pilipino and subsequently shared by Poka Laenui (Laenui, 2006). Laenui's own work identifying the stages of decolonisation later formed the basis of Dr Lorraine Muller's theory of the six stages of decolonisation which are discussed in the Conclusion. The five stages shown in the figure below also can be seen in the detailed theoretical analysis of part two of the findings.

Figure 4.19 The stages of colonisation



All these stages describe behaviours that are typically seen in non-Indigenous attitudes to First Nations identity and are on one level an insight into how white behaviours manifest to Indigenous peoples in an ideology of disrespect. For public health practitioners and policy makers they are signposts of colonising health harms that might be wedging open the health 'gap'. The five stages describe a systemic attack on First Nations peoples' rights and identity including on their relationship to land and right to be strong in their respective cultures which are important determinants of Indigenous health (Schultz & Cairney, 2017; Schultz, Quinn, Abbott, Cairney, & Yamaguchi, 2019),

As Part 2 argues, they are also manifestations of a modern phenomenon, intrinsic aspects of capitalism and modernity and a product of science as arbiter of the social, political and economic closure of our time.

4.5 Sovereignty and the importance of history: harms of denial and withdrawal

The findings invite foremost, First Nations peoples' decolonising presence and activity within and across the boundaries of the school system. The story of the data is that First Nations young people as all generations in every culture, receive cultural identity through constant interaction with people and artefacts such as literature, media, technologies, design, architecture. Shared primary culture intimates belonging, through common understanding that facilitates relationality (Neville, Oyama, Odunewu, & Huggins, 2014). The findings suggest that Indigenous education represents more than a curriculum area or a pedagogical style, it is a source of power that maintains a dynamic self-determining space as was seen in Yunkaporta and McGinty's participatory action research project (Yunkaporta, 2009) and Shipp's description of the Indigenous Literacy Project presented by Morgan and Kwaymullina (Shipp, 2012). Non-Indigenous people sometimes enter and collaborate as allies, or otherwise intermittently interact at the edges, with varying ability to enact agency constructively. In some schools there is a palpable absence of Indigenous education and in others there is a strong spirit of culturally responsive learning. It is a historical and ongoing struggle.

What is clear from this review, is that Indigenous education is defined by First Nations people. The paternalistic expectations and pronouncements of government, broadcast through Big Media would suggest that Indigenous education is about giving a leg up to the disadvantaged, assisting the once forgotten people find a place in the 21st century and embrace the neoliberal fantasy of togetherness. The review findings tell a different story. Despite the under-representation of First Nations people in every facet of school community, First Nations people, through successive education reviews and the backbone of the Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups and university Indigenous centres have continually lobbied and advocated for Indigenous education and the need for Aboriginal staff in schools. It is First Nations people in the articles reviewed, who made the difference between staying and leaving, giving up or succeeding at school. From this I conclude that Indigenous education, as a specific form of education and pedagogy that facilitates First Nations wellbeing and prospects of a healthy future.

Identifying that Indigenous education is the power of First Nations presence led me to realise that this is the organising framework for Indigenous education as an interactive and critical aspect of the school system, and of decolonisation. The education system is both responsive to and patrolling of First Nations people and culture. The push-pull of education policy has always come back to the insistence of First Nations Peoples that they are best placed to manage their business, to be self-

determining. To the extent that First Nations business is about a transformation of existing colonising systems, though, it requires the conscientisation and willing support of non-Indigenous people.

4.6 Cultural schemas and lost literacies: transformation and exploitation

Despite the enormous damage to the fabric of First Nations existence and mainstream dismissive attitudes to Indigenous law and philosophy, Indigenous ways of being, knowing and doing continue to centre the lives of First Nations peoples (Watson, 2014). The primary relationship between people and Country sets the conditions and teaches the basis for interpersonal relationships (Watson, 2014). While western knowledge seeks domination over the natural world, segmenting and categorising knowledge, First Nations knowledges are localised and holistic, the natural world is 'treated like a close relative', while 'teaching and learning are in the living of life, and not an aspect of life' (Watson, 2014). First Nations spiritual and philosophical beliefs sit in stark contrast to neoliberalism.

Teachers who relate to a student through shared experiences and cultural schemas are most likely to be First Nations teachers, who share experiences of colonisation in its variety of forms and can offer students insider perspectives on how to get through. They draw in resources that are more likely to be helpful, identify the young person's desire for a connection between success and culture, and perhaps also support them to withdraw when the risk of harm to their wellbeing, or to cultural safety is too great. All of the elements identified in Part 1: inclusion of culture in curriculum, eking out of spaces, porous boundaries between school and community, recognition and inclusion of influential First Nations voices, respect for local history and stories weave culture through the westernised structures, reminding First Nations People that their culture survives and is still active and effective.

Findings in this study suggest that an under-theorisation of difference in identity, and the importance of time and place specificity to identity. This failure to recognise and embrace difference is a source of harm to First Nations young people. Cultural difference is a strong theme throughout the findings which resonates with the decolonising objectives of resisting assimilation and asserting self-determination. All of the articles in the dataset were authored primarily or solely by First Nations authors and called for the increased presence of First Nations people – staff, community and students - and culture in schools., Further, they pointed to a need for non-Indigenous educators to work routinely and genuinely in partnership with First Nations people in order to make schools safer places for First Nations young people, culturally, educationally, emotionally and physically. Cultural difference was expressed in Shipp's discussion as the need to recognise First Nations young people's cultural schemas and was expressed in Rahman's emphasis on the need to recognise contrasting and diverse

cultural expectations and values. Inclusion of First Nations' diverse, living and adapting cultures is essential, yet the neoliberal capitalist tendency is to reduce cultural difference to a commodity (Marker, 2006) and to absent from ideology any assertions of rights, powers or property that cannot be subordinated to the capitalist order. On the other hand, generic global commodities can be endowed with local meaning and purpose, inscribing cultural difference in inventive ways (Bridge & Smith, 2003). The neoliberal world order profits either way. A decolonising approach requires that First Nations people have the right to determine what is culture, how and when culture is shared and on what terms and access to the tools to advocate for culture.

Culture and cultural schemas are embodied in language. Many communities are working hard to revive and pass on languages which were forbidden during protection and assimilation/White Australia eras. However, only recently is the non-Indigenous settler population coming to understand that there is more than one Indigenous language. While there is a broad understanding that First Nations literacies are oral, this is represented through the discourse of modernity as a primitive stage, pre-literate and therefore prehistorical rather than recognising oral tradition as a literacy and important to First Nations peoples' knowledge transmission and revival. The suppression of First Nations modes of literacy including languages, grammars and forms of speech is the suppression of culture, identity and being in the world, in an effort to render Indigenous as 'non-identity'.

A further aspect to this theme is the need for First Nations young people to successfully integrate the strengths of Indigenous and Anglo-European culture. Western literacy is essential for First Nations people to challenge their social positioning, achieve rights and fight for justice in dominant culture (Hogarth, 2017; Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). A Two Way' education and the use of 'Double Power' (M. Yunupingu, 1999) where First Nations culture provides a way in to learning about European culture are ways of bringing the strengths of two ways of being and knowing together. This entails recognising the languages that First Nations people speak at home and their distinctiveness, which is related to their cultural schemas. Most First Nations young people speak Aboriginal English (Article 2) (Shipp, 2012)and often one or more Aboriginal or Torres Strait languages, which include Kriol. Cultural schema is tied to language and the semantics or meanings conveyed through language. Denying young people access to the cultural richness of language undermines literacy attainment and therefore acquisition of the whole spectrum of knowledge. However, the subordination of the social and political to the economic system means that the forces of assimilation are always at work. Even the teaching of code-switching in school and VET sectors has been suggested to have an assimilatory function, in facilitating the acquisition of neoliberal work values (Grote, Oliver, & Rochecouste, 2014). Reviving languages through school shifts the balance in favour of sovereignty, the recognition of prior occupancy and ownership of and belonging to Country

4.7 Cultural capital: destruction and eradication (of difference)

Failure to recognise that young people come to school with different cultural schemas can lead to children from non-dominant culture backgrounds being denied access to important 'hidden curriculum' skills and knowledge. These unconsciously learned skills are essential to navigate school successfully and safely. Yet this fact also often goes unrecognised, or is ignored (Rahman, 2013). That this is not a misfortune, but an inflicted social harm is revealed through Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, which exposes the enactment of *'special liberty'* and its relationship to the hidden curriculum. Cultural capital emerged from research that revealed patterns linking for example the type of car a person drives with their music and dining preferences, aligning aesthetics with class and affluence (Bourdieu, 2013). Bourdieu considers class hierarchy to be a multi-dimensional space with cultural capital being one of the dimensions (Beasley-Murray, 2000, p. 102). The concept of '*habitus*' (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 79-80) theorises how wealth privilege is able to be passed on through reference to social and cultural markers, creating an exclusion zone. This is both a social and a geographical phenomenon as illustrated when Donald Trump closed off a long stretch of Aberdeen coastline rendering it inaccessible to the public to create a billionaire's resort, a "demarcated leisure zone of wealth and cultural capital" (Smith & Raymen, 2018).

Schools in Australia are part of the habitus of people who enjoy economic security, especially those of Anglo-European background. Bourdieu (1977) describes how education functions as a 'smokescreen' for the connection between the inherited cultural capital and qualifications of wealthy and middle classes by overtly linking employment with qualifications. An example woven through the dataset described in Chapter 3 of this thesis was the delegitimization of Aboriginal English and privileging of 'Standard English'. This exercise of cultural capital was illustrated in the dataset to disadvantage students in the merit process as examiners marked them against Standard English (Shipp, 2012) and teachers played to deficit stereotypes (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Class privilege requires not just economic capital but cultural and social capital dimensions (Beasley-Murray, 2000, p. 102). Social capital is broadly 'who you know' while cultural capital is loosely 'knowing the ropes' (Patfield, Gore, Fray, & Gruppetta, 2019). As Levitas (2004) explains, cultural capital 'is intrinsic to the creation of a barrier between the rich and everyone else… [and] concerns the commodification of taste and knowledge'. Embodied cultural capital is obtained from one's class habitus, objectified cultural capital is art and literature etc and institutionalised cultural capital is qualifications ('accredited knowledge'). It is embodied cultural capital that is convertible to economic value, because it is its possessors decide who should be valued, how and why. This is the system of meritocracy. In the school setting, privilege is enacted through dominance of the school council, and prevalence of upper and middle class

parents in the school community (McInerney, 2005), immediately alienating and excluding poorer and less socially confident families. The intrusion of the wealthy into every area of policy ensures that the meritocracy is never eroded, only strengthened. When equity measures are introduced enabling students to compete on merit, cultural capital is deployed to find new means to restore competitive advantage to the privileged.

One important implication of the theory of cultural capital is that contrary to the logic of Closing the Gap, schools do not generate cultural capital, they simply 'valorise' or value it through accreditation and qualifications. In the process they convert social status into academic status (Beasley-Murray, 2000, p. 113). This means that schools continually reinforce and reproduce class or economic distinctions between social groups, they do not socially level. However, governments are required to maintain at least a viable appearance of egalitarianism, and they achieve this by offering a 'universal' curriculum that appears to offer every student the same opportunity for credentials but actually is invisibly geared to preserve the function of cultural capital. The concept of cultural capital is entwined in the history of the Closing the Gap (CtG) strategy. In the preceding opening years of the millennium, the gap in education outcomes between First Nations and non-Indigenous people was presented in Indigenous education policy as a factor of lack of access to cultural capital. The argument was put that First Nations students to greater or lesser extents had access to another, Indigenous, cultural capital but this was unhelpful in unlocking access to the economy through employment, the transfer of cultural to economic capital, which was the reported desire of First Nations families. At the same time it was recognised that students want to minimise the cost of school participation to their own culture (Ministerial Council for Education, 2000, p. 49). Over the next few years, the belief that First Nations young people could acquire cultural capital through school education, for example via access to technological literacies, was elaborated by several educationalists including Tripcony (2002), Malin and Maidment (2003).

It has been argued that claiming First Nations people lack cultural capital is another incidence of deficit thinking (Chigeza & Whitehouse, 2010). However, this is based on a misreading of Bourdieu's notion of forms of capital that is used to justify the misdirection of Indigenous education resources. The correspondence identified between school attendance and achievement has bolstered a prominent neoliberal discourse improving attendance rates among First Nations children and young adults, which identifies parents and families as the main problem (Waller, McCallum, & Gorringe, 2018). This problematisation has contributed to government legitimised social harms presented as policy solutions. Withholding Centrelink payments (Northern Territory Government, 2019) and other punitive measures, along with employing First Nations people as truancy officers (Parkin, 2014) help to accelerate a negative feedback loop of deficit positioning, institutionalised thinking and

criminalisation, all of which are known to lead to increased stress, trauma, disengagement and in turn, exacerbate social isolation, discrimination and negative health outcomes. Cultural capital is packaged as a public good that comes with attending school, in addition to academic outcomes, while the real nature of the meritocracy is further disguised. While cultural capital is a nebulous concept, with no firm agreement to its definition, its mechanisms in improving education outcomes or even its theoretical value (Jæger & Breen, 2016), it continues to hold resonance in the sociology of education. Cultural capital is a way of conceptualising meritocracy and its deployment to gain advantage and maintain structural power. Consumerism has altered what is valued within culture but the ability of the wealthy to continue to blur the lines between academic merit and economic status has not waned. Characteristics of whiteness appear to remain consistently part of the mix of what defines academic lustre in the eyes of teachers and employers. In this way, cultural capital, infused with whiteness, inevitably acts as a barrier to equity in schools, not because of some students' lack, but because cultural capital is designed to ascribe privilege to some groups and de-privilege others.

As the findings show, Indigeneity itself appears to operate as a further axis of exclusion from the school space of First Nations parents, whose very embodiment is defined as what cultural capital is not – consistent with Tuck and Yang's description of colonisation (Tuck & Yang, 2012) discussed in the Introduction. Anglo-European settlers who are not possessors of large cultural capital rely on the property of whiteness, which in the absence of academic competitiveness will still open doors to work and other social advantages with more ease than in the case of First Nations people. Along the lines of (Rahman, 2013), in the Maori context it has been argued that the hierarchical inequalities arising from cultural capital are the reason that secure cultural frameworks need to be facilitated in schools (Bishop, 2003). Teachers who are serious about increasing students' cultural awareness, need to 'encourage students to see their own surroundings as constructed from ideological and ecological histories' (Marker, 2006). Students must be given the tools to critically examine Cultural capital as meritocracy, questioning the prevalence of Eurocentricity and 'truth-myths' such as the lauding of early explorers that obscure colonial violence and licence subjection and commodification of Indigenous cultures.

4.8 The capitalist order and manufactured racism: Tokenism and surface accommodation

Chapter 1 presented the specificities of neo-liberal capitalism through an ultra-realist lens, suggesting that the symbolic order is 'foreclosed' in the sense of capitalist realism and closely tied to the imaginary. As ultra-realist and deviant leisure theorists have shown, our drives and impulses are never satisfied (Raymen & Smith, 2020). The Lacanian understanding of drive has us ceaselessly circling the

void in an elliptical orbit, drawn to our particular obsessions and 'flung back' due to the 'internal flaw in the pleasure principle' (Hewitson, 2015) a tendency which capitalism and more particularly, consumerism exploits exceptionally well. Rather than the symbolic order directing us in ways that control our drive, capitalism's ideological bombardment excites our imagination and pushes drive further into the pleasure principle's excruciating orbit. The capitalist system has produced a symbolic order which attempts to redescribe everything numerically, discounting knowledge, ideas and belief systems that do not fit within its idealised cosmology. It introduces a set of ethical principles that are governed by the market and are portrayed as post-political and post-ideological, importing a consensus that neo-liberal ideas govern inevitably. In the face of inability of people within a global market to see beyond its 'horizons' (Mark Fisher, 2009, p. 8), alternative knowledge systems may yet continue to resist, speak back to and contradict capitalism's logic. To elaborate, we need to explore cultural difference further, as distinct from though implicated in colonisation and racism. The implication of this for the Australian education system is that it conforms to the neoliberal market mould. Teaching is increasingly regulated, scripted and de-professionalised, as consumerism and free market demand that school quality be exposed for parents to choose the best for their children. White teachers continue to be disproportionately employed, minority background teachers can be competitive in mainstream schools if they are compliant and work harder than their colleagues to achieve the necessary benchmarks. All of these factors create an environment in which the supportive factors of Indigenous education, and by extension, health and wellbeing are over-ridden or re-aligned to conform with neo-liberal agendas.

The ontological existence of different knowledge systems and how the organisation of thought impacts on understanding of reality is exemplified in two semantic web projects involving different First Nations languages, Yolngu, the languages of North-East Arnhem Land and Warlpiri spoken in the Western Desert (Corn & Patrick, 2019). The Semantic Web is a way for machines to mimic the organisation of knowledge so that humans can interact with digitally stored knowledge successfully. Being developed in the western paradigm, as originally developed it is hierarchically structured and cannot cater for non-hierarchical knowledge systems. The Semantic Web tool was therefore developed for locating resources by specific First Nations language speakers, by representing their 'ontologies of relatedness through kinship' that are common to many, perhaps all First Nations knowledge systems (Corn & Patrick, 2019). The project developed semantic metadata which allow the means for knowledge to be stored and not lost to the future and for knowledge stored in the past to be rediscovered in ways that are logically accessible to and which act to maintain the ontology of relatedness. It sought to duplicate the role of the sentient landscape as the source of knowledge. That this was possible and succeeded as a transferrable technique is verified by co-author Warlpiri

Traditional Owner, Steven Wantarri Jampijinpa Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu Patrick. The Warlpiri knowledge system is located in Country and is represented by the stars of the Southern Cross. Patrick verified that the metadata produced by the project exactly replicated his own visualisation of how the Warlpiri knowledge system was organised. As the authors report of Yolngu Elder Yingiya Guyula:

> the land was his database, and [he] described in detail . . . how each place spoke of the ancestral acts which gave it its forms and resources. . .. The land as database tells you who you are, where you have come from and how you must behave.

The kinship system therefore not only structures relatedness and Law but is basic structure for all knowledge and vocabulary in the First Nations cosmos. This fact illustrates the ontology of difference, and it has profound implications for the depth of impact that colonisation has had on every aspect of First Nations lifeworlds. It challenges the notion that colonised peoples can only function within the capitalist symbolic order and have no access to their pre-contact inner worlds (Khan, 2018, p. 149).

Kim Scott, a Nyungar man and multi-award-winning author argues that languages are sources of not only traditional knowledge but 'likely… attitudes and perspectives otherwise unknown' (Scott, 2014, p. 11). Scott describes discomfort at being characterised as 'the First Indigenous writer to…', noting its twin patronising implications: firstly, that somehow First Nations people have 'arrived' in engaging with western literacy, and second that Nyungar[2] literacy had no pre-colonial existence. In refute, he enumerates examples of how Nyungar people creatively and deftly incorporated western literacy into their repertoire from earliest contact times. He then contrasts this with a series of workshops involving Elders and community members through which they '…share[d] revitalised, ancestral knowledge with increasingly wider, concentric circles of people' creating 'experience other than oppression' (Scott, 2014, p. 13) an act of healing and 'crucial part of "rebuilding" spirit…' perhaps analogous on the physical plane to the way re-introducing bush foods to Indigenous diet benefits damaged endocrine systems (O'Dea, 1984).

Ngarrindjeri people[3] used their agency through Ngarrindjeri ontologies to political effect, to challenge the structural/systemic barriers which were blocking settler comprehension of their deep connection to place. Through relating powerful stories that illustrated the impacts of colonisation and racism on Ngarrindjeri post-colonial identity and 'intense consciousness of place' (Gruenewald,2003 in Rigney

[2] a collective Western Australian term for First Nations people
[3] People of the Coorong and lower River Murray in South Australia

and Hemming 2014) Ngarrindjeri people were successful in having their rights heard and their perspectives included in management of the Murray Darling Basin scheme, challenging colonial logic.

A final example is the contrast of notions of shame deployed in a First Nations mentoring scheme aimed to support young people through school. Colonising shame is epitomised in the Aboriginal English expression 'no shame' and is typical of a First Nations young person's experience of the school system, a colonising constraint that the AIME mentoring scheme sets out to counter. It is commonly elicited when First Nations young people are singled out, exposed to new experiences when there is an expectation to act and being made to act contrary to cultural expectations as well as experiencing internalised racism (McKnight, Harwood, McMahon, Priestly, & Trindorfer, 2018). Drawing on Yuin[4] philosophy, McKnight et al (2018) contrast this with the Yuin concept of shame explained by the authors to be a:

> 'Country centred approach that observes Country as self and self as Country'. . . From a Yuin philosophical position . . . you are the Country you are born from . . . (McKnight et al., 2018)

Shame is explained to be a useful, not negative concept best expressed in Yuin culture through *baambi* and *baambi mumm* where *baambi mumm* is being 'scared or frightened' and manifests as the constraint or the declarative 'no', the function of 'name-of-the-father' of Lacan's symbolic order. First Nations people according to Morgan, Slade and Morgan experience identity as 'an inalienable feature of an interdependent world', so that:

> 'personal identity is holistically defined in terms of kinship, ritual, and spiritual relationships and responsibilities, all of which are inseparable from each other and the land, that is nature itself.' (Douglas L. Morgan, Slade, & Morgan, 1997)

Rather than functioning to support the young person perhaps colonising shame is generated from apparently illicit freedom of the sovereign individual, who even in a formal learning setting can speak independently of the group and act with impunity without first being inducted into their rights and responsibilities or authorised by someone of culturally appropriate symbolic status. In this way, young people are increasingly disconnected from their identity, a prime source of wellbeing and self-efficacy.

As place informs identity and is the source of knowledge, non-Indigenous lack of awareness of the sentience of place has a continuing trampling effect of disrespectful disregard, possibly the most superficial of a plethora of harms. Dale Kerwin (p2) explains

---

[4] Peoples on the Southern Coast of New South Wales inward to the Great Dividing Range

> for Aboriginal people the land is a numen [spiritual force or divine power]; it is personified in the metaphysical relationship between people and the land that is expressed through their spiritual beliefs embodied in the topography (Kerwin, 2010).

In this description, together with the other quotes in this Section, is apparent the whole of the Real, the Imaginary and the Symbolic order – Lacan's Borromean knot. The land is a numen, which encapsulates law, language, symbolism and governs the relationships and interpretations between them all. Khan suggests qua Miller and Lacan, that this is a difference in the *jouissance* – a psychoanalytical term which is central to Lacanian psychoanalysis and roughly (and very simplistically) translates as enjoyment – between two cultures (Khan, 2018). Jacques-Alain Miller argues from a Lacanian perspective that the concept of universal humanity is a falsehood, that as a concept it invokes science in order to establish common identity (Miller, 2017) which has achieved the opposite. Modern racism, unlike historical forms is grounded in science, which through its discourse sets out to undermine 'subjective particularities'. Miller argues that it does this in order to 'turn the notion of development into an essential value'. In this sense, science has acted to valorise its own position as the arbiter of truth and western culture as the pinnacle of development, subsuming and subordinating all other cultures as in the process of becoming 'developed'. This determination to universalise means that people who once simply regarded the other as different, now are expected to find in the other, universality, and are unable to do so, repelled by the very difference of each other's *jouissance*.

> What is it that makes this Other so Other that one can hate in its very being? This is the hatred of the *jouissance* of the Other. It is the most general form of modern racism that we witness. It is the hatred of the particular way in which the Other enjoys.

Enjoyment in this sense is not just about preference but is at the level of the Real, is embodied and has fundamental consequences for relationships between people of different cultures. These differences are problematic because they are visible as 'excesses' (Miller, 2017) compared with core values in one's own culture, so for example, extreme individualism engendered in the capitalist order seems normal, inevitable and inviolable to people raised in this culture. First Nations peoples' expressions of sovereignty and right to exist as a unique racial/cultural group are perceived as a dangerous excess that threatens this natural order. In order to account for this excess, we resort to fantasy, the Imaginary, to try to close the distance between the terror of the Real (as essential difference) and the symbolic order of universalism that decries recognition of difference (Khan, 2018). At the extreme this fantasy manifests as race-hate. The resolution to this extreme and highly prevalent though masked form of social harm – race hate – is to accept difference (Khan, 2018). Place-based pedagogy, which is inseparable from the numen (Kerwin, 2010) provides a pathway for this journey, where methods and approaches to teaching are informed by the realities and sensitivities and stories

of that place Buckskin asserts that all Australians stand to benefit 'if the mainstream opens its mind to difference' (Buckskin, 2015, p. 186) and warns readers that 'culture cannot be abandoned if Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians are to remain whole' (p186). The need for education to change and the overt ties between colonising school education and health are therefore bedrock issues in the literature and scholarship of First Nations people.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter summons and emphasises First Nations peoples' explanation of difference as crucial to health and wellbeing and to successful and enjoyable engagement with school. The Lacanian *jouissance* narrowly interpreted as enjoyment is closely tied to symbolic order and the Imaginary, which as this chapter shows are far more integrated with the real than the neoliberal system imposed on all of us. The first step to decolonisation must surely be confrontation with this inevitability, that the expression of difference in identity has been subverted and hidden from ideology and the capitalist symbolic order diminishing the status and belonging of First Nations people. Guilt and fear are stimulated by the recognition that we have sinned by seeing difference where God, then capitalism has told us there is none. Acknowledging difference enables us to put this barrier to one side and focus on beginning at the beginning – acknowledging the reality of our respective positions not parallel as black/white but oppressive as colonised/coloniser. Racism is in its most raw form, race hate and it is the instrument of capitalism that relegates most of the world to 'developing' status. Without this understanding it is hard to forge a genuine relationship. Coming back to the micro-environment of classrooms and school yards, all of this is baggage that sits squarely yet invisibly in between First Nations young people and the non-Indigenous people, students, staff and administration they interact with. The only way to tackle the baggage is to make it visible and open it. The Conclusion chapter to this thesis suggests a six-stage process of decolonisation for non-Indigenous professionals which may offer some strategies to do this work.

CONCLUSION

From this research has emerged an alternative way to understand colonisation and decolonisation as a non-Indigenous person in Australia. Colonisation describes the harmful impacts First Nations people experience as a minority in their own country/Country. Decolonisation involves acknowledging and recognition of colonisation and resulting health harms it causes, and a commitment to address it. I understand decolonisation to be a six-fold process, described below, which involves a radical examination of the capitalist and colonising symbolic order governing how non-Indigenous people perceive First Nations peoples to be. It is a process of moving to an alternative symbolism, where poorly formed shadowy racist notions fade and more fully informed appreciation of difference comes to the fore, welcoming change and respectful sharing of decisions.

Limitations and areas for further investigation

Non-Indigenous inclusion of Indigenous scholarship

A difficulty that has arisen in focussing on Indigenous literature is the additional intellectual labour required to read each article with sensitivity to culturally significant nuances, thereby seeking to control cultural bias; and to select articles on a given theoretical or methodological perspective or subject area that are authored by or at least transparently include First Nations people, colloquially, avoiding 'old white man syndrome'. I found it difficult to sustain attention to the presence and absence of Indigenous authorship and to consciously privilege Indigenous voices throughout the thesis itself. Directly in contradiction to my intention, espoused values and self-belief, I continually 'flipped back' to read non-Indigenous works, though many non-Indigenous texts were obtuse and hard going, they still served as a reference from which I could engage more easily with Indigenous texts. Scrutinising my own motivations, I theorised that the non-Indigenous texts, written with a familiar authority and collecting hundreds if not thousands of citations, represented a form of subconscious academic licence.

The issue of cultural bias complicates the research process and also reflects the problem under investigation in two ways. First it demonstrates the inequity of access that First Nations scholarship has to a white audience, who prefer to invest in well established, conservative and safe cultural capital. Second, it highlights the power imbalance where minority culture scholars inevitably need to work with dominant culture literature, ethics processes and knowledge paradigms, where part of the privilege of dominant culture capital is that struggling with minority culture literature and ethics at

least in terms of career progression, is widely considered a personal choice rather than a moral obligation or a matter of justice.

As details of Indigenous perspective progressively emerged from the growing compendium of references, I was struck by the extent to which the interplay of academic conventions derail scholars from accessing First Nations scholarship. I realised the important stores of knowledge that Indigenous-authored works contain that are essential to break new ground. There is always a balance between drawing on Indigenous scholarship and doing so with appropriate boundaries, to not be mis-representing or misappropriating knowledge. This is where intention and clarifying purpose have been important along with ensuring that when work is cited that it is put into an appropriate context, a skill requiring practice and feedback. Overall it is important and worthwhile to incorporate Indigenous work into any exploration in an Australian social context. Far too long, social sciences have neglected Indigenous perspectives, distorting reality and abrogating significant truths.

Limitations of sample

This study set out to develop and use a methodology informed by cross-cultural respect as an ethical risk management approach using an original approach to literature review and synthesis, through a decolonising lens. With respect to the findings, the small sample of Indigenous authored papers presents limitations. Firstly, as a non-Indigenous person, the judgements as to what literature fits the inclusion criteria are not highly replicable. Decisions were made about authorship, and article content relevance that in some cases were grey areas such as if an article had Indigenous and non-Indigenous co-authorship. It is not uncommon for First Nations people to have their identity questioned and some people writing in an Indigenous space from an Indigenous standpoint do not declare themselves to be Indigenous, possibly because they are unable to name their family connections. Other non-Indigenous people seeking to prioritise Indigenous voices in the literature may take additional steps to confirm with an author their specific identity and connections, however I am mindful that this points to one area of white privilege as I do not need to continually justify my background and identification to other non-Indigenous people.

Limitations of methodology

While I used a schema for coding based on Bhaskar's Dialectical Critical Realism and informed by Ultra-realist criminological lens on social harm, the complex arguments on the nature of ontology and morality that result in marked differences between these two positions and between them and Indigenous cosmologies are debated and contentious areas. This thesis is not intended to add to these debates but to recognise the intersection of decolonising and social determinants research as

complex and contested onto-ethical terrain. Research that seeks to address social determinants needs to recognise Indigenous rights as more than the right to equal treatment through fair distribution of public goods. It needs to critique the moral basis on which this distribution is imagined and embodied in policy and who defines what a public good is, and why. To go further, how has the nature of social determinants research been shaped and aligned to particular interests and where are the western capitalist cultural influences most apparent with in the discipline? To best understand these questions, it is necessary to look to the people who benefit least from these cultural influences for a robust critique. By seeking to emphasise and prioritise First Nations voices and social critique I was able to better understand what First Nations scholars mean when they invoke the term 'colonisation' and why claiming to 'decolonise' anything requires working with and learning from First Nations people and not taking anything about the term for granted.

Areas for further research

The findings evoked themes that are not explored to the depth and breadth they deserve. Three concepts that are especially worthy of exploration and clarification in the context of colonising injustice are belonging, freedom and success. There is a need to problematise the notion of belonging in the school context. First Nations people's sovereign connection to Country is essentially denied a place in the national curriculum which relegates First Nations relationship to Country to the past and undermines respect for Traditional Owners, Elders and leaders. The disrupting dislocation of families from Country can place First Nations young people in vulnerable positions which are also not acknowledged. Meanwhile non-Indigenous assumptions of Country as something that 'belongs' to us and nationhood, which establishes our belonging to Australia as citizens, obscures the history of violent settlement and dispossession on which this sense of belonging depends. Freedom is revealed as a complex and somewhat misrepresented issue. Freedom is not a licence for committing social harms or to deny and escape historical reckoning. The nature of *symbolic order* and *symbolic efficiency* point to the need for negotiation of responsibility and accountability as integral to justice. Thirdly, success is a widely used concept in relation to school education but is infused with ideological symbolism as explicated through Bourdieu's *cultural capital*.

Original contribution to knowledge

My original contribution to knowledge concerns new perspectives on how education functions as a social determinant of health through structural, colonising harms and how non-Indigenous people can engage in decolonising praxis, to highlight, describe and strive to avoid and challenge these harms and promote health equity. I have identified six stages that align with Lorraine Muller's six stages of

Indigenous decolonisation as depicted in Table 3. The research findings confirmed issues discussed by Gawaian Bodkin-Andrews and Bronwyn Carlson (2016), including European constructions of 'pan-Indigenous identity' and disregard for the existence and impact of systemic racism, that are perpetuated within the very education system that should be a strong tool to redress such inequalities (Bodkin-Andrews and Carlson 2013). School should be a place where students can develop their critical thinking and apply it to their own local circumstances to understand how it is that race is more predictive of school success than other factors and whether and how colonisation functionally impacts their beliefs about both national identity and their own and their schoolmates' identities. As this research has shown, teachers are, not necessarily consciously, complicit in colonising harm through the symbolic order, not just at the level of the school and education system, but through the disintegration of 'the social' and deprivileging of the public good, which are current expressions of capitalism in its historical emergent forms.

I have written the stages of decolonisation of the non-Indigenous mind as a restructuring of thought and imagination, addressing the need for reconsidering symbolic order and morality as essential guides for healing and respectful relatedness. The six stages of non-Indigenous decolonising praxis arising from this research sometimes complement, sometimes intersect and coincide with Lorraine's stages. I have come to understand that the six stages are non-linear, overlapping, and in one encounter with a responsibility or an event we perceive to be implicated in oppression, some or all stages can manifest simultaneously.

Table 3 sets out relevant concepts described in First Nations literature, processes that I encountered and experienced throughout this research. The six stages of decolonising praxis were developed through:

- the experiences outlined by Indigenous authors and described in Chapter 3 and 4, and
- encounters in my personal journey, both in life and within the time of this study, as they compare with the six stages of decolonisation for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people outlined by Lorraine Muller (Muller, 2017). ,

At the core of this thesis is the message that by turning to First Nations literature, intellectual growth and insight will manifest much more rapidly because we are moved beyond a single-plane awareness into a multi-dimensional one. By undertaking a journey of decolonising praxis through the stages outlined in table 6, engaging with the lived experience of First Nations people non-Indigenous people with decision making power can develop the skills to critically interrogate the source of the power and its differential effects on First Nations people, as well as the structural factors that delimit agency. This

process is clearer through an appreciation of the nature of the 'social'. Our thoughts and responses cannot be cleaved entirely from the structures and systems that shape our world. However, decolonisation offers a framework for re-instating truth and morality. Australians of all backgrounds can benefit from a return to the social and a restoration of balance where a true appreciation of difference leads to a reinstatement of respect and relationality over meritocracy and competition as the determinants of health equity.

Table 6 Six stages of non-Indigenous decolonising praxis

Muller's six stages **(Muller, 2014a)**:	Non-Indigenous decolonisation STAGE AND PROCESS	A relevant Indigenous concept to consider	education moment	movement forward
REDISCOVERY AND RECOVERY 'strategies for transferring of knowledge that are respectful and appropriate' (p210)	**REALISE** Identifying colonising harms, re-evaluating history, engaging with truth as a moral force	truth and reconciliation	young people are asking for their culture and history to be taught	decolonising the political landscape
MOURNING 'unresolved or repressed experience 'internalised shame or worthlessness' (p. 214)	**RETREAT** stepping back from and critiquing the source of positional power, apology, anger, letting go of stereotypes	Shame (*Baambi*)	Reconsidering identity, purpose and meaning of teaching, letting go of fear and set ways -	decolonising relationships and spaces
HEALING AND FORGIVENESS 'both central to and a goal of decolonisation in Australia' (p. 231)	**RESOLVE** stillness and deep listening, sitting with discomfort and distorted perception and pushing through	*Dadirri*	Pedagogy of respect, healing, engaging spirit of the learner	Finding connection and relatedness that surpasses individuality, listening and getting to know First Nations people and the local landscape
DREAMING: AND THE DREAMING 'how we can set the stage for a future that is inclusive, based on respect and connectedness' (p. 229)	**REPURPOSE** (self) two different cultures distinct but working together unpacking hidden curriculum,	*Ganma*	teaching in partnership embracing learning and diversity	finding one's place within the pattern
COMMITMENT 'to ongoing personal reflection and to the pursuit of dismantling the ongoing structures of colonisation' (p229).	**COMMIT** alternative pedagogies, incorporating cultures and languages, finding new ways of being experimenting with bicultural learning	8-ways pedagogy	letting go of expert status and welcoming in knowledge frameworks	bringing new ways into pedagogy
ACTION 'pro-active not reactive, where we take actions towards… a decolonised future (p. 230).	**ACT** responsiveness, transformative energy, antiracism, proactive equity-	Flow	breakthroughs, restorative justice, high expectations opportunity for systemic moves through above stages	mustering change

Realise is the stage of our first and subsequent encounters with the truth of colonisation's brutality, when we are confronted with inescapable knowing of horrors that, committed in a 'nation-building' exercise happened in our, future settler generations', names. At this stage the first instinct for many people is to deny or minimise what we are learning. For others, the reaction is painful emotion, expressed in grief or anger. There is also an increased awareness of separateness, of realising that what was done to First Nations people was because of their race, that it is a history that we have not appreciated the need to know.

Retreat follows this realisation and is a decolonising step. It involves not shying away from the truth; responding by withdrawing to undertake further learning, and digging deeper to confirm and extend our field of understanding. Retreat can be prompted by guilt and shame, when we see the coloniser in ourselves and want to back away. It is an important moment to grasp, allowing the necessary space to reframe our relationships and positioning. Retreat involves an inward wrestle which is ongoing as we learn more, reinterpret stories from the past, and question those around us.

Resolve is emotional preparation and fortification to engage with decolonisation. To act on knowledge of harm, to act ethically takes courage and determination, as such action will inevitably create backlash, often from unexpected places. Unconsciously we know this, an awareness that often leads us to accept and 'play the game' in our professional lives, finding it easier to burden First Nations people with deficit logic than to believe and act with integrity.

Repurpose may come quickly or a great deal later than the Realise stage. It occurs when we find our values and ambitions are shifting because the world is not as we believed it to be, and we internalise and accept this. This is a stage in which our imagination is stretched to attempt to answer the question, what must the world have been like for these events to occur? why do they still persist and what must the world be like now, for a different future to emerge?

Commit is a process of imagination also. It is the outcome of the changes and effort of the previous four stages. Ideally it demands transdisciplinary and post-disciplinary exploration and collaboration to reimagine belonging: inverting our perspective to see the concept of nationhood as problematic. Having identified and engaged with First Nations literature, media and other aspects of culture the twin problems of race and colonisation move from periphery to centre. Whether in a school or any other workplace, First Nations absences become points of critical questioning, focussing us, non-Indigenous people on what we need to do differently.

Action is the steps we take to create change. Decolonising action is closely informed by interaction and collaboration with First Nations people and support for determination. More generally it

encompasses the work we do challenge the foundations of all kinds of social injustice. It is recognition that most outlets for dissent are commercialised and commodified. Permanent retreat into a comfortable life is not an option either, as we are pummelled by human-made disasters. Our options are limited, but through determination and commitment to ethical practice, alternatives and opportunities for intervention inevitably arise.

Critique of neo-liberal consumerism and its radical dismantling of a meaningful and ethical symbolic order provides insights into the apparent lack of will for the school system to name and tackle structural racism. All political issues are packaged for consumption by the media and embraced in popular culture. Alternative media and activist groups have been able to critique and divulge powerful interests behind harm and injustice, with campaigns such as BlackLivesMatter constituting powerful expose of government unwillingness to address blatant structural racism. Concomitantly, radical right-wing agendas are pursued through vast propaganda apparatus that are presented as a counter-culture alternative. Cultural capital resides in the ability to proclaim evidence-based fact from propagandised fiction. Against this wholly self-defeating decline of social responsibility, the longevity of First Nations culture and its embodied connection with holistic health is founded not on enlightened detachment from nature but a realist recognition of human intra-activity that teaches respect.

We can contest this positioning by engaging with the social, pursuing our responsibilities to acknowledge First Nations presence and pre-existence, the current state of Indigenous sovereignty and non-Indigenous settlement; the position and voice of First Nations people in the space where ecology and natural assets collide with the economy; the labour market; and Indigenous rights. Crucially, this research has explored the implication of ethically informed actions with respect to the health, wellbeing, education, being and becoming of First Nations young people and demonstrated that engaging directly with First Nations authors and research provides holistic, historically and geographically informed understanding of the determinants of health.

I have grown through this research in understanding more deeply how our actions and beliefs contribute to this ongoing and seemingly inescapable state. A few white people who have embarked on a decolonising journey does not automatically make things better, but publishing and publicising what we know and what we learn adds to the shifting weight of opinion. It is clear that non-Indigenous Australia is not 'off the hook' but has a moral responsibility to act, but to act in non-colonising ways.

As First Nations academic and Senior Wiradjuri woman Wendy Brady explained (Brady, 1997):

> …For Indigenous people [the] right to education must coincide with the establishment of systems of education which reflect, respect and embrace Indigenous cultural values, philosophies and ideologies… which have shaped, nurtured and sustained Indigenous people for tens of thousands of years.
>
> … After 208 years of colonisation we are left with a legacy of grief, dispossession, and struggle for survival. I believe that it is time we empowered ourselves to take back our education so that we can move with pride into our next 40,000 years.

There is a long way to go in terms of providing culturally informed and responsive services in health and education. There is an enforced distance that lies with the difference in perception of the Country we live in and First Nations people's place within and relationship to it. First Nations people are expected to divest their cultural beliefs and accept the responsibilities of employment that come with the alleged rewards of consumerism. Consumerism has been shown to be the reduction of all aspects of life to capacity for profit, little of which finds its way back as public goods. As well as the alienation in this system as individuals are expected to heavily invest in fantasy and mystification, for First Nations people who are raised to put the collective good above self-interest it risks additional harms in the form of unresolvable cultural tensions and identity crisis.

Rather than fearing that engaging with and getting to know First Nations people might somehow mirror this crisis and unravel white identity, the opposite may be true. For non-Indigenous people to listen and respect the position of First Nations people it offers a chance to appreciate living on this continent in a different way. It opens up possibilities for reconsidering our own identity, the ways in which we seem white and/or colonising to others and what has created those tendencies. While these may not close the gap in and of themselves, they help to bridge and heal the social gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous practitioners and between non-Indigenous service providers and First Nations recipients of those services. They help to foster learning and understanding, acceptance and dialogue, which gradually makes the 'terror of the abyss' less frightening and political resolve more possible amongst non-Indigenous settlers. It is this gap in understanding and learning which I believe makes a difference and could help to redefine our understanding of 'health'.

Having chosen to privilege First Nations authored literature as a research method I committed to a process that was at times intense and isolating. Doing so increased my awareness of the substantial number of Indigenous scholars in this country and internationally and the richness, methodological and disciplinary diversity and intellectual rigour that has been produced. As I have argued earlier in the thesis, it is clear to me that Australian social research must include First Nations perspectives. Further, critical realism and related approaches have had little uptake in First Nations scholarship, yet

they are decolonising in their engagement with critique of social structures and mechanisms and are worthy of further application in decolonising research. By learning and reflecting on how education, health, politics and culture are commodified and packaged we can engage in healthy cynicism that brings us closer together. When we reconsider what appears to be dysfunction as functioning under pressure and systemic resistance, incredulity and distain are replaced with uncertainty and empathy, a more constructive position to advance from.

Final alignments

In conclusion, in the introduction I claimed that Indigenous education functions within schools as a social determinant of health. As I have shown, it does this by attempting to name and restore the elements of the social as culture, reinstating the nature of reality as a place to which we spiritually connect. That is, which humans can relate to beyond the inadequacy of verbal expression. Perhaps it is this power that the first white arrivals were terrified by, recognising subliminally that this was a symbolic power, lost to them to manipulate, but still inspiring dread in its magical capacity to quell them into submission - a symbolic order that inspired loyalty, cooperation, mutual recognition and social stability. Right from wrong were determined through knowledge of the law as deeply felt and internalised, through continual re-enactment of relationships within systems and between beings. Mentally engaging with a set of concepts at this level taps into what Yunkaporta describes as 'that higher level of spiritual [and intellectual] knowledge . . . [where] there are things that are the same, no matter where you come from in the world' (Yunkaporta, 2009, p. 4). They are reflected, for example in those aspects of the term 'folk' wisdom that elude verbal description, yet which manifest in recognisable characteristics, demonstrating the empowerment of the human intellect to function orchestrally within a given social sphere in the rhythms of life for its own sake.

This return to a conception of humanity and human powers, our ontological being through possibility, offers a glimpse of the profound necessity of belonging and being held accountable to collective reason. This is the reinstatement of morality and a concept of the 'good'.

Teachers are not trained and prepared as philosophers but for many in the teaching profession, the urge to connect, to discover truths beyond words are at the core of their motivation. First Nations teachers and education professionals in auxiliary roles are continually searching out and naming what, again beyond the power of words, is wrong, is harmful and which places young people at risk. This project is an integral part of Indigenous education and of the Real of education as the lifelong process of finding our power. Teachers can engage with the silence, the unspoken and the absent

where truth can reveal itself unbidden through unexpected dimensions of metaphor. Health resides in this place, in the gap between the reality of the market and the reality of humanity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner. (2005). *Social Justice Report* (3/2005). Retrieved from http://www.hreoc.gov.au/social_Justice/sj_report/sjreport05/pdf/SocialJustice2005.pdf

Adler, N. E., Boyce, T., Chesney, M. A., Cohen, S., Folkman, S., Kahn, R. L., & Syme, S. L. (1994). Socioeconomic status and health: the challenge of the gradient. *American psychologist, 49*(1), 15.

Agger, B. (2015). *Speeding up fast capitalism: Cultures, jobs, families, schools, bodies*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Alderson, P. (2013). *Childhoods, real and imagined*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Alderson, P. (2016). The philosophy of critical realism and childhood studies. *Global Studies of Childhood, 6*(2), 199-210.

Altman, J., & Fogarty, B. (2010). Indigenous Australians as 'no gaps' subjects: Education and development in remote Australia. In *Closing the gap in education?: Improving outcomes in southern world societies* (pp. 109-128). Melbourne: Monash University Publishing.

Alvaredo, F., Chancel, L., Piketty, T., Saez, E., & Zucman, G. (2017). Global inequality dynamics: New findings from WID. *American Economic Review, 107*(5), 404-409.

Archer, M. S. (2020). The Morphogenetic Approach; Critical Realism's Explanatory Framework Approach. In P. Róna & L. Zsolnai (Eds.), *Agency and Causal Explanation in Economics* (pp. 137-150). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Attia, M., & Edge, J. (2017). Be (com) ing a reflexive researcher: a developmental approach to research methodology. *Open Review of Educational Research, 4*(1), 33-45.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1994). Cat. 1301.0 Australian Year Book, 1994.

Australian Indigenous Healthinfonet. (2019, Feb). History of Closing the Gap. Retrieved from https://healthinfonet.ecu.edu.au/learn/health-system/closing-the-gap/history-of-closing-the-gap/

Australian Senate. (2006). *Unfinished business: Indigenous stolen wages ('Stolen Wages report').* Retrieved from https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Legal_and_Constitutional_Affairs/Completed_inquiries/2004-07/stolen_wages/report/index

Bagley, C., Sawyerr, A., & Abubaker, M. (2016). Dialectic Critical Realism: Grounded Values and Reflexivity in Social Science Research. *Preprints*. doi:10.20944/preprints201609.0052.v1

Bain, L. L. (1985). The hidden curriculum re-examined. *Quest, 37*(2), 145-153.

Banks, R. (2008). Stolen Wages. *Australian Indigenous Law Review, 12*, 55-67.

Barcellos, S. H., Carvalho, L. S., & Turley, P. (2019). *Distributional effects of education on health*. National Bureau of Economic Research Retrieved from https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w25898/w25898.pdf

Bastos, J. L., Harnois, C. E., & Paradies, Y. C. (2018). Health care barriers, racism, and intersectionality in Australia. *Social Science & Medicine, 199*, 209-218.

Baum, F., & Friel, S. (2017). Politics, policies and processes: a multidisciplinary and multimethods research programme on policies on the social determinants of health inequity in Australia. *BMJ open, 7*(12), e017772.

Beasley-Murray, J. (2000). Value and capital in Bourdieu and Marx. *Pierre Bourdieu: fieldwork in culture*, 100-119.

Belfrage, C., & Hauf, F. (2017). The Gentle Art of Retroduction: Critical Realism, Cultural Political Economy and Critical Grounded Theory. *Organization Studies, 38*(2), 251-271.

Berkhout, E., Galasso, N., Lawson, M., Rivero Morales, P. A., Taneja, A., & Vázquez Pimentel, D. A. (2021). *The Inequality Virus: Bringing together a world torn apart by coronavirus through a fair, just and sustainable economy* (1787486400). Retrieved from Oxford, UK: https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/inequality-virus

Berman, Y., Ben-Jacob, E., & Shapira, Y. (2016). The dynamics of wealth inequality and the effect of income distribution. *PloS one, 11*(4).

Bhaskar, R. (1993). *Dialectic: The pulse of Freedom*. London: Verso.

Bhaskar, R. (1997). On the ontological status of ideas. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 27*(2-3), 139-147.

Birch, E., & Preston, A. (2020). The Australian labour market in 2019. *Journal of Industrial Relations, 62*(3), 341-364.

Bishop, R. (2003). Changing power relations in education: Kaupapa Maori messages for 'mainstream' education in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Comparative Education, 39*(2), 221-238.

Bodkin-Andrews, G., & Carlson, B. (2016). The legacy of racism and Indigenous Australian identity within education. *Race ethnicity and education, 19*(4), 784-807.

Bodkin-Andrews, G., Page, S., & Trudgett, M. (2018). Shaming the silences: Indigenous Graduate Attributes and the privileging of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices. *Critical Studies in Education*, 1-18.

Bond, C. J., Whop, L. J., Singh, D., & Kajlich, H. (2020). Now we say Black Lives Matter but… the fact of the matter is, we just Black matter to them. *Medical Journal of Australia, 213*(6), 248-250.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans. English Language ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (2013). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: London: Taylor and Francis.

Bourke, C. J., Rigby, K., & Burden, J. (2000). *Better Practice in School Attendance: Improving the School Attendance of Indigenous Students*. Retrieved from http://www.strongersmarter.qut.edu.au/sslc/docs/Better%20Practice%20in%20School%20Attendance.pdf

Brabazon, T., Redhead, S., & Chivaura, R. (2018a). Trump Studies: The double refusal and silent majorities in theoretical times. *Cultural Studies Review, 24*(2), 3.

Brabazon, T., Redhead, S., & Chivaura, R. S. (2018b). Return of the Repressed Amidst the Double Refusal In T. Brabazon, S. Redhead, & R. S. Chivaura (Eds.), *Trump Studies: An intellectual guide to why citizens vote against their interests*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited.

Brabham, W., Henry, J., Bamblett, E., & Bates, J. (2002). Indigenous Australian participation in higher education: The realities of practical reconciliation. *Australian Universities' Review, The, 45*(1), 10-14.

Brady, W. (1997). Indigenous Australian education and globalisation. *International Review of Education, 43*(5), 413-422.

Bridge, G., & Smith, A. (2003). Intimate encounters: culture—economy—commodity. In: SAGE Publications Sage UK: London, England.

Buckskin, P. (2009). *Review of Australian directions in Indigenous education 2005-2008* Carlton South, Victoria

Buckskin, P. (2015). Engaging Indigenous students: The important relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and their teachers. In K. Price (Ed.), *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education: An Introduction for the Teaching Profession* (2nd ed., pp. 174-191). Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Carlson, B. (2013). The 'new frontier': Emergent Indigenous identities and social media. In M. Harris, M. Nakata, & B. Carlson (Eds.), *The Politics of Identity: Emerging Indigeneity* (pp. 147–168). Sydney: UTSePress.

Cashian, P. S. (2014). *A critical realist exploration of the comparative impact on successful first generation and non-first generation graduates of a programme of change aimed at enhancing employability.* ProQuest Dissertations Publishing,

Chigeza, P., & Whitehouse, H. (2010). Australian Torres Strait Islander students negotiate learning secondary school science in Standard Australian English: a tentative case for also teaching and assessing in Creole. In D. J. Tippins, M. P. Mueller, M. v. Eijck, & J. D. Adams (Eds.), *Cultural Studies and Environmentalism: The Confluence of EcoJustice, Place-Based (Science) Education, and Indigenous Knowledge Systems* (pp. 415-437): Springer.

Clibborn, S. (2020). Australian industrial relations in 2019: The year wage theft went mainstream. *Journal of Industrial Relations, 62*(3), 331-340.

Commission on Social Determinants of Health. (2008). *Closing the Gap in a Generation: Health Equity through Action on the Social Determinants of Health*. Retrieved from https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/WHO-IER-CSDH-08.1

Corado, G., Hetherington-Coy, A., Holder, S., Kapitan, K., Meineke, K., Mouland, J., . . . Patel, J. (2019). Examining Educators' Awareness of Hidden Curriculum and its Influence on Teaching Practice.

Corn, A., & Patrick, w. S. W. J. (2019). Exploring the applicability of the Semantic Web for discovering and navigating Australian Indigenous knowledge resources. *Archives and Manuscripts, 47*(1), 131-152.

Council of Australian Governments. (2008). National Indigenous Reform Agreement (Closing the Gap).

Creighton, A. R. (2016). *Gaba Binggi (Good Needles): Developing an understanding of how two Aboriginal* communities see and experience immunisation during pregnancy.* (Master of Philosophy (Medicine)). University of Sydney,

Davies, W. (2016). *The limits of neoliberalism: Authority, sovereignty and the logic of competition*. London, UK: Sage.

Davis, M. (2015). Closing the gap in Indigenous disadvantage: A trajectory of Indigenous inequality in Australia. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, 16*, 34.

DeCuir, J. T., & Dixson, A. D. (2004). "So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there": Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational researcher, 33*(5), 26-31.

Deravin, L., Francis, K., & Anderson, J. (2018). Closing the gap in Indigenous health inequity – Is it making a difference? *International nursing review, 65*(4), 477-483.

Dodson, M. (2003). " Voices of the Peoples—Voices of the Earth: Indigenous Peoples—Subjugation or Self-Determination? *Liberating Faith: Religious Voices for Justice, Peace, and Ecological Wisdom*, 296.

Dodson, M., & Wilson, R. (1997). *National Inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*. Retrieved from https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/bringing-them-home-report-1997

Dudgeon, P., & Walker, R. (2015). Decolonising Australian psychology: Discourses, strategies, and practice. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 3*(1), 276-297.

Edmonds, P. (2012). Unofficial apartheid, convention and country towns: reflections on Australian history and the New South Wales Freedom Rides of 1965. *Postcolonial Studies, 15*(2), 167-190.

Fejo-King, C. (2011). The national apology to the stolen generations: The ripple effect. *Australian Social Work, 64*(1), 130-143.

Fisher, M. (2009). *Capitalist realism: Is there no alternative?* Winchester, UK: O Books.

Fisher, M., Battams, S., Mcdermott, D., Baum, F., & Macdougall, C. (2019). How the social determinants of Indigenous health became policy reality for Australia's National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Plan. *Journal of Social Policy, 48*(1), 169-189.

Foley, D. (2003). Indigenous epistemology and Indigenous standpoint theory. *Social Alternatives, 22*(1), 44-52.

Foley, G. (2000). Whiteness and Blackness in the Koori struggle for self-determination: strategic considerations in the struggle for social justice for Indigenous people. *Just Policy: A Journal of Australian Social Policy*(19-20), 74.

Frawley, J., Larkin, S., & Smith, J. A. (2017). *Indigenous pathways, transitions and participation in higher education: From policy to practice*: Springer.

Fredericks, B., Maynor, P., White, N., English, F. W., & Ehrich, L. C. (2014). Living with the legacy of conquest and culture: Social justice leadership in education and the Indigenous peoples of Australia and America. In *International handbook of educational leadership and social (in)justice* (pp. 751-780). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Gilbert, S. (2019). The Treadmill of Identity: Treading Water, Paddling like a Duck but still in the Same Pond. *Australian Feminist Law Journal, 45*(2), 249-266.

Gillan, K. P., Mellor, S., & Krakouer, J. (2017). The case for urgency: Advocating for Indigenous voice in education.

Goda, T. (2018). The global concentration of wealth. *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 42*(1), 95-115.

Grote, E., Oliver, R., & Rochecouste, J. (2014). Code-Switching and Indigenous Workplace Learning: Cross-Cultural Competence Training or Cultural Assimilation? In *Critical Perspectives on Language Education* (pp. 101-117): Springer International Publishing.

Gunstone, A. (2008). *The failure of the Howard Government's 'practical' reconciliation policy*. Paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on Racisms in the New World Order, Caloundra, Queensland.

Gunstone, A. (2012). Indigenous education 1991-2000: documents, outcomes and governments. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 41*(2), pp.75-84.

Haigh, F., Kemp, L., Bazeley, P., & Haigh, N. (2019). Developing a critical realist informed framework to explain how the human rights and social determinants of health relationship works. *BMC Public Health, 19*(1), 1-12.

Hall, S., Kuldova, T., & Horsley, M. (2020). *Crime, Harm and Consumerism*. Oxon: Routledge.

Hall, S., & Winlow, S. (2015). *Revitalizing Criminological Theory: Towards a new Ultra-Realism*. Oxon: Routledge.

Hall, S., & Winlow, S. (2018). Ultra-realism. In *Routledge handbook of critical criminology* (pp. 43-56): Routledge.

Hartsock, M., & Roark, E. (2020). Exploitation without Exchange: An Analysis of Consumer Exploitation of Sweatshop Workers. *International Journal of Applied Philosophy, 33*(2).

Hemming, S., Rigney, D., Bignall, S., Berg, S., & Rigney, G. (2019). Indigenous nation building for environmental futures: Murrundi flows through Ngarrindjeri country. *Australasian Journal of Environmental Management, 26*(3), 216-235.

Henry, E., & Foley, D. (2018). Indigenous research: ontologies, axiologies, epistemologies and methodologies. In *Handbook of research methods in diversity management, equality and inclusion at work*: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Herzog, L. (2021). Shared Standards Versus Competitive Pressures in Journalism. *Journal of Applied Philosophy*.

Hewitson, O. (2015). What does Lacan say about Jouissance?

Hill-Briggs, F., Adler, N. E., Berkowitz, S. A., Chin, M. H., Gary-Webb, T. L., Navas-Acien, A., . . . Haire-Joshu, D. (2021). Social determinants of health and diabetes: a scientific review. *Diabetes Care, 44*(1), 258-279.

Hogarth, M. (2017). Speaking back to the deficit discourses: a theoretical and methodological approach. *The Australian Educational Researcher, 44*(1), 21-34.

Hudson, S. (2016). *Mapping the Indigenous program and funding maze*: Centre for Independent Studies Sydney.

Hudson, S., Salvatierra, C. A. M., & Andres, C. (2017). *Evaluating Indigenous programs: A toolkit for change*: Centre for Independent Studies Sydney; Australia, NSW.

Hughes, P. (1988). *Report of the Aboriginal Education Policy Taskforce*. Canberra: Australian Government

Janke, K., Johnston, D. W., Propper, C., & Shields, M. A. (2020). The causal effect of education on chronic health conditions in the UK. *Journal of health economics, 70*, 102-252.

Jessop, B. (2005). Critical Realism and the Strategic-Relational Approach. *New Formations: A journal of culture, theory and politics*(56), 40-53.

Johnson, D. (2002). Environmentally sustainable cruise tourism: a reality check. *Marine Policy, 26*(4), 261-270.

Johnson, M. (2011). Reconciliation, indigeneity, and postcolonial nationhood in settler states. *Postcolonial Studies, 14*(2), 187-201.

Joint Council on Closing the Gap. (2020). *National Agreement on Closing the Gap*. Canberra: Australian Government

Jæger, M. M., & Breen, R. (2016). A dynamic model of cultural reproduction. *American Journal of Sociology, 121*(4), 1079-1115.

Keddie, A., & Holloway, J. (2020). School autonomy, school accountability and social justice: stories from two Australian school principals. *School Leadership & Management, 40*(4), 288-302.

Kerwin, D. (2010). *Aboriginal Dreaming Paths and Trading Routes: The colonisation of the Australian economic landscape* (T. colonisatio Ed.). Eastbourne, UK: Sussex Academic Press.

Khan, A. (2018). Lacan and Race. In A. Mukherjee (Ed.), *After Lacan: Literature, Theory and Psychoanalysis in the 21st Century*: Cambridge University Press.

Klippmark, P., & Crawley, K. (2018). Justice for Ms Dhu: Accounting for Indigenous deaths in custody in Australia. *Social & Legal Studies, 27*(6), 695-715.

Laenui, P. (2006). The process of decolonization.

Levitas, R. (2004). Let's hear it for Humpty: social exclusion, the third way and cultural capital. *Cultural Trends, 13*(2), 41-56.

Lim, Y., Bickham, T., Dinecola, C. M., Broussard, J., Weber, B. E., & Gregory, A. (2014). Payday loan use and consumer well-being: What consumers and social workers need to know about payday loans. *Journal of Poverty, 18*(4), 379-398.

Lowe, K., Backhaus, V., Yunkaporta, T., & Brown, L. (2014). Winanga-y Bagay Gay: Know the river's story. *Curriculum perspectives, 34*(3), 59-91.

MacDonald, L. (2019). 'The same as everyone else': how academically successful indigenous secondary school students respond to a hidden curriculum of settler silencing. *Whiteness and Education, 4*(1), 38-52.

Macintyre, S. (2003). The history wars. *Sydney Papers, 15*(3 and 4), 76-83.

Maddison, S. (2019). *The Colonial Fantasy: Why white Australia can't solve black problems*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Malin, M., & Maidment, D. (2003). Education, Indigenous survival and well-being: Emerging ideas and programs. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 32*.

Marker, M. (2006). After the Makah Whale Hunt: Indigenous Knowledge and Limits to Multicultural Discourse. In *Urban Education* (Vol. 41, pp. 482-505).

Marmot, M., & Allen, J. J. (2014). Social determinants of health equity. *104*.

Marmot, M. G. (2011). Social determinants and the health of Indigenous Australians. *Med J Aust, 194*(10), 512-513.

Mayes, C., Paradies, Y., & Elias, A. (2021). Lead Essay—Institutional Racism, Whiteness, and the Role of Critical Bioethics. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry, 18*(1), 9-12.

McInerney, P. (2005). Counting and accounting for social justice in the devolved school: How do indigenous students fare? *Melbourne Studies in Education, 46*(1), 13-32.

McKnight, A., Harwood, V., McMahon, S., Priestly, A., & Trindorfer, J. (2018). 'No Shame at AIME': Listening to Aboriginal Philosophy and Methodologies to Theorise Shame in Educational Contexts. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 1-11.

McMillan, M., & Rigney, S. (2018). Race, reconciliation, and justice in Australia: From denial to acknowledgment. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41*(4), 759-777.

Mijs, J. J. B. (2016). The unfulfillable promise of meritocracy: Three lessons and their implications for justice in education. *Social Justice Research, 29*(1), 14-34.

Mijs, J. J. B. (2021). The paradox of inequality: Income inequality and belief in meritocracy go hand in hand. *Socio-Economic Review, 19*(1), 7-35.

Milgate, G., & Giles-Browne, B. (2013). *Creating an Effective School for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students*. Canberra: ACER

Miller, J.-A. (2017). Extimate Enemies. *The Lacanian Review, 3 Hurly Burly*(Segregations).

Mingers, J. (2011). The Truth, the Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth: High-Quality Research in Information Systems. In R. D. Galliers & W. L. Currie (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Management Information Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ministerial Council for Education, E., Training and Youth Affairs. (2000). Achieving Educational Equality for Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples

Mirzaei Rafe, M., Noaparast, K. B., Hosseini, A. S., & Sajadieh, N. (2021). An examination of Roy Bhaskar's critical realism as a basis for educational practice. *Journal of Critical Realism, 20*(1), 56-71.

Moodie, N., Maxwell, J., & Rudolph, S. (2019). The impact of racism on the schooling experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students: A systematic review. *The Australian Educational Researcher, 46*(2), 273-295.

Moodie, P. M. (1973). *Aboriginal health*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Moran, A. (2005). White Australia, settler nationalism and Aboriginal assimilation. *Australian Journal of Politics & History, 51*(2), 168-193.

Moran, P., & Murphy, M. (2012). Habermas, pupil voice, rationalism, and their meeting with Lacan's Objet Petit A. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 31*(2), 171-181.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2009). Imagining the Good Citizen'. *Cultural Studies Review (September 2009), 7*.

Morgan, D. L. (2008). Emergent design. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 246-249).

Morgan, D. L., Slade, M. D., & Morgan, C. M. A. (1997). Aboriginal philosophy and its impact on health care outcomes. *Australian and New Zealand journal of public health, 21*(6), 597-601.

Muller, L. (2007). De-colonisation: reflections and implications for social work practice. *Communities, Children and Families Australia, 3*, 80-87.

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

Muller, L. (2014b). Indigenous Australian social-health theory: decolonisation, healing – reclaiming wellbeing. In L. Beddoe & J. Maidment (Eds.), *Social Work Practice for Promoting Health and Wellbeing: Critical Issues* (pp. 99-110). London: Routledge.

Muller, L. (2015). Preparing to work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples: Decolonisation for social work practice. In J. Maidment & R. Egan (Eds.), *Practice Skills for Social Work and Welfare: More than just common sense* (3rd ed.). Crows Nest: Allen and Unwen.

Muller, L. (2017). *Shifting the lens: Indigenous research into mainstream Australian culture.* (PhD). James Cook University, Townsville.

National Congress of Australia's First Peoples. (2013). Education Policy.

Neville, H. A., Oyama, K. E., Odunewu, L. O., & Huggins, J. G. (2014). Dimensions of belonging as an aspect of racial-ethnic-cultural identity: An exploration of indigenous Australians. *Journal of counseling psychology, 61*(3), 414.

Northern Territory Government. (2019). Your child's absence from school. *Education and learning.* Retrieved from https://nt.gov.au/learning/primary-and-secondary-students/your-childs-absence-from-school

O'Dea, K. (1984). Marked improvement in carbohydrate and lipid metabolism in diabetic Australian Aborigines after temporary reversion to traditional lifestyle. *Diabetes, 33*(6), 596-603.

Oliver, C. (2011). Critical realist grounded theory: A new approach for social work research. *British Journal of Social Work, 42*(2).

Paradies, Y. (2006). A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health. *International Journal of Epidemiology, 35*(4), 888-901.

Paradies, Y. C. (2006). Beyond black and white essentialism, hybridity and indigeneity. *Journal of Sociology, 42*(4), 355-367.

Parkin, R. (2014, 10 January 2014). Launch of Indigenous Truancy Program, Radio transcript. *SBS World News Australia*. Retrieved from https://www.sbs.com.au/news/launch-of-indigenous-truancy-program

Patfield, S., Gore, J., Fray, L., & Gruppetta, M. (2019). The untold story of middle-class Indigenous Australian school students who aspire to university. *Critical Studies in Education*, 1-16.

Pawson, R., Greenhalgh, T., Harvey, G., & Walshe, K. (2004). Realist synthesis: an introduction. *Manchester: ESRC Research Methods Programme, University of Manchester*.

Phillips, J. (2011). *Resisting contradictions: Non-Indigenous pre-service teacher responses to critical Indigenous studies.* Queensland University of Technology,

Potts, K. L., & Brown, L. (2015). Becoming an Anti-Oppressive Researcher. In S. Strega & L. Brown (Eds.), *Research as Resistance, Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches* (2nd ed., pp. 17). Toronto, Canada: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Rahman, K. (2010). Addressing the foundations for improved Indigenous secondary student outcomes: A South Australian qualitative study. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 39*(1), 65-76.

Rahman, K. (2013). Belonging and Learning to Belong in School: The Implications of the Hidden Curriculum for Indigenous Students. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 34*(5), 660-672.

Ramsden, I. (1997). Cultural Safety: Implementing the Concept. In P. Te Whaiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai I Rangiatea: Maori wellbeing and development*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.

Raymen, T. (2019a). Lifestyle Gambling in Accelerated Culture. In T. Raymen & O. Smith (Eds.), *Deviant Leisure* (pp. 259-282). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Raymen, T. (2019b). The Enigma of Social Harm and the Barrier of Liberalism: Why Zemiology Needs a Theory of the Good. *Justice, Power and Resistance, 3*(1).

Raymen, T., & Smith, O. (2020). Lifestyle gambling, indebtedness and anxiety: A deviant leisure perspective [Journal Article]. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 20*(4), 381-399.

Read, P. (1982). The stolen generations. *Occasional paper No. I Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Sydney*.

Rigney, D., Rigney, L., & Hughes, P. (1998). *Report on Aboriginal Students and the South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE)*: Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia Wayville, South Australia.

Roberts, J. M. (2014). Critical realism, dialectics, and qualitative research methods. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 44*(1), 1-23.

Rogers, J. (2018). Teaching the Teachers: Re-educating Australian Teachers in Indigenous Education. In *Promising Practices in Indigenous Teacher Education* (pp. 27-39). Singapore: Springer.

Rowe, A. C., & Tuck, E. (2017). Settler colonialism and cultural studies: Ongoing settlement, cultural production, and resistance. *Cultural Studies↔ Critical Methodologies, 17*(1), 3-13.

Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. (1991). Recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. Retrieved from http://alrm.org.au/information.html

Rudd, K. (2008). *Apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples*. Canberra, ACT: Australian Government Retrieved from http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/our-country/our-people/apology-to-australias-indigenous-peoples

Ryan, L. (2013). Untangling Aboriginal resistance and the settler punitive expedition: The Hawkesbury River frontier in New South Wales, 1794–1810. *Journal of Genocide Research, 15*(2), 219-232.

Sarra, C. (2005). *Strong and Smart: Reinforcing Aboriginal perceptions of being Aboriginal at Cherbourg State School.* (PhD). Murdoch University, Retrieved from http://wwwlib.murdoch.edu.au/adt/pubfiles/adt-MU20100208.145610/02Whole.pdf

Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and social science*. London: Sage.

Scambler, G., & Scambler, S. (2015). Theorizing health inequalities: The untapped potential of dialectical critical realism. *Social Theory & Health, 13*(3-4), 340-354.

Schultz, R., & Cairney, S. (2017). Caring for country and the health of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. *Medical Journal of Australia, 207*(1), 8-10.

Schultz, R., Quinn, S. J., Abbott, T., Cairney, S., & Yamaguchi, J. (2019). Quantification of interplaying relationships between wellbeing priorities of Aboriginal people in remote Australia. *International Indigenous Policy Journal, 10*(3).

Scott, K. (2014). From Drill to Dance. In B. Neumeier & K. Schaffer (Eds.), *Decolonizing the Landscape: Indigenous Cultures in Australia* (pp. 3-22). New York: Rodopi.

Shay, M., & Heck, D. (2015). Alternative Education Engaging Indigenous Young People: Flexi Schooling in Queensland. In I. Australian (Ed.), *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* (2015/06/05 ed., Vol. 44, pp. 37-47): Cambridge University Press.

Sheehan, N. W. (2011). Indigenous knowledge and respectful design: an evidence-based approach. *Design Issues, 27*(4), 68-80.

Shepherd, F., Carrington, C. J., Li, J., & Zubrick, S. R. (2012). Social gradients in the health of Indigenous Australians. *American Journal of Public Health, 102*(1), 107-117.

Sherwood, J. (2010). *Do no harm: decolonising Aboriginal health research.* (PhD). University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Sherwood, J., & Edwards, T. (2006). Decolonisation: A critical step for improving Aboriginal health. *Contemporary Nurse, 22*.

Shipp, C. (2012). Why Indigenous Perspectives in School?: A Consideration of the Current Australian Education Landscape and the Ambiguities to be Addressed in Literacy Teaching. *English in Australia, 47*(3), 20-24.

Shipp, C. (2013). Bringing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives into the classroom: why and how. *Literacy Learning: The Middle Years, 21*(3), 24-29.

Sissy Eileen, A. (2020). The destruction of a sacred tree on Djab Wurrung country has broken our hearts. *The Guardian UK*.

Skar, O. (2019). Freedom From Hate–Free Speech as Positive Liberty.

Smallwood, G. (2011). *Human rights and first Australians' well-being*. James Cook University,

Smallwood, G. (2015). *Indigenist Critical Realism: Human Rights and First Australians' Wellbeing*. London: Routledge.

Smith, O., & Raymen, T. (2017). Shopping with violence: Black Friday sales in the British context. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 17*(3), 677-694.

Smith, O., & Raymen, T. (2018). Deviant leisure: A criminological perspective. *Theoretical Criminology, 22*(1), 63-82.

Thunig, A. (2018). 10 questions I get from non-Indigenous students. *IndigenousX*.

Tripcony, P. (2002). *Challenges and Tensions in Implementing Current Directions for Indigenous Education*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Brisbane, Queensland. http://www.aare.edu.au/02pap/tri02473.htm

Trujillo, I. (2021). The legal balance between liberty and equality. *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu, 69*(3), 635-649.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1*(1).

Turner, R. (2020, June 11). Juukan Gorge won't be the last priceless record of human history to be legally destroyed by mining. *ABC*. Retrieved from https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-06-11/juukan-gorge-aboriginal-heritage-site-just-one-of-many-destroyed/12337562

Uncle Charles Moran, Harrington, U. G., & Sheehan, N. (2018). On country learning. *Design and Culture, 10*(1), 71-79.

United Nations General Assembly. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. *United Nations, Treaty Series, 1577*, 3.

United Nations General Assembly. (2007). United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples UN: Washington. In (Vol. 61/295).

Veracini, L. (2006). A Prehistory of Australia's History Wars: The Evolution of Aboriginal History during the 1970s and 1980s. *Australian Journal of Politics & History, 52*(3), 439-454.

Vickery, J., Faulkhead, S., Adams, K., & Clarke, A. (2007). Indigenous Insights into Oral History, Social Determinants and Decolonisation. In I. Anderson, F. Baum, & M. Bentley (Eds.), *Beyond Bandaids: Exploring the Underlying Social Determinants of Aboriginal Health. Papers from the Social Determinants of Aboriginal Health Workshop, Adelaide, July 2004.* Darwin: Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal Health.

Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council, & Youth Affairs Council of Victoria. (2010). *VIYAC Voices Telling it Like it is : Young Aboriginal Victorians on Culture, Identity and Racism*. Retrieved from Melbourne: http://www.viyac.org.au/publication/

Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC). (2011). *VIYAC Voices Telling It Like It Is: Indigenous Young People on Education*. Retrieved from Melbourne: http://www.ilnv.com.au/_uploads/fcknw/files/VIYAC_Research_Print_WEB.pdf

Vincent, S., & O'Mahoney, J. (2018). Critical realism and qualitative research: An introductory overview. *The sage handbook of qualitative business and management research methods*.

Walker, M., Fredericks, B., Mills, K., & Anderson, D. (2013). Perspectives on a decolonizing approach to research about Indigenous women's health: The Indigenous Women's Wellness Study. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 9*(3), 204-216.

Walker, R. (2004). *Transformative strategies in indigenous education: a study of decolonisation and positive social change.* Curtin University,

Waller, L., McCallum, K., & Gorringe, S. (2018). Resisting the Truancy Trap: Indigenous Media and School Attendance in 'Remote' Australia. *Postcolonial Directions in Education, 7*(2), 122-147.

Wallerstein, I. (1974). The rise and future demise of the world capitalist system: Concepts for comparative analysis. *Comparative studies in society and history, 16*(4), 387-415.

Walter, M. (2015). The vexed link between social capital and social mobility for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 50*(1), 69-88.

Walter, M., & Andersen, C. (2016a). Conceptualizing Quantitative Methodologies. In *Indigenous Statistics* (pp. 41-57). New York: Routledge.

Walter, M., & Andersen, C. (2016b). *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology*. Routledge.

Watson, I. (2014). Re-centring First Nations knowledge and places in a terra nullius space. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 10*(5), 508-520.

Watson, I. (2018). Aboriginal Recognition: Treaties and Colonial Constitutions We Have Been Here Forever. *Bond Law Review, 30*, 7.

Williams, G. (2007). The races power and the 1967 referendum. *Austl. Indigenous L. Rev., 11*, 8.

Williams, L., Bunda, T., Claxton, N., & MacKinnon, I. (2018). A Global De-colonial Praxis of Sustainability — Undoing Epistemic Violences between Indigenous peoples and those no longer Indigenous to Place. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 47*(1), 41-53.

Wilson, J. (2014). The Jouissance of Philanthrocapitalism: Enjoyment as a post-political factor. *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticisation, Spectres of Radical Politics*, 109-125.

Wilson, J. Z., Chihota, C., & Marks, G. (2021). Teaching white privilege: an auto-ethnographic approach. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1-17.

Winlow, S., & Hall, S. (2013). *Rethinking social exclusion: The end of the social?* London, UK: Sage.

Witt, M. T., & deHaven-Smith, L. (2008). Conjuring the holographic state: Scripting security doctrine for a (new) world of disorder. *Administration & Society, 40*(6), 547-585.

Yunkaporta, T. (2009). *Aboriginal pedagogies at the cultural interface.* (Professional Doctorate (Research) Thesis). James Cook University,

Yunkaporta, T., & McGinty, S. (2009). Reclaiming aboriginal knowledge at the cultural interface. *The Australian Educational Researcher, 36*(2), 55.

Yunupingu, M. (1995). *National review of education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples: final report*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service

Yunupingu, M. (1999). Double Power. In P. Wignell (Ed.), *Double Power: English Literacy and Indigenous Education* (pp. 1-4). Melbourne: Languages Australia.

Zembylas, M. (2018). Reinventing critical pedagogy as decolonizing pedagogy: The education of empathy. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 40*(5), 404-421.

Zizek, S. (1997). The Big Other Doesn't Exist'. *Journal of European Psychoanalysis, Spring-Fall, 5*.

Žižek, S. (1999). *The ticklish subject: The absent centre of political ontology*. London: Verso.

APPENDIX A: Contextual background for reviewed items

Article	Context
A1	Cara Shipp, 2012: Writing for English teachers in Australia, Cara Shipp examines some of the successful approaches to supporting cultural literacy for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and how these might apply in an urban multicultural context such as in the Australian Capital Territory. The article relates examples from Indigenous education and literacy literature and the author's personal experience as a literacy teacher.
A2	Cara Shipp's second article (2010) addresses the importance of including Indigenous perspectives in school education. The article is intended to provide teachers with an understanding of some of the causal factors in the literacy gap between non-Indigenous and First Nations students along with strategies to address these absences.
A3	Tyson Yunkaporta and Susan McGinty's article (2009) describes a participatory action research (PAR) project at a community college where in the high school years all students were First Nations young people. The purpose was to introduce First Nations perspectives into a technology unit of the curriculum and strengthen the school-community relationship and was designed to challenge non-Indigenous assumptions about First Nations, and particularly local, knowledge.
A4	VIYAC 2011: This report published in 2011 by members of the Victorian Indigenous Youth Advisory Council (VIYAC) presents the main themes from commissioned interviews with First Nations young people in Victoria which explore participants' attitudes towards education, school and some of the enablers and barriers they have experienced. the data was analysed by a panel of VIYAC members. The report was written by a team led by First Nations authors.
A5	Kiara Rahman's paper reports results from Kiara's qualitative in-depth interviews with students that explored success factors in schooling for First Nations young people in senior secondary school. Fifteen schools drawn from all sectors, rural

(A5 cont)	and urban participated in the study. Thirty-six interviews were conducted with First Nations young people in senior school years, including fifteen year 12 students.
A6	Gina Milgate and Brian Giles-Brown's conference paper (2013) describes results of interviews with parents, carers and students from a large longitudinal survey study the Collegial Snapshot Process. This paper describes aspects of schools that students and parents identified as making an effective place of learning.
A7	Double Power by Dr M Yunupingu (1999) is a chapter in the book *Double Power: English Literacy and Indigenous Education* (Wignell ed). The article 'Double Power' discusses key questions in relation to English literacy and the use of 'Double Power' to bring Yolngu and Western cultures together.
A8	The second paper by Kiara Rahman (2013) included in this dataset explores the 'hidden curriculum' one theme from a doctoral research qualitative study involving Aboriginal senior high school students in South Australia. It describes different pedagogical approaches that can make the hidden curriculum work for First Nations students.
A9	Melitta Hogarth (2015) reports a part of a doctoral research study to critically analyse the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan 2010-2014 (MCEECDYA 2011). Melitta Hogarth argues that policy discourses normalise a deficit view of Indigenous education such that 'incremental gains are acceptable'.
A10	Jessa Rogers' 2018 book chapter in *Promising Practices in Indigenous Teacher Education* addresses a lack of material to support curriculum reforms requiring Indigenous education to be incorporated into pre-service preparation. This was a qualitative study about the requirements for culturally responsive training in pre-service teacher education.