A trans-Tasman relational model for academics integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into whitestream social work education

By

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SUMMARY

Social work education globally acknowledges its need to decolonise its education to produce graduates who are culturally responsive and culturally safe when working alongside marginalised Indigenous peoples. Both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand's social work governing bodies have called for social work to be decolonised and for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to take their place alongside Western knowledge in a way that supports epistemological equality (McNabb, 2019a; Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). In the context of the 'the whitestream' academy, Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing are often relegated to the margins and many challenges and barriers exist when integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. In an endeavour to understand these challenges and barriers and to investigate what enhances the integration process, this study focused upon academics and explored the question, 'How do relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education?' Uniquely this study looked at the experiences of eighteen academics, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous on both sides of the Tasman, in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. A valuable aspect of this study was hearing the voices of Indigenous academics as they shared their personal experiences of navigating the whitestream. Collectively the academics shared about aspects of their relationships that both enabled and hindered the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum in the global south.

My original contribution to knowledge is the development of a relational model for academics that focuses upon six key relationships that an academic may consider when integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching. Each one of these relationships, when reflected upon, may provide different ways that an academic may develop and enrich their integration of Indigenous content into their teaching and potentially enable navigating the whitestream more successfully. The six relationships that the model presents are an academic's relationship to self; relationship with students; relationship to Indigenous knowledges, languages, and cultures; relationship with peers; relationship with those in power and the whitestream; and relationships with Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous communities.

Creating space in the whitestream that is conducive to establishing and maintaining these relationships is suggested as a way of countering hegemony and supporting academics in their endeavour to integrate Indigenous content into social work education. This study proposes creating an ethical, electrifying, third cultural, collaborative, authorising and decolonising space that supports academics in developing these six key relationships. The implications of each of the six relationships upon the integration process are outlined and recommendations for implementation are made to whitestream universities. Finally, operationalising the aspirations of decolonising social work education in whitestream academia requires that the systems and the status quo be challenged and ultimately changed. This study suggests a relational model that may, when implemented, provide insight into navigating the whitestream for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Elizabeth (Libby) Hammond

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GLOSSARY

I have chosen to use the term “Aboriginal” when referring to Aboriginal people in Australia. I acknowledge that some Aboriginal people hold negative connotations to the term “Aboriginal” and may find it offensive. Some Aboriginal Australian people may also find the term “Indigenous” offensive. This thesis tends to focus upon Aboriginal Australians rather than upon Torres Strait Islander peoples. I acknowledge that Torres Strait Islander peoples are a separate people group, yet there are many Aboriginal clans and tribal groups that I could arguably delineate between, so I have chosen to not discuss Torres Strait Islander peoples unless they were referred to in the literature. I have used the term Indigenous when I am referring to Indigenous people in general rather than a specific group of people from a specific nation or country. I have chosen not to use the word “First Nations” because I felt that this could be applied to either Aboriginal Australians or Māori. I recognise that “Indigenous” people are not a homogenous group of people, as saying “White” also does not represent a homogenous group of people.

Many words have a variety of meanings. The meanings given in the glossary are relevant to the context within which the word is used in this study. Some of the Māori words or concepts may have been included in parentheses in the text unless they appear in a quotation. The more frequently used Māori words and those in the quotations have been included in the glossary. The English meaning of Māori words have been derived from several sources (L. Ruwhiu, 2009; P. Ruwhiu, 2019; G. H. Smith, 2009b). To honour Indigenous participants, their own definitions have been used in preference to a dictionary definition.

Academic and Educator	The terms ‘academic’ and ‘educator’ have been used interchangeably; both terms have been used in this thesis as literature and participants used both terms to identify those employed who teach in social work education.
Aroha	Love, affection.

Both sides of the Tasman	This is a colloquial term that is also used in literature to incorporate both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand as the Tasman is the sea between the two countries.
Course, topic, paper, subjects	These terms were used interchangeably throughout the thesis to refer to individual units of study that are taught to students throughout their social work degree.
Decolonisation	Within the context of this study decolonisation is 'the process of deconstructing colonial ideologies of the superiority and privilege of Western thought and approaches' (Cull et al., 2018, p. n.p), whilst challenging and disrupting the structures, dominant discourse and power that maintains the status quo of the whitestream. Valuing and revitalising Indigenous knowledges to a place of epistemological equality.
Epistemological equality	Defined in the context of this study as recognising that Indigenous 'ways of knowing, while different, have equal value and status as systems of knowledges and thus deserve epistemological equality' (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014, p. 17).
Getting it Right	This term refers to either the Getting it Right project and/or the document, the 'Getting it Right. Creating Partnerships for Change. Integrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges in social work education and practice: Teaching and Learning Framework' (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014).
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Indigenisation or indigenising	'[A] collaborative process of naturalizing Indigenous intent, interactions, and processes and making them evident to transform spaces, places and hearts … this involves including Indigenous perspectives and approaches' (Cull et al., 2018, p. n.p).

Iwi	Tribe
Kaitiakitanga framework	A social work framework developed by the SWRB and Māori social workers to support social workers competency working with Māori; '… informed and guided by Māori knowing, thinking, understanding and wisdom' (Social Workers Registration Board, 2016, p. 2).
Kaiārahi	Guide, mentor.
Karakia	Prayer or chant
Kaupapa Māori	'A Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori customary practice, Māori institution, Māori agenda, Māori principles, Māori ideology - a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society' (P. Ruwhiu, 2019, p. xi)
Kia ora	Welcome/greeting
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, status, spiritual power, and influence.
Marae	A significant place to Māori as it is where formal ceremonies take place and where Whānau, iwi and hapu are recognised and celebrated. A Marae is a place where Māori culture and customs are celebrated and recognised.
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, helping and caring for others. Manaakitanga is one of the competencies in the Kaitiakitanga Framework and relates to acknowledging the mana of others, through hospitality and humility (Social Workers Registration Board, 2016).
Mātauranga Māori	Traditional Māori knowledge.

Mauri	Life principle, life force or vital essence.
Mihi whakatau	Formal speech of welcome.
Noa	Ordinary, unrestricted, or free from tapu.
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth and the wife of Ranginui.
Pākehā	Non-Māori, generally New Zealanders of European decent.
Pōwhiri	Ceremony of welcome.
Pepēha	Introductory speech that includes tribal landmarks, information regarding whakapapa and links to other tribes.
Pūao-te-Āta-tū Report	Pūao-te-Āta-tū meaning Day Break, The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Māori Perspectives for the Department of Social Welfare.
Ranginui	Father Sky, husband of Papatūānuku.
Settler	This term is used to 'make the necessary distinction between the Indigenous peoples of a particular place and those whose roots originate elsewhere - often Europe, but it can also refer to anyone seeking to live on Indigenous peoples' traditional territories, and who benefit from the privileges of colonial relationships' (Styres, 2018, p. 31).
Tangata Whenua	People of the land, Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.
Tapu	Restricted, sacred.
Te Ao Māori	The world of Māori, free from colonial disruptions, based upon Māori knowledge.
Te rangatiratanga	Autonomy and decision making and being, self-determination.
Te Reo or Te Reo Māori	The official Indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Te Tiriti of Waitangi	Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi.
Tikanga/kawa or Tikanga Māori	Māori customary practices and protocols.
Te Wānanga or Wānanga	Māori tertiary institution or forum.
Te Whare Tapa Whā	A holistic approach to Māori health and well-being developed by Sir Mason Durie.
Tuakana/teina	Tuakana teina, translated literally means 'older sibling, younger sibling'. 'It is through the older sibling that the younger one learns the right way to do things and it is through the younger sibling that the older one learns to be tolerant' (Walker, 2012, p. 70).
Wairua	Spirituality.
Waiata	Song
Wairuatanga	Spiritual and physical, psychological, and philosophical.
Whakapapa	Relational, genealogy.
Whakatauki	A Māori Proverb
Whānau	Family, this can be biological, extended family.
Whanaungatanga	Building relationships and connecting.
Whiteness	'[I]s not about racial profiling based on identity and skin color but rather relates to whiteness as a structural-cultural positioning of relations of power and privilege. It is not about *who* is whiteness but rather *how* whiteness is perpetuated and maintained through networks and relations of power and privilege within and across societies' (emphasis in the original) (Styres, 2018, p. 31).

Whitestream	The term ‘whitestream’ is used instead of ‘mainstream’ to decentre whiteness. In this study the definition of ‘Whitestream’ includes/highlights the racist, ‘ethno-centric (European-orientated), socio-centric (middle-class), and cognito-centric (analytic/linear-orientated)’ (Penetito, 2019, p. 144) aspects of social work within Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Whitestream education is centred upon practices, principles, morals and values of White supremacy (Milne, 2017, p. 6).

ACRONYMS

AASW	Australian Association of Social Workers
ANZASW	Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers
ANZSWWER	Australian and New Zealand Social Work and Welfare Education and Research
ASWEAS	Australian Social Work Education and Accreditation Standards
ALTC	Australian Learning and Teaching Council
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
IASSW	International Associations of Schools of Social work
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
SWRB	Social Work Registration Board

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Whakatauki - a Māori Proverb

Nau te rourou
Naku te rourou
Ka ora ai te iwi
With your knowledge basket
and my knowledge basket
the people will thrive

(Traditional Māori Whakatauki-proverb, author unknown)

Ngai nari Libby Warruyu Hammond (Libby Hammond, second eldest daughter)
Ngai Kangaroo Islandanangku (I am from Kangaroo Island).
Ngadlu tampinthi ngadlu Kaurna yartangka inparrinthi (We acknowledge we are meeting on Kaurna land).
Ngadlu tampinthi purkarna pukinangku, yalaka, tarrkarritya (We acknowledge the Elders past, present and future).

This personal introduction is in the language of the Kaurna people who are the traditional owners of the lands of the Adelaide Plains, a region in South Australia, on which this thesis has been written. Kira Yaltu Bain, a Kaurna Language Trainer, helped me develop this personal introduction. The Kaurna language is experiencing a revitalisation in our local area, and I have had the opportunity to participate in learning a basic introduction as it is more appropriate for an introduction to be made in Kaurna than in English (personal communication Kira Yaltu Bain, July 2019).

Kia ora Tātou (Welcome all)
Ko Kohinoor te maunga (Kohinoor is the mountain)
Ko Cygnet te awa (Cygnet is the stream)
Nō Kangaroo Island ahau (I am from Kangaroo Island)
Ko Hammond tōku whānau (Hammond is my family)
Ko Libby tōku ingoa (My name is Libby)

This introduction is in the language of the Māori people of Aotearoa New Zealand. This is the introduction that I use when I introduced myself on a Marae or other places of significance in

Aotearoa New Zealand. I was taught to speak basic Māori by my host mother when I was an exchange student in Aotearoa New Zealand. Even though I no longer live on Kangaroo Island, I identify it as my homeland and the Kohinoor and the Cygnet as significant places of my Island home. I will introduce myself in more detail in chapter two.

The Māori whakatauki above was chosen after consultation with my Māori friend, Deborah O'Brien, whom I have known for nearly thirty years. The whakatauki is 'about sharing, cooperation, collaboration for the benefit of all' (personal communication, Jane Waldon, 21 January 2020). The "rourou" or food basket can metaphorically also be a knowledge basket. Tesar (2015) asserts that this Māori proverb can be used across the world, to collaboratively bring resources together; including knowledge to benefit all, in an environment where people learn from each other, whether the knowledge is Indigenous knowledges or settler knowledge, historical or present-day knowledge, in a way that brings about a future where people can thrive (p. 9 & 10). This is the essence of this study, to create a space within the academy where both Indigenous knowledges and settler knowledge can be brought together collaboratively in social work education for the benefit of both Indigenous social workers and non-Indigenous social workers.

1.1 Important acknowledgments

This thesis is written in English, the dominant language in Australia. I recognise that Australia is a nation of many languages and that the First Nations people of Australia had at the time of invasion hundreds of languages. Some of those languages have survived and are being rejuvenated (Bennett, 2013). Language is important as it holds power and I acknowledge the power that the English language holds in social work education in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. I have chosen to use the term Australia to identify this continent, even though it is an English term. Both the Māori and English terms combined will be used to identify Aotearoa New Zealand. I want to acknowledge from the outset of this thesis that I was unable to secure an Australian Indigenous academic as a supervisor. I asked several Aboriginal academics that I had a relationship with or knew to guide my research. There were several reasons why they were unable to supervise me throughout my research. Some academics were not from the discipline of social work and felt that they were unable to give me the expertise that I needed. Another academic initially said yes, to be my associate supervisor, but upon reflection realised that the time commitment outside her expertise would be unrealistic. Another Aboriginal academic, whom I asked to be an adjunct supervisor, was unable to commit to an unpaid position given the time and expertise that was required to fulfil the job requirements. Like many Indigenous Australian academics, this academic had many requests for their unpaid time and commitment and found it unsettling and uncomfortable that their work and their expertise was not recognised and that they were expected to work for nothing. Given the nature of this research, I have had several Aboriginal academics as critical friends to guide me through the early stages of the research process. The absence of an Indigenous academic to supervise my study is indicative of the current situation in academia in Australia, it is a barrier that exists for those who choose to research within an Indigenous space within the whitestream.

1.2 Introduction

Integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives has become an imperative for academics within social work both in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Both countries' social work governing bodies, Australian Association of Social Work (AASW) and Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW), have called for social work to be decolonised and for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to take their place within the curriculum in a way that supports epistemological equality (McNabb, 2019a; Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). Given that Indigenous people are overrepresented as requiring the services a social worker has to offer, decolonising social work education and practice is important. The integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives seeks to develop culturally responsive social workers in practice and ultimately improve outcomes with Indigenous people who use social work services. Social work education globally has a history of basing its knowledge upon Western ethnocentric knowledges and ideologies and there has been a global move for social work to be decolonised (Fejo-King & Mataira, 2015; Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, & Hetherington, 2013; Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). However, integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives while navigating what has been termed, in this context, 'the whitestream' within academia poses many challenges for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics.

To my knowledge, there have been limited studies that compare the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. The most recent are by non-Indigenous academic David McNabb whose focus is upon Aotearoa New Zealand, yet he does mention Australia. In response to this gap, this study may provide valuable insights from both sides of the Tasman (The Tasman Sea separates Australia from Aotearoa New Zealand.

Australians and New Zealanders affectionately describe it as ‘the Tasman’). Given the crucial role that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics play in the integration process within whitestream academia, this study gains their perspectives and understanding of navigating the challenges and identifying what enables the integration process. My original contribution to knowledge will be the development of a relational model based upon the findings of interviews of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics, on both sides of the Tasman, who navigate the whitestream daily in their endeavour to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education.

A valuable aspect of this study is that it is informed by the personal experiences and voices of racialized and Indigenous members of university faculties. Collectively these voices speak about aspects of the relationships that facilitate and hinder the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum. Interview excerpts provide evidence of personal experiences of those who work at the front line of teaching social work content, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous faculty members.

1.3 Background to this study

Australian social work education is experiencing a transformation (Bennett, Redfern, & Zubrzycki, 2018). A group of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social work academics and practitioners applied for funding in 2011, to develop the first ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander National Teaching and Learning Framework for social work education’ (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014, p. 6). Their application was successful, and the Australian Learning and Teaching Council (ALTC), later known as the Office of Learning and Teaching, funded the project entitled: ‘Getting it right: creating partnership for change. Integrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges in Australian social work education and practice’. This project coincided with the AASW release of new curriculum guidelines in 2012 that required all qualifying social work degrees to teach Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing, being and doing (Australian Association of Social Workers AASW, 2012b). Also in 2012, The Behrendt review of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Higher Education was released by the Australian government providing the impetus for curriculum reform and development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content within Australian higher education (Behrendt, Larkin, Griew, & Kelly, 2012). The review panel highlighted the need for universities to build strong working relationships with local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities to help build knowledge, to better understand the needs of communities and to provide a safe place for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students (Behrendt et al., 2012).

The ‘Getting it Right’ project sought to ‘indigenise’ the social work curriculum in Australia by assisting the 26 Schools of Social Work to develop and implement learning and teaching strategies that would increase the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander curriculum content. The project was guided by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Young et al., 2013, p. 180). The ‘Getting it Right’ project team undertook a comprehensive literature review and consequently adopted four main concepts. These were: ‘the centrality of indigenous knowledges; that social work education needs to be indigenous-centered; cultural responsiveness is the aim of the educative process; and indigenous pedagogies are essential in the educative process’ (Young et al., 2013, p. 181 & 182). In 2014, ‘The Getting it Right Teaching and Learning Framework’ was published. It presented social work with evidence-based, conceptual, and tangible strategies to be used to guide and inform teaching practice, providing a road map to educators who sought to ‘get it right’ (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014, p. 1 and 5). The framework emphasises that Indigenous knowledges are not to be an ‘add on’ or treated as ‘alternative’ but are to be valued as equal to western epistemologies (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, operationalising the strategies and tools the framework proposed appeared to be reliant, to some extent, upon individual academics, their expertise, interest, and commitment. Social work educators were unsure and hesitant about embedding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives into their curriculum (Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018, p. 810). Within the literature there is evidence of the barriers and challenges that academics experience within the whitestream academy, yet there are also examples of successes by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics as they navigate the whitestream and seek to indigenise and decolonise social work education within Australia. I had personally seen barriers and experienced some of the challenges to the integration process firsthand in my work as a casual academic working at Flinders University. As a researcher and an educator, I was interested in how a social work program entrenched in the whitestream could be successfully “indigenised” and decolonised. Given the reliance upon individual academics and the role they played in the integration process, this led me to explore the question, ‘what relationships for an academic play a role in the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education?’ After reflecting upon my twelve years of living and studying in Aotearoa New Zealand, I felt that there may be value in a trans-Tasman study. I was interested in how Aotearoa New Zealand had sought to integrate Indigenous content into their social work curriculum and if their experiences had something to offer their counterparts in Australia.

1.4 Topic rationale – context rather than content

Indigenous knowledges have consistently been called upon by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars to be embedded in curricula throughout the caring professions, including social work (Duthie, 2019, p. 115). Australian social work, in the course of embedding Indigenous knowledges or, more precisely, 'allowing' Indigenous people and knowledges space within the profession, has inadvertently assumed 'a cloak of cultural sensitivity and cultural valour' (Walter & Baltra-Ulloa, 2019, p. 71). The profession has allowed Indigenous knowledges space but in doing so has not relinquished 'the power and privilege of determining and controlling how much space will be given, and where this space is allocated within the profession' (Walter & Baltra-Ulloa, 2019, p. 71). Indigenous academics such as Walter, Baltra-Ulloa, Bennett, Green, Fejo-King, Muller and Duthie highlight the need for social work education to change within Australia. Walter and Baltra-Ulloa (2019) point out the need for the profession to address whiteness directly and to turn the racial/cultural lens onto itself and not to see 'inclusion' of the 'other' as the sole solution (p 72). These authors call for social work, including its education, 'to deal with social work as a product of Western knowledge and values, … [and] how these are embedded in whiteness' (Walter & Baltra-Ulloa, 2019, p. 72). Aboriginal social work academics, like Duthie, appeal for social work education to heed the call to embed Indigenous knowledges into the social work curriculum and to acknowledge the role that whiteness and Western knowledge and values have played in social work education. And until social work education in Australia takes this appeal seriously and commits to this end with 'genuineness, and a sense of obligation' (p. 15), Duthie (2019) concedes that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples will live now and will continue to live with the impact of trauma into the future.

Educator and researcher, Beverley Ann Milne (hereafter known as Ann Milne), from Aotearoa New Zealand, wrote a book called 'Coloring in the white spaces; reclaiming cultural identity in Whitestream schools' (2017). Milne explains that when a child is given a colouring-in book to colour in, we think that the page is blank, but the page is actually white. The white background is there, and lines are already drawn to give boundaries to the colour that is to be added. As children get older, they learn where the colour should be placed and the importance of staying within the designated lines, boundaries, and expectations. The white background is invisible and identified as ‘normal’. Milne argues that the colour of the space needs to change, in other words that the education system needs to change. I argue that this relates to social work education in Australia and within western academies in Aotearoa New Zealand. Milne uses the term whitestreaming, which is a term also used in Canada, to decentre whiteness within the mainstream education system. Education policy within the education system in Aotearoa New Zealand is ‘predicated on an arrogant assumption of white privilege that dominates what counts as knowledge and achievement’ (Milne, 2011, p. 2). This principle is perpetuated in education in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. Whitestream education is centred upon practices, principles, morals and values of White supremacy (Milne, 2017, p. 6). Within the context of this study, I have chosen to define whitestream not just as racist but to include in the definition that it is also ‘ethno-centric (European-orientated), socio-centric (middle-class), and cognito-centric (analytic/linear-orientated)’ (Penetito, 2019, p. 144). Whitestreaming is not the sole work of White people. Milne cites the work of Urrieta to explain that people of colour can play an active role by also promoting and maintaining White models as the ‘goal and standard’ (Urrieta, 2010, p. 181).

Within the context of this doctoral study, the whitestream enables ‘whiteness’ to be named within the interviews, and so whiteness is no longer silenced or normalised. In shifting the ‘focus from indigeneity to whiteness, it opens the door to reproblematising the issues as something to do with the dominant *us* rather than the racialised *them*’ (Walter, Taylor, & Habibis, 2011, p. 9). From my own observations, it was evident that whiteness has pervaded social work in its theories, literature, knowledge, research, language, field work, organisations, policies and procedures and the majority of social work academics are White. Promotion has favoured those who are White, assessment is based on White ways of measuring success. Trying to infiltrate a whitestream system with Indigenous knowledges and perspectives is like the biblical analogy of David coming up against Goliath, a powerless outsider facing a dominant controller. Whitestreaming and the theorising that accompanies it is a valuable way to critique the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum. Acknowledging the whitestream context in which social work education in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand is being taught provides a richer critique of what has been occurring.

Importantly including Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education does not exclude western or White epistemologies. Excluding one form of epistemology or knowledge for another is not the intent of this study nor is it the intent of social work education globally. The intent is for both knowledges, Indigenous and western or White, to be equally included in social work education. Viewing the two knowledges through the logic of modernity's binary, which is a western construct, that may have the result of placing the two knowledges at war with each other (Tascón, 2019). Instead, the intent is for the two knowledges to share the space, yet within the academy it is inevitable considering the current western structure of the universities that this sharing will be under the gaze of the ruling panopticon.

Smith and Smith, prominent Māori academics from Aotearoa New Zealand, argue, as do I, that the academy context is similar in different countries 'because the academy as a set of knowledge institutions is international and draws from the same Anglo-European traditions of the university' (G. H. Smith & Smith, 2019, p. 1090). They also argue that '[i]n general universities have been somewhat reluctant to include Indigenous knowledge in the curriculum, employ Indigenous academic staff to teach Indigenous knowledge … Many university institutions have become well practiced in the excuses that are essentially designed to preserve the status quo access and participation in higher education' (G. H. Smith & Smith, 2019, p. 1091). Within this doctoral study, I have used the term universities to describe western universities that have similar funding models, histories and ontological foundations based upon a western model. Wānanga, Māori tertiary institutions are not included in this doctoral study since they are distinctly different and are guided and established upon Māori principles (Naepi, 2019, p. 220 & 221).

This doctoral thesis does not focus upon the content of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives so much as it focuses upon the integration of this content. My research touches on some of the differences between Indigenous cultures but that is not the focus of this thesis. The focus is upon the systemic issues that are pervasive and that continue to make colouring these spaces problematic. Using Milne's (2017) analogy, the focus is to add colour to the white space of social work curriculum by hearing the voices of academics who are integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. Such an approach addresses issues of power and social justice and names and identifies the systemic, institutionally racist, White spaces (Milne, 2017, p. 203 and 204). This study engages with academics because academics are in the position to develop and administer the content of the curriculum, whether they teach the content directly or collaborate with others to present the curriculum. This research has the potential to add to current knowledge and develop new knowledge and understanding of how to further develop centred Indigenous content alongside the current content in social work in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. It will provide evidence of the way that Indigenous content can be integrated within the social work curriculum by documenting the stories provided by educators within the participating tertiary institutions. Some of the systemic barriers will be revealed and show where Indigenous epistemology is positioned in comparison to western epistemology. My intention is that the comparison between the two countries will provide academics with new knowledge based on the research findings.

1.5 Research question

My research project will explore how indigenous knowledges are taught in social work education across five tertiary institutions within Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. My original contribution to knowledge will be the development of a relational model based upon the findings of interviews of academics who navigate the whitestream daily in their undertaking to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. This project aims to look at the question: 'How do relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education?'

Four research objectives were established.

1) What can be learnt about an academic's relationships to the integration process from those teaching social work in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand?

2) What relationships enable and influence the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into whitestream teaching of social work?

3) What challenges are experienced in an academic's relationships when teaching Indigenous content in social work as they navigate the whitestream?

4) How do social work academics' experiences of integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives compare between Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand?

Investigating these research questions will help academics understand the role that relationships play in their teaching and in the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum. Investigating this question will indirectly tackle the problem in existing literature, regarding why integrating Indigenous content into the social work curriculum faces several barriers. This research seeks to investigate what we can learn by comparing educators' experiences from Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand to see what works and what does not work in integrating Indigenous content into the social work curriculum. This research identifies the important relationships for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics to navigate the whitestream in which they work. Investigating this question will help us fill a gap in knowledge regarding how certain relationships play a key role in the way academics integrate Indigenous content into the social work curriculum.

Even though Indigenous knowledges are not the focus of this study, it is important from the outset to discuss how definitions of Indigenous knowledges have developed in social work education.

1.6 Social work and Indigenous knowledges

In Australia, the social work profession abides by this draft global definition of social work, dated March 2013, that has been jointly agreed to by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) and the International Associations of Schools of Social work (IASSW):

> The social work profession facilitates social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledges, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing (International Federation of Social Work (IFSW) & International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW), 2013).

Aotearoa New Zealand adheres to the IFSW and IASSW later draft version, dated July 2014, that is almost identical, with the only difference being at the beginning of the first sentence.

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledges, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing (International Federation of Social Work (IFSW) & International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW), 2014).

In these definitions, ‘Indigenous knowledges’ has been identified as an underpinning theory of social work. The concept of ‘knowledge’ is unpacked in the commentary produced by the IFSW of the global draft definition, highlighting that social work is not only informed by Western theories but also by Indigenous knowledges. The commentary goes on to emphasise the impact that the legacy of colonialism has had upon Indigenous knowledges in a way that has devalued and discounted Indigenous knowledges and placed Western theories and knowledge exclusively at the fore (International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), 2014). The IFSW and IASSW hope that this proposed definition will ‘halt and reverse that process’ via acknowledging the unique values, ways of knowing and knowledge transmission of Indigenous peoples in their specific region or country, including their ‘invaluable contribution to science’ (n.p, 2014). It is also the hope of the IFSW and IASSW (2014) that ‘social work knowledges will be co-created and informed by Indigenous peoples, and more appropriately practiced’ (n.p), both locally and internationally. In practice, the IFSW admonishes social workers globally to ‘defend, enrich and realize the values and principles reflected in this definition’ (n.p). The IFSW explains that this definition of social work can only be evocative ‘when social workers actively commit to its values and vision’ (n.p). This begs the question, are social workers and social work educators actively committed to seeing Indigenous knowledge embedded into our curriculum and practice, and what is slowing down the process?

I have chosen to use the term ‘Indigenous knowledges and perspectives’ instead of solely ‘Indigenous knowledges’ because this research also includes Indigenous perspectives of social work theory and practice. I felt that the term ‘Indigenous knowledges’ could be interpreted as limited to traditional and sacred Indigenous knowledge, that could only be imparted by Indigenous knowledge holders. Some may judge traditional and sacred Indigenous knowledge as outdated and not relevant to social work, yet the application of this knowledge may have relevance for contemporary social work practice. To be clear, traditional, and sacred Indigenous knowledge is not the focus of this study. As a non-Indigenous researcher, it is not my intention to appropriate such knowledge for my research. Some Indigenous educators may mention traditional and sacred Indigenous knowledge in their interviews as they were holders of this knowledge and gave permission for it to be included in this study. Indigenous people have their own holders of knowledge in their communities. Specialised knowledge is held by certain people, for example, elders, healers, carvers, weavers, hunters, midwives, etc. In the case of this research, the knowledge holders are educators who have taught social work students, expounding their ways of knowing, being and doing. This research includes Indigenous perspectives and knowledges that, if handled respectfully, could be transmitted by non-Indigenous educators when teaching. I have also chosen to use the term Indigenous knowledges in the plural form to highlight the diversity of knowledge and the people with whom these knowledges are produced; this also avoids the homogenisation of Indigenous knowledges (L. T. Smith, Maxwell, Puke, & Temara, 2016, p. 137).

Within both the Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand context, there is also a call to include Indigenous Pacific social work knowledge into social work education because their experience of the whitestream is like Māori and other Indigenous peoples. Being Indigenous is a way of experiencing the world of being, knowing and doing and there are common threads and while each Indigenous culture is unique there are common threads in their experience. Pacific social work is defined as

> Centring Pacific-Indigenous ways of knowing and doing, being and becoming for community, family and individual wellbeing whilst counteracting structural, cultural and personal oppressions within Oceania and throughout the diaspora (Ravulo, Mafile'o, & Yeates, 2019, p. 4).

In respect to this wider understanding of Indigenous identity, I have interviewed and included the experiences of two academics of Samoan descent. Integrating Indigenous knowledges, whether Australian Aboriginal, Māori, North American Indigenous, Samoan, Cook Islander, all come up against similar issues when academics are navigating the whitestream. This is also indicated within the literature of Pacifica and Māori academics (McAllister, Kidman, Rowley, & Theodore, 2019; Naepi, 2019). As I have already mentioned, it is not the content but the context, which is the focus of this study, therefore, I argue that using the Samoan academics' contribution is justifiable within the context of the whitestream, even though their knowledge is not Indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

1.7.1 **Chapter one: Introduction**

In chapter one, I have introduced the thesis and the gap the study intends to address. It discussed the background to the study, outlined the context and introduced the concept of the whitestream. This chapter also considers how Indigenous knowledges have developed in social work education. It outlines the topic rationale, research questions and objectives.

1.7.2 **Chapter two: Reversing the gaze**

Chapter two introduces me as the researcher and reflects upon reversing the gaze to look to decolonise myself in so far as this is possible. I discuss my position and acknowledge my privilege. I share my personal background and some of what led me to this research.

1.7.3 **Chapter three: Literature review**

Chapter three documents a review of the literature. It provides an overview of the background to this study looking at global aspects of knowledge. It reviews social work globally and historically and provides examples of how other nations are indigenising their curricula and decolonising social work education. The literature review presents an outline of social work education in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. This review not only provides a background to the study, but it also identifies the gap in the literature that led to the development of a relational model from the perspective of academics in social work.

1.7.4 Chapter four: Methodology

Chapter four explores the journey I took in developing a theoretical approach for this study. It looks at the development of an optical phoropter to look at the data. The layers to the lens of the phoropter are aspects of several theories including third cultural space, critical race theory, whiteness and reversing the gaze, discourse and power, decolonisation and Indigenous ways of knowing, constructivism, critical theory and kaupapa Māori theory and finally decolonisation and critical theory.

1.7.5 Chapter five: Method

Chapter five details the study setting and research design. It identifies the ethical considerations including accountability and credibility. It identifies the research methods implemented and discusses how the study was conducted, including how data was collected and how analysis was performed. Methodological limitations are also discussed.

1.7.6 Chapter six: Prelude to the findings

Chapter six reflects upon the optical phoropter that was developed in chapter five and how, by looking at the data, the role of relationships for academics came into focus. As the researcher, I discuss the assumptions that I hold comparing Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. The participants are introduced and there is the development of an ecological model to understand the findings.

1.7.7 Chapter seven: Narrating the findings

Chapter seven is by far the longest chapter and is divided into six sections, one for each of the key relationships that an academic has when integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the curriculum. This provides a detailed discussion of the findings and links with theory and social work and education literature relevant to the current situation within social work education in the whitestream.

1.7.8 Chapter eight: Summative discussion and conclusion

The final chapter reflects upon the thesis and provides a summative discussion and conclusion. I use the optical phoropter with the lens of critical race theory in focus to discuss the impact of incremental change and interest convergence upon the integration process within the whitestream. A discussion is included upon creating a space within the whitestream for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to co-exist alongside Western knowledge within social work education. The implication of the proposed relational model is discussed in the context of social work education, along with recommendations and considerations for further research. Finally, this chapter ends with a personal reflection and a conclusion to the study.

CHAPTER 2
REVERSING THE GAZE

> Acknowledging my positionality peels back the layers, uncovering motives, intentions, and subjectivities while identifying particular epistemic perspectives informing and guiding this chapter (Styres, 2019, p. 39).

> . . . as a white Australian, I can only become part of the solution when I recognize the degree to which I am part of the problem, not because I am white but because of my investment in white privilege. (Anne Barton, 2010, the great-granddaughter of Australia's first Prime Minister Sir Edmund Barton) (Zufferey, 2013, p. 659).

2.1 Self-reflection and positioning

Self-reflection is an important aspect of the process of decolonisation. A significant feature of my research was enacting a process of decolonisation upon myself and my research. This required that I used self-reflection to look at my perceptions of the world. I needed to develop, as advocated by Bennett, Zubrzycki and Bacon (2011) a self-awareness of my own biases, prejudices, stereotypes and assumptions that informed my view of the world. Awareness is gained as Wilson (2014) suggests by being reflexive, reflecting upon the personal, social and cultural contexts in which I live and work and being aware of how these elements affect my interpretation of the world I live in. As a researcher, it is necessary to understand how different aspects of personal and cultural identity impact upon practice and research. I needed to be able to acknowledge my privilege and be aware that I may be identified as what Bennett et al. (2011) describe as 'one of the colonisers' (p. 25). Power differentials within research are recognised through a feminist standpoint theory when reflexivity is used, allowing the researcher to be vulnerable and to explore their own personal subjectivity. Without this reflexivity, a researcher does not acknowledge their own biases, which are then brought into the research (Wilson, 2014, p. 220). This does not mean that I should focus my attention on my own identity/myself so that I almost become the subject of the research. But it means to acknowledge who I am and my position so that the research can occur, and real collaboration and partnership can occur. An aspect of decolonising research is for the researcher to be aware that they are the "knower" but not "all knowing". As Donna Haraway (1988), a leading scholar in the field of feminist theory and science and technology studies explains, the "knower" does not have 'god's trick of seeing everything from nowhere' (p. 581) and, therefore, their view is subjective rather than objective. The "knower" must acknowledge and be accountable for any change in their position and the consequences that change has upon their view of the world (Haraway, 1988). Science has made claims to see or know the world from an authoritative, all-knowing perspective, as if science was seeing from God's omnipresent view (Haraway, 1988; MacArthur, 2006). Haraway (1988) challenges scientists and others to only see through the frame or context in which they are placed. Haraway (1988) encourages us to acknowledge positioning as it is 'the key practice in grounding knowledge … [p]ositioning implies responsibility for our enabling practices' (p. 587). Situated knowledge places the knowledge in a context, whether that is within a historical, cultural, socioeconomic, academic or social context; it is also about communities, not insulated individuals (Haraway, 1988). Haraway's (1988) challenge is to position our knowledge, our research, ourselves through the frame or context in which we are placed, acknowledging ourselves as "knower" but not "all knowing". Within this doctoral thesis, I have purposely chosen to use my own voice to remain connected with my research and to remain connected to the disruption that is taking place and to be conscious of my position.

This personal positioning of oneself within the research disrupts the researcher or the "knower" in the sense that one is becoming transparent and known, no longer a researcher without history or a position. I acknowledge that my background places a context within which I am positioned, and my background and experiences also frame my thinking. I acknowledge that I come from a position of power and privilege. Feminist standpoint theory asserts that researchers are never disconnected from their morals or values at any specific point in their research (Moreton-Robinson, 2013) and, as Haraway explains, 'translation is always interpretive, critical and partial' (Haraway, 1988, p. 589). As a researcher, I need to be self-reflexive and acknowledge how factors influence my understanding of issues.

Positivist research assumes that the researcher can be objective and neutral (Lincoln and Guba, 2000 cited in Lavallée, 2009, p. 23). However, Indigenous research is not unbiased nor can it be totally objective (Lavallée, 2009). I am connected to the people that I research and to myself as a researcher, and my experiences and emotions will be connected to my research. So, as Lavallee (2009), an Indigenous researcher from Canada asserts, 'it is impossible to be free of emotion and subjectivity in research' (p. 23). Within Indigenous research, the researcher subjectively has responsibility, such as being committed to forming a relationship with the participants that continues after the research is completed, and the need to be self-reflective and questioning about who they are may limit their understanding of matters within the project (Chilisa, 2012). Within the context of a doctorate, time is a very real factor that needs to be taken into consideration. Relationship building takes time and commitment beyond a doctorate to maintain those relationships. As a doctoral candidate, I need to be genuine in my commitment to my research but even more so to the relationships that I build that will endure beyond the publication of my thesis. As a researcher, as proposed by Chilisa (2012), I have a responsibility to display personal integrity, commitment and to ensure that my research will be robust and honest while also serving the actual interests of the participants.

Positionality displays that ‘knowledge’ and ‘voice’ are always located within ‘the vectors of time, space and social power’ (Barker, 2004, p. 154). Produced knowledge will not be neutral or an independent knowing. I understand that my research and the knowledge that it produces is, as identified by Barker (2004), bound by time, space and social power and that the theoretical knowledge that it produces has a political element and consequences. I also acknowledge that my ability to decolonise myself has limits as I am a coloniser. I cannot avoid my subjectivity, nor my history and who I am. I will now discuss my background to bring more understanding to my positionality, to introduce myself in more detail and why I have chosen this research project.

2.2 My background

In many Indigenous cultures it is appropriate to also introduce your family when introducing yourself, to acknowledge that you are a part of a collective and a family. As academic, Simone Tur, so aptly put it, “[y]ou can’t talk about yourself without talking about your family” (Tur, 2018).

My research story does not begin here in this century or the last, it begins with my people, my ancestors, my family coming to South Australia from the Northern Hemisphere on ships in 1838. My mother’s family came from Germany to flee persecution because of their Christian faith. I also share their faith and see that as part of my inheritance that they left for me. I am reluctant to identify myself as a Christian within academia, yet I do so here as part of positioning myself.

The word Christianity is a term loaded with different meanings depending on the lens which you use to see it. The lens may be obscured by bad or good experiences. Yet I should define what I believe a Christian is rather than be labelled by people’s interpretation of what they know of Christians. I am a follower of Jesus Christ and I use the Bible as a guide to many aspects of my life. I may label myself an evangelical Christian yet, if this label has me in allegiance with certain extremist beliefs, then I would rather not adhere to that label. This in part is due to my work as a social worker and my social work values that I feel are often more in line with what I know of Jesus than what I see defined by many Christians. I have very definite boundaries upon what I believe is right and wrong, yet I am very much for accepting and understanding the person rather than focusing upon a person’s behaviour.

Spirituality in social work has expanded over recent decades, as has its role in research. My own spirituality played a pivotal role in the way that I have gone about my research daily. Prayer and meditation became key elements in my daily research process. Prayer and meditation helped me to maintain focus and to also remain motivated. I was reminded of the importance of spirituality as I read literature by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Many times, I found the research process overwhelming, and prayer and meditation enabled me to continue the research process. My prayer and meditation often focused upon the problems and barriers that I was experiencing in the research, and I would often find answers to the questions that I posed in time to continue. I often felt comforted, guided, and reassured by God’s Spirit, Creator. I was never able to separate the spiritual from the non-spiritual process. To me, there was no separation, my research was spiritual. As Canda and Furman propose, ‘[s]ocial work in its best sense can be considered a spiritual vocation … it means that spiritually sensitive social workers practice unconditional positive regard for clients and live by hope in the possibilities of resiliency, reconciliation, and realization of social justice. Of course, it is difficult to “walk this talk”’ (Canda & Furman, 2009, p. 35 & 36). These ontological beliefs underpin me as a social worker, an academic and a researcher. This research study has provided the opportunity for me to begin to “walk this talk” and to pursue epistemological equality between western and Indigenous knowledges.

Back to my family. My mother’s family was on one of the first few ships that came to South Australia, arriving in 1838 on the Bengalee, and they brought with them a rock-solid faith and a deep-rooted culture. They spent their first night camped under a gum tree in what is now known as Rundle Street, a major retail precinct in the city of Adelaide (Both, 1981, p. 10). My family played a major part in showing that the Adelaide Plains could be successfully farmed and opening large areas of the Barossa Valley and the Adelaide Hills. The German women, my ancestors, worked hard. When a farmer did not want to pay male labourers for his field to be ploughed, he employed the local women to dig it with a shovel (Both, 1981). They would push the shovel down into the soil with their bare feet. These German settlers were described as ‘“sober”, “industrious”, “conscientious”, “sincere”, “persevering”, “steadfast” and “co-operative”’ (Both, 1981, p. 27).

My father’s side of the family have not been in Australia as long. My paternal grandmother’s family, my Nana’s family, emigrated from England and my Nana’s parents met on the ship on their way to Australia. My grandfather came from Ireland. I have met my father's cousin who visited Australia from Ireland. I feel strongly connected to Ireland and hope to visit.

There were no family stories of contact with Indigenous people. However, during my doctorate, I was privileged to do a tour of the South Australian Museum with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal academics. One of the academics had worked at the museum. I also knew that some of my ancestors had worked at the museum as taxidermists. Through this academic, I found out that my ancestors did not only do taxidermy upon animal specimens but that they had also been involved in working with Norman Tindale, an anthropologist who worked at the museum during the 1920-30s. There was evidence that my family members had been involved in at least one expedition with Norman Tindale who collected information and artefacts from Aboriginal people. These 'artefacts' also included the bodies of Aboriginal people. The academic who had worked at the museum informed me that my relatives had deboned Aboriginal bodies for science and were a part of the violence perpetrated upon Aboriginal people in the name of science. The revelation of this knowledge was overwhelming at the time, and I did feel a real sense of guilt and shame for what my family had perpetrated. Yet this truth also gave me a greater desire to pursue this research. A contemporary distant relative was the Deputy Premier of South Australia between 2011-2018, John Rau. I have never met Mr. John Rau, yet I want to acknowledge my family's position of power and governance over the State of South Australia. I have Aboriginal family members who are my second cousins and I have a continuing relationship with them both.

During the doctoral experience, I gained further understanding of whiteness and how this impacted upon my life. I identify myself as an Australian and as a social worker. The idea of whiteness was not new to me when I commenced my doctorate. I remember while studying social work in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1990's being faced with the reality that I was White and that I came from a place of privilege whether I had felt privileged growing up or not. My family was a part of the working class, and we did briefly own our own home but then my father had a work injury and we lost most of our material possessions. My parents were declared bankrupt and all we had left was each other. At the time that I left Australia for Aotearoa New Zealand as an exchange student on a scholarship, our family of five was living in a small, two-bedroom flat. I was eighteen and sharing a room with my two brothers, who were sixteen and fourteen at the time. Financially I felt it had always been a struggle for my parents and having four children to feed, clothe and educate was hard for them. But at the time I left home it was the hardest it had ever been, and I had little understanding of the privilege that had been afforded to me through colonisation and dispossession of land.

Looking back, I think that is why Aotearoa New Zealand was such an attraction. It was a chance for a change and a new life. I remember a conversation I had with one of my close friends whose family were Samoan, and we were talking about privilege and being White. She could not understand why I had never really felt that privilege or whiteness. I felt that I had not really experienced racism as a child, and I did not feel like I had been racist. The reality was that I had lived in a culture that was racist, but I was not aware of it. I realised that the world I lived in was established on racism. During my time in Aotearoa New Zealand, I learnt about institutional racism and its pervasiveness. Consequently, I saw racism in places that I had never realised, because previously it had been invisible to me.

I am not sure whether it was a lack of knowledge or just that I loved being with people. I was happy with Māori people on a Marae (a place where Māori culture, language and customs are celebrated and recognised). I was happy at my Samoan friend’s home eating green bananas. I enjoyed being a member of a Polynesian church where there was only a handful of White people. I enjoyed talking to my Indian friends at work. After 12 years I returned to Australia in 2001 and very quickly I realised the depths of disenfranchisement, grief, and loss of Indigenous people in my home country. Both nations of Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand were colonised by Britain and there are historical similarities with loss of land, language, and culture, yet I saw a much greater level of disenfranchisement, grief and loss experienced by Indigenous people in Australia than Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.3 Epiphanic experiences

Denzin speaks about epiphanic experiences and to look at significant events in your life that have led you to do the research that you have chosen to do. Denzin (2001) defines an epiphany as ‘those interactional moments that leave marks on people’s lives … hav[ing] the potential to create transformational experiences’ (p 34). The results of these moments ‘can leave either positive or negative marks on people’s lives’ (p 143). As a researcher, I had identified several significant events in my life that had definitely led me down the path of this research. Significant life events, Denzin (2001) explained, are ‘meaningful biographical experiences’ (p. 145), that had provided significant turning points in the life of a researcher. They can influence the choice of research and perceptions of the importance of phenomena to tease out and study. These epiphany moments were character building and shaped my life irrevocably and ultimately played a role in pursuing this research project. To read these epiphanic experiences see Appendix 1.

2.4 Research challenges and continued self-reflection

Lilla Watson, an Indigenous educator, stated, 'If you have come here to help me you are wasting your time … but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together' (Watson cited in Riggs, 2004, p. 13). This highlighted how I felt that my liberation was bound up in working together with Indigenous people, and my motivation was to use my doctorate opportunity, time, and resources to provide myself as a 'research resource' to bring about some change systemically to the White spaces where I studied and worked.

As part of my Honours project, I had two Aboriginal advisors to help me establish the foundation of my project and to guide cultural aspects of my study. I endeavoured to establish the same foundation for my doctorate project, yet I was unable to secure an Aboriginal academic as a supervisor. I did have critical Aboriginal academic friends and non-academic friends who have given me guidance during this project. Hence, I accept responsibility for the authorship of this thesis and the text within it.

At times, I met some resistance from Aboriginal people because I am a non-Aboriginal person delving into an area that may be perceived as not a space for a non-Aboriginal person to go. I was often encouraged to look at my motivations for this research. I believed an outcome of this research would be to further uncover racism and White privileges that were occurring systemically within tertiary institutions and that were hindering the teaching of Indigenous content in social work. In my research I sought to reconstruct my interests in a less paternalistic way, which Land (2015, p. 202) proposed is a healthier way to build solidarity and to also fight for social justice through my research, which is a core value of social work. I was encouraged to focus upon understanding what the problem was in the broader context of social change as Land (2015, p. 202) suggested, rather than just looking at it as Indigenous educators needing help to bring Indigenous content into its rightful place in the curriculum, equal with Western knowledge. During the research process I was encouraged to shift my perspective of the problem, by using critical self-reflection and self-education, as Land (2015, p. 207) recommended to interrogate my own views of myself and the views I held of Aboriginal peoples. As the project evolved, it became clear that the focus was upon both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics navigating the whitestream to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum, not upon Indigenous knowledge itself.

During the research process, the unsettling that occurred within myself and my research was often intense. Once people were aware that my area of research was within an Indigenous context, I was often asked if I was an Aboriginal person or whether I had Aboriginal heritage. I was frequently asked, both within and outside of academia, 'Why do you want to do research in an Indigenous space or with Indigenous people?' I felt that I was often assessed upon my own appearance as a fair skinned, fair haired, grey eyed person rather than how people perceived me as a researcher. These questions continued to almost haunt me as I went through the ethics and research process. On many occasions, my intentions were questioned, and I was reminded that good intentions were not enough, especially when researching in an Indigenous space. A greater understanding of whiteness and my own privilege began to occur, and I realised that I had arguably been given the opportunity to do a doctorate because of my position as a White, middle aged, educated woman. I had gained privileges at the cost of Aboriginal people whom my family had dispossessed from their land years before.

As I continued through my doctoral program, I was given the opportunity to teach into an Indigenous social work topic and I became increasingly aware of the part I played in the system that I was wanting to change. As mentioned by Land (2015), 'Whitefellas' constitute the system' (p. 215). I had become part of the system; I had become embedded in the system, and I was a coloniser. I desired to become what Land (Land, 2015) termed a 'reliable ally' to Indigenous academics and to do this I was required to critique the system and to disrupt the system to bring about change and to reduce my level of colonial involvement.

2.5 Chapter overview

In this second chapter I engaged in reversing the gaze by looking to decolonise myself in so far as possible, through self-reflection and by understanding my own position within the research. I have shared some of my own personal background, epiphanic experiences and some of the challenges that I have experienced during this research. The next chapter will review the literature.

CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW

> '. . . decolonizing pedagogy . . . must be guided by a conceptually dynamic worldview; strategically utilize theorizations and understandings from various fields and conceptual frameworks to unmask the logics, workings and effects of internal colonial domination, oppression and exploitation . . .' (Tejada et al., 2003, p. 21 cited in Razack, 2009, p. 9).

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature relating to the context in which integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives is occurring broadly in whitestream tertiary education and more specifically in social work education.

This chapter is divided into seven sections

Section 1: Background: global aspects of knowledge

Section 2: Navigating the neoliberal whitestream

Section 3: Overview of social work globally and historically

Section 4: Social work in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand

Section 5: Social work profession and education in Australia

Section 6: Social work profession and education in Aotearoa New Zealand

Section 7: Conclusion

Literature was selected by both a snow balling process and via systematic data searches. The snow balling process searches were initiated via google scholar and then further articles were found through reviewing articles' bibliographies. Each article was read to locate specific references to the integration of Indigenous knowledges or perspectives into education, the academy, and the curriculum. Data base searches were completed in August 2020. Proquest data base was searched on August 2020 and 363 articles were found, including duplicates. The titles and abstracts were checked for appropriateness, and this brought the result to 113. After removing duplicates, the result was 96. The terms used in the search were:

noft((((indigenous OR aborig* OR "first nation*" OR Maori* OR islander OR native OR decoloniz* OR decolonis*) NEAR/6 (perspectiv* OR experienc* OR learnin* OR know* OR practic* OR teach*)) OR whitestream*)) AND noft(educat* OR academ* OR curricul* OR tertiary OR universit* OR pedagog* OR “cultural responsiveness” OR “culturally responsive”) AND noft("social work*") AND noft(("pacific island" OR aotearoa OR samoa OR canada OR alberta OR "british columbia" OR manitoba OR "new brunswick" OR newfoundland OR labrador OR "northwest territories" OR "nova scotia" OR nunavut OR ontario OR "prince edward island" OR quebec OR saskatchewan OR "yukon territory" OR "new south wales" OR australia* OR queensland OR tasmania OR "northern territory" OR victoria OR "new zealand" OR NZ))

Web of Science was searched on August 2020 using a similar string of terms with slight variation appropriate to use in the Web of Science data base. There were 65 articles retrieved once duplicates were removed and 47 articles remained. The Scopus data base was also searched on August 2020 with the result of 148 articles found. Of these, 52 articles were found to be appropriate. An Informit search was also performed, and 35 articles were added to the overall list of articles. Once duplicates were removed from combining the four data base searches, 192 articles were kept for this review. Other articles have continued to be reviewed as they have been published or have come to my notice. This literature review is not a systematic literature review but indicates the breadth of material already written on this issue.

Some of the literature referenced may not specifically relate to social work as social work is influenced by other disciplines and likewise social workers write into other disciplines. Other disciplines have taken up the challenge to integrate and embed Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing, to pursue epistemological equality with western knowledges and epistemology. Indigenous authors have been given preference within this research over using non-Indigenous author’s material, to amplify the voices of Indigenous peoples within this study.

To gain an understanding of the context in which this study is set, it is necessary to understand the origins of knowledge, the complexity regarding knowledge and the role the academy plays in producing knowledge. Colonising of knowledge and control of knowledge production play a historical and contemporary role in slowing the process of integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. There is a formidable battle that continues within academia to relinquish control and to make space for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to take their place alongside Western knowledge within the academy (Battiste, 2013; G. H. Smith & Smith, 2019; Zinga, 2019; Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014).

3.2 Background - Global aspects of knowledge

3.2.1 Colonising knowledge

History has too often been written by those in power, making heroes of men as discoverers and founding fathers rather than seeing the destruction that they brought about as they invaded and took land, culture, language, children, and bringing with them disease, murder, oppression and marginalising of Indigenous peoples (Bennett, 2013; L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 21). Indigenous peoples view of history, including imperialism and colonialism, are just as relevant as non-Indigenous views of history. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), a Māori academic, states that imperialism is part of Indigenous people's story and frames their experience. Imperialism is defined by Said (1993) as 'practice, theory, and the attitudes of the dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory' (p 8). Smith (2012) identifies four key aspects of imperialism: firstly, imperialism was about economic expansion, secondly, the subjugation of 'others', thirdly, it was seen as a concept or essence with numerous forms of realisation and, lastly, as a 'discursive field of knowledge' (p. 22). Colonialism is one representation of imperialism.

Colonialism became in a way an image and outpost of imperialism, 'a particular realization of the imperial imagination' and 'the fort and the port of imperial outreach' (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 24). Within this imagining were ideals for the future nation, images of the 'Other' and how the 'Other' would be seen and handled. These images are a part of a greater narrative but also part of a local and specific narrative too (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 24), with Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand experiencing similar but different experiences of colonialism each producing their own narrative. These experiences include the discursive fields in which Indigenous peoples are situated, and how these influenced the way in which arguments are mounted, opposition is controlled, and the way resolutions are formulated (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 23). The discursive field of knowledge itself has been created by writers whose understanding of imperialism and colonialism have been either from a colonised perspective, from one who has been colonised or from one who has been interested in understanding imperialism from the perspectives of the locals in their setting (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 23 & 24). Understanding these discursive fields created by imperialism and the subjugation of knowledge within broader society and within academia provides an understanding of the complexity of integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education.

Indigenous peoples were viewed through the lens of imperialism and colonialism, seen, named, known, theorized, archived, ranked, coded and classified through Western authorship and authority (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 63). Indigenous academics, Debra Harry, and Leonie Pihama's article, written as a transcribed conversation, highlights the wider context of colonial invasion and subjugation of Indigenous Nations. Based upon European beliefs, 'The doctrine of discovery', as described by Harry, defined Indigenous peoples as 'uncivilized, non-Christian pagans, and childlike in nature to justify the genocide, slavery, and taking of the lands and territories of Indigenous Peoples throughout the Americas, the Pacific, Asia, and Africa' (Pihama & Harry, 2017, p. 104). Knowledge and culture were conceived through imperialism as something to be 'discovered, extracted, appropriated and distributed' (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 61) similar to the way imperialism saw raw materials. The natural world perceived by Indigenous peoples was reframed in terms of resources and property (Pihama & Harry, 2017, p. 105), this included knowledge production being perceived as a commodity. Harry explains, '[w]hat we know is that any time there was contact with the colonizers, they sought to claim and re-name our world through discovery' (Pihama & Harry, 2017, p. 99). Smith relates that the production of knowledge, whether it was new knowledge, translated 'old' knowledge or thoughts regarding the nature of knowledge and what justified certain types of knowledge, they all became commodities of colonial exploitation similar to the way natural resources were exploited (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 62). Indigenous knowledges no longer belonged to Indigenous peoples, they now belonged to the 'cultural archive' and became a part of the 'body of knowledge of the West' (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 64). The production of knowledge was commodified, exploited, and became an object of power.

Indigenous academic, Marie Battiste (2013), explains that knowledge became a political power base, where elite groups control and use knowledge to exercise power particularly over specific economic and cultural interests. Cognitive imperialism occurs where knowledge is legitimised, produced and diffused, aligning some knowledge to power and marginalising or dismissing the knowledge of others, in effect rendering the knowledge of others either extinct or silent (Battiste & Henderson, 2000, p. 121). Or bringing the knowledge into the light when it has been deemed 'useful to the outcomes needed in society' (Battiste, 2013, p. 159). An example of cognitive imperialism has occurred in relation to Indigenous oral traditions. Oral stories have been interpreted as mere entertainment outside of their cultural context, without seeing their true value (Lipe, 2019, p. 462). The scientific value of Indigenous knowledge transferred through oral traditions have been ignored, negating the complexity of the knowledge that is encoded within the stories (Lipe, 2019). Knowledge of life skills, societal norms and values are hidden within stories and require a high level of cognition to decode the layers of knowledge (Lipe, 2019, p. 462). Likewise using a non-Indigenous theoretical base to decode or understand Indigenous knowledge is problematic as Eurocentric thought has developed a sense of mysticism around Indigenous knowledge and this can cause non-Indigenous people to feel distanced from Indigenous peoples and what they know (Doherty, 2019, p. 407), in effect producing further marginalisation and othering. Battiste and Henderson (2000) point out that Eurocentric knowledge is not inclusive as it is limited and it cannot be applied generally to the experiences and ways of knowing of others as though it is universal (p 21). Yet often this is what occurs, particularly within universities where colonised knowledge has been imposed through colonial education.

3.2.2 **Universities**

Universities were established, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) asserts, as ‘an essential part of the colonizing process, a bastion of civilization and a sign that a colony and its settlers had “grown up”’ (p. 68). Marie Battiste (2013) argues that every university has been structured to view the world through the lens of Eurocentrism and by doing this resists Indigenous perspectives and epistemes (p. 186). Battiste (2013) states, ‘[e]ducation has its roots in a patriarchal, Eurocentric society, complicit with multiple forms of oppression of women, sometimes men, children, minorities, and Indigenous peoples’ (p. 159). Tomlins-Jahnke (2019) reports that universities are highly contested spaces for Indigenous scholars because of the complex layers of ignorance that occur and are acted out on a daily basis within an environment that is strengthened by ‘a vast array of pervasive and oppressive institutional systems and structures that generate and reinforce ignorance’ (p. 83).

Universities are contested spaces for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars. Non-Indigenous scholars are implicated in maintaining the status quo where Indigenous cultures, ways of knowing and being are not valued or affirmed (Zinga, 2019, p. 278). Universities are built upon ancestral lands of Indigenous peoples, lands that may or may not have been ceded, impacting upon Indigenous peoples enduring relationship to their lands (Zinga, 2019, p. 278). ‘These systems simultaneously devalue and subjugate those who do not fit the mainstream mould and seek to assimilate them into “proper” university material and “global citizens”’ (Zinga, 2019, p. 281). People who fit this mould are indoctrinated in the beliefs and ideas that also devalue and subjugate the beliefs and ideas of those who do not fit the mould which creates a self-perpetuating cycle (Zinga, 2019, p. 281). Hence those who work in universities are implicated in perpetuating this cycle where colonial power is imposed and they become what Foucault calls 'willing vehicles of power' (Foucault, 1977, p. 98 cited in Zinga, 2019, p. 282).

Efforts to 'indigenise' colonial universities has been laden with many challenges including 'what counts as knowledge, as language, as literature, as curriculum and as the role of intellectuals, and over the critical function of the concept of academic freedom' (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 68). Battiste adds to this by asserting that universities have been structured to see the world through a Eurocentrism lens that opposes Indigenous knowledges and perspectives, where every university discipline has an institutional and political stake in Eurocentric knowledge and its transmission (Battiste, 2013, p. 186). Aboriginal academic, Bindi Bennett, also supports these thoughts, '[t]he continuation of what are colonising practices in academia represents a persisting belief in the superiority of Western ideas, voices and processes, which perpetuates a meta-narrative that Western knowledge is supreme and excludes Indigenous knowledge from the discourse' (Bennett, 2019a, p. 44). Understanding the context and challenges in which social work academics find themselves within universities is important as the context undoubtedly impacts upon the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. Another relevant aspect to consider is the importance of Indigenous standpoint theory within the academy.

3.2.3 Indigenous standpoint theory and cultural interface

Most Indigenous knowledges and perspectives are taught via the English language and by Western educators who interpret and represent that knowledge through a Western lens and discourse (Gray, Coates, & Yellow Bird, 2008; Haug, 2005; Nakata, 2007b). This does not negate that some educators do represent Indigenous knowledges in a way that reflects Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing. Martin Nakata (2007b), a Torres Strait Islander academic, focuses upon the space of contestation between the two knowledge systems, Western and Indigenous knowledges, when deciding what knowledge should be included or excluded. Important questions are posed, 'What aspects of Indigenous Knowledge gets represented?' 'What aspects of knowledge are recognised and valued?' 'What is not found to be of interest or valued?' 'What is misinterpreted?' 'What is marginalised, not recognised or forgotten?' (p. 190&191). Nakata (2007b) makes it clear that there are many elements at play in this space including 'histories, politics, economics, multiple interconnected discourses, social practices and knowledge technologies' (p. 190). These elements influence how we view the world and how we relate to it and make sense of it (p. 190).

Nakata (2007b) argues that within intellectual discourse the space has already been negotiated and translated, often via science, consequently 'Indigenous Knowledge is re-presented and re-configured as part of the corpus 'about' us and is already discursively bounded, ordered and organised by others and their sets of interests' (p. 191). Nakata (2007a) explains that it is important for those who want to bring Indigenous knowledge into teaching and learning that they are aware of how science plays a role in theorising Indigenous knowledge simplistically and oppositional to science. How by documenting Indigenous knowledge it removes it from its people,

> …who are its agents, when the 'knowers' of that knowledge are separated out from what comes to be "the known", in ways that dislocates it from its locale, and separates it from the social institutions that uphold and reinforce its efficacy, and cleaves it from the practices that constantly renew its meanings in the here and now (Nakata, 2007a, p. 9).

Removing Indigenous knowledge from its people, its location and placing it within a colonial institution like a university within a curriculum to teach students requires multiple considerations and awareness.

Nakata's (2007b) work includes the development of Indigenous standpoint theory that provides a framework for students to interrogate power when reading texts and to understand the hegemonic racist descriptions given to Indigenous people. When incorporating understanding of Indigenous knowledge into curriculum areas, when asking students to read certain texts, discuss possible applications and using Indigenous knowledge in an applied way, Nakata (2007a) advocates for an awareness and acknowledgement that 'we are screening it through a filter that positions it to serve our educational objectives, and which draws on our prior theoretical investments in knowledge and knowledge practice' (2007a, p. 9 & 10). Nakata's (2007b) work creates an awareness of the complexity in handling Indigenous knowledge and also provides guidance on how to handle its integration.

The cultural interface is a key aspect of Nakata's work. Nakata defines the cultural interface as

> … a multi-layered and multi-dimensional space of dynamic relations constituted by the intersections of time, place, distance, different systems of thought, competing and contesting discourses within and between different knowledge traditions, and different systems of social, economic and political organisation. It is a space of many shifting and complex intersections between different people with different histories, experiences, languages, agendas, aspirations … it is also a space that abounds with contradictions, ambiguities, conflict and contestation of meanings that emerge from these various shifting intersections (Nakata, 2007b, p. 199).

Nakata considers that all these aspects join together to provide a way of informing, constraining and enabling what is seen or unseen, what can be said and not said and what is understood and not understood and in respect to knowledge what is accepted, rejected, legitimised or marginalised (Nakata, 2007b, p. 199). The cultural interface with its complexities provides a space in which intersections, conversations, arguments, contradictions, and aspirations can occur between people, cultures, systems, and knowledges.

Nakata argues for a theory that

> '… as its first principle can generate accounts of communities of Indigenous people in contested knowledge spaces, that as its second principle affords agency to people, and that as its third principle acknowledges the everyday tensions, complexities and ambiguities as the very conditions that produce the possibilities in the spaces between Indigenous and non-Indigenous positions (Nakata, 2007b, p. 217).

Indigenous standpoint enables Indigenous academics to use these principles to 'unravel and untangle' themselves from the conditions and representations that define, limit and demarcate who, what or how Indigenous academics see themselves from the colonial world or within the context of this study, the whitestream within academia (Nakata, 2007b, p. 217). Nakata's (2007a, 2007b) use of standpoint theory allows for multiple Indigenous standpoints rather than just one homogenisation of Indigenous voices. An aspect of decolonising social work is for Indigenous academics to challenge the conditions and representations that have been ascribed and predetermined in the whitestream, this then enables Indigenous social and cultural realities, worldviews, and experiences to be defined and represented from an Indigenous standpoint.

3.2.4 Using the cultural interface and Indigenous standpoint theory within the academy

Since Nakata's work has been published, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics have applied the 'cultural interface' and 'Indigenous standpoint theory' within academia. Aboriginal academic, Lester-Irabinna Rigney (2001), cites Nakata's (1998) earlier work. Rigney (2001, p. 2) discusses navigating and integrating Indigenous knowledges into the academy within the discipline of social science. Rigney identifies the role that higher education plays in 'preparing Indigenous peoples with the necessary skills not only to reclaim, protect and nurture Indigenous cultures but also to prepare the next generation for an ever-changing modern society' (2001, p. 2). Yet there is also a keen awareness by Rigney of the participating role Western traditions of science have had in colonisation (Rigney, 2001). Rigney asserts that contemporary Indigenism acknowledges that on one hand science has the power to colonise and on the other it also has the power to 'contribute to the decolonisation of Indigenous peoples' lives' (Rigney, 2001, p. 8). Nakata's concept of cultural interface speaks to this contradiction and Rigney cites Nakata's work,

> [I]n order to understand our own position better, and to ultimately act to improve it, we must first immerse ourselves in and understand the very systems of thought, ideas and knowledges that have been instrumental in producing our position (Nakata, 1998, p. 1).

Rigney (2001) calls this process the ‘journey of academic contradiction’ (p 8). It could be argued that this journey of contradiction and this need for understanding of position and the systems of thought, ideas and knowledge is also necessary for academics, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous in their journey of integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching. Understanding the system through Indigenous standpoint theory at the cultural interface allows for an unsettling of Western constructs of knowledge and opens opportunities for Indigenous scholarship within the academy (Nakata, 2007b; Rigney, 2001) and can result in what Rigney describes as ‘‘undisciplining’ of the disciplines’ (Rigney, 2001, p. 7) in many areas in academia (Nakata, 2007a, p. 224).

Engaging in an interrogation of the history of science, Rigney explains how the construct of ‘race’ pervades and legitimises the use of ‘terra nullius’ to the point where Indigenous traditions become equated to ‘intellectual nullius’ (Rigney, 2001, p. 4). Rigney (2001) argues that unless Western knowledge practices and tenets are interrogated, their power will continue, meaning that intellectual nullius will also continue. Moving Indigenous knowledge systems and scholarship and Indigenous humanness and identities from invisible to visible is one way that Indigenous intellectual sovereignty can occur (Rigney, 2001, p. 10). Drawing attention to and interrogating a discipline’s silences and invisibilities has also been acknowledged by several other scholars who work at the cultural interface. Henry et al. assert that accentuating a discipline’s silences and invisibilities can illustrate ‘the discipline’s own capacity to recognize, understand, unsettle, and persuasively respond to some of the defining political, economic, and social challenges and opportunities of our era’ (Henry et al., 2017, p. 242). Henry et al.’s (2017) work focuses upon political science yet the notion of ceding power to the already powerful and interrogating how disciplinary power is produced and maintained can also apply to the context of social work education. Applying Henry et al.’s (2017) work to social work, the implication of silencing race and Indigeneity within a discipline, whether political science or social work, can have the impact of determining ‘how we think about curriculum and how we teach and write the discipline as an intellectual field of inquiry’ (p. 243) influencing training of future social workers and the future of the discipline and ultimately the profession.

Colleen McGloin (2009), a non-Indigenous academic applied Nakata’s (2006, 2007b) work to enable a better understanding of the possibilities and restrictions that a non-Indigenous academic could encounter in teaching in Indigenous studies within academia. Her work provides ideas on how non-Indigenous academics can engage at the cultural interface using a standpoint theory that is informed by an Indigenous standpoint theory that acknowledges White privilege and power to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching. McGloin applies Nakata's cultural interface as she navigates what has been termed in this doctoral study the whitestream in academia (Grande, 2000; Kidman, 2020; Milne, 2017), (as mentioned earlier, the term 'whitestream' is adopted to acknowledge social work education's 'White' foundations and to decentre whiteness). McGloin (2009) took on a reflexive position in developing a useful framework for non-Indigenous academics. Nakata's work provided McGloin (2009) with a theoretical model that enables non-Indigenous academics to consider the complex and layered nature of competing knowledges. She questions how non-Indigenous academics balance their own privileged White perspectives with opposing knowledges, while preserving a sense of confidence in their own ability as educators (McGloin, 2009). Nakata's (2006, 2007b) work highlights the importance for academics to understand the competing knowledge systems and to value the extent to which Indigenous people are marginalised within the academy. Without this awareness, 'it is impossible to embed Indigenous perspectives into course work' and to engage meaningfully and productively with Indigenous colleagues (McGloin, 2009, p. 37). McGloin's (2009) own experience as a non-Indigenous academic teaching Indigenous studies highlighted that non-Indigenous academics acknowledge the responsibility that is involved in creating and teaching anti-colonial discourse while recognising that this discourse is dynamic (p 37).

The "cultural interface" provides a place where non-Indigenous academics can negotiate unlearning knowledge and gaining new knowledge, it is also where colonial histories and struggles can be taught (McGloin, 2009, p. 39). McGloin (2009) also offers suggestions on how non-Indigenous educators can embed knowledges that are outside their own frame of reference, by initially becoming familiar with issues based upon Indigenous sources, standpoints and perspectives and engaging students in critical thinking and seriously questioning the validity of the 'truth claims' of Western epistemology. McGloin (2009) suggests using a pedagogical model that focuses upon mutual learning, where the student's experiential knowledge is validated, and the educator moves the focus away from themselves as "expert", allowing the student to develop their own intelligible perspective. The relationship between knowledge and power shifts, providing an opportunity to actively undermine the dominant discourse by having students re-think or un-think Western preoccupations (McGloin, 2009, p. 40). McGloin (2009) also asserts that the cultural interface is a site of negotiation and also praxis that can provide a productive way for academics that can challenge and destabilise colonial relations of power within universities, and it could be argued within social work education.

3.2.5 Indigenous women's standpoint theory

Aboriginal academic Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2013) argues that Nakata's work (2007b) though it does include feminists, 'his theory is gender blind' (p. 338). Moreton-Robinson presents an Indigenous women's standpoint, which differs from an Indigenous male's standpoint. Australian Indigenous women may share a body of knowledge with Australian Indigenous men but their standpoint embodies different relationships between themselves and country, people and ancestral creator beings (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 339). Australian Indigenous women's experiences of social location differ from Indigenous men, as they have different hierarchical relations of ruling within Indigenous communities (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 339). Importantly, within the context of this study, Moreton-Robinson's (2013) encourages Indigenous academics to recognise and acknowledge their disciplinary knowledges and academic training as part of their standpoint alongside their Indigenous standpoint as she sees this as strengthening Indigenous women's standpoints. As Moreton-Robinson (2013) asserts, '[i]t is not a case of being either Indigenous or academic but of recognising the epistemological, ontological and axiological complexity of being an Indigenous researcher [academic] that is politically challenging, intellectually creative and rigorous' (p. 339).

Moreton-Robinson's work is important in this doctoral study as many of the participants were women and several of them were Indigenous women. It is important to have an understanding of Indigenous women's standpoint as they navigate the whitestream where Moreton-Robinson (2013) eloquently asserts, 'our lives are always shaped by the omnipresence of patriarchal white sovereignty and its continual denial of our sovereignty … one can present a seminar paper and perform according to the protocols of the white patriarchal academy while simultaneously challenging its episteme' (p. 340). An epistemology, or way of knowing, from an Indigenous perspective can occur through what Moreton-Robinson terms 'relationality'. Knowing occurs in relation and connectedness by way of 'descent, country, place and shared experiences where one experiences the self as part of others and that others are part of the self; this is learnt through reciprocity, obligation, shared experiences, co-existence, co-operation and social memory' (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 341). Moreton-Robinson (2013) argues that the opposite occurs within the patriarchal constraints of the academy, as the academy seeks to privilege individualist pursuits of knowledge and disconnection. Shared knowledge and experiences inform Indigenous women's ways of knowing both at a conscious and unconscious level (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 341). Moreton-Robinson (2013) lists several shared lived experiences that Indigenous women have due to their social positioning within society, therefore it can be argued that these experiences are shared with Indigenous academics in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. For example, Indigenous women share the experience of having different cultural knowledges, share their particular countries' histories of colonisation, multiple oppressions, 'share in the experience of living in a hegemonic white patriarchal society … share the experience of lacking epistemic authority within the academy' (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 341 & 342). Indigenous standpoint does not repudiate the diversity of Indigenous women's individual experiences, rather their shared experiences within places like the academy, where 'hierarchical relations of ruling and power converge and are operationalised' (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 342).

Moreton-Robinson's work also provides insight into Indigenous women's axiology or way of doing things within the academy. Moreton-Robinson (2013) asserts that, within the academy, Indigenous women's ways of doing things is informed by their ontology and epistemology and a part of their communal responsibilities and sovereignties based upon their relationality and relatedness (p 242). 'Understanding that all things are connected in the world is the basis for observing, engaging, being and doing in the world' (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 342), including the academy. It is reasonable to argued that Indigenous women within the academy have a unique vantage point based upon their experience of the whitestream within the academy.

3.2.6 Patriarchal whiteness in the academy

Moreton-Robinson (2004) defines whiteness as 'the invisible norm against which all other races are judged in the construction of identity, representation, subjectivity, nationalism and the law' (p. vii). The social construction of whiteness is linked to the privileges of the elite who established it, 'it is not real, except for its power, privileges, and hegemony' (Battiste, 2013, p. 135). Whiteness is not often visible in systems of education since whiteness does not look at itself, its focus is upon the observed "different other" (Battiste, 2013, p. 106). Whiteness influences become the norms, measuring success and failure, rewarding a few, while marginalising others, those who do not fit the "norm" (Battiste, 2013). It is the power intrinsic to being part of the dominant White group and being male, not that it is a choice, that permits the 'successful resistance to being labelled White' (Walter et al., 2011). Within the academy patriarchal whiteness functions as a 'raced and gendered epistemological *a priori* within knowledge production', producing knowledge that is seen as universal pervaded by dominant norms, values and beliefs (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p. 414). Historically, White males have been positioned as “the subject” by the dominant narrative of the West, while positioning Indigenous people as the slave, savage or native and Indigenous women as subaltern (I. Watson, 2014, p. 515). ‘Colonising knowledge production has been in the hands of white, heterosexual, able bodied, Western male academics for centuries’ (I. Watson, 2014, p. 515). Challenging racial superiority and its legacy within the academy, its history and its contemporary existence is essential yet problematic because ‘whiteness and privilege are less evident to those who swim in the sea of whiteness and dominance’ (Battiste, 2013, p. 125). Yet Indigenous women like Moreton-Robinson have sought to confront racial superiority by critiquing knowledge production within the academy.

Patriarchal violence is facilitated by the power of patriarchal knowledge, that knowledge that defines what it means to be human, what is and is not ‘knowledge’ and who can and cannot be the knower (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p. 427). Aboriginal knowledge claims, both inside and outside of the academy are silenced and invalidated by the discursive use of White patriarchal epistemic violence (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p. 427 & 428). White middle-class habitus can influence the creation of unreflected discourses, discursive discourses are created based upon themes of Indigenous disadvantage, crisis and lack of empowerment (Walter et al., 2011). ‘Indigenous Australia’ can be portrayed ‘as an idea’ instead of White academics having an understanding of the lived experience of Indigenous peoples (Walter et al., 2011, p. 11). The academy continues to be a highly contested space for Indigenous academics, ‘where complex layers of ignorance are acted out on a daily basis, buttressed by a vast array of pervasive and oppressive institutional systems and structures that generate and reinforce ignorance’ (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2019, p. 83).

An article written by historian, Dirk Moses (2010), titled ‘The white man’s burden: patriarchal white epistemic violence and Aboriginal women’s knowledges within the academy’, provided an example for Moreton-Robinson to critique and to highlight the White patriarchal epistemic violence that occurs within the academy. Moreton-Robinson’s critique highlighted how a White patriarchy flexes its muscles within the academy. Within the academy there appears to remain ‘a test of merit’, where colonisers feel ‘a paternal duty that obliges self-proclaimed trustees of civilization to seek the good of the disadvantaged’ (Bain, 2003, p. 64), providing supervision and guidance in this case to Aboriginal women (Heleta, 2016). Moreton-Robinson (2011) demonstrated that Moses questions the knowledge that is produced by Indigenous women academics and implies that Aboriginal women scholars are more focused upon self-reflection than the production of knowledge. Moreton-Robinson (2011) asserts that Moses employs notions of ‘emotion’ and ‘activism’ to render the intellectual work of Aboriginal scholars as emotional and political to discredit the knowledge Aboriginal women scholars have produced. Moreton-Robinson (2011) argues that Moses uses the discourse of pathology that is used in a White patriarchal Australian state to demean, distort and misrepresent Aboriginal women scholars’ work to the point of it being epistemologically pathological. This renders Aboriginal women’s scholarship to the margins within the academy.

Even though Moreton-Robinson’s article was written in 2011, it still has relevance in terms of the enduring position of Indigenous women within academia. Aboriginal academic, Irene Watson, supported Moreton-Robinson’s critique of Moses’ work and added that ‘ongoing racist constructs of native savagery persist and are alive and well in the academy’ (I. Watson, 2014, p. 515). Such conclusions made by Indigenous women academics such as Moreton-Robinson and Watson highlight some of the challenges that Indigenous peoples have, particularly Indigenous women in navigating and finding a place for Indigenous knowledges within the academy. Social work within the academy is predominantly populated by White women academics, so it is important to address the existence of patriarchal whiteness within the academy to make space for Indigenous social work academics. Another important consideration is the impact of capitalism and neoliberalism upon education.

3.3 Navigating the neoliberal whitestream academy

Globally education systems have been affected by neoliberal ideology and practices of government, where neoliberalism is defined broadly as ‘the agenda of economic and social transformation under the sign of the free market’ (Connell, 2013, p. 100). 'Education is under attack globally from the conservative influence of neoliberalism’ (McNabb, 2020a). A neoliberal agenda frees businesses and creates markets where they formally did not exist, privatizing public assets, commodifying assets including education, where education is now seen as an industry seeking profit where an education is no longer a citizen’s right but a commodity (Connell, 2013, p. 101 and 102). Within a neoliberal colonial institute such as a university, ‘[a]cademic knowledge is no longer treated as intrinsically valuable in its own right, but as a commodity that should be “leveraged” for profit’ (Morley, Macfarlane, & Ablett, 2017, p. 30). An Indigenous Māori sociologist, Joanna Kidman’s research adds that knowledge is shaped and constructed within a crucible of power relations between coloniality and free market capitalism where the historical forces of imperialism, invasion and violence are continued (Kidman, 2020).

Instead of providing freedom, promise and possibilities, education was a mechanism to oppress. An example of this oppression of education given by African American author and academic, bell hooks, who wanted to become a critical thinker, found '[t]he university and the classroom began to feel more like a prison, a place of punishment and confinement rather than a place of promise and possibility' (hooks, 1994, p. 4). Hooks (1994) was bored in classrooms and challenged the banking system of education as defined by Brazilian thinker Paulo Freire, where knowledge is memorized and regurgitated, deposited, stored and used later. Hooks used Freire's work on critical pedagogy to critique feminism which developed her teaching. Hooks believed that there could never be 'an absolute set agenda governing teaching practices. Agendas had to be flexible, had to allow for spontaneous shifts in direction. Students had to be seen in their particularity as individuals … and interact with according to their needs' (hooks, 1994, p. 7). Hooks' (1994, p. 21) work also encourages engaged pedagogy that does more than just empower students. The holistic model of learning also provides an environment where teachers grow and are empowered by the process. Hooks also sees a link between the process of decolonisation and Freire's focus on conscientization. Freire did not speak about conscientization as an end in itself but as joined by praxis, both action and reflection (hooks, 1994). Revolutionary educational praxis is discussed by Peter McLaren, a Canadian scholar, in the light of Freire's work. McLaren (2000) discusses that educators need to at some point face the reality of capitalist social relations. He states 'we need to do more than rail against the suffering and tribulations of the oppressed and instead seek ways to transform them' (p. 190).

Education is seen as a process of social reproduction (Connell, 2013, p. 104). Connell (2013) asserts school systems have been created to train up the young in the values and languages of their elders and the young are sorted into social roles, often reproducing the privileges of the dominant social group. Connell (2013) advocates for a dimension of nurture and encounter to occur within education between people, respectful and reciprocal mutual engagements, where an equal citizenship in the education situation can occur. 'Mutual respect is the condition required for the complex communication through which complex learning occurs. Trust is easily damaged, indeed easily stopped – by violence, by threats, by arbitrariness, by privilege and by economic exploitation' (Connell, 2013, p. 104 and 105). Connell (2013) strongly advocates for an understanding of the number of structures shaping educational relationships, including class structures, gender structures, ethnic and race structures and connections with land and generations and many more. Understanding that education is about developing capacities of practice requires educational relationships and these relationships must be calibrated in reality, a reality that engages with the truth (Connell, 2013, p. 105). Part of this reality in higher education is acknowledging and understanding the relationships and structures enacted through neoliberalism in settler-colonial societies.

Kidman asserts that there has been a lot written about neoliberalism in higher education, yet not a lot has been written about how neoliberalism is enacted in settler-colonial societies, like Australia, Canada and New Zealand, where histories of imperialism, invasion and violence has shaped intellectual labour (Kidman, 2020, p. 247). The term whitestreaming is used by Kidman and Chu and is defined as 'the structures of academia that protect and maintain Anglo-European/Pākehā privilege' (Kidman & Chu, 2017, p. 8). Battiste (2013) states that imperialistic systems of knowledge that are considered "mainstream", operate like a "keeper" current in a rapidly flowing river and decolonisation is the process of unpacking the keeper current within education (p. 106 and 107). Battiste uses the term "mainstream" here, yet she asks the question, whose is the 'main' that is 'streamed'? Whose experiences are normalised as centre? Within the context of this doctoral study, whose is the knowledge that is centred within social work education? Arguably within the Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand context, 'White' is the main norm that is streaming as it has imperialistic systems of knowledge as its focus and the keeper current, to which Battiste attests, is the same within neoliberal academies. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics are unpacking and navigating the keeper current within the context of the neoliberal academy.

Battiste (2013) argues that colonialism 'as a theory of relationships is embedded in power, voice and legitimacy' (p. 106). The literature review to this point has presented some of those relationships that have been embedded with power due to colonisation like paternalism, racism, and stigmatisation of Indigenous ways; it has discussed both dominant and marginalised voices and the legitimacy of knowledge. Having a greater understanding of relationships and how they impact upon decolonising the neoliberal academy is significant. As social justice is at the core of social work, decolonisation is imperative to social work education. Harms-Smith and Nathane name three levels to decolonising, 'decolonising being, decolonising knowledge and decolonising power' (2018, p. 3). Understanding that decolonisation can really 'only be achieved by those most affected … and … dictated by those most aggrieved' (Harms Smith & Nathane, 2018, p. 7) means that building relationships within and outside of the academy are key in the decolonising process. The ultimate goal for education and universities is to widen their curricula and 'adopt an inclusive philosophy that embraces all systems of knowledge' (Harms Smith & Nathane, 2018, p. 7). The focus of this study is upon how relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education. Therefore, it can be argued that the relationships that academics have within the academy are important to the integration process. The focus of the next section is upon social work globally, then more specifically in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.4 Overview of social work globally and historically

Somewhere between 300 to 500 million of the world's population comprise of diverse populations of Indigenous peoples (Michael Yellow Bird, 2008, p. 286). This includes First Nations Peoples in Canada, the Saami of Northern Europe, Native Hawaiians, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of Australia, Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet the term 'Indigenous' is derived from the latin word 'indigena meaning born or produced naturally in a land or region, that is, native to the land or region' (Michael Yellow Bird, 2008, p. 286). Yellow Bird (2008) explains that this term is accepted by some Indigenous peoples, yet others avoid it. The term 'Indigenous' has also been conceived to 'represent a form of coloniality of being, power and knowledge' (Mathebane & Sekudu, 2018, p. 4). It could also be argued that 'Indigenous' assumes that the peoples within these groups are homogenous; universalising identity and subsuming tribal identity by a national one, has occurred for many Indigenous Peoples (Pihama & Harry, 2017, p. 102). Yet Indigenous peoples are diverse populations, having distinct cultures and languages, some still residing on ancestral lands, many still maintaining strong connection to their land and ancestry (Michael Yellow Bird, 2008, p. 286). The racial oppression that has occurred because of colonisation and dispossession is evident.

Many authors discuss the impact of colonisation upon Indigenous peoples. Dispossession of lands and resources, numerous oppressions including genocide, ethnocide and ecocide and disregard for human rights, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, marginalises Indigenous peoples, leaving many to live 'below the poverty line with low life expectancy, high rates of illiteracy and unemployment, the least schooling, medical care and welfare, the worst housing, the lowest salaries, and high rates of disease' (Michael Yellow Bird, 2013, p. xxi). Battiste asserts that the symptoms of racial oppression are diverse within colonised nations including increasing health concerns, high-risk maternal care, ‘high stress levels and low coping skills leading to trauma, violence, incarceration, and suicide’ (Battiste, 2013, p. 138). Many First Nations communities have the image of a social worker as a child snatcher and many Indigenous people are suspicious and distrust social workers (Walsh-Tapiata, 2008, p. 109). Hence ‘[s]ocial workers must build trust with Indigenous communities before any work can be accomplished’ (Walsh-Tapiata, 2008, p. 109). Acknowledging social work’s history is imperative in the process.

Social work has been known as a project of modernity (Leonard, 1997), that required what Australian academic Robyn Lynn affirms as ‘scientific respectability and professionalism through the powerful tradition of empiricism and positivism’ (2001, p. 904). As has already been discussed, universal claims to knowledge creation and validity were made by those who held the power ‘to know’ through reason and science and, from a social work perspective, also held the administrative and professional functions of the state (Lynn, 2001). Lynn highlighted that within the tradition of modernity, social work has produced a meta-narrative for universal application of social work practices and teaching that ‘almost erased the indigenous stories from the landscape of social welfare work’ (Lynn, 2001). Often the lessons of this meta-narrative in social work have been based upon the moral values in the public context ‘principally defined from a white, male point of view’ (Lynn, 2001). Nash and Munford (2001), social work academics from Aotearoa New Zealand, assert that as a discipline, social work is academic, applied and professional all at once and therefore ‘it attempts to hold the tension between the competing demands of the profession, the state, social service providers and the community of scholars’ (p. 22). Within this tenuous situation, a modernist narrow recognition of what is and who can produce true knowledge has meant that social work ‘has failed to recognize and value the richness of the knowledge, teaching and practices that exist at the margins of the social welfare landscape’ (Lynn, 2001, p. 906), relegating knowledges and practices of Indigenous peoples as ‘the Other’ and to the margins of social work including social work education (Lynn, 2001, p. 906).

A long-standing problem in the field of social work has been the centring of western knowledge and ideology in social work education while subjugating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. As social work academic, Sonia Tascón, asserts, ‘Social work was born white’ (2019, p. 9). Social work has been founded upon a Western world view from the UK and USA that is typified by European Enlightenment and Modernity, accepting capitalism, individualism, and the estrangement of humans from nature (Gray et al., 2008; Ife, 2019; Tascón, 2019). Whiteness and Western epistemologies and Eurocentric perspectives continue to have a firm hegemonic hold upon social work education, teaching and practices (Ife, 2019; Lerner, 2021; Razack, 2009; Tamburro, 2013). Social work is a Western profession that endorses universal values, principles, education standards and focuses upon standardisation, and it has a knowledge base founded upon rational explanations and a scientific approach (Haug, 2005; Michael Yellow Bird, 2008, p. 290 & 291). Yet it is also important to remember that Western social work knowledge is contested and that it is inappropriate to assume that 'it is seen as a monolithic and homogenous entity' (Tsang, Yan, & Shera, 2000, p. 150) with universal agreement (Gray & Fook, 2004, p. 290; Michael Yellow Bird, 2008).

A major theme of social work over decades has been the need for social work to be aware of the dominance of Western influences and the need to develop and progress Indigenous education and practices (Gray et al., 2008; Gray & Fook, 2004, p. 262). A profession that has played a part of mass removals of Indigenous children from their communities, resulting in cultural destruction, has sought to develop effective methodologies that benefit Indigenous peoples, yet accepting Indigenous world views, local knowledge and traditions has been a slow and ongoing process (Gray et al., 2008). Globally social work educators both internationally and nationally recognised the significance of indigenisation as early as 1972 to develop culturally appropriate practices (Morelli, Mataira, & Kaulukukui, 2013, p. 215). At times in the literature, the terms indigenisation and decolonisation are used interchangeably, however they do express different aims and objectives (Ife, 2019). Within the context of this study and social work education, 'indigenisation is the validation, acceptance and insertion of Indigenous knowledge and world views, and the incorporation of Indigenous ways of thinking and doing' (Ife, 2019, p. 26), where Indigenous knowledge is deemed as equivalent to Western knowledge, ways of thinking and doing. Whereas decolonisation seeks to address and dismantle the dominance of Western world views (Ife, 2019, p. 27). Decolonisation can also be the process of coming to understand that you are colonised and that there are ways to decolonise oneself or adapt to or survive in oppressive conditions and restore cultural practices, thinking, beliefs and values (Michael Yellow Bird, 2008, p. 284). To make space for indigenisation to occur within social work education, decolonisation needs to occur to address and dismantle the dominant Western ways of knowing, being and doing within the academy. In terms of Indigenous social work, there are two streams of literature and both relate to countries with a history of colonisation (Gray & Coates, 2010, p. 615). Developing continents Africa, Asia and South America are one stream and then developed Western countries like Canada, U.S, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand belong to the other stream, where their focus is mainly upon professional education and practice relating to Aboriginal, Māori and First Nations Peoples (Gray & Coates, 2010). There is debate about the use of the terms indigenisation and decolonisation and which is more appropriate to use, however, this is not the focus of this study.

Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics acknowledge the need to decolonise and indigenise social work education. Numerous studies and articles have been produced globally supporting this need. Some edited texts have been produced that have brought together academics globally to write about decolonising social work and social work education (Fejo-King & Mataira, 2015; Gray et al., 2013; Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). Indigenisation and decolonisation of social work education is progressing within a number of countries like Australia (Al-Natour & Mears, 2016; Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018; Fejo-King, 2013, 2014; Green & Baldry, 2013; Muller & Gair, 2013); Aotearoa New Zealand (Eketone & Walker, 2013; McNabb, 2019a; P. Ruwhiu, 2019); Hawai'i (Morelli et al., 2013; Nakaoka, Ka'opua, & Ono, 2019); the Pacific including Samoa (Faleolo, 2013); Tonga (Mafile'o, 2008); Pacific more generally (Mafile'o & Vakalahi, 2018; Ravulo et al., 2019); Canada (Baskin, 2005, 2006; Bhuyan, Bejan, & Jeyapal, 2017); the Americas more generally (Tamburro, 2013); South Africa (Harms Smith, 2020; Mathebane & Sekudu, 2018), West Africa (Canavera, Akesson, Landis, Armstrong, & Meyer, 2019); China and Nepal (Yadav & Yadav, 2020). This list is not exhaustive particularly as there is new literature being added regularly. Decolonisation is being applied to other areas of social work practice that inevitably impacts what is taught in social work education, for example, decolonising disaster social work: environmental justice and community participation (Pyles, 2017).

In 1997, Dominelli (1997), a social work scholar, called for a transformation of social work, challenging racist social work education and practices and to move towards anti-racist social work challenging the status quo, power relations and oppression, including changing the basis of training. Postmodern theorists like Kincheloe and McLaren offer an epistemological stance 'that knowledge is only created through the interaction of people, language and text' (Campbell & Ungar, 2003, p. 43). Campbell and Ungar's article, published in 2003, asserts that progressive educators in social work have 'embraced epistemological multiplicity and have sought to support and 'center' the knowedges and perspectives of those who have been marginalized' (p. 43 and 44). Campbell and Ungar's work envisaged that the deconstruction of traditional knowledge claims in social work and the honouring of epistemological multiplicity had the potential to 'expand and enhance the vision and practice of progressive social work' (Campbell & Ungar, 2003, p. 44). Neither producing a hybrid of western and Indigenous approaches nor appropriating

Indigenous knowledges will suffice but instead recognising and respecting Indigenous ways and knowledges as important aspects of future knowledge production in social work (Lynn, 2001, p. 912).

Indigenous authors have emphatically stated ‘that social work theory and practice has much to learn from peoples about the ways in which they help their own’ (Walsh-Tapiata, 2008, p. 110). Recognising and including Indigenous knowledges and practices that worked effectively in dealing with local and international social problems was the main goal for indigenising social work education (Morelli et al., 2013, p. 215). Indigenising the social work curriculum to make it more culturally relevant was identified as ‘defining an identity and mission relative to the community to which the academy is accountable and is an important process in decolonizing the curriculum’ (Morelli et al., 2013, p. 207). Social work education envisages itself as a global universal endeavour as well as a local enterprise (Staniforth & Noble, 2014, p. 171), hence having an essential role to play in progressing the rights and interests of Indigenous peoples (McNabb, 2019a, p. 35). North America has played a significant role in the development of social work globally as well as in indigenising and decolonising social work education.

3.4.1 **North America**

Like Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada and the United States share some similarities in the way that they have been colonised and how they have treated Indigenous peoples. Social work in Canada and the United States emerged at the turn of the 20th century, and there has been a close relationship between Canadian and American social workers over the centuries, reading the same journals, attending the same conferences and social workers crossing the borders between the two countries for education and employment (Watkins, Jennissen, & Lundy, 2012). Both countries shared a heritage shaped by British colonialism, yet due to differences in population and industrial development in the United States, social work developed more quickly and this influenced Canada (Watkins et al., 2012). Within English Canada, social work has been influenced by both the United Kingdom and the United States whereas French Canada (Quebec) has been influenced by France where social work was generally managed by the Roman Catholic Church (see Watkins et al., 2012 for a greater understanding of the history of social work in Canada). For many First Nations peoples, social work has epitomised the historical legacy of colonisation (Tamburro, 2010, p. 2). Indigenous peoples in Canada and the U.S. are over represented in social services due to the effects of colonisation (Tamburro, 2013, p. 8). Not understanding Indigenous cultural knowledge and Indigenous ways of child rearing and not having accurate accounts of Indigenous history led to social workers being complicit in removing Indigenous children from their families, communities and culture (Tamburro, 2013, p. 9). Canadian First Nations scholar, Marie Battiste's (2013) work is often cited globally regarding her work on decolonising education. Battiste provides a valuable critique of Eurocentric education and its practices in both schools and universities, advocating for systemic change and trans-systemic reconciliation. '[D]ecolonization of education is not just about changing the system for Indigenous peoples, but for everyone' (Battiste, 2013, p. 22).

Anecdotally, social work education has been found not to represent Indigenous peoples, their world views, nor their situation or communities (Baskin, 2005). Indigenous North Americans, Alaskan Natives, and Native Hawaiians have experienced the impact of colonisation and there has been a call for social work educators to decolonise the social work profession (Tamburro, 2013, p. 1). As a First Nations professional who spent 30 years in social work and academia in both Canada and the U.S, Andrea Tamburro's decolonising work within social work practice and curriculum has provided valuable insights as she focuses upon post-colonial theory and approaches, providing an alternative to the Western Eurocentric perspectives on culture, history and education used in social work (Tamburro, 2013, p. 5). As part of Tamburro's (2010) PhD, she developed a framework and assessment tool for academics to assess their social work curriculum for Aboriginal content, looking at the curriculum, materials and resources available in order to contribute to more effective social work practice with Aboriginal people, families and communities.

Post-colonial in this context does not represent a period of time, as if colonisation has concluded, as it continues today. Post-colonial theory offers an approach that includes the worldviews, beliefs, spirituality and aspirations of Indigenous peoples and provides a theoretical home for the discourses and ideas of those who are affected by colonisation (Tamburro, 2013, p. 5). Tamburro (2013) asserts that a post-colonial critique also provides an examination of power, resistance, and punishment allowing for an understanding and deconstruction of the thinking, beliefs and actions of the colonisers. Hegemony is a concept used by critical post-colonial theorists to understand how colonisers have achieved domination and control over aspects of society including education; Tamburro (2013) states that '[h]egemony helps explain how the colonization of Indigenous peoples is still tolerated in Hawai'i, Canada and the U.S … through what is and is not included in educational curriculum' (p. 6). Including the cultural inheritance and the voices of Indigenous peoples of Canada and the U.S is an important aspect of decolonising social work curriculum. Tamburro (2013) relates that 'post-colonial theory bring Indigenous writers from the *margins* into the *center* of academia' (p. 7), having a right for their voices to be heard within the academy. Incorporating a post-colonial lens within a social work curriculum would mean that the curriculum would include Indigenous knowledge, skills and values across the curriculum, including policy, practice, values and ethics and also identify the gaps within the curriculum (Tamburro, 2013, p. 10 and 11).

At the time of compiling and creating a collection of works regarding Indigenous social work in Canada titled, 'Wícihitowin: Aboriginal social work in Canada' (Hart, Sinclair, & Bruyere, 2009), Hart and colleagues found that there was only a small collection of writing from the 1980's and the early 1990's to serve as a guide to Indigenous social work scholars. Indigenous social work literature in Canada grew in number during the first decade of the 2000's (Hart et al., 2009, p. 22). Some examples of these articles from the 2000's are works by Sinclair, Mastronardi and Harris, each responding to the need for social work education to be transformed to better meet the needs of First Nations communities. Indigenous scholar, Raven Sinclair (2004), published an article regarding decolonising pedagogy for the seventh generation, explaining how Aboriginal social work as a relatively new field in the human services needed to decolonise its pedagogy and incorporate Aboriginal history and traditional sacred epistemology into its education of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal social workers. Also, in 2004, non-Indigenous academic, Laura Mastronardi, wrote about a community outreach program of social work education offered to Inuit students by McGill University School of Social Work. Mastronardi points out how the program is complicit in cultural colonialism yet must deconstruct its pedagogy within the context of decolonisation and Inuit self-determination (Mastronardi, 2004, p. 129). Indigenous scholar, Harris (2006), advocated for a transformation of social work education through principles and practices that focused upon traditional Aboriginal education and values, communities' self-determination, including innovative off-campus programs and culturally appropriate models of education and also addressing racism inside and outside of the classroom. This is in no way an exhaustive list of literature that has emerged from Canada in the early to mid-2000's but it does provide an example of the path that Canadian social work education is taking towards decolonisation. Literature from Canada and the U.S has informed discussion throughout this thesis.

Other methods have been used in the global North to indigenise social work including healing through storytelling. Using an interdisciplinary approach, Dennis and Minor (2019) consider how Indigenous storytelling, adopting an anti-colonial approach, can inform current social work practice and pedagogy. The practice applications have implications for Indigenous populations globally (Dennis & Minor, 2019, p. 1486). Dennis and Minor highlight that the stories are also useful teaching tools as ‘they offer a way to experience these events through the eyes of Indigenous people’ (Dennis & Minor, 2019, p. 1487).

3.4.2 **Hawai’i**

Indigenising education within the United States has gained momentum over the past 15 years prior to 2013 (Morelli et al., 2013). The University of Hawai’i has a history of being aware of the needs of a culturally diverse Hawaiian community but it was not until more recently that it began to look at indigenising the curriculum and to decolonise its social work education in Hawai’i (Morelli et al., 2013). The university had developed a reputation internationally in inter alia empirical practice and community development, continuing to concentrate upon a Western service paradigm (Morelli et al., 2013, p. 207). In 2005, the social work school set about indigenising their social work curriculum to make it more culturally relevant. The authors described that the process ‘polarised faculty and community members’ (Morelli et al., 2013, p. 207). The school’s main focus was upon three main questions,

1) How can social work education be indigenised?
2) What is the value and significance of indigenising social work education?
3) How will an indigenised social work education be assessed in light of mainstream professional social work standards nationally and internationally?

Faculty, students, and community stakeholders were involved in developing an indigenisation policy that took three years to develop. One aspect of the policy was to engage in (re)centring professional social work education to align with Native Hawaiians values, principles, and knowledge. Their view of indigenisation was to affirm ‘all knowledge systems that honor, respect, and advance the positive wellbeing and spiritual worth of all people and protects the delicate natural resources of Hawai’i’ (Morelli et al., 2013, p. 208). The policy highlighted the need to decolonise and critique dominant western approaches to social work and to promote Indigenous approaches with the view to producing new concepts, theories, methods of analysis and practice based upon the convergence of all knowledge sources. There was an acknowledgement that faculty and staff would begin a journey of self-discovery as they engaged in the process of decolonising and indigenising social work education. Another key aspect of the policy was the necessity to actively engage with and strengthen relationships with the local community and the broader Pacific-Asian region.

Strong leadership, like-minded faculty, day-long strategic planning meetings and school retreats, partnerships with community and agreed upon mission statements were all foundational in creating momentum towards indigenising the social work programme (Morelli et al., 2013). Strong school and community relationships and a collective commitment to social justice were vital to the process of indigenisation. Relationships between interdisciplinary partners and students were also included in the process. Elders' wisdom was requested to support and guide the process and a council was established made up of six knowledgeable Kupuna (Elders) who were social welfare practitioners. Challenges such as achieving structural change within higher education were met with realistic expectations. The Kupuna Council took a year to discuss and examine the philosophy of indigenisation and to develop programs to teach and strengthen skills in Native Hawaiian helping and healing, which included looking at how to indigenise the school's structure, procedures and protocols, curriculum and recruitment (Morelli et al., 2013, p. 212). Agreeing on a definition of indigenisation by being guided and directed by Indigenous Elder's voices and Indigenous scholars was imperative to the process. This 'added new dimensions to our understanding of ways of knowing, practice and knowledge development in Indigenous social work' (Morelli et al., 2013, p. 215). The authors point out that there is no one prescribed path to indigenising social work education and it comes with many challenges, struggles and frustrations. They found these were critical factors to sustaining the indigenisation process within a social work program, including prioritising indigenisation, social work educators and leadership needs to understand the importance of indigenisation and to be able to lead and educate others in the process, quality, relevance, effectiveness, evaluation and renewal needs to be a part of the curriculum development process (Morelli et al., 2013).

3.4.3 **Using scholar's ideas from other nations to decolonise social work education**

Hawaiian academic, Laenui's, five stages of colonisation and decolonisation were seen by Mathebane and Sekudu (2018, p. 9) as valuable in laying a foundation in understanding the past and providing a path for the future for decolonisation to occur for social work education. Mathebane and Sekudu have used an Australian model and re-contextualised it to South Africa. The authors were able to connect points of similarity between the colonisation of Australia and South Africa including colonisers denying Indigenous peoples' culture and moral values and genocide of Indigenous people and culture, and dispossession of land (Mathebane & Sekudu, 2018, p. 10). Indigenous ways were replaced by the coloniser's model, rendering Indigenous knowledges, beliefs, culture, languages, and practice invisible and valueless. Tokenism occurs and Indigenous peoples are labelled as 'the noble savage' and what remains of the Indigenous culture is transformed and exploited by the dominant colonial society (Mathebane & Sekudu, 2018, p. 11). Mathebane and Sekudu postulate that Laenui's five stage process of decolonisation 'offers a blueprint for all forms of decolonialised interventions, including curriculum transformation' (Mathebane & Sekudu, 2018). Like other South African authors, Mathebane and Sekudu propose that social work scholars, specifically those in Africa, examine coloniality critically and carefully to enable the most effective way to decolonise social work education.

Laenui's work has also been used within an Australian context by Aboriginal academic, Lorraine Muller (2007), in her reflection. Muller made the connection between Hawai'i and Australia as colonialist narratives and cultural hegemony of a dominant history are reproduced within social work education and practice in both countries. The five stages of colonisation outlined by Laenui were based upon psychologist, Dr Virgilio Enriques, work. Like Mathebane and Sekudu, Muller used the five stages of colonisation and then the five stages of decolonisation and related it to Indigenous Australians. Muller (2007) rightfully asserts that her paper is primarily for non-Indigenous colleagues, who have been duped by the colonisation process into seeing Indigenous Australians as inferior and accepting their current state of health and wellbeing, that being below that of non-Indigenous Australians. The dehumanisation of black people within the African context (Harms Smith & Rasool, 2020; Mathebane & Sekudu, 2018, p. 10) resonated with Muller's experiences within Australia where Indigenous Australians experienced dehumanisation as an integral part of the colonial process. Muller's understanding of the five stages of colonisation is:

1) Denial and Withdrawal
2) Destruction/Eradication
3) Denigration/Belittlement/Insult
4) Surface Accommodation/Tokenism
5) Transformation/Exploitation (Muller, 2007).

Muller (2007) illustrates the five stages of colonisation by reflecting upon the Intervention in the Northern Territory in 2007 that saw the Australian Federal government contravene the rights of Indigenous peoples and intervene in a militant way in controlling Aboriginal people's lives. Muller makes some important points regarding the need for non-Indigenous Australians to be aware that decolonisation is not an Indigenous issue but the responsibility of all Australians. The decolonisation process is not a linear process, people move between the stages and can move back and forth, but all five stages are connected and essential in the process of decolonisation (Muller, 2007).

Five stages of de-colonisation

1) Rediscovery and Recovery
2) Mourning
3) Dreaming
4) Commitment
5) Action (Muller, 2007).

Muller (2007) dares to dream that de-colonisation provides a way forward for all Australians with a future 'grounded in the cultural codes of respect and connectedness, collectiveness and inclusion' (p 84) walking into that future as equals. Muller's decolonisation framework was included in the 'Getting it right' framework as a decolonisation framework for teaching, to be used for analysis and planning/action in a classroom setting (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014, p. 99). The 'Getting it right' framework will be discussed further in the Australian section.

3.5 Social work in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand

3.5.1 Invasion and settlement of Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand

Australia, as it is now known today, was the home of an estimated 500 tribal groups of Aboriginal peoples at the time of European settlement (Bennett, 2019b, p. 4). Aboriginal culture is considered one of the oldest continuous cultures in the world and Aboriginal peoples have occupied the land since time immemorial (Bennett, 2013; 2019b, p. 4). In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori academic, Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata, asserts 'the narratives of my ancestors tell us that some of us travelled from Hawaiki to settle in Aotearoa, while others say that we have always lived here' (2008, p. 108). Captain James Cook arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769 and landed in Australia in 1770 (Staniforth & Noble, 2014, p. 172 & 173). Both countries were colonised by the British, yet there are similarities and differences in their experiences of colonisation. To the invading British, Aboriginal people were almost invisible compared to the Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori people were more densely populated in New

Zealand and were seen as only 'semi-savage … and strong' (Kenny, 2010, p. 76). In Australia, the British declared Terra Nullius, saying that the land belonged to no-one, negating the very existence of Aboriginal peoples and their relationship to Country and no treaty was established. Australian Aboriginal people see the land as part of who they are, not something to be owned, as 'Country is a 'field of self' (Elsey, 2013, p. 58 cited in Russ-Smith, 2019a, p. 239). Any form of resistance to Terra Nullius was seen as rebellion, not war, 'this was how occupation and dispossession was rationalised' (Elston & Smith, 2007, p. 25) and as such the British did not seek to form a treaty with Aboriginal peoples in Australia. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Crown recognised Māori as Tangata Whenua, 'Land or *whenua* is seen as a life source for Māori. A person without land is lost' (Walsh-Tapiata, 2008, p. 109), 'tangata whenua' encapsulates 'Māori are people of the land' (Mooney, Watson, Ruwhiu, & Hollis-English, 2020, p. 261). Unlike Australia, the Crown recognised Māori and established The Treaty of Waitangi, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and versions of the Treaty were signed throughout the country by different Māori chiefs and the Crown, becoming the founding document of the country (Staniforth & Noble, 2014, p. 173). This was not without complications which will be expanded upon later.

As both countries were colonised by the British, there are similarities in the impact that colonisation had upon Indigenous peoples. Colonisation brought with it imported European diseases, land dispossession (Australia) or confiscation (Aotearoa New Zealand), marginalisation of Indigenous peoples, assimilation, cultural genocide, and oppression (Staniforth & Noble, 2014). Both countries have a history of wars between Indigenous peoples and the invaders. Australia experienced frontier wars and Aotearoa New Zealand land wars. Vaggioli's book, 'History of New Zealand and its inhabitants' published in 1896 and translated into English in 2000, highlighted a number of massacres of Maori at the hands of Europeans. Vaggioli asserts, 'Merchant ships visiting New Zealand from 1809 practised torture and unspeakable cruelties on natives and slaughtered them like so many wild animals', and '*Civilised* Europeans hunted down Maori as we in Italy would hunt rabbits' (Vaggioli, 2000, p. 27 & 28). Vaggioli (2000) writes about the fact that the South Island Māori were almost depopulated (p 28). Similar accounts are being unearthed in Australia's history. Historian, Lyndall Ryan, who has researched massacres within Australia, has found that from 1788-1872, there were more than 170 massacres of Aboriginal people in eastern Australia. In this time there were six recorded massacres of settlers. Ryan estimates 'that there were more than five hundred massacres of Indigenous people overall, and that massacres of settlers numbered fewer than ten' (Dovey, 2017). There is little wonder that there was tension between Indigenous peoples and the British.

In both nations, Indigenous people's tribal structures and fundamental social structures were categorised into homogenous entities. A lack of understanding by the colonists categorised tribal groups into collective singular categories. In Australia, tribal groups were categorised as 'Aboriginal' peoples, negating their tribal connections and, as Bennett highlights, 'deflects attention away from the diverse communities and language groups that make up the Aboriginal population' (Bennett, 2019b, p. 5). Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa who identify with their whānau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) were categorised and seen as a homogenous group identified as 'Māori' (Mooney et al., 2020; Walsh-Tapiata, 2008, p. 110). Yet Indigenous peoples in both nations made up numerous tribes.

Blood quantum was used in Australia to legitimise institutional racism. Depending upon the extent of your blood quantum and subsequent labelling you were subjected to all kinds of restrictions and authority (Eckermann et al., 2010, p. 36). Similarly, Māori people experienced being defined by blood quantum as a tool of colonial assimilation to remove generations, to breed out, to ultimately fractionate Indigenous people out of existence (Pihama & Harry, 2017). In Australia, Aboriginal Australians were placed on reserves and missions. This era was called 'smoothing the dying pillow' as Aboriginal Australians were made comfortable as they would supposedly die out and, during this process, their lives were ordered and controlled by government and mission staff (Eckermann et al., 2010, p. 20). Similarly in Aotearoa there are monuments that speak of "soothing the pillow of a dying race" (Pihama & Harry, 2017, p. 105) and statesmen talked of 'smoothing the pillow of a dying race' (Walsh-Tapiata, 2004).

As Indigenous peoples in both countries continued to survive, other means were deployed by the British, including assimilation. Indigenous peoples in both nations became increasingly dependent on the state, yet the policies and programmes of the state were basically committed to assimilating Indigenous peoples into colonial Australia and New Zealand (Walsh-Tapiata, 2008, p. 110). Education was used as a tool of assimilation. In Australia, 'Aboriginal people were to be educated for full citizenship without distinction either among themselves or between them and white people' (Rowley, 1971, cited in Eckermann et al., 2010, p. 22). In Aotearoa New Zealand, '[i]t was clear that the efforts to assimilate Māori into the broader New Zealand citizenry needed to be kicked up a notch. What was needed was an emptying of the native's brain of all form and content … and a refilling with civility and conformity' (Maaka, 2019, p. 15 & 16). This is not an exhaustive list of comparisons but offers several historical similarities of Indigenous people's experiences of colonisation in both countries.

3.5.2 **Contemporary context**

Both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand remain part of the Commonwealth. Australia's population as of September 2020 was over twenty-five and a half million people (Australian Bureau of Statistics, September 2020). In 2016, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples made up 3.3% of the overall population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, June 2016). Comparatively Aotearoa New Zealand's population reached five million in March 2020, and 19.1% of the population identified themselves as Maori descendants in the 2018 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). Unlike Canada, United States and Australia, Māori represent 'a significant critical mass' and therefore are visible and cannot remain ignored (Penetito, 2011, p. 3). Due to this critical mass of Māori within Aotearoa New Zealand, it has meant that Māori have retained many of their customs and have a tendency to be 'gregarious and community orientated' (Penetito, 2011, p. 3). Traditional Māori society was based upon tribes and many Māori still today identify themselves by their whānau (family), hapū and tribal affiliations. Many may be affiliated with more than one tribe due to whakapapa (ancestral) links or through marriage (P. Ruwhiu, 2019, p. 22). Māori identify and locate themselves using their whakapapa and their natural environment, for example when introducing themselves through their pepēha, Māori will identify their mountain, their river and landmarks like their marae (P. Ruwhiu, 2019, p. 22). Indigenous peoples in Australia do not make up a critical mass within the country's contemporary population and Australian Aboriginal peoples continue to be spread across a large continent compared to Aotearoa New Zealand, with the majority living in urban areas. Traditional Aboriginal societies were based upon tribal, clans or language groups. Like Māori, many Aboriginal peoples today continue to identify with specific clans, tribal groups belonging to 'Country' and they may also identify with a region (Bennett, 2019b, p. 5). Yet due to colonisation, dispossession of lands and generations of children who were stolen, many Aboriginal peoples in Australia remain disconnected from their land and identity.

Communication is an additional advantage that Māori have over other Indigenous people groups as they have only one native language (Penetito, 2011, p. 3), Te Reo Māori, with a few dialectical differences, an Eastern North Island, Western North Island and South Island Māori (Lilley, 2019, p. 191). This means that communication between Māori is less complicated. Aboriginal peoples in

Australia have numerous language groups with different languages and dialects. As Aboriginal academic, Jessica Russ-Smith, promotes '[l]anguage is not just words or sentences. Language is our way of expressing our sovereignty … [w]ithin our words are our ways of knowing and being … [w]ithin our words are our ways of life … [w]ithin our sentences are our relationships' (Russ-Smith, 2019a, p. 240). Here Russ-Smith highlights the importance of language to Aboriginal peoples, yet due to colonisation many languages within Australia have been lost and some are now being revitalised. Māori scholar, Penetito, asserts that the communicative issue for many Indigenous peoples, including Aboriginal peoples of Australia, is that they are a proportionately smaller population compared to the overall population and are spread across a considerable amount of land where multiple languages are spoken by different tribes hence disadvantaging communication (Penetito, 2011).

Both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand have inaccurately diagnosed 'the problem'. Both countries have tended to lay the fault of 'the problem' with Indigenous peoples. In Australia, 'the problem' has been identified by governments as, 'Aboriginal people being the problem' or as the 'Aboriginal problem' (Ellinghaus, 2003; Green, 2019a). Similarly, in Aotearoa New Zealand, governments inaccurately diagnosed the problem as 'the Māori problem' (Johnston, 2019, p. 494). Social work education has implemented its teaching upon these deficit-based theoretical beliefs. As Aboriginal people in Australia were seen through the lens that rendered them inferior, Māori too were seen through a similar lens. When measured against 'Others', Māori are seen as deviating from 'the norm', where difference may result in exclusion (Johnston, 2019, p. 494). Through the process of normalisation, 'Māori knowledge, language and culture (even Māori themselves) were seen as inferior and so the intent of policies (and practices) became one of excluding "Māori" from the curriculum and the educational environment' (Johnston, 2019, p. 494). A similar scenario has played out in Australia. Aboriginal people have been regarded as less than human so, rather than deviating from 'the norm', they were rendered as flora and fauna and this too has meant that Aboriginal knowledge, language, culture and ways of knowing, being and doing have been seen as inferior and Aboriginal knowledges and perspectives have been excluded from the curriculum.

Penetito (2011) states that commonly the dominant cultures in both nations have chosen to not dwell on the issues of race and racism within their countries and have rather thought of themselves as 'part of internationalist post-colonial states' (p. 2). Yet for development to occur between and across cultures Penetito (2011) suggests the need for both nations to face up to the realities of institutional racism within their midst. Australian Aboriginal scholar, Bindi Bennett (2014), also highlights how racism is a normal occurrence in society in Australia and Bennett advocates for racism to be uncovered and named, so that approaches can be created that support and encourage the process of decolonisation. The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Higher Education Consortium (NATSIHEC) consultation paper highlighted that ‘racism continues to exist within the academy – as reported by survey and site-visit respondents – and most likely underpins the findings of this report’, a report that found that, since the 2012 Behrendt Review, progress by the government had been described as ad hoc and that Indigenous staff were left to do most of the work to improve the outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander higher education (Buckskin et al., 2018, p. 12). One of the recommendations of the Accelerating Indigenous Higher Education final report was to ‘recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ unique knowledges and lived experiences that contribute to the cultural, intellectual and social capital of higher education’ (Buckskin et al., 2018, p. 13). Within the Australian academy, Indigenous academics are poorly represented with less than 2.7% of academics being Indigenous (Buckskin et al., 2018, p. 106). Comparatively between 2012 and 2017 in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori comprised 5% of the total academic workforce, showing that Māori are also severely under-represented within the academy (McAllister et al., 2019, p. 236). There are differences between Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand yet there are similarities that provide a backdrop to now begin a more focused look at social work and social work education in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. British governance and culture were imported to both countries, including welfare systems based upon the English Poor Laws (Staniforth & Noble, 2014). Formal social work was imported by both countries from the UK and the US as social work was seen as a global endeavour (Staniforth & Noble, 2014). Nevertheless, the local context influenced the trajectory of both countries differently, ‘creating a social work identity unique to each country’ (Staniforth & Noble, 2014, p. 173).

3.6 Social work profession and education in Australia

Social work practice, education, and curriculum have been professionally written about in Australia for many years. Anthony McMahon completed what he described as ‘an archaeological dig into the knowledge base of Australian social work’ (2002, p. 172) with the aim to analyse Australian Social Work over a 50 year period 1947-1997, providing a critical lens to see what importance and meaning had been placed upon race and ethnicity. Remarkedly, of the 934 articles published in the Australian Social Work Journal, only 16 within the 50-year time frame were on Indigenous Australians. This included no mention of Indigenous people in the histories of social work. McMahon describes this as reminiscent of Stanner's (1969) recreation of Australian histories as The Great Australian Silence. Interestingly McMahon found that half of the 16 articles pathologised Indigenous peoples as 'passive victims/objects of others' actions; the other half sees Indigenous people as resilient agents of their own destinies' (McMahon, 2002). He postulates that perhaps social workers saw working with Indigenous people in binary terms, 'as either working in a social order model with those who are considered hopeless or working with a commitment to social change for those who are oppressed' (McMahon, 2002, p. 178). There is evidence that the amount of literature focused upon social work with Aboriginal people is increasing in Australia.

Aboriginal Australian academic, Lilla Watson (1988), argued the value of Indigenous knowledges in social work in 1988. Literature in the late 1990's called for changes in social work education in Australia. A chapter titled, 'This is not the way we help our people', published in 1998, emphasised the need for change within the curricula of social work and welfare as the course 'strongly reflects the models and value base of western society' (p. 1), favouring a model that has strangers helping in preference to people they know (Lynn et al., 1998). There was little evidence of literature to support the training of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to work alongside their own people (Lynn et al., 1998, p. 2). Here the authors called for 'the provision of culturally-appropriate education and training' (Lynn et al., 1998). In a subsequent article, Lynn (2001) uses the findings of the previous study to argue that social work theory and practice has much to learn from Indigenous peoples, including the need for non-Indigenous social workers to learn interpersonal skills and for Indigenous models of practice to be used both by Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers. Such approaches to Indigenous social welfare work had been 'silenced and relegated to the periphery as deficit theory and practice in the landscape of social work' (Lynn, 2001, p. 903).

In 2003, four non-Indigenous academics published the results of their action research project with the aim to challenge the monocultural approach within social welfare education titled, 'It's Very 'White' Isn't It! Challenging Monoculturalism in Social Work and Welfare Education' (Gair, Thomson, Miles, & Harris, 2003). Upon considering the literature at the time, there was no doubt that there needed to be greater inclusion of Indigenous knowledge, skills, ways of learning and ways of knowing within the Australian social work curriculum (Gair et al., 2003). Between 2003 and 2011, five more articles (Ban, 2005; Bennett & Zubrzycki, 2003; Green & Baldry, 2008; Hunter, 2008; Whiteside, Tsey, McCalman, Cadet-James, & Wilson, 2006) pertaining to valuable educational and practice experiences were added to the existing 16 articles (Harms et al., 2011). In 2011, a special edition was written in March that saw 8 more articles adding to the knowledge base (K. Adams, Paasse, & Clinch, 2011; Allan & Kemp, 2011; Bennett et al., 2011; Fejo-King, 2011; Long & Sephton, 2011; Nickson, Dunstan, Esperanza, & Barker, 2011; Walter et al., 2011; Whiteside, Tsey, & Earles, 2011). During this time there were also many authors (Dudgeon & Fielder, 2006; Gair, 2007; Gair et al., 2003; Martin, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Young, 2004) who called for a disruption in existing approaches to teaching and learning that have added to decolonise and indigenise social work education. Since 2011, the list of contributions includes journals outside of Australia and includes both Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors (Duthie, King, & Mays, 2013; Fejo-King, 2013, 2014). In 2013, a key contribution occurred, the publication of the book, 'Our voices: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social work', a collection of writing from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous Australian social work educators and students sharing knowledge of 'Australian Indigenous social work from historical recounting to theoretical application, to social and political critique' (Sinclair, 2013, p. ix).

Within this collection, there was a call for Australian social work to 'embrace and incorporate' Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander worldviews within their courses and called for universities to look at the continued process of colonisation and critically examine existing theories and modules (Green et al., 2013, p. 225). Green et al. (2013) made suggestions for universities and social work educators to include the need to engage in capacity building, including employing more Indigenous academic staff. This meant not just employing the staff but also ensuring that the Indigenous staff were adequately resourced and supported in their roles, including fostering, and developing these staff members into mentoring and leadership roles. Secondly, it meant ensuring that social work staff were upskilled and had increased understanding. Thirdly, academic staff were encouraged to be committed to consciousness raising about Indigenous issues both horizontally and vertically within the university and address situations of colonisation and internal racism. Fourthly, it meant a focus on 'equality, accountability, respect and lifelong learning' (Green et al., 2013, p. 225).

Alongside what was occurring within literature, new national educational guidelines were set out by the Australian Association of Social Work (AASW) to increase the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content in the curriculum. The AASW Code of Ethics (2010) preamble highlighted its commitment to acknowledge, understand and develop a more culturally responsive social work response to issues faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. As mentioned previously, in 2011 the ALTC Australian Learning and Teaching Council (ALTC) created the ‘Getting it right: creating partnership for change. Integrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges in Australian social work education and practice’ project. In 2012, ASWEAS included the brief that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing, being and doing was to be one of the four essential core curriculum content areas that was required in all AASW accredited social work programs (Australian Association of Social Workers AASW, 2012b). The ‘Getting it right’ project sought to ‘indigenise’ the social work curriculum in Australia and as mentioned previously, four main concepts were adopted: ‘the centrality of indigenous knowledges; that social work education needs to be indigenous-centered; cultural responsiveness is the aim of the educative process; and indigenous pedagogies are essential in the educative process’ (Young et al., 2013, p. 181).

In 2014, the ‘Getting it Right: creating partnerships for change’ framework was published, providing guidance and a reference frame to fundamentally ‘get it right’ regarding placing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges at the core to the knowing, being and doing of social work and to develop culturally responsive social work practices. The ‘Getting it right’ framework (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014) highlights the importance of developing relationships and engaging with Indigenous peoples in the process. Such relationships include consultative relationships with local Indigenous communities and Elders (p 9, 21, 32, 35), developing relationships with university-based Aboriginal units (p 74), developing reciprocal relationships with agencies and communities to form and build partnerships (p 38, 42, 60) developing collaborative relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, including between educators (p. 53, 54). The adoption of the framework by social work programs was seen as the practical expression of placing Indigenous knowledges at the core of knowing, being and doing social work (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014, p. 5). However, even with the framework, it appears that the process of indigenising the curriculum and decolonising social work education is an ongoing process.

Aboriginal academics in social work, Sue Green, a Galari woman of the Wiradyuri nation, and Bindi Bennett, a Gamilaraay woman, are from the South Eastern side of Australia. Both have doctorates and years of experience in social work. Much of their research is based upon their experience as Indigenous academics teaching social work education within whitestream universities. Their 2018 article, ‘Wayanha: A Decolonised Social Work’, discusses how they believe that social work has generally acknowledged its past and ‘owned its own actions of the past and is taking steps to make amends for past actions and to learn and grow from past mistakes' (2018, p. 261). One of the shortfalls that the authors cite is that social work efforts are focused upon the wrong end of the problem and treat the symptoms rather than the cause. Social work has tended to identify Aboriginal people as the problem or the cause of the problem rather than seeing colonialism as the problem within the profession. 'This colonialism is evident today in the way in which social work is practised, its relationship with Aboriginal people and communities, the appropriation of Indigenous knowledges, and the positioning of Aboriginal social workers' (Green & Bennett, 2018, p. 262). Green and Bennett (2018) highlight that the social work profession, including education, still have 'something missing … we do not seem to be able to quite get there' (p 261). Green and Bennett (2018) explain that the answer is simple, decolonisation, which is not 'a simple act, it is a journey that requires more than simple words and cannot be achieved in a short time frame' (p. 262). The authors explain that there are major issues within universities that continue to support colonial structures and, regardless of the push to incorporate decolonisation and Indigenous knowledges into universities and into social work education, these issues remain unaddressed.

Green (2019b) asserts, 'there is no one answer or formula to Indigenise social work' (p. 96). Green (2019b) relates that having a relationship with First Peoples whose Country you are on is essential. An aspect of this relationship is the way that you handle the knowledge and skills that are shared, the knowledge and skills remain the property of those who share it and need to be handled within their appropriate context and not appropriated and claimed as one's own, as this can also lead to a loss of their meaning (Green, 2019b). Green (2019b) does not specifically apply her comments to academics however there is little doubt that her comments would apply to academics. She cautions people to not build their careers on or claim expertise on Indigenous knowledges as, by doing so, is exhibiting colonialism and this can be applied to academics within the academy. Green (2019b) highlights the need for people to be learners instead of being the expert and to develop relationships that will guide people through the journey. Green and Bennett (2018) point out that, in the rush to incorporate Indigenous knowledges and to indigenise social work theory and practice, there has been an influx of "non-Aboriginal" experts who may often befriend Aboriginal people and help them be successful professionally. Yet the authors also point out that often in these types of relationships the power imbalance remains and the Aboriginal person is placed in a 'subservient position to their "white" benevolence … locking us into a relationship of dependency and denigration' (Green & Bennett, 2018, p. 263).

This is not always the case. There are also relationships that are established where the power is balanced and non-Aboriginal people are working alongside Aboriginal people and these are not the people who claim to be the experts in Aboriginal people (Green & Bennett, 2018, p. 263). Within academia these are the people who walk alongside Aboriginal professionals for a length of time and then they step aside and give up their power and privilege ensuring that the Aboriginal professional is 'able to claim space within their own right' (Green & Bennett, 2018, p. 263). These are the people who are ahead in their own decolonising journey. One way that academics can decolonise themselves is to have relationships with Elders and Indigenous communities so that people can be guided in what needs to be done and how they need to be done. Green encourages social workers to decolonise themselves and to ground themselves in the Country on which they are situated. Once again this can be applied to academics and for them to do likewise. Green (2019b) also cautions that the journey of decolonisation is 'neither easy nor quick' (p. 97), and she explains that it is a change of thinking and also a change in the way that you live your life. Green and Bennett's (2018) previous article also focuses on the need for social workers to decolonise themselves and to recognise and acknowledge their own position including their privilege and to also take action (2018, p. 263). Being self-reflective and acknowledging where you are is an important start to the decolonising journey, including looking at the relationships that you have with the Indigenous peoples where you live and work and developing respectful relationships with them within your life, being 'prepared to truly listen and hear what you are told, even when it is hard to hear' (Green, 2019b, p. 97).

Other voices also added to the call to decolonise and indigenise social work education in Australia. Non-Indigenous academic, Susan Gair's, work details her progress as a non-Indigenous reflective contemplator, educator and learner, who actively pursues spaces and engaging in better ways to incorporate and integrate Indigenous knowledges, skills and practices into her social work curriculum (2007; 2008, p. 230). Some of Gair's (2013, 2016) research is classroom based and focuses upon her experience of implementing change within the social work curriculum and the resultant feedback that she received from her students. Gair has also written with Aboriginal social work academic, Lorraine Muller, and in this chapter they provide a model of how Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators can work in partnership with one another to uphold respect for Indigenous knowledges in social work (Muller & Gair, 2013, p. 29).

Non-Indigenous academics, Antonia Hendrick and Susan Young, who are situated in Western Australia, have added to the literature focusing upon decoloniality and ally work within social work education. The authors have written about decolonising the curriculum and decolonising themselves and their experiences of teaching in and from the 'third space' (Hendrick & Young, 2017). The authors discuss how "Ally" work can contribute to decolonising the curriculum and highlight the relational responsibilities required as academics in navigating the 'third space' where they foster relationships with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander colleagues (Hendrick & Young, 2017, p. 10). The authors offer a framework for teaching about decoloniality. Their definition draws from Fanon's work and Mignolo's adaption of Fanon's "perverse logic" of colonialism (Hendrick & Young, 2018, p. 3). Their focus is upon being human together, firstly forming relationships that can produce 'dignified and productive work' (p 3); the second principle is based upon the collective, and the third involves epistemological equality (Hendrick & Young, 2018). This led to the authors representing their definition diagrammatically below.

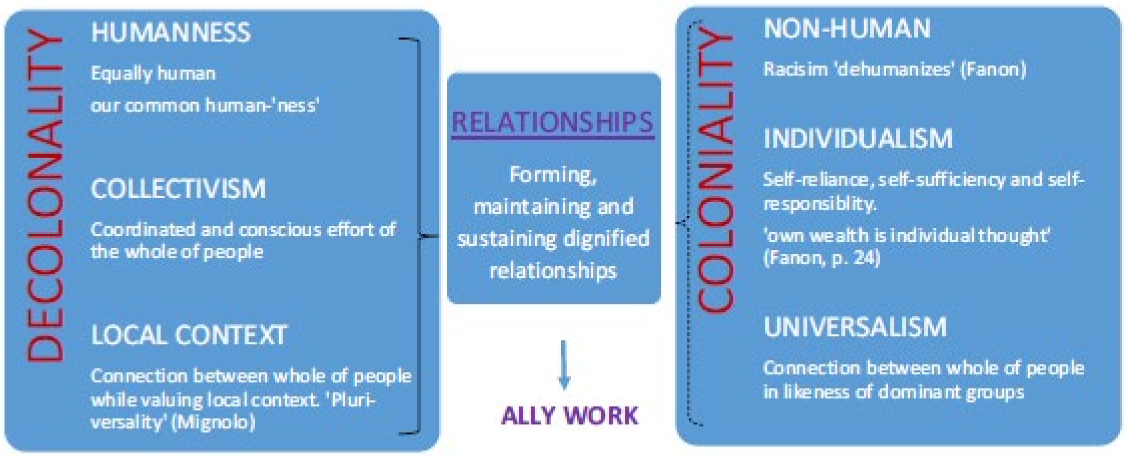

DECOLONALITY
HUMANNESS
Equally human
our common human-'ness'
COLLECTIVISM
Coordinated and conscious effort of the whole of people
LOCAL CONTEXT
Connection between whole of people while valuing local context. 'Pluri-versality' (Mignolo)
RELATIONSHIPS
Forming, maintaining and sustaining dignified relationships
ALLY WORK
COLONIALITY
NON-HUMAN
Racism 'dehumanizes' (Fanon)
INDIVIDUALISM
Self-reliance, self-sufficiency and self-responsiblity.
'own wealth is individual thought' (Fanon, p. 24)
UNIVERSALISM
Connection between whole of people in likeness of dominant groups

Fig. 1 Ally Work in decoloniality

Figure 3.1 Ally work (Hendrick & Young, 2018, p 4), reproduced with permission from Wiley.

Here Hendrick and Young argue that relationships in the form of Ally work provide the opportunity for workers to mediate between coloniality and decoloniality. 'Our Ally work emphasizes the processes of relationship formation and maintenance embodied in practices that penetrate the permeable boundaries we have drawn to link decoloniality and coloniality' (Hendrick & Young, 2018, p. 4). The authors encourage Allies to foster relationships through yarning and attending to relationships, refusing to appropriate, listening quietly and seeking permission and, when refused, retreating gracefully, and offering allyship latterly. Hendrick and Young go on to discuss how their decoloniality approach can be used in social work education to enable students to become more aware and apply an Indigenous lens to their work that includes critical, constructivist and healing theories (Hendrick & Young, 2018). The figure below is a teaching and learning framework that Hendrick and Young (2018) developed for teaching about decoloniality.

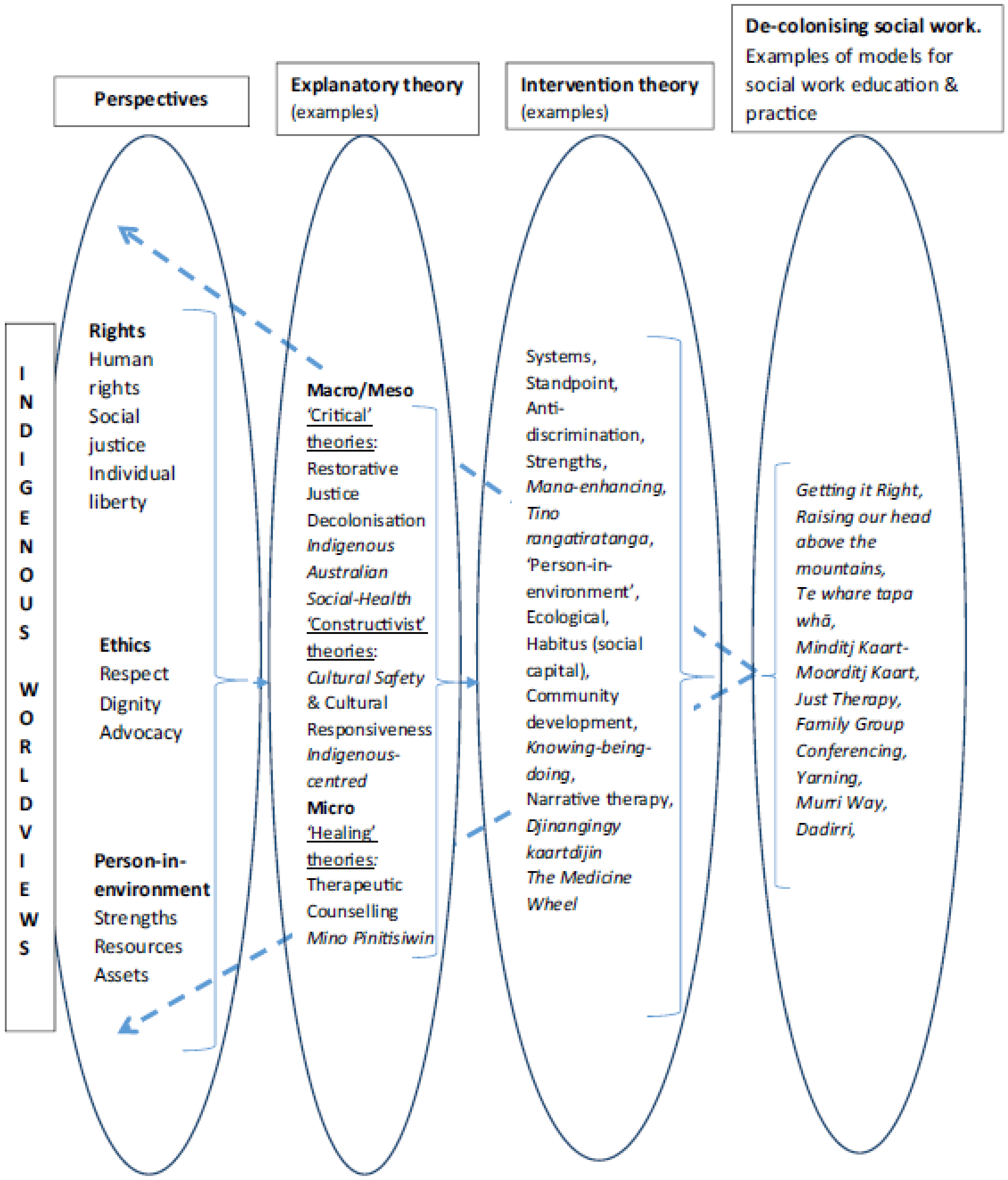

Perspectives
Explanatory theory (examples)
Intervention theory (examples)
De-colonising social work. Examples of models for social work education & practice
INDIGENOUS WORLDVIEWS
Rights
Human rights
Social justice
Individual liberty
Ethics
Respect
Dignity
Advocacy
Person-in-environment
Strengths
Resources
Assets
Macro/Meso
'Critical' theories:
Restorative Justice
Decolonisation
Indigenous Australian Social-Health
'Constructivist' theories:
Cultural Safety & Cultural Responsiveness
Indigenous-centred
Micro
'Healing' theories:
Therapeutic Counselling
Mino Pinitisiwin
Systems,
Standpoint,
Anti-discrimination,
Strengths,
Mana-enhancing,
Tino rangatiratanga,
'Person-in-environment',
Ecological,
Habitus (social capital),
Community development,
Knowing-being-doing,
Narrative therapy,
Djinangingy kaartdijin
The Medicine Wheel
Getting it Right,
Raising our head above the mountains,
Te whare tapa whā,
Minditj Kaart-Moorditj Kaart,
Just Therapy,
Family Group Conferencing,
Yarning,
Murri Way,
Dadirri,

Fig. 2 Theory and practice in decolonizing social work. Italics indicate Indigenous theories

Figure 3.2 Theory and practice in decolonising social work (Hendrick & Young, 2018, p. 6), reproduced with permission from Wiley.

This model includes decolonising models and theories from both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

In 2020, an article was written with Aboriginal Nyoongar Elders, Louise and Percy Hansen and Joanna Corbett in collaboration with Hendricks and Marchant, that discussed 'The Reaching Across the Divide: Aboriginal Elders and Academics working together project', that focused upon developing students' cultural capabilities (Hansen, Hansen, Corbett, Hendrick, & Marchant, 2020). The Indigenous pedagogy of yarning was used within the study and relationships between Elders and students were key in their learning. The study used Indigenous frameworks based upon principles such as ‘securing trust, creating relationships, sustaining commitment and working together’ (p. 7), which led to aiding in producing ‘third spaces’ where intention was shared amongst those involved (Hansen et al., 2020).

Like Bennett and Green, Aboriginal academics like Deb Duthie have also written about their experience within whitestream universities in Australia. Duthie wrote an article in 2019, titled ‘Embedding Indigenous knowledges and cultural safety in social work curricula’. Duthie states, ‘social work courses appear to have a long way to go to fully embed Indigenous knowledges and cultural safety in curriculum’ (Duthie, 2019, p. 114). Duthie (2019) highlights the need for Indigenous communities to play a role in curriculum development, ensuring that the social work curriculum was informed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing, being and doing and that the wealth of knowledge of Elders and Community leaders would inform that development. Also ensuring that the positivity and richness of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives, including Indigenous practice theories and models and frameworks, were embraced, and seen as valid for working alongside both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The need for Indigenous academics in social work was stated and Duthie also discussed the extra load that Indigenous academics bear within academia and she emphasised ‘[n]on-Indigenous social work educators, then, also have a responsibility to contribute to embedding core Indigenous curriculum—a need to step up, embrace, and contribute to learning and teaching in the Indigenous space’ (Duthie, 2019). Duthie (2019) gives the example of having non-Indigenous academics teaching whiteness studies and dismantling Eurocentrism as students tend to be less resistant and feel less blamed if whiteness is delivered by a non-Indigenous academic. All levels of senior management in universities have a role in the embedding process, as they ‘must make clear commitment to culturally safe practice across teaching and learning spaces’ (Duthie, 2019, p. 115). Duthie’s (2019) words at the end of her article almost shout the need for social work education to listen to the call for Indigenous knowledges to be embedded into the curriculum when she states, ‘[u]ntil these calls for Indigenous Knowledges and cultural safety to be embedded into social work curriculum are heeded—and undertaken with commitment, genuineness, and a sense of obligation—the impact of trauma will continue to ripple into the lives of future generations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ (p. 115).

In a more recent article, Bennett teams up with Pacific Island academic, Jioji Ravulo, and non-Indigenous academics, Jim Ife and Trevor Gates, to call for the universities to make Black lives matter in the academy (Bennett, Ravulo, Ife, & Gates, 2021). This most recent article provides viewpoints and recommendations for increasing awareness in universities in Australia of Black, Indigenous or Other People of Colour (BIPOC). An example of their recommendations is the need for institutional inclusion of BIPOC staff at all levels from entry level appointments to senior academics and the establishment of governance groups that make decisions regarding content, assessment, and handling of areas of conflict. Reading this article with a view to finding the key relationships that academics require to successfully integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the curriculum, there are a number that have been identified, for example the need for non-BIPOC Allies to work alongside BIPOC educators to successfully change entrenched cultures of non-inclusion by using 'their privilege to fight alongside BIPOC for human rights, taking risks for themselves and holding other academics accountable and educating themselves' (Bennett et al., 2021, p. n.p). The authors also discuss the need for a collaborative approach to incorporating and centring BIPOC pedagogies and epistemology into curriculum; including being mindful of the way that this content is being delivered and evaluated, ensuring that BIPOC and cultures inform teaching practices. The authors state '[w]e must be consulting BIPOC communities and using their scholarly work' (Bennett et al., 2021, p. n.p). Their recommendations are useful to the embedding of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education (see Bennett et al., 2021 for further recommendations). Within the Australian context, contemporary resources within social work have been developed by Aboriginal academics to further the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. Relationships that an academic has appears to have an influence upon the integration process. Examples of these relationships are found in the development of contemporary resources for teaching.

3.6.1 Developing contemporary resources to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education in Australia

Within the literature there is evidence of social work curriculum resources being developed by Aboriginal academics in consultation with Indigenous communities and services to enhance students' learning. These resources 'demonstrate the integration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing, being and doing in practice' (Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018, p. 808). Research has shown that the Australian social work curriculum has not provided adequate guidance in 'how to apply Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing, being and doing into practice' (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). A team of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal social work academic staff at a university in Australia worked with an Aboriginal filmmaker and script writer to develop two filmed case studies and companion learning and teaching guides. These curriculum resources were co-constructed and developed to meet the learning needs of students to reflect the ability to demonstrate cultural responsiveness in their practice (Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018, p. 811). During the consultation process, one hundred and twenty-two individuals and organisations participated, including Aboriginal Elders, community members and social workers, Aboriginal and non-Indigenous social workers, students, and academics (Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018, p. 817). Developing exercises so that students can feel and experience something and really connect with what they were learning was a key aspect of experiential learning, not just having someone delivering a lecture at them.

Indigenous academics in Australia are advancing the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education by creating digital resources that centre Aboriginal epistemologies. One such project by Aboriginal academic, Amy Cleland, and non-Aboriginal academic Shepard Masocha (2020, p. 8), was the development of a 3D simulation involving an Aboriginal client that will be used as an important teaching tool in the social work program. The simulation will provide students with the opportunity to develop knowledge, values, and skills in a culturally responsive manner to work with Aboriginal Australians. The authors assert that this digital space will provide students with the opportunity to 'explore themselves in relation to Aboriginal epistemologies and provide opportunities to contextualise that knowledge to fields of practice' (Cleland & Masocha, 2020, p. 8) within a safe space. Both projects were guided by Aboriginal people, Cleland and Masocha, who invested time into establishing relationships and developed a steering group to not only guide the project, but the Steering Group also had ownership over the design and production of the research and project, including advising on the development of the content, story, and characters. The Steering Group were senior practitioners with experience in the required field of social work, and they were consulted upon 'learning outcomes, intent, script development, the client/avatar, the workplace environment, and the approach to the client … as well as ideas about *how* to show Aboriginal epistemologies in the simulation' (Cleland & Masocha, 2020, p. 15). Aboriginal people were vital to the project and central to the research, they were majority representation in the project overall.

Within the Australian context there is evidence in literature of the importance of certain relationships that an academic can have that will enhance the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education, yet it could be argued that there is a place for further analysis of these relationships. Within this study, it is proposed that bringing together research from both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand would provide knowledge to further the integration process within both countries. Non-Indigenous academic, Tara Brabazon (2000) who has worked as an academic in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, supports this notion as there has been a lack of interaction between Australian and New Zealand scholars. Brabazon asserts that the 'Tasman seems to block the comparative analytical work' (p 43) between the two nations. This trend seems to continue as there is limited literature available to support the use of comparative work between the two neighbours, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, in social work education, particularly regarding integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the curriculum. The next section will look at social work education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.7 Social work education in Aotearoa New Zealand

Like Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand has experienced slow progress in the quest to indigenise their curriculum and decolonise social work education. Unlike Australia there has not been an archaeological dig into the knowledge base of Aotearoa New Zealand literature regarding the importance of race and ethnicity and Indigenous peoples, like Anthony McMahon did in Australia. Yet there is a path that can be taken that provides insight into the background and progress that Indigenous knowledges and perspectives have taken in social work education within the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Western hegemony has been challenged by Māori and there has been progress towards bicultural practices, yet McNabb argues 'that progress has been slow' (McNabb, 2020b, p. 29). Prior to colonisation, Māori were involved in caring roles and tasks within their communities that were akin to social work (Staniforth & Noble, 2014, p. 173). Social work within Aotearoa New Zealand is still a relatively young profession with university established education preparation beginning in 1949, with the first cohort of students entering into social work education in 1950, under British leadership at the Victoria University College, Wellington (Beddoe & Harington, 2015; McNabb, 2020b; Nash & Munford, 2001). Between the 1950's and the mid-1970's, the only qualifying course available in Aotearoa New Zealand was at the Victoria University and approximately twenty four qualified social workers graduated per year in a course designed for mature entrants who had already obtained work experience in social work (Cairns, Fulcher, Kereopa, Nia Nia, & Tait-Rolleston, 1998, p. 158).

The establishment of their professional association, New Zealand Association of Social Workers (NZASW, later known as Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Work), occurred in 1964, fourteen years after the first professional course began and it was primarily graduates who took the leadership role in forming the association (Nash, 1998, p. 5; Nash & Munford, 2001). One of the first committees set up by the NZASW was the Education and Training Committee in 1964 (Nash, 1998). High on the NZASW list of priorities was social work education and in 1973 the New Zealand Social Work Training Council (NZSWTC) was established to advise the Minister of Social Welfare on issues related to social work training (Nash & Munford, 2001, p. 24). The NZSWTC relied on fiscal monies and support from the government and the Minister of Social Welfare had a strong influence on the Council (Nash, 1998, p. 245). In the mid to late 1970's, Aotearoa New Zealand's complacent attitude towards their relationship between the Treaty partner's, Māori and non-Māori, changed as Māori land grievances were brought to attention (Nash, 1998, p. 247). The Springbok Tour in 1981 brought attention to the racism that Māori faced as well as the effects of colonisation (Nash, 1998, p. 247). Māori cultural and political leaders began to call for self-determination for Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, and their voices were joined by community workers, many of whom were Māori and/or women (Nash & Munford, 2001, p. 25). Their voices were heard as they challenged the status quo and, as a consequence, they saw 'social and community work education and training offered to the many' (Nash & Munford, 2001).

In 1975, a significant initiative occurred. Massey University established an innovative undergraduate social work degree that included part-time and distance education and was open to mature aged students as well as school leavers (Nash & Munford, 2001, p. 25). The NZSWTC and Māori leaders were consulted regarding curriculum development and the curriculum was carefully cultivated (Nash & Munford, 2001). A Standing Committee on Racism was formed in the 1980's (McNabb, 2017, p. 124). In 1984, the NZSWTC began to emphasise the Indigenous nature of social work in Aotearoa New Zealand in its minimal standards (Nash & Munford, 2001, p. 27). Towards the end of the 1980's, the NZSWTC had 'lost direction and support' and a new council was proposed and the NZSWTC was disestablished (Nash, 1998; Nash & Munford, 2001, p. 25). In 1986, the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services (NZCETSS) was established and it had half Māori and half non-Māori membership as its structure and governed social work education programmes (McNabb, 2017; Nash, 1998).

3.7.1 **Pūao-te-Āta-tū**

In 1986, The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (DSW), Pūao-te-Āta-tū (Day break), was released (Nash, 1998, p. 253). The report raised issues of racism within the Department of Social Welfare both at an organisational level and within social work practice and the report made recommendations regarding social work education (Nash & Munford, 2001). The Report recommended that the knowledge and expertise held by Māori without paper qualifications working with Māori clients not be undervalued. It was also recommended that the Department provide extra training programs for the development of cultural skills for its employees (Nash, 1998, p. 253). The Report also highlighted that DSW staff and clients questioned the university-based training that was given as it did not meet the needs of Māori and that casework, working with individuals, was contrary to Māori values (Nash, 1998, p. 253). Cairns et al (1998) emphasised that professional education and training were mostly 'paying lip-service to the influence of culture in the moment-by-moment delivery of social and health services' (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 146). Māori academic, Awhina Hollis-English, wrote that the Report was 'the first official government document that acknowledged Mäori social work methods and recommended their use' (Hollis-English, 2012b, p. 41). One of the key recommendations to impact social work education was recommendation 10 (Training). It recommended that the government 'assess the extent to which tertiary social work courses are meeting cultural needs for those public servants seconded as students to the courses' (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986, p. 13). This provided impetus for social work courses to change. Social work education within Aotearoa New Zealand, which were mainly non-Māori, were challenged by this report, and this report continues to have relevance, ensuring increased autonomy and self-determination for Māori (Nash & Munford, 2001).

3.7.2 Importance of Te Tiriti

The High Court declaration in 1987 made clear the state's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi and therefore the state had to honour their promise to protect the rights of Māori people (Beddoe & Harington, 2015, p. 31). In 1992, the ANZASW constitution was revised to include 'a commitment to undertake social work in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi' and in the 1990's the concept of partnership was conveyed within the ANZASW by sharing governance between the partners, Māori and non-Māori (McNabb, 2017, p. 124). Social work academic, Mary Nash, highlighted in 1994 that 'the recognition of the significance of the Treaty issues for social work has altered the context for social work practice' (Nash, 1994, p. 37). The Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti O Waitangi were signed in 1840 in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is important to understand that there were multiple versions of the original Treaty (Mooney et al., 2020, p. 262). The English version outlined the relationship between the Crown and Māori based upon English aspirations and Te Tiriti O Waitangi (hereafter referred to as Te Tiriti), the Māori version, held the aspiring relationship between the Crown and Māori from a Māori perspective; as Mooney et al. (2020) assert, 'each side continued with the view that their own versions were the correct ones' (p 262), which led to either indifference for the Treaty or resistance by those who had not signed it. Each version of The Treaty holds different aspirations. In the context of this doctoral study, the Māori version holds greater relevance to advancing the integration process of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Te Tiriti is seen as an influential document in enabling the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the whitestream teaching of social work. Te Tiriti goes beyond being a document and is key in establishing protocols and policies in the bicultural relationships between Māori and non-Māori. The Treaty continues to have an influence and frames 'relationships, expectations, and protocols for working together, which impact on Indigenous work in significant ways' (G. H. Smith & Smith, 2019, p. 1087). In the ANZASW Code of Ethics 2019, it states the commitment to Te Tiriti and its impact upon social work, indeed 'the commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi is not optional and permeates everything we do' (p 6). The code outlines practical expressions of this commitment (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers ANZASW, 2019). Te Tiriti guides how Indigenous knowledges and perspectives should be seen in education and practice.

3.7.3 **Other documents that form the foundation for social work education**

The ANZASW in 1993 developed a code of ethics and a bicultural code of practice and, in 2007, a bilingual version, both Māori and English, was adopted (Staniforth & Noble, 2014, p. 179). The basis of social work teaching and curricula are formed upon the code of ethics and code of conduct developed by the Social Work Registration Board (SWRB) (Staniforth & Noble, 2014, p. 179). Staniforth and Noble highlight that social work education has been influenced by the narrative regarding what constitutes 'Evidence based practice' or 'practice-based evidence'. Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, there has been a critical lens used to filter what constitutes evidence and there has been an increasing recognition of the importance of Tangata Whenua being included in determining what works in practice. This has meant that training programs have both specific topics/courses devoted to Māori, while other programs have Māori content embedded in their whole program (Staniforth & Noble, 2014). Māori models of wellbeing have been embedded within the social work curriculum alongside Western theories and models.

Social work education in Aotearoa New Zealand is offered outside of whitestream universities including polytechnics, private training establishments and Wānanga (McNabb, 2020a). Wānanga are Māori tertiary education institutions that are founded upon Māori customs and values. Each establishment, whether Wānanga or university, must meet the standards and reviews set out by the SWRB. In 2015, the Social Work Registration Board (SWRB) engaged in a consultation process with Māori to continue the development of policy and review social workers' competency to work with Māori. This included graduate attributes to be able to work in a bicultural context and the acknowledgment of the central place of the Treaty (McNabb, 2017, p. 124). This led to a draft policy being developed called the 'Kaitiakitanga framework', 'a framework informed and guided by Māori knowing, thinking, understanding and wisdom' (Social Workers Registration Board, 2016, p. 2).

3.7.4 The importance of partnerships in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education

The impact that the Pūao-te-Āta-tū Report (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Mäori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1986) had upon the program at the Victoria Social Work program was evident over several years after the Report was released. In a decade of educational reform, the oldest school of social work at the Victoria University College, Wellington, began to develop a more culturally responsive education program for social workers. The numbers of students increased as distance programs were introduced from 1994 (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 160). These distance programs were offered in partnerships with tribal groups and local community, agencies and other tertiary centres as a consequence of the Pūa-te-Āta-tū Report (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 160). Out of sixteen modules offered in the Victoria Social Work program, three began to be taught in partnership with Māori people within Indigenous learning environments (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 159). Marae-based teaching and learning opportunities were offered to students in a "classroom environment" where Māori cultural practices and language were practised daily (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 159). Within this learning environment, social work students were part of group living, collective decision making was modelled, and students reviewed their prior learning regarding Māori perspectives and aspirations (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 159). Students were taught about rituals of encounter and to operate within a bicultural environment demonstrating minimum competency 'to practise cultural knowledge and skills in a Maori setting' (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 159). Cairns et al. (1998) highlight the institutional changes that were envisioned because of the Report, which meant a steep learning curve for educators and students in social work education and training. Māori student enrolments also increased following the publication of the Report. By 1997, over forty percent of graduates from the Victoria

University Social Work programs were Māori (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 160 and 161). The authors emphasised that between 1987 and 1995 the development initiative sponsored by the Department of Social Welfare had enabled structural changes to the social work curriculum at Victoria, including establishing a new curriculum structure, new teaching material, adult learning methods and recruitment of appropriate staff that meant that education and training was more culturally responsive to the needs of Māori and other graduates (Cairns et al., 1998).

An aspect of the program established at Victoria University of Wellington's School of Social Work was five types of educational partnership for cultural responsiveness (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 147 & 162). In the 1990's, five types of educational partnerships were identified by Cairns and colleagues to maintain a culturally safe learning environment, ensuring professional rigour and cross-cultural learning within social work education (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 161). The first partnership was the complementary roles fulfilled by male and female within traditional Māori culture that were able to support Māori teachers who had broken through into teaching in universities. Cairns et al (1998) recognised the complexity of Indigenous academics' inclusion in academia when they stated, '[i]t is not simply a matter of appointing brown-faced men and women to university teaching positions, a mistake made frequently by White administrators in all parts of the colonized world' (p. 161). The authors briefly discuss the need for Indigenous staff to remain connected to 'tribal affairs', including practicing social work with their own people and to 'help give a "culturally responsive face" to monocultural institutions' (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 162). The lack of prospects for promotion for Indigenous staff is also recognised and the authors highlight that rarely are the pressures impacting upon Indigenous teachers in a university context considered.

A second type of partnership was identified as the intergenerational relationships that connect Elders who carry Indigenous traditions to the Māori teaching staff. The Elders provide nurture, support, guidance, counsel, and advice to the Māori teaching staff. 'This type of partnership links each teacher to the sources of traditional knowledge that have been passed down through generations … and provides guardianship for traditional knowledge (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 162). The authors also acknowledge that often initiatives to acknowledge Indigenous knowledges fail due to misappropriation of traditional knowledge by Euro-American teaching staff, scholarly arrogance and the belief that Indigenous staff will implement a monocultural curriculum (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 162).

The third type of partnership identified by Cairns and colleagues that emerged involved students and their family members. The social work programs at Victoria University supported whānau, hapu, and iwi by involving Indigenous students' family members in the program. Family members were made welcome in class, including young and old, partners, siblings, cousins, parents, and Elders who want to "check out" what their family members are experiencing (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 162). The authors believe that including family members in this way has increased the number of Māori students enrolling in Victoria University's social work program.

The fourth type of partnership is an educational one between Māori tribes and tertiary institutions that have 'provided tribally based teaching and learning opportunities for students in different parts of the country' (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 162). This partnership has made social work programs more available and culturally responsive to the needs and aspirations of social workers practising in rural areas. The authors highlighted the important lessons that had been learnt in classrooms through the increase in Indigenous numbers in classrooms. Teaching staff had not acknowledged how threatening a university classroom was to Māori students yet, once the ratio of Māori students in a classroom changed, it was the White teachers or students who may themselves feel threatened. From the authors' experience, team teaching between Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators went towards addressing this issue.

The final partnership mentioned working relationships between non-Indigenous educators, institutional structures, and Indigenous peoples. The authors, Cairns et al. (1998), saw the knowledge of university systems that non-Indigenous educators and administrators have and the vast influence that they have upon decision making, including appointments, allocation of resources, teaching duties and curriculum design as imperative in the success of introducing change to university systems. Cairns et al. (1998) stated unless non-Indigenous educators 'support cultural responsiveness in the education and training needed by Indigenous social workers working with their own people, then university education offers little more than marginalization for a people whose culture is already endangered' (Cairns et al., 1998, p. 163). The authors, Cairns et al., believed back in 1998 that there was much to be learnt about partnership between Indigenous peoples and the institutional structures of tertiary education in Aotearoa New Zealand, including the impact of institutional racism. Interestingly this article has had few citations since it was published yet these partnerships or relationships provide the impetus for this study.

3.7.5 Decolonising social work education in more recent years

Social work in Aotearoa New Zealand has experienced a tension between the drive to prepare social work graduates for the increasing labour market and for practice and education to become more Indigenous so that it can more effectively serve local service users (Beddoe & Harington, 2015, p. 33). An aspect of alleviating this tension is through bicultural practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori academic, Leland Ruwhiu (2009), argues that '[t]hroughout social work history in New Zealand, its theoretical foundations have largely been devoid of any Māori understanding of healing and wellness' (p. 118). There are three recognition points that need to be considered, understood and implemented to fully support the aspirations of Māori people (Beddoe & Harington, 2015, p. 33). These three essential recognition points are cultural awareness markers for social workers to develop cultural responsiveness within their practice and it could be argued within social work education also. Firstly, recognising the significance of history, the impact that colonisation has had upon Aotearoa New Zealand and the consequence that it has had upon Māori wellbeing, rights, and their socioeconomic status. An aspect of this includes social workers understanding and exploring the historical relationships between Māori and non-Māori peoples (L. Ruwhiu, 2009, p. 108). Ruwhiu (2009) also highlights the significance of the history of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its contemporary impact on self-determination, partnership, and Indigenous rights (p 111). The second recognition point recognises the strength of narratives to promote Indigenous Māori identity. Colonial narratives highlight 'stories of displacement, discontinuity and cultural oppression' (L. Ruwhiu, 2009, p 113) that continue to resonate with the contemporary lives of Māori today as they experience both systemic and socioeconomic disadvantage. Narratives provide for Māori a way to build a strong cultural identity and a sense of belonging and link to the world (Ruwhiu, 2009, p 113). Thirdly, bicultural social work entails an understanding of Māori concepts of wellbeing, including wairuatanga (spiritual and physical, psychological, and philosophical), whakapapa (relational), tikanga/kawa (development of customs and protocols) and mana (authority, control and influence) (see L. Ruwhiu, 2009, p. 113 for more details on these concepts). For these three recognitions to occur within social work there also needs to be a reconciliation between a collective Indigenous worldview and a Western individualistic standpoint (Beddoe & Harington, 2015, p. 33). A way of reconciling these world views is by decentring Western individualist worldviews and centring Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

From the Aotearoa New Zealand perspective, 'Māori social work practice has been developed upon a strong foundation of indigenous knowledge, theories and values' (Hollis-English, 2017, p.

5). Māori ways of doing, Māori concepts of wellbeing and Māori frameworks and models of practice provide a guide to Māori social workers in their practice and interaction with whānau (Mooney et al., 2020, p. 264). Māori social work academics, Hannah Mooney, Ang Watson, Paulé Ruwhiu and Awhina Hollis-English (2020), state that 'Māori social workers and their allies work to challenge monocultural approaches that do not take spiritual and cultural constructions into consideration' (p. 265). The authors encourage social workers to use Māori cultural approaches alongside Western frameworks to avoid misdiagnosis particularly when dealing with mental health (Mooney et al., 2020). Mooney et al. (2020) advocate for "culture-first" or "culture-alongside" at all points of engagement with Māori people in social work practice, taking a broader view, not necessarily dismissing Western models of practice like the medical model but to ensure a cultural lens is used and applied in a meaningful way to benefit Māori.

Māori academic, Awhina Hollis-English's (2017) research has added to Māori knowledge by researching the theories that Māori social workers use in their practice. Hollis-English asserts that 'one's theoretical tendencies are often dependent upon one's cultural experiences and views of the world' (Hollis-English, 2017, p. 5). The research explained that Māori social workers are able to take 'an 'eclectic' approach' (p 6) to their practice, using both Māori and non-Māori theories within their practice and are perpetually developing new and different theories and models around their practice (Hollis-English, 2017, p. 6). Several Māori theories, like Kaupapa Māori theory, Native theory and Māori centred theory are identified that advance the use of Māori knowledges, theories and models within social work in Aotearoa New Zealand, both in Māori and mainstream organisations (Hollis-English, 2017, p. 9). Hollis-English (2012a) has also researched the implementation of the Puao-te-Ata-tu Report by interviewing Māori social workers and she found that the recommendations were never fully implemented 'but that it set a benchmark for where social services should aim' (p. 47).

Non-Indigenous academic, David McNabb's, recent research has focused upon decolonising social work education in Aotearoa New Zealand and provides insight into how decolonisation can be operationalised within social work education (McNabb, 2017, 2019a; McNabb, 2020b). Some of his work does include Australia yet it is based upon the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. McNabb's (2019a) study found that, even though standards and guide practices were in place, ultimately the delivery of programs within higher education impacted upon the extent to which decolonising practices were operationalised at a local level. Even though all programs were committed to a decolonising approach, they struggled in many ways to operationalise their commitment and to retain impetus (McNabb, 2019a, p. 35). McNabb's (2019a) research identified that the need for Māori staff was essential yet problematic because they were few in number and had to meet regulatory qualifications. Integrating Māori knowledge and practices into the social work curriculum was identified as 'vital for students learning and building their cultural responsiveness' (McNabb, 2019a, p. 37). McNabb's (2019a) study also highlighted the responsibility that non-Māori have in acknowledging the destructive effects of colonisation and the importance of having respectful relationships and partnerships with Māori.

McNabb's work highlighted how a commitment toward the Treaty and biculturalism can be operationalised as they form the backbone to social work programs in Aotearoa New Zealand by aligning the curriculum in a way that reflects Te Tiriti and also integrates Te Tiriti practically within assessment processes (McNabb, 2019a, p. 43). His work also emphasises the importance of leadership, challenges to operationalising a commitment to Te Tiriti in practice, the need for partnership of both non-Māori and Māori staff, non-Māori staff and their role as allies yet also knowing their limits, sharing power between Māori and non-Māori based upon rights that Māori have and strengthening non-Māori responsibility for teaching about Te Tiriti (McNabb, 2019b). McNabb (2019b) discusses the use of the third cultural space as cited in the 'Getting it Right' framework discussed in the Australian section of this literature review. McNabb (2019b) has created a framework for Tiriti based social work where Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) is centred, and Western knowledge is de-centred. McNabb (2019b) also discusses epistemological equality as cited in the 'Getting it Right' framework and he uses the Getting it Right Framework as a guide to how to hold two sets of knowledges together and how it aligns with the aspirations of Te Tiriti partnerships (McNabb, 2019b, p. 14).

3.8 Summary

It has been argued that social work education in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand has been based upon Western education and Western models and theories of social work. Social work education globally and nationally and within both countries has begun to broaden its view and realise the need to incorporate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into its curriculum. This is partly due to the need of practitioners in the field to be equipped to work successfully with Indigenous peoples. Social work education within Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand has been a colonised form of education from its inception, based upon Western teaching and Western forms of theories and practice. Social work education has primarily been the vehicle to mould and create social work graduates who will be a part of the whitestream, yet their work as social workers will often be working with Indigenous clients who may not live, exist, or fit into whitestream life of Australia or Aotearoa New Zealand. Social work educators have been called to critically analyse the education of social workers from curriculum development to teaching methods. Educators have begun to recognise and reflect upon the intersection or third space between Indigenous knowledges and perspectives and whitestream Western knowledge systems. This means not just recognising the intersection or third space but recognising the value of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to social work education and practice. It also means recognising the value of the knowledge and the ways of knowing, being and doing and the value that this can bring to social work education and graduates. Even though strides have been made in Aotearoa New Zealand in developing Māori content, operationalising epistemological equality between western and Indigenous knowledges remains a challenge. By not recognising the value of Indigenous knowledge, social work education in Australia and New Zealand will continue to remain stuck in the mainstream/whitestream, without fully realising the impact that whitestream education has upon social work graduates and more importantly upon their future clients.

The literature shows a current awareness of the need to indigenise and decolonise social work education. The literature offers suggestions, strategies, and methods regarding teaching Indigenous content and some of it focuses upon the students' interaction and response to being taught Indigenous content. The literature is increasing and is becoming more specific to the local context in which social worker educators find themselves. However, there is little literature that focuses upon the role specific relationships play in enabling academics to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives more successfully into social work education. The role of the academic is critical as they are the primary deliverers of the course content to students, and it is imperative to identify and improve these key relationships so that Indigenous content can be integrated more successfully. This study aims to address this deficit in the literature by identifying the relationships that an academic has and can have to improve the integration process. The following chapter discusses the methodological framework used to conduct this study.

CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

> We call this merger of indigenous and critical methodologies *critical indigenous pedagogy* … understands that all inquiry is both political and moral. It uses methods critically, for explicit social justice purposes. It values the transformative power of indigenous, subjugated knowledges. It values the pedagogical practices that produce these knowledge … such inquiry should meet multiple criteria. It must be ethical, performative, healing, transformative, decolonizing, and participatory. It must be committed to dialogue, community, self-determination, and cultural autonomy. It must meet people's perceived needs. It must resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretive strategy. It must be unruly, disruptive, critical, and dedicated to the goals of justice and equity. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 2).

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned above, this research seeks to merge both Indigenous and critical methodologies to make way for an inquiry that is both political and moral and brings about social change within the academy. At times, this inquiry may appear to be unruly, disruptive, and critical with the goal of justice and equity within the academy. Within the context of this study, qualitative research focuses on producing meaning from the data. The analysis of the data produced from the interviews required an understanding of the construction of knowledge, the construction of whiteness as 'truth' and the position of the dominant culture. Such an analysis necessitated the use of theoretical approaches that supported the positioning of Indigenous knowledge as equal to western knowledge. Social work education and the curriculum have been established within academic institutions that continue to be bound by western traditions, powers, and nuances. One of the aims of this study was to refocus the object of inquiry clearly and specifically upon the institutions, structures and systems that educate social workers. Indigenous people would not be the objects of inquiry but their voices would be heard and in some way Indigenous people would become the authors of the inquiry (Evans, Hole, Sookraj, Berg, & Hutchinson, 2009, p. 893). As a researcher, I wanted to give preference to Indigenous voices and endeavoured to 'silence' western voices. However, it soon became evident that silencing western voices was impossible given the structure and the systems that govern the academy and also that governed my own doctoral research. The Indigenous academics who were participants within my research did not become authors of the inquiry, I remained the author and as such take responsibility for my own interpretation of the findings. Nevertheless, I sought theories that would provide a way for Indigenous voices to be heard and western voices to be de-colonised.

This chapter highlights some of the wrestlings that occurred with different methodological approaches and theories. These different theoretical frameworks and perspectives provided different lenses for me to consider. I took into consideration several different theoretical and methodological approaches and endeavoured to use some of the theoretical components to create a lens to look through while I read and analysed the data. Much like an optometrist looking through an optical phoropter, I wanted to use different aspects of theoretical frameworks to create a lens through which I could view the data. McLaughlin and Whatman (2011) suggest that:

> … the identity of non-Indigenous people in the maintenance of White knowledge systems is just as important as the identity of Indigenous people in embedding Indigenous knowledge in university curricula but the system attempts to create an artificial separation of identity from scholarship (p. 15).

In an endeavour to not separate my own identity as a privileged female Euro-Australian doctoral student from my research, I have developed an understanding of the third cultural space to provide a facet to the lens that was developing.

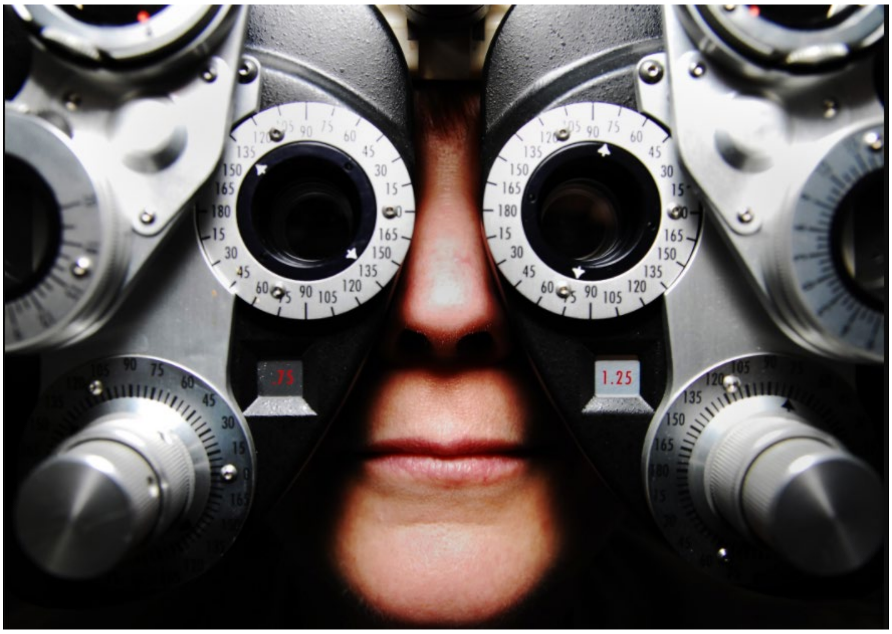


Figure 4.1 Optical Phoropter (U.S. Navy, 2010. Public Domain).

Above is an image of an optical phoropter, creating a lens layered with aspects of different theories to create an overall pair of glasses to view the data that is both critical and decolonising.

4.1 Third Cultural Space

A key aspect of this study is finding space where, as a White/Pākehā researcher, I can presuppose a theoretical perspective that finds validity both within the academy and within Indigenous spaces.

Consequently, I have adopted the third cultural space concept to position the theoretical and methodological perspectives of this study (Bhabha, 1994; Dudgeon & Fielder, 2006; Nakata, 2007a; Zubrzycki & Crawford, 2013). Dudgeon and Fielder (2006) engage with Bhabha's (1994) notion of the third space and they explain that this is a place of tension and uncertainty, where I argue Indigenous theories and the colonisers' Western theories may come together and find commonalities and work side by side, even under tension. The third cultural space neither sits within the colonised space nor the coloniser space, it is between them. This is a contested space where difference needs to be understood so new understanding and ways of doing can emerge. The difference between the ways of knowing, doing and being collide with each other, where appropriation of one knowledge from another happens only if it benefits both sides (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). My thinking on the third space is in line with Zubrzycki et al.'s (2014) use in the 'Getting it right' framework as it is where 'new knowledge, insights and understandings about identity and positioning emerge' (p. 6). Within this space, both colonised and colonisers' theorising and methodologies meet, wrestle and mix. New insights and understanding of these combinations of methodologies within this space can allow new knowledge to emerge.

As a researcher, I sit within this space because my methodology and theorising would not fit comfortably in either space. Standpoint theory is used to position myself as the researcher within this space. I am a coloniser, yet I consider myself an ally of the colonised or, as Denzin and Lincoln refer to it, as the 'allied others … friendly insiders who wish to deconstruct from within the Western academy' (2008, p. 6). I have mentioned that who I am impacts on how I do research, my gender, ethnicity, my academic training, and disciplinary knowledge of social work, which is primarily grounded in Western theory and the influences of Western ontology and epistemology and methodologies. My cultural and social positioning inform how, when, where and why I conduct my research and my approach to knowledge production. In my research, I position myself as 'a white critic of white scholarship' (p. 231), which is the way in which Moreton-Robinson (2006) suggests as fitting for a non-Indigenous academic. As suggested by Rowe, Baldry and Earles (2015, p. 297), I am motivated to use my position as a privileged female Euro-Australian doctoral student to decolonise and deconstruct the social work curriculum to make way for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. The way I define myself within a Western construction as an individual can have an impact upon the way that I conduct my research. Moreton-Robinson (2013) explains that the Western definition of self as individual, disconnected and situating themselves above other living things can silence and reject non-Western constructions and 'such silencing is enabled by the power of patriarchal knowledge and its ability to be the definitive measure of what it means to be human and what does and what does not constitute knowledge' (p. 344). I am challenged to acknowledge who I am but to also look to change my own ways of thinking, being and doing within this project. I associate my thinking with Foucault (1981) who taught that 'as soon as people begin to have trouble thinking things in the way they have been thought, transformation becomes at the same time very urgent, very difficult, and entirely possible' (Foucault, 1981, p. 457 cited in Mahuika, 2008, p. 3). To challenge and transform the way I think I have engaged with decolonisation, beginning with my mind.

An analysis of how the mind has been colonised, how this has happened and how a mind may be decolonised has been written about by Indigenous academics. This is to recover one's self, 'to claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity' (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 24). The challenge for myself as a non-Indigenous researcher who is investigating in this space is to recognise the impact of colonisation upon my own mind. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (L. T. Smith, 1999) would say, 'I research through imperial eyes', my "gaze" is that of the coloniser and I can fall into the trap of continuing to colonise this research through an ethnocentric focus upon what is seen as legitimate knowledge, rather than upon a decolonising process. Part of that decolonising process is to think and act critically about the way knowledge and the curriculum has been constructed (Kovach, 2009, p. 89). An aspect of decolonising is engaging with a process that topples the 'dominant way of seeing the world and representing realities in ways that do not replicate colonial values' (Green & Baldry, 2008, p. 397). Green and Baldry (2008, p. 396) suggest as a non-Indigenous social worker, I am influenced consciously or subconsciously by the colonial attitudes towards Indigenous people that I have been taught or influenced by media, government, education and family, and I need to decolonise my heart and mind. Within social work, theories and practices have been influenced by the UK and US and have ignored Australian Indigenous perspectives (Green & Baldry, 2008, p. 397) and Indigenous knowledge in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Walsh-Tapiata, 2004, p. 4 & 5). The unsettling process within this study began by examining the foundations of research from an Indigenous perspective. This study engages with aspects of colonisation in education. In doing so, Western systems of knowledge are approached as an object of study and inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 6) within the third cultural space.

The third cultural space is where co-creation and co-production can occur with potential change as its outcome. This study is predominantly set on a Western stage, with the participating institutions (the Aboriginal participant participated independently of their university) involved having their foundations set in Western ways of knowing/thinking, being and doing (Dudgeon & Fielder, 2006, p. 407; Young & Zubrzycki, 2011). To create a space where Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing can be equal to Western epistemologies, an engagement with decolonisation needed to occur to investigate and ultimately unsettle the dominant foundation. Within institutional structures, Indigenous peoples can be disadvantaged by restrictive institutional structures. These structures often interfere with the ability of Indigenous peoples' fulfilment of their cultural aspirations (Mahuika, 2008, p. 5). It is important to create a space where these structures can be critically challenged and engaged with, addressing power imbalances and to provide space for Indigenous theories, cultural aspirations and cultural goals to be realised, including the integration of Indigenous knowledges (Mahuika, 2008, p. 6). This process of decolonisation began in the literature review where Indigenous texts were used as much as possible to highlight the situated-ness of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives within education and the social work curriculum. I began to add possible lenses to the optical phoropter that I looked through to create a clearer view of how I could see the data in a way that was both critical and decolonising.

4.2 Critical race theory

Initially I looked through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a possible theoretical and methodological tool and I found aspects of CRT that were useful to add to the developing methodological lens that I used in analysing the data. Critical race theory provides a base upon which to investigate how whiteness has become the universal norm with the academy. CRT adds to a decolonising critical lens as it enables a researcher to explore assumptions, biases, stereotypes and discourses that have become entrenched within the academy, within its culture, reinforcing unconscious biases and justifying the marginalisation or exclusion of racialised minorities (Henry et al., 2017, p. 14). McLaughlin and Whatman have an article entitled, 'The Potential of Critical Race Theory in Decolonising University Curricula', written in 2011. This article highlights CRT as a critical way of thinking, presents ways to acknowledge the pervasiveness of race and racism within the narratives of the academy and offers a way of viewing the connection between power and interests. CRT analysis provides a way to discover sites within 'university curricula where, and describe how, systems of privilege need to change' (McLaughlin & Whatman, 2011, p. 11). CRT also encourages the researcher to engage in research through critical self-reflections (McLaughlin & Whatman, 2011). CRT can provide insight into hegemonic whiteness and into the way that 'Western' disciplines can maintain dominant discourses and appropriate

Indigenous knowledge; CRT can be used to assess the conflict that occurs between Indigenous and non-Indigenous dominant ways of knowing (Henry et al., 2017; McLaughlin & Whatman, 2011, p. 14). Critical race theorists see CRT as a way for marginalised voices to be heard and for their stories to play a central role in research instead of being left in the periphery (Henry et al., 2017, p. 15).

CRT provided a lens to view the data and to make way for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to counter the dominant Western foundation of social work education. Yet this was only one layer to the lens that was used to examine the data. The construction of whiteness also impacts upon the voices of the marginalised being heard.

4.3 Whiteness and reversing the gaze

Looking through the critical lens of whiteness highlighted the invisibility of dominance and privilege within higher education in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Whiteness quite aptly put by Nicoll (2004) is 'a set of institutionalised practices which legitimate and privilege [white] ways of knowing, seeing, curating and being at home in Australia' (p18). Whiteness enables a critique of social work education within the whitestream. Whitestream was discussed in the introduction of this thesis. Whiteness provides a framework to reverse the gaze away from the colonised 'other', in this case Indigenous academics. Reversing the gaze away from the content of Indigenous knowledges places the focus or gaze upon the systems. Those systems have been established and founded upon colonial power, colonial structures of education, colonial sovereignty, and colonial knowledge. Whiteness has been normalised and often goes unchallenged when academics are teaching social work content from a curriculum that preferences Western knowledges over Indigenous knowledges. Walter, Taylor and Habibis (2013) assert that there is a significant "Whiteness gap" within social work education's pedagogy and curriculum in Australia. Reversing the gaze places emphasis upon what is impeding the integration process. Whiteness has been maintained within social work education and, as governing associations like the AASW and ANZAASW have endeavoured to bring about change, the reality is that academics are up against a system that has been entrenched for centuries and continues to be maintained.

Within this research, a critical lens upon whiteness has been used to reverse the gaze to provide opportunities to examine power, holders of power, privilege and to ask questions of the data, like:

Who holds the agenda of what is being taught? And how is social work content being taught and assessed? To examine power more critically, an investigation of Foucault's work was undertaken.

4.4 Discourse and power

Michel Foucault's concepts of discourse, truth, normalisation, subjugation of knowledge, surveillance and power have been drawn upon to provide both theoretical and methodological concepts for this study. Foucault's (Foucault, 1980a, 2003) understanding of discourses as fundamentally unstable, political and discursive offer a foundation to critical theory in the context of this study. Foucault (2003) describes discourse as 'a weapon of power, of control, of subjugation, of qualification and of disqualification' (p. xx). This is important in this study because of the way that discourse has been wielded within the academy and within the context of teaching Indigenous content within the curriculum. Discourse has been wielded as a weapon of power and control to subjugate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Foucault's (Foucault, 1980a) understanding of discourse offers opportunities for analysis that unsettles dominant epistemology and disrupts the distribution of power. Foucault's (Foucault, 1980a) concept of discourse provides a theoretical basis for the use of other of Foucault's concepts such as 'truth', 'power' and 'normalisation'.

Foucault (Foucault, 1980a) inspires a way of viewing social work education to reveal how certain 'knowledges' have become 'truths' that are dominant within the social work curriculum within Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. Foucault (1980a) argues that 'we are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth' (p. 93). Foucault explains how constructions of truth are produced and maintained within discourses, 'Truth is a thing of this world …and it induces regular effects of power' (1980b, p. 131). Foucault claimed that every society has its 'regime of truth' and its 'general politics of truth and the discourse that it accepts as 'truth'. Foucault (1980b) asserts that certain people are charged with saying what is truth and what does not function as truth. This relates specifically to this study as dominant discourses from Western ideas of social work have been accepted as 'truth' and often utilised in practice within an Indigenous context. Truth, as Foucault (1980b) defines it, recognises 'system(s) of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it' (p. 133). Foucault's (1980b) analyses of truth and 'regimes of truth' built and established by those in institutions and professions sits well with this project as it seeks to uncover some of the layers of power and privilege that have sought to subjugate some truth over other truths. By asking specific questions of the data, the discourse surrounding the teaching of Indigenous content in social work can be unpacked. Such questions can be asked, such as: Who is able to tell the truth? About what? With what consequences and with what connection to power? The ‘regime of truth’ is evident within the academy, where what is considered to be ‘truth’ is decided upon by those in positions of power and who govern, and gate-keep knowledge production. Foucault focuses upon how a particular knowledge is sustained as ‘truth’ (Waitt, 2010). This has been particularly relevant to this study in uncovering and critically investigating how certain knowledges have remained as ‘truth’ within the curriculum and have become normalised while other’s truth has been subjugated.

Foucault’s (1979) concept of normalisation is described as one of the ‘great instruments of power’ (p. 184). The idea of what is classified as ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’ has been defined by those in positions of power and privilege, particularly within social institutions including education. Such normalisation has seen the ‘introduction of standardized education’ (Foucault, 1979, p.184). The standards of what a social worker should be taught are outlined in documents to standardise the profession. Garrett explains that ‘social work is increasingly being ordered, devised and structured by academics, policy makers and e-technicians far removed from the day-to-day encounters, which practitioners have with the users of services’ (Garrett, 2005, p 545 cited in Powell, 2013, p. 55). Operationalising Foucault’s (1979) concept of normalisation within this study has helped to critically identify areas within the curriculum that have been classified as ‘normal’ and, as with ‘truth’, have subjugated and marginalised Indigenous knowledges through wielding normalisation as an instrument of power. Foucault’s (1979) concept of surveillance and normalisation within the panopticon integrates power and knowledge. The concept of the panopticon could be used to look at the governing of the AASW and ANZAASW that oversee what is taught and how standards are met by the tertiary institutes wanting to maintain their accreditation.

Foucault’s concept of power in relation to discourse and knowledge production is important in analysing discourse. Discourse gives significant weight to questions of power, as Hall (1992) proports in relating to Foucault:

> … it is power, rather than facts about reality, which makes things “true”: “We should admit that power produces knowledge … That power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute … power relations” (Foucault, 1980, p27)’ (p. 203).

Therefore, power is constituted in discourse and within the social work curriculum lie discourses of power (Powell, 2013, p. 47) and I would argue power of discourse. Foucault's concept of power and knowledge that operates within an institute like the academy focuses upon the techniques of power/knowledge 'that simultaneously create a whole domain of knowledge and a whole type of power'(Foucault, 1977, p. 185 cited in Powell, 2013, p. 47). Within the academy, Indigenous knowledge has been subjugated and been delegitimised by those in positions of power, while the social work profession continues to play a role in the contemporary colonial project by the way that it controls knowledge (Bennett, 2019a; Cunneen & Rowe, 2014; Rowe et al., 2015; Walter & Aitken, 2019; Walter et al., 2011).

Within this study, Foucault's concept of subjugated knowledge has been operationalised, demonstrating how Indigenous epistemologies have been suppressed, repressed, censored and oppressed by White patriarchal knowledge production. Within social work, knowledge has been produced predominantly by White middle-class women, so it could be argued that the oppression has been White matriarchal in nature. Indigenous knowledge has been subjugated in social work by the 'persistent belief in the superiority of Western paradigms - that is Western patterns of thinking - and a concomitant marginalisation of the subjugated knowledges … of Indigenous peoples' (Rowe et al., 2015, p. 296). Social work has a history of incorporating 'a dominant ideology that is tinged with the stain of colonialism and imperialism' (Razack, 2009, p. 11) and I would add Western hegemony. 'We can argue that social work is constructed on universal ideals of human rights, social justice and advocacy, but just how these ideals became universal is suspect, and how these ideals get translated to fit local realities is debatable' (Razack, 2009, p. 12). Foucault's notion of subjugated knowledges, I believe, calls for a critical analysis of the curriculum and knowledge production. Foucault's concept of discourse, truth, normalisation, subjugation of knowledge, surveillance and power provide both theoretical and methodological concepts to look through, as they are added to the optical phoropter and begin to provide a clearer view looking towards decolonisation.

4.5 Decolonisation and Indigenous ways of Knowing

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) engages with Foucault's notion of discipline in the way indigenous ways of knowing were excluded and marginalised and with Foucault's notion of discipline being maintained through enclosure. Smith (2012) explains how Foucault's idea of discipline through enclosure also occurred at a curriculum level; 'native' children were excluded from school and sent out to work as domestics and used in manual labour (p. 71 & 72). Tests and assessments were designed to advantage the White middle class by the use of English and the dominant culture. Policies and legislation based on racism also sought to discipline the ‘natives’ and to make them more civilised (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 72). Part of this agenda was to destroy Indigenous ways of knowing and living and to impose upon Indigenous peoples a new order, ‘the effect of such a discipline was to silence (for ever in some cases) or to suppress the ways of knowing, and the languages for knowing, of many indigenous peoples’ (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 72). Smith (2012) highlights that reclaiming a voice in this setting provides opportunities for Indigenous people to also reclaim, reconnect and reorder those ways of knowing that have been supressed and removed from sight. By using decolonisation as a tool within this research I want to make space for the reclaiming, reconnecting and reordering of those ways of knowing within the social work curriculum which have sought to preference Western knowledge over Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

4.6 Constructivism and Kaupapa Māori theory

Having a critical constructivist theoretical perspective of Indigenous knowledge adds another layer to the lens to use in this study. Constructivism explains that ‘rather than an objective reality, society is a social construction manufactured, confirmed and validated through our interactions with the world’ (Eketone & Walker, 2013, p. 262). This explanation of constructivism provides a foundation for how reality or ‘truth’ are constructed in multiple different ways reliant upon a person’s culture, history, political and economic viewpoints (Eketone & Walker, 2013, p. 262 & 263). This research identifies Indigenous knowledge as a cultural construction shaped by Indigenous worldviews, which in themselves are sculpted and influenced by changing social and historical events (Eketone & Walker, 2013, p. 263). Many of these social and historical events have been mentioned in the literature review. I have chosen not to go into detail here about key Māori concepts such as Mana, Tapu, Noa, Wairua, Mauri, Aroha and Tikanga and Aboriginal concepts of Story Lines, Dreaming, Ceremony, spiritual responsibility to the Land and Kinship. However, these concepts and the values they uphold are significant and are acknowledged and honoured as legitimate knowledge by me as the researcher. I have engaged with Indigenous critical theory/inquiry including Kaupapa Māori to further legitimise this knowledge.

A critical constructivist theoretical approach aligns with Kaupapa Māori (Eketone & Walker, 2013, p. 262). Kaupapa Māori was seen as a theory of change by Graham Hingangaroa Smith, as Eketone and Walker (2013) explain, ‘more than a philosophical approach to research, practice and service delivery, but where these services emerged as sites of resistance to Western hegemony’ (p. 261) (that is, services ‘by Māori for Māori’). Kaupapa Māori provides a theoretical approach that is based upon Māori epistemology since it does more than critique or resist Western hegemony, it also intrinsically accepts the validity of accrued knowledge within Indigenous societies (Eketone & Walker, 2013, p. 264). Smith aligned Kaupapa Māori with critical theory as he saw it having three important elements

> ‘(i) a ‘conscientization’ that critiqued and deconstructed the hegemony of the dominant culture of the Pākehā and the associated privilege that came with that dominance;
>
> (ii) a focus on resistance to the dominant Western structures that created and maintained ‘oppression, exploitation, manipulation and containment’;
>
> (iii) praxis or the need to reflect on the world in order to change it’ (Smith, 1997, as quoted by Eketone & Walker, 2013, p. 261).

Kaupapa Māori’s three important elements add to the lens of the optical phoropter within this research in conjunction with critical theory to bring Māori and other Indigenous knowledges to be seen as legitimate rather than exotic (Eketone & Walker, 2013, p. 261 & 262). These three elements also provide a structure to look at the problematization of the White social work education system. The first element, ‘conscientization’, provides an aspect to the lens that compels me as the researcher to critically deconstruct the status quo of what is occurring in the White hegemonic culture within the academy, unpacking White privilege. The second element within this study presents a way of viewing the data to find where both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics have resisted the dominant Western structure within the academy to create space for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Finally, the third element, ‘praxis’, has been enacted by me as the researcher and the participants during the research process to envision what is changing, what needs changing and what can be changed to bring about change in the academy.

4.7 Critical theory and Kaupapa Māori theory

Using the optical phoropter within the third cultural space, I have chosen to bring two theories together to provide another aspect to the lens to view the data. As mentioned above, there is a strong relationship with critical theory and Kaupapa Māori theory and the key difference lies in their epistemologies (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013, p. 15). Their similarities will be employed within this study, and there are many. Critical theory and Kaupapa Māori theory mutually value human dignity and endeavour to give voice to the marginalised. Both see the need and value of relationships and dialogue, together they aspire for multicultural renewal, mutually they promote reform through social and political consciousness, both oppose hierarchical power structures, mutually they endeavour to promote epistemological diversity and they both foresee power over destiny, especially for those in the margins (Berryman et al., 2013, p. 15). Engaging with the decolonising theory, Kaupapa Māori provides a space for Māori voices and perspectives to be legitimised. It works outside the 'binary opposition of Māori and Pākehā and centring Te Ao Māori' focusing on the Māori world' (Cram, McCreanor, Smith, Nairn, & Johnstone, 2006, p. 50). Kaupapa Māori legitimises being Māori and the authenticity of a Māori worldview. A broader definition of Kaupapa Māori is:

> … a discourse of proactive theory and practice that emerged from within the wider revitalization of Māori communities … that promoted the revitalization of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences, and practices as a philosophical and productive educational stance and resistance to the hegemony of the dominant discourse (Bishop, 1996, p. 11 cited inBerryman et al., 2013, p. 8).

Kaupapa Māori theory approaches 'are not limited to use by Māori researchers or research participants alone' (Mahuika, 2008, p. 2), however it is predominantly used by Indigenous scholars.

I am not Māori, nor am I an Indigenous person, therefore I believe that I cannot do Kaupapa Māori research, however I can support Māori Kaupapa that is research, meaning my research can be supported by Māori principles, values, and ideas in using aspects of Kaupapa Māori research as a guide or lens to measure and to see how the academy has created, developed, and established the social work curriculum. I will use it to ask questions in analysing the discourse, to view the discourse from a different perspective, acknowledging my standpoint as a White privileged academic but looking at the data through a different lens. By using Kaupapa Māori research theory, it provides valuable knowledge in how to work together, both Pākehā and Māori, to address educational issues within the curriculum (Barnes, 2013, p. 28). As a Pākehā interviewing and analysing data entrusted to me by Māori academics, it is imperative that I have an understanding of Kaupapa Māori theory and its impact upon research. This is to ensure that the voice of Māori academics is heard, otherwise I run the risk of my research continuing to be monocultural, monological and colonising.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) explains that Kaupapa Māori provides a way to conceptualise Māori knowledge, 'it is a way of abstracting that knowledge, reflecting on it, engaging with it, taking it for granted sometimes, making assumptions based upon it, and at times critically engaging in the way that it has been and is being constructed' (p. 190). Kaupapa Māori research agenda specifically utilises, engages with and challenges Western knowledge (Moreton-Robinson, 2013, p. 337). Kaupapa Māori, I argue, is decolonising in the way that it actively resists colonisation of Māori people and culture, yet it does have colonial influences. Kaupapa Māori draws on western theories and non-Māori theorists for inspiration including Paulo Freire, Edward Said, Franz Fanon and Patti Lather and Māori academic, Graham Hingangaroa Smith who all support the use of Western orientated theories in part, if they inspire and guide Māori frameworks of ideas to further the Māori cause within Aotearoa (Mahuika, 2008, p. 11). Kaupapa Māori engages with Western knowledge and it does so in a way that empowers Māori, hapu and iwi to 'determine in their own ways, their past, present and future identities and lives' (Mahuika, 2008, p. 12). One of the major challenges is discovering the correct equilibrium and configuration within which iwi, hapu, Māori and even non-Māori knowledges and influences might be utilised most effectively (Mahuika, 2008, p. 12). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues that Kaupapa Māori is 'a counter-hegemonic approach to Western forms of research and, as such, currently exists on the margins' (p. 191). Each aspect of each lens added to the optical phoropter has developed over time as I have continued to read and gain further understanding of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous methodologies and the process of decolonisation.

4.8 Decolonisation and critical theory

Decolonisation offers a way to decentre Western knowledge and research within the academy. Decolonisation provides a way to bring about recognition and honour to Indigenous processes, worldviews, knowledges and realities (L. T. Smith, 2012; Zubrzycki & Crawford, 2013, p. 192). Decolonisation has been used by Māori academic, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), to critically look at how knowledge has been colonised and how dominant discourse has been used to position Western knowledge over Indigenous ways of knowing. Smith's (2012) decolonising methodologies work has predominantly been written to provide guidance for Indigenous researchers to engage in Indigenous research; however, it also provides part of a conceptual backdrop for this study as it provides a critique of Western paradigms. By using aspects of decolonisation and critical theory, I am able to challenge traditional Western epistemologies (knowing), ontologies (being) and methodologies (doing).

Critical theory has helped Indigenous people make space for themselves, their culture and their ways of thinking (Kovach, 2009, p. 92). Both critical theory and decolonising approaches offer an analysis that make the power dynamics visible within society and support social justice (Kovach, 2009, p. 92) which resonates with social work. Social work is a profession 'committed to social justice and the empowerment of oppressed people it is not by choice, but by conviction, that social work invariably has to find itself at odds with the establishment' (Prasad & Vijayalakshmi, 1997: cited in (Haug, 2005, p. 133). Critical theory helps to create the space within the academy for decolonising thought and Indigenous knowledges (Kovach, 2009, p. 93). Critical theory is important in analysing discourse through cultural and social relations because 'it sees power as being available to be used, rather than just oppressive' (Payne, 2014, p. 329). This idea of power links back to Foucault's concept of power and knowledge.

In utilising critical theory, as found in Kincheloe and McLaren (2011), I understand that language is not a mirror of society and that the meaning of words shifts, depending upon their context and 'linguistic descriptions are not simply about the world but serve to construct it' (p. 291). Discursive practices are also identifiable through studying discourse and the way that discourses operate 'as a form of regulation and domination' (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011, p. 291). Discursive practices are defined by Kincheloe and McLaren (2011) as 'a set of tacit rules that regulate what can and cannot be said, who can speak with the blessing of authority and who must listen' and whose social constructions are valid and whose are erroneous and unimportant' (p. 291). Within the context of this study within educational institutions, critical theory is utilised to investigate what is seen as legitimised discourses of power that inform the academics of what to teach and what resources to use and who should teach what. An analysis of power is crucial within this study to reveal what Kincheloe and McLaren (2011) explain as the hegemonic/ideological message that is being imparted in the case of social work education to social work students (p. 291). Critical theory has been seen to have 'failed' to deliver to Indigenous communities, consequently alternative approaches have been developed, as a form of resistance to critical theory (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 188), therefore within this study Indigenous critical theory will also be applied. Indigenous critical theory and European philosophy have been brought into this third space to establish the theoretical and philosophical framework for this study.

This idea of bringing Indigenous critical theory and European philosophy together is supported by Indigenous academic, Jodi Byrd, a citizen of the Chickasaw nation. Byrd (2011) chooses to engage with European philosophy rather than totally denying it or leaving it. Byrd (2011) believes that:

> … indigenous critical theory could be said to exist in its best form when it centers itself within indigenous epistemologies and in the specificities of the communities and cultures from which

> it emerges and then looks outward to engage with European philosophical, legal, and cultural traditions in order to build upon all the allied tools available (p. xxix & xxx).

I have utilised Byrd's (2011) idea of engaging with both Indigenous critical theory and European philosophy, however, as a non-Indigenous person, I have done so in a different way. I have chosen to flip this idea, I have engaged with European philosopher, Foucault, and then chosen to look outwards to engage with allied Indigenous tools to build a theoretical foundation for my research. Byrd (2011) explains:

> '[o]ur contemporary challenge is to theorize alternative methodologies to address the problems imperialism continues to create… analyses of competing oppressions reproduce colonialist discourses even when they attempt to disrupt and transform participatory democracy away from its origins in slavery, genocide and indentureship' (p. xxvi).

With Jodi Byrd's ideas in mind, I embarked upon looking at specifically analysing social work education. Historically, social work has centred itself within its own epistemologies and the specifications of the communities and cultures from which it has emerged, within Western ways of knowing, being and doing (Young & Zubrzycki, 2011). In agreeance with Byrd (2011), I believe that Western social work needs to be decentred and challenged and this occurred within this study by engaging with non-Western and non-European approaches. I have connected with Byrd's (2011) suggestion and engaged with non-European philosophical and cultural traditions in order to build upon the allied tools available. Hence, I will not negate one approach for the other but use both to seek to analyse and view the way forward, not forgetting the past. Therefore, my methods will not just be deconstructive but also reconstructive, to respect alliances and mutual understanding and importantly answer the research question, how do relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education?

Martin Nakata, a Torres Strait Islander academic, highlights that if the movement from colonial critique to installing alternative Indigenous knowledge and perspectives into practice occurs too quickly, then often the complexities of history and contemporary conjunctions are not investigated in enough depth (Nakata, 2013, p. 295). Nakata encourages the critique of Indigenous knowledge production on moral, cultural, political and social justice grounds, the same as Western knowledge practices are critiqued (Nakata, 2013, p. 297). Nakata (2013) asserts that 'polarisation flourishes when the specificities required to fully understand the context and origins of meanings we deploy are overlooked in the rush to harness them more generally and for rhetorical purposes' (p. 296). Nakata's caution is to not generalise Indigenous knowledges and perspectives so that a one size fits all approach is utilised, which can be applied when teaching and integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the curriculum. Nakata (2013) also cautions the use of decolonisation if it is employed in a way that produces generalisations and selective knowledge without acknowledging the lived context in which specific forms of Indigenous knowledges are utilised, otherwise colonisation may be perpetuated.

Nakata (2013) explains that if academics focus upon 'worrying about and policing whether what we think and do is Indigenous or Western, then our minds are diverted from improving life-enhancing outcomes for Indigenous people' (p. 302). Nakata (2013) highlights the need to work within the third space or 'middle ground' and within this space it:

> … will likely reveal just how intricate and open to interpretation our scholarly dance around worldviews, knowledge, and practice is. More attention to that middle ground, the cultural interface, will surely produce more complex and intricate analysis and language to describe and respond to what we find there (p. 302).

This resonates with the values of social work, to focus upon increasing life enriching outcomes for Indigenous peoples. With these cautions in mind, I have embarked upon using aspects of decolonisation and critical theory within this research.

CHAPTER 5
METHOD

5.1 Introduction

A review of literature was completed as discussed in chapter 3 to seek an understanding of the influences that impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education. Literature provides the backdrop to understand key aspects of this study including the construction of knowledge, the construction of whiteness as 'truth' and the position of the dominant culture within the academy. In seeking to understand these influences in more depth and particularly to understand what was inhibiting and enabling the integration process in the Australian and Aotearoa context, I sought to use a qualitative approach to research using semi-structured interviews with academics from five universities, three in Australia and two in Aotearoa New Zealand. A participatory action research (PAR) approach may have been an obvious choice for this project given its endeavour to be decolonising yet, as Trainor and Bouchard (2013) assert, a doctorate must be completed by a single author, therefore a participatory research method such as PAR was not used. Instead, other methods were used to facilitate decolonisation, by including Indigenous participants and Indigenous ethical consideration. Aboriginal participants were sought outside of the two initial participating universities in Australia as it was found at the time of the interviews that neither of these two universities had Indigenous academics employed within their social work departments. A key element of this research was to value the voices of Indigenous academics, therefore it was important to seek an amendment to the initial ethics application to pursue the inclusion of Indigenous voices within the Australian context, as well as non-Indigenous academics who taught the social work curricula. Interviewing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics provided an insider's view of what was occurring within the academy within both countries within social work education.

This chapter describes the research design and the processes used in interpreting the data gleaned from the interviews. As mentioned in the previous chapter, as a researcher I sought to acknowledge my positioning as a privileged female Euro-Australian doctoral student, and I used an optical phoropter view to develop a theoretical framework to create a lens to view the data through. The optical phoropter has aspects of critical theory and Kaupapa Māori theory to provide a decolonising approach that sits within the third cultural space. Aspects of these theories were used to interpret the findings through a thematic analysis and then present the findings in the form of an ecological model that was initially developed, based upon the work of Dr George Otero and Susan Chambers-Otero (2000) and Dr Ann Milne (2013). This model will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

Study design, selection and recruitment of participants, ethical considerations and principles, data collection and analysis of data will be discussed in this chapter. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics teaching social work within the Western academy are in the unique position to provide insights to the role that an academic's relationships play in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education. Qualitative research methods were chosen so that the voices of the academics could be expressed and myself as a researcher could participate in interpreting the data to ultimately address the research question and provide an original contribution to knowledge within social work education.

5.2 Study Setting

To gain insight into the way that Indigenous knowledges and perspectives were being integrated into the social work education, this study considered five universities, three in Australia and two in Aotearoa New Zealand. Two of the three universities in Australia coincidently had been a part of the 'Getting it right' project. Contact was made with the Heads of School in the universities in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand once ethics approval had been obtained. The Heads of School were sent a Letter of Introduction, Information Sheet, Interview Consent Form (see appendices 4-6), and the interview questions to provide sufficient information regarding the study. Permission was granted to contact academic staff within social work departments via email and the study information (as sent to Heads) was included in the emails. Contacting participants via email instead of by phone or face-to-face minimised possible perceptions of obligation to participate. See Appendix 7 to view an example of the emails that were sent to potential participants. The universities were chosen from different geographical locations within both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand to provide a broad scope of experiences of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics. As mentioned, it was hoped that the initial two Australian universities would provide an opportunity for Aboriginal academics to participate, however this was not the case. Consequently, an amendment was made to the original ethics application to seek to engage Aboriginal academics from other universities outside of the two initially chosen in Australia. This amendment was accepted (see Appendix 3), and I contacted seven Aboriginal academics via email that worked in Australian social work departments and/or had published work in social work.

The responses were varied, there were four replies. One contacted me by phone, but as she was not currently teaching in social work felt that she did not meet the study requirements. She felt that the topic was of value yet fraught with issues. Another academic replied that she had limited teaching experience and felt that she did not have a lot to offer in answering the questions I was asking. Another potential participant did not want to participate due to the lack of Aboriginal governance over this project and was concerned about cultural appropriation. She felt that Indigenous peoples should take the lead and be the experts and publish into this space. One academic believed that I should not pursue this research because I was non-Aboriginal. These perspectives are held by some Aboriginal academics but not all. One academic was eager to participate and had agreed to be interviewed but later withdrew due to personal reasons. Overall, the responses were varied, and I was left with no Aboriginal participants to interview.

These responses by Aboriginal academics did provoke a reasonable amount of anxiety within me as the researcher. Authors Jones and Jenkins (2008) articulate this response of the researcher as ‘withdrawal of the indigene from accessible engagement is felt as an unbearable exclusion’ (p. 477). This exclusion was unbearable at the time and:

> … the resulting anxiety for the new outsider [the researcher] is not from loss of social power so much as *loss of ability to define the conditions* or the social-political space within which, they believe, getting to know each other becomes possible. The terms of engagement are no longer controlled by the dominant group (emphasis in the original) (Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 477).

Upon reflection, I identified that there was a shift in the terms of engagement and power between myself and the possible participants. Up until this point the terms of engagement had been governed by me and the whitestream system in which the research was located within a doctoral program within the whitestream academy. The Aboriginal academics that I had contacted were rightfully in control of the terms of engagement rather than me, as the researcher, and had the right to reply as they saw fit. This engagement provided insight into the condition of the social-political space, in this case the academy, as one academic had made it clear that they needed to be involved at the beginning of this project, not to be added on tokenistically at what she saw as the end of the project as an afterthought. As mentioned previously, it was not the intent for Aboriginal academics to be added later in the project, however due to unforeseen circumstances it appeared that that was what had happened. Two Aboriginal academics also identified that they had written enough within this area through their published work to provide information for me without engaging in interviews. Consequently, I sought to ensure that Indigenous academics' voices were given preference over non-Indigenous academics' work, including in the literature review section of this thesis wherever possible. As Jones and Jenkins (2008) articulate, the resistance by Aboriginal participants to participate in this study threatened, at the very point of power, my 'ability to know' (p. 482) the answer to the research question and not being able to engage Aboriginal academics within this study meant that I was left with no Aboriginal participants in Australia.

Months after completing interviews at the four participating universities, I met an Aboriginal academic at a conference. I met Sam [pseudonym] and discussed this study and the experience of not being able to have any Aboriginal academics participate. At the time, it was not my intent to include Sam in the study as I had resigned myself to the fact that this project would be limited to the voices of Aboriginal academics found in the literature. After hearing about the study, Sam was eager to add their voice to the research as long as their anonymity was maintained. Sam was recruited after a face-to-face conversation; this had been missing from the recruitment process with the other Aboriginal academics. I had been able to share my story and my heart for my research with Sam and a connection was made that had not occurred with the other potential Aboriginal participants. Upon reflection, aspects of Margaret Kovach's (2009) research journey resonated with me as a researcher, she shared:

> The holistic, relational, and at times raw nature of holistic research meant making room in methodology for life, for the unexpected, for the path that emerges rather than the one initially planned…Stories spring forth from a holistic epistemology and are the relational glue in a socially interdependent knowledge system. In listening to the research stories of others, it is evident that research stories reveal the deep purpose of our inquiries (p. 108).

I had shared part of my research story with Sam. I had shared the unexpected outcome of not being able to have Aboriginal academics participate in this research. I believe Sam heard the purpose of my research through my story. I had endeavoured to be open to holistic epistemology and holistic, relational research with all its unpredictability and it had become a part of decolonising my research journey. The sense of relatedness had been missing in the email communications with other potential Aboriginal participants. Those emails met the Western criteria set out in my ethics application but did not go towards building any type of relationship with the potential Aboriginal participants.

Sam became the only Aboriginal voice within this study, other than those found in the literature. Sam's voice has been de-identified, 'the voice' could have come from anywhere in Australia. Yet this lone voice is not alone within this study as the findings show that Sam's voice is supported by voices of the Indigenous participants across the Tasman in Aotearoa New Zealand. Non-Indigenous academics also support these Indigenous voices within my research as they too navigate the whitestream. Obtaining Aboriginal participants for this study within Australia posed a significant barrier to this research yet also provided insight into the space that Aboriginal academics find themselves within the western academy. Even though as a researcher I desired to hear the voice of Indigenous academics, the power lay with the academics themselves to choose to participate in this study. Many of the participants, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, felt that they needed to maintain anonymity within this study due to the sensitivity of the information they were sharing. They felt having their contribution identified could impact upon their jobs and careers. This shows the power of the whitestream academy and what it takes to disrupt the status quo within the academy.

Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, the fact that I was non-Māori seemed to have less of an impact upon the participants choice to participate. Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, the binary between 'me as a non-Māori researcher' had less of an impact compared to 'me as a non-Aboriginal researcher' in Australia. Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, non-Māori, or the colonisers, and Māori have less of a boundary between "them" and "us", as from my own lived experience in Aotearoa New Zealand, I had lived, worked, and studied beside Māori in my home, workplace and at university. Within Aotearoa New Zealand there has been a 'mutual assimilation, in that it marks pockets of equality' (Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 476) between Māori and non-Māori which I had not experienced between myself and Aboriginal people in Australia. This mutual assimilation played out for me in the sense that as a non-Māori I felt a sense of equality with Māori. I am aware that this is not always the case yet, as a researcher who had lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for 12 years and had experienced epiphanic experiences as referred to in appendix 1, I brought with me a cultural awareness that was met with an openness from the Māori academics. This openness was felt in a sense of reciprocity. McGregor and Marker (2018) point out that reciprocity can begin well before the research begins, 'through a preparatory process that makes learning in the context of the research possible' (p. 321). I argue that my learning and preparation for this research had begun back when I was 18 and first set foot on a Marae at Kawerau in Aotearoa New Zealand. The foundation of reciprocity and relatedness had begun well before this research project had ever been thought of through my lived experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. I had empathetic experiences in Australia yet had not had years of experience living in a mutually assimilated environment as I had in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, the response I had from academics to my request to interview Māori academics I felt was met with less resistance to that of the Aboriginal academics I had approached in Australia.

An aspect of building relationships between myself, as the researcher, and academics in Aotearoa New Zealand was attending a conference in 2016 and presenting the planned research at the conference (Paper presented at the ‘Social Work changing times: towards better outcomes conference’, 2016, November, Palmerston North, New Zealand). I met people and attended several sessions without knowing that some of these people would eventually become participants within this study. I made a subsequent visit to Aotearoa New Zealand to interview participants in person. I was serious about this research and made the time to meet face to face. Cram et al. (2006, p. 48) identified that personal engagement, meeting face to face, aligns with Māori cultural values and is a respectful approach to conducting research. This also provided a sense of relational responsibility between myself, as the researcher, to the participants as I was not an unknown researcher hidden behind a questionnaire but someone who was invested in their research and felt a responsibility to the participants.

During this doctorate, I began to work within the western academy in which the study was contextualised, as a casual academic within social work. This provided some ‘insider’ benefits within this research as it gave me an understanding of the culture within a western academy, it enabled me to connect more naturally with the participating academics and enabled a relational intimacy with the academics which may not have occurred if I was working outside of the academy. This ‘insider’ perspective may have also minimised a power differential between myself and participants, as highlighted by Breen (2007, p. 163). Having some experience in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education myself did provide an opportunity to ‘open a door’ regarding establishing a relationship between myself and participants that was trusting, as it meant that I had some personal experiences of navigating the whitestream and was aware of some of the issues that they discussed in their interviews. Yet, as outlined by Breen (2007), an insider can also experience disadvantages by losing objectivity, making assumptions based upon prior knowledge and familiarity (p. 163 and 164). However, as a casual academic and new to work within the academy, I had not been included in staff meetings or curriculum development nor did I have much understanding of the workings of the university systems other than as a student. This gave me the ability to identify power differentials, differences and dynamics that existed within the academy which an insider may not have been aware of as discussed by Breen (2007, p. 171). I basically came in and taught and left with very little interaction between myself and other academics other than the course co-ordinators whom I worked for. I often felt I was an ‘outsider’ within the academy. As Breen (2007) argues, ‘the insider/outsider dichotomy is simplistic’ and neither of these terms are adequate in describing my role as the researcher within this research. Breen (2007) asserts that being ‘in the middle’ rather than ‘inside’ or ‘outside’ as a researcher can make it easier to keep questioning the research material (p. 169). I position myself neither as an insider or outsider in this study and I agree with Breen (2007) and place myself on a continuum, as I oscillated between the two, particularly as I gained more experience within the academy. I became more aware of the whitestream, yet I also realised that there was so much of which I was not aware. At the beginning of this thesis, I discussed my family history, positioned myself and included epiphanic experiences as referred to in appendix 1 as part of the reflexive process in making meaning from my own lived experience and how that impacted upon my interpretation of the data. Reflexivity continued throughout the research process. I often reflected upon my personal positioning, including as a researcher, as a coloniser and in my relationship to the whitestream system.

5.3 Research Design

Interviews were the primary source of data collection for this study. Educators/academics who teach social work students were approached in the universities. Most of these interviews were conducted individually between me and each participant with one interview being between myself and two Māori participants as their preference was to be interviewed together. The interviews were semi-structured, most were achieved face to face with two being completed via skype or telephone due to the participants location within Australia. All the Aotearoa New Zealand interviews were completed face to face with me traveling to various locations throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. The interviews appeared to suit both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants as there was a sense of flexibility, adaptability, cultural awareness, and space for narrative within each interview.

The universities were selected as they had established social work degrees and they were geographically spread out rather than universities being in one city. Participants were selected due to their knowledge and experience in teaching social work students. Not all participants had social work degrees, yet they taught social work students. The focus questions were designed and developed in conjunction with Keith Miller, the principal supervisor of this doctorate.

This research sought to listen and learn from the experiences of participants who teach social work rather than assuming the position of already knowing how Indigenous knowledges were being taught and integrated into the social work curriculum. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 3) explain, qualitative researchers seek to make sense of phenomena through the meaning that the participants themselves bring, in this case to their work in the academy. This included participants from Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge systems, philosophies, and world views.

One aspect of this study was that it acknowledged both Indigenous and Western knowledge systems and sought to render them equal in value rather than preference one over the other. If anything, the Western knowledge system was critiqued and questioned to evaluate if it was perpetuating colonialist ontologies and epistemologies as encouraged by Nakata (1998) and Rigney (2001). This research sought to reposition and decolonise Indigenous knowledge within the academy by being aware of the system and its discursive practices.

5.4 Ethical considerations

Ethics was considered throughout the entirety of this project. There was some discrepancy over whether this project needed to meet with Aboriginal ethical considerations. As the focus of this research is neither upon Aboriginal peoples nor Indigenous knowledges, it was decided that this research posed a low risk to Aboriginal participants. Even though Aboriginal ethics permission was not required for this research to be completed, I sought to engage with Indigenous ethical principles as a way of decolonising this study. In meeting the requirements of the whitestream academy, ethics approval was sought and obtained prior to the commencement of interviews with participants. The initial ethics approval was gained firstly through the Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) at Flinders University (see Appendix 2). Subsequent ethics approvals were obtained from the participating universities. Ethics approval was sought from Te Wānanga, a Māori university in Aotearoa New Zealand, as a possible participant.

Interviewing Māori academics at Te Wānanga would have provided a different aspect to teaching social work within a university whose values, beliefs, and worldviews are Māori. At the time of the ethics application, the theoretical underpinning for this research project were underdeveloped. The feedback from the ethics committee aided in the further development of this project. The feedback confirmed that I needed to adequately demonstrate and articulate my awareness of my own sociocultural positioning and the impact that my own subjective and cultural bias could have upon the inquiry. I also needed to openly declare that the data would be interpreted from a non-Indigenous/non-Māori perspective. Interviewing Māori academics from Te Wānanga would have required myself, as the researcher, to have a higher level of cultural and language fluency to fully understand and appreciate the content and context of Te Wānanga. Even having lived in Aotearoa New Zealand, I did not have this level of experience or knowledge. The Te Wānanga were open to a collaborative approach to my research, including a co-inquirer partnership with a Maori scholar, however they were aware that a doctorate required the individual demonstration of research competence, so it was deemed by myself and my primary supervisor that my focus would be upon the whitestream universities, therefore this ethics application was rendered unsuccessful.

Four ethical principles were invoked to guide this research: respect, responsibility, reverence, and reciprocity and several community-up research practices were engaged in.

5.4.1 **Ethical principles that governed this research**

Respect, responsibility, reverence and reciprocity are four ethical principles outlined by Archibald, Lee and De Santolo (2019). These four principles encourage me to become 'story-ready', using respect to listen to the Indigenous person's story, taking time to foster trusting and responsible relationships with the storytellers, using reverence when handling the stories, providing protection to the stories and their owners and using reciprocity when delivering the findings of the stories to increase their benefits, especially for Indigenous peoples, communities and researchers (Archibald et al., 2019, p. 2 & 3). I endeavoured to foster trusting and responsible relationships with both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics, the seven "community-up" approaches supported these relationships to develop.

Seven "community-up" approaches to research were developed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and Māori academic Fiona Cram (2001) and provide guidelines to researchers. These approaches were outlined by Cram et al. (2006, p. 48) and were engaged with by me, as the researcher.

The first, being 'Aroha ki te tangata: a respect for people', allowing participants to specify their own space and to meet on their own terms. This was achieved by ensuring that the participants chose where the interview would occur and, even though there were questions provided, participants were ultimately in control of the content of the interview.

‘He kanohi kitea’: is the importance of meeting face to face with participants. I travelled to ensure that nearly all of the interviews were conducted face to face.

‘Titiro, whakarongo . . . kōrero’: looking and listening before speaking; this included ‘develop[ing] an understanding in order to find a place from which to speak’. As mentioned, I had developed this understanding over many years of engaging and building relationships with Indigenous peoples.

‘Manaaki ki te tangata: sharing, hosting and being generous’; I did not host the participants, yet there was a sense of reciprocal sharing and generosity between me and participants during the interviews.

‘Kia tūpato: being cautious’: this included me being culturally aware and safe, and reflecting upon my insider/outsider status.

‘Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata: do not trample on the “mana” or dignity of a person’: this was realised through showing respect for the mana that each participant held.

‘Kia māhaki: be humble’, in which researchers in this space take the position of ‘learner’ rather than ‘teacher’ or ‘knower’ (Cram, 2001; Cram et al., 2006, p. 48; L. T. Smith, 1999; Stevenson, 2018, p. 55). Researching with these approaches in mind, often at a subconscious level, I was able to hear the stories of the participants.

The participants shared stories from their own teaching, practice, and lives and therefore these stories required to be handled with respect. I felt a level of responsibility in interpreting these stories into research findings for this thesis. I endeavoured to be as transparent as possible in the way that these stories were interpreted into findings by using excerpts from the original transcripts and having the general findings reviewed by the participants. The combined findings were presented to the participants pictorially rather than as a written report, which meant that participants did not read their individual contribution to the final dissertation. I took every precaution to ensure that participants’ anonymity was maintained, including de-identifying the participating universities, participants, and their quotes. Responsibility was demonstrated by obtaining ethics approval from each participating university. In terms of reverence, I sought to show respect and reverence to participants’ own spiritual beliefs and cultural processes. I respected participants’ requests and endeavoured to treat their stories with reverence as I wrote them, re-reading transcripts and re-working my own words to ensure that I was bringing a sense of reverence to the research process. As a Christian, prayer was a way that I centred myself and focused upon the Almighty Creator to support me in the research and writing process.

Reciprocity gave me the opportunity to give back to the educators/academics and to social work, yet as McGregor and Marker (2018) point out, there is no clean way of viewing reciprocity, particularly when the pervasive assumptions and Western notions of reciprocity 'have proven toxic to Indigenous economies and ecologies' (p. 320). McGregor and Marker (2018) relate '[t]here is no clean promontory for viewing reciprocity between the researcher and the researching with Indigenous peoples. It is a swampy forest; we make our way through this landscape slowly and carefully knowing that we carry along power, history, and colonization as both maps and encumbrances' (p. 320). I endeavoured to remind myself often of the power I held, the history that came before me and the colonisation that continued. Trainor and Bouchard (2013) assert that 'reciprocity is an ethical stance rather than a simplistic exchange of goods and tolerance' (p. 987) and it is not isolated to one aspect of the research process but should be a stance that is enacted during the entirety of the research (p. 990). I strove to enact a stance of reciprocity by using reflexivity, interrogating my own biases and assumptions, creating space to consider conflict and honouring the contribution of participants in a culturally responsive way as proposed by McGregor and Marker (2018, p. 324). Trainor and Bouchard (2013) feature different aspects of reciprocity, including its engagement with perspective, power and position. This highlighted the tensions of the power distance between researcher and participants, in representation and the validation of knowledge (Trainor & Bouchard, 2013, p. 989). Focusing on reciprocity is a way of 'position[ing] participants as the most influential force in my interpretations (Trainor & Bouchard, 2013, p. 993). Trainor and Bouchard (2013) point out that participants may not receive direct benefits from research, yet in providing a representation of their stories that brings their concerns to the audience, in the case of this study, those in power and positionality within the academy, then there is the potential to bring about change within the academy.

As a way of giving back, the findings of this research project were presented at the 2020 Virtual ANZSWWER Symposium, 'Social work in a climate of change', online at the University of Sydney in Australia. In the spirit of reciprocity, I asked each participant if they would like to co-author with me in the future as a way of giving back to those who participated in this project, and one participant has taken up this offer. I also volunteer at a local Aboriginal community centre to give back to the local Indigenous community. I was part of a steering committee with two universities to look at the teaching of Aboriginal cultural responsiveness in social work and in turn integrating

Indigenous content into the social work curriculum, and I was given the opportunity to present my preliminary findings to the committee. This committee disbanded because of what appeared to be a lack of leadership to continue to drive it. During this research process I also taught in Indigenous social work and this research contributed to the way that I taught and to what I taught. This research enabled me to enact cultural responsiveness teaching firsthand. Yet upon reflection, I seemed to gain more from the research process than what I gave back, so I will continue to feel indebted to those who took the time to participate.

5.4.2 **Accountability**

As in my honours project that I completed in 2004 (Grant, 2004), there was a need for Aboriginal governance over this project. I mentioned at the beginning of this thesis that several Aboriginal academics were contacted within the University in which I was a student, to ask if anyone of them would take on the role of Associate Supervisor. Two of the Aboriginal academics were able to be 'critical friends' to support this research project early in the research process. The importance of having an Aboriginal academic to guide this research project particularly when interpreting the data was of concern for me and the non-Indigenous supervisors. The Dean of Graduate Research advice was sought, and she felt that an adjunct Aboriginal supervisor could provide the much-needed accountability that was sought by me for this project. As this would be a non-paid role, it was felt that this would be a tokenistic, tick the box position rather than a valued position. As a researcher this left me in a predicament, as I could not find an Aboriginal academic within the university that I was attending to be an associate supervisor and the university would not pay an adjunct Aboriginal supervisor. Further negotiations regarding having an adjunct Aboriginal supervisor were not pursued. I felt that there was no way of establishing reciprocity between myself and an adjunct supervisor when it appeared that the system was taking information from Aboriginal people without giving back and therefore perpetuating injustice and being a part of the racialized institution. This was evidence of the power at play in the whitestream and in the research itself. As a researcher, I remained accountable to those who participated and to whitestream leadership who ultimately governed this project.

5.4.3 **Credibility**

Chilisa (2012) points out that within qualitative research, evidence is 'credible if it represents as adequately as possible the multiple realities revealed by participants' (p. 165). To provide this level of credibility, I provided participants with the opportunity to read and check their transcripts and to review the overall findings from the study. A visual representation of the findings was sent to participants via email several months prior to thesis submission. Participants were given the opportunity to provide feedback. Participants were also given the opportunity to confirm their personal demographic details. Pseudonyms were used during the writing up process as some of the participants were concerned with the sensitive nature of their responses to some of the questions that may have jeopardised their jobs or careers.

Peer debriefing and progressive subjectivity were also recommended by Chilisa (2012) as methods of enhancing credibility within qualitative research. Throughout the duration of the research processes, my reflections were noted, and these reflections were discussed in supervisory sessions providing opportunities for peer debriefing where I was able to confront my own values and be challenged and guided further in the research process. Supervisory sessions were governed by a pre-prepared agenda written by me; outcomes and decisions made in these sessions were noted. Emails between the supervisor and researcher were kept and used as a chronological guide to discussions and decisions being made. Progressive subjectivity occurred as Chilisa (2012) suggested by monitoring my own development and documenting the process of change throughout the research process.

As a researcher, I believe engaging with the ethical principles discussed in 5.4.1 gave this research credibility beyond whitestream academia making it culturally responsive to those who participated.

5.5 Research Instrumentation

Semi-structured interviews were the research instrument used in this study. The following prompt questions and their purposes guided me, the researcher during the interviews.

Prompt questions and their purpose

The main research questions were developed and identified, at the time of the interviews these were used as prompts and depending on the answers given by participants other questions were asked either to clarify the answers or to gain further information on something that participants had mentioned that I thought relevant to the study.

1. What key documents guide and influence your teaching regarding integrating and co-producing Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into your teaching?

a) In New Zealand “How much has the ‘‘Competence to practice Social Work with Māori’ document influenced your teaching?”

b) In Australia “How much has the ‘Getting it right’ document influenced your teaching?”

This question was intended to identify the main documents that educators were using to guide their teaching of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. I identified two key documents, one from Australia and one from New Zealand, to give participants an example of documents that could possibly influence their teaching. It was found that the use of the word ‘co-producing’ was problematic because some participants read this as co-producing Indigenous knowledges, yet the intent was that a curriculum could be co-produced between Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators that would include and integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

2. What values, practices or beliefs undergird your teaching integrating and co-producing indigenous knowledges and perspectives? These may be different methods, customs, beliefs that you use when running your classes.

This question was intended to identify the particular values, practices or beliefs that reinforce and influence educators’ teaching of Indigenous content. This question was also planned to begin to uncover educators’ methods of teaching Indigenous content.

3. What challenges have you experienced in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into your teaching?

This question was aimed at uncovering the challenges that educators face when endeavouring to include and integrate Indigenous content into their teaching and their curriculum content.

4. What concepts, beliefs, theories, models, methods, and perspectives influence your teaching? These could be rules or techniques.

This question is similar to question 2, it sought to reveal a broader view of what influenced educators in their teaching of Indigenous content.

5. What makes you feel confident or sure in the way you are teaching?

This question was intended to reveal what made the educators confident in their teaching.

6. What do you see as the main influences in the development of social work curricula?

This question was planned to begin to draw together some of the findings into the broader context of the social work curricula.

7. How do you think Indigenous knowledges and perspectives could be co-produced and integrated into the social work curriculum in a way that values the knowledge and skills that you have?

This question was a more personal question to gain an impression of how each educator felt about where their own skills and knowledge regarding integrating Indigenous content fitted into their teaching.

8. What would you include in such a curriculum, what would it look like?

This question was intended to search for what Indigenous content participants thought was relevant to include into the social work curriculum.

9. What support, if any, have you received from your colleagues in implementing Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into your teaching?

This question was aimed at capturing any support that may be relevant to educators in being able to integrate Indigenous content into their teaching.

5.6 Data Analysis

During the analysis process, I tended to oscillate between inductive and deductive methods of generating themes as discussed by Braun and Clarke (2019) in their process of reflexive thematic analysis. The coding process was driven by the data through an inductive process, yet the themes were produced using a deductive method. The first two themes, enablers and challenges, were generated to answer my initial research question, 'what enables and challenges the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education?'. The research question evolved to fit the themes that were generated more in line with an inductive approach. The theme of relationships evolved from reading the academic work written by Dr Ann Milne (2004), including 'Power Lenses Learning Model', and her book 'Colouring in the white spaces: reclaiming cultural identity in whitestream schools' (Milne, 2017) focusing on what Milne has termed whitestream New Zealand schools. This led me to investigate the work of Dr George Otero and Susan Chambers-Otero (2000) who coined the phrase RelationaLearning and RelationaLeadership. This analytical tool guided my analysis and sat well with what I had found in the data and added an element of ‘theoretical’ thematic analysis, created through a deductive process (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 12). The analysis of transcripts and data was aided by using NVivo 12 software to manage the data as I broke it into overarching themes and codes. A code labels and delineates one part of the data from another, as something of interest (Braun, Clarke, & Weate, 2016, p. 9). Codes were re-evaluated with some codes being combined together as they had been duplicated (Braun et al., 2016, p. 9). Milne’s ‘Power Lenses Learning Model’ was used as a guide and a frame to analyse and interpret the transcripts. I added additional layers of relationships to this model, without I believe deterring from the original authors’ intent.

During this process, I was concerned that I was colonising my research rather than decolonising it by using these methods. However, the more I read about reflexive thematic analysis the more I realised that this was the process that I had already been following. I spent many hours reflecting on the data and the assumptions that I was using to generate the themes within the data. Reflexive thematic analysis requires researchers to be reflexive, use theoretical knowingness and transparency through the process rather than presenting the themes as if they had miraculously emerged from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 592). Braun and Clarke use Carla Willig’s (2008) metaphor of ‘research-methods-as-recipes with a view of the research-process-as-adventure’ (p. 2), encouraging researchers to use ‘knowingness’ as a way of engaging with the data ‘as a thought-out adventure, rather than simple ‘recipe following’ (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 591). As Willig (2008) highlights, research methods are not to be used like a recipe, as prescriptive, rather they are dependent upon the researcher’s ability to ‘match our methods to our questions in the pursuit of knowledge and understanding’ (p. 161) to ultimately answer the research question. Willig (2008) emphasises, as do other qualitative researchers, that the research question itself needs to be flexible as it may need to be amended during the research process. As a form of decolonising my analysis, I was conscious of how I was analysing the data and what themes I was producing in that process.

Reflexive thematic analysis enabled the data to be interpreted in a way that was ‘creative, reflexive and subjective, with researcher subjectivity understood as a resource … rather than a potential threat to knowledge production’ (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 591). Meaning making occurred and it was ‘context-bound, positioned and situated’ (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 591) mainly by my subjectivity as a researcher. I interpreted and created the themes, they were not discovered or found as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2019) ‘finding ‘truth’ that is either ‘out there’ … or buried deep within the data’ (p. 591). Using Braun and Clarke’s understanding of qualitative research sat well with my understanding of a decolonising approach. As a researcher, I immersed myself in the data, thoughtfully and reflectively, both actively and generatively as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2019, p. 591). I also understood that I needed to take responsibility for the analytical process I engaged in and the way that I interpreted the data and participants' words. As mentioned by Victoria Clarke in Lainson, Braun and Clarke (2019), I needed to acknowledge the power in the research process that I undertook. Initially I had envisaged 'giving voice' to the participants within my study, yet as Lainson, Braun and Clarke (2019, p. 6) explain, in reality I was presenting my analysis, interpretation and editing of the data. Clarke (2019) encourages researchers to acknowledge their role in the meaning making and interpretation process as editing people's stories means that 'they become our stories about their stories' (p. 8). Clarke (2019) inspires researchers to embrace the fact that you as a researcher are the interpreter and not see this as an abuse of power, but to take responsibility for that interpretation and the sense that you have made from those stories, '[a]cknowledging your role and taking responsibility feels like a more accountable approach to power to me' (Lainson et al., 2019, p. 8). Acknowledging my role in the analysis of data and in interpreting the data represented another aspect of decolonising my research.

5.7 Methodological Limitations

This study was undertaken in five universities in two different countries. These universities do not represent all the universities in Australia or Aotearoa New Zealand that teach social work. They are the universities who agreed to participate in this study. The results are representative of those universities and those participants who chose to participate in the study and may not necessarily represent the overall views of all social work academics within Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Further research could include participants from other universities within both countries. The universities that were involved were in specific locations, yet some participants were interviewed at different campuses, located on different countries of Indigenous peoples. Some knowledge may have been based upon local knowledge, yet participants overall based their knowledge on a broader view.

This study is time and context bound (Grbich, 2013, p. 5) within the time frame that it was researched and within the context of the five universities chosen. The realities that are experienced within universities are constantly changing, so it is impossible to say that this study portrays a ‘reality’ that all universities experience as ‘absolute and universally generalisable’ (Grbich, 2013, p. 6). Yet I believe that many of the fundamental policies and structural oppressions remain to be changed to create an environment where Indigenous knowledges can be taught equal to western knowledge. This study takes a critical view of the university system ‘where knowledge is controlled to serve those in power’ (Grbich, 2013, p. 7).

Lack of Aboriginal voices within the research could be seen as a limitation, which it obviously is, but it can also be seen as a reflection upon the system that does not provide enough support and does not value Indigenous knowledges.

Another limitation to this study is the fact that I have English as my first language and am limited in my knowledge of Māori and Aboriginal languages. English is the language of the colonisers and it also ‘remains the default language of international social work conversation, it also imposes a kind of epistemological hegemony, forcing people to think and communicate with English words and concepts’ (Noble, Henrickson, & Han, 2013, p. vi).

In the following chapter I will discuss my own biases and assumptions and introduce the participants and the development of the relational model prior to discussing the findings.

CHAPTER 6
PRELUDE TO THE FINDINGS

> ‘E kore e taea e te whenu kotahi ki te raranga i te whāriki kia mōhio tātou ki ā tātou. Mā te mahi tahi ō ngā whenu, mā te mahi tahi ō ngā kairaranga, ka oti tēnei whāriki.
>
> The tapestry of understanding cannot be woven by one strand alone. Only by the working together of strands and the working together of weavers will such a tapestry be completed (Ballantyne, Beddoe, Hay, Maidment, & Walker, 2017, p. 22).

6.1 Introduction

Through the lens of the optical phoropter created by using critical race theory, critical theory, third cultural space and thematic analysis, the interviews provide an understanding of the experiences of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. While analysing data, it became clear that relationships played an important role in the integration process. The whakatauki above epitomises the essence of the integration process of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education. The integration process requires a tapestry of understanding, a weaving together of many strands by the work of many weavers working together to produce a tapestry. In this study, the academics’ relationships became the focus, their relationships with self; students; Indigenous knowledges, language, and culture; peers; power and the whitestream; and Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous community. This in turn led to developing a model in the hope that it would advance the integration process within social work education. I want to now identify the main assumptions that I held prior to conducting the interviews with academics as a researcher who is endeavouring to decolonise her research.

6.2 Researchers’ assumptions in comparing Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand

As someone who had worked and studied in the academy in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, I felt that I had some knowledge, as an ‘insider’, of the field that I was entering into, in terms of critiquing the academy or what has been termed the ‘whitestream’ in both countries. Firstly, I had assumed that Australia was years behind Aotearoa New Zealand in the way that it teaches Indigenous content in social work. This assumption was partly correct. From my personal experience studying in the 1990’s, I had found that Aotearoa New Zealand was ahead in many aspects of its integration of Indigenous content into the social work curriculum, including

Indigenous theories and cultural protocols in teaching. As a social work student there appeared to be a level of equality and mutual understanding between the non-Indigenous and Indigenous academics. Yet the academics that I interviewed in Aotearoa New Zealand believed that their aspirations for bicultural partnership/relationships and Indigenous knowledge integration still had 'a long way to go'.

The second assumption, like the first, was that Aotearoa New Zealand universities were different from Australian universities in the sense that they were less racist and more accommodating towards Indigenous peoples and knowledges. I believed that Aotearoa New Zealand generally was less racist than Australia. The evidence from the interviews shows racism is inherent in the Aotearoa New Zealand whitestream tertiary institutions and wider society. This level of racism impacted upon Indigenous academics' teaching and the way that they navigated the whitestream.

I had also assumed that Māori and Pacific Islander academics were more accepted by their Pākehā colleagues than Aboriginal academics were by their non-Indigenous colleagues in Australia. To some degree this was correct. There was a level of acceptance and mutual understanding of Māori and Pacific Islander academics by their Pākehā colleagues in comparison to the relationship between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal academics in Australia. Yet institutional racism was evident in the interviews of Indigenous academics in Aotearoa New Zealand, and they experienced very similar barriers when working in a whitestream tertiary institution to Indigenous academics in Australia.

Dispelling these assumptions made me realise that Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand whitestream is not as different as I had first thought. I acknowledge that there are definite differences in the colonisation of Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand and definite differences in the lived experiences of First Nations peoples of both countries. Yet in terms of working in higher education, 'the academy', the whitestream academy, that environment presents several similarities and there are lessons to be learnt from one another in the process of integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum.

In the process of analysing the data sets from both countries, I had initially written up the findings separately. This did not provide the information that I wanted to convey, nor did I want to provide a comparison that was almost scientific as A versus B. Due to reflecting upon my own assumptions, I came to realise that the best way to express the findings would be to not separate the two countries nor necessarily provide an A versus B comparison. Rather, I have amalgamated the findings to provide an overview of the related themes that I developed during the analysis and writing process.

6.3 Introducing the academics that participated

The participants came from five western universities, two in Aotearoa New Zealand and three in Australia. Participants held various qualifications and positions, the common denominators were that they all taught topics to social work students and had a vested interest in the process of integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum. Participants' ethnicity has been listed as they saw to identify themselves in the interviews, their identity playing a role in their teaching and the integration process and will be discussed in Chapter seven. Eight academics were interviewed from three different universities in Australia. Ten academics were interviewed from two universities in Aotearoa New Zealand. Demographics are displayed in Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 below. The assigned pseudonyms are used to identify each academic in the discussion of the findings. The participating universities have not been identified to maintain the anonymity of the academics.

Note: the blue cells between sections delineates participants from different universities.

Table 6.1 Australian Academics demographics

Pseudonym	Gender	Qualification	Position held at time of interview	Ethnicity	Tenured or Part Time
Sam	N/A	Undergrad qualification (not in social work)	Lecturer	Aboriginal	Tenured
Anna	Female	PhD Candidate	Topic Coordinator and lecturer	Bangladeshi	Full-time contract
Carmen	Female	PhD	Lecturer	Anglo European	Part-time
Madesh	Male	PhD	Senior Lecturer	Indian	Tenured
Sarah	Female	PhD (not in social work)	Senior Lecturer and Researcher	Anglo European	Tenured
Sigrid	Female	PhD candidate	Senior Lecturer	Anglo European	Tenured
Matilda	Female	Unassigned	Lecturer/Field education co-ordinator	Anglo European	Tenured

Edith	Female	PhD	Associate Professor Social Work	Anglo European	Tenured

Table 6.2 Ten academics were interviewed from two universities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Pseudonym	Gender	Qualification	Position held at time of interview	Ethnicity	Tenured or Part Time
Anahera	Female	PhD candidate	Supernumerary Assistant Lecturer	Māori/Pākehā	Tenured
Aroha	Female	PhD	Lecturer	Māori/Pākehā	Tenured Part-time
Hinewai	Female	Masters	Lecturer	Māori/Pākehā	Tenured
Pania	Female	PhD candidate	Lecturer	Māori/Pākehā	Tenured
Kaia	Female	PhD	Associate Professor	Eastern European Pākehā	Tenured
Pat	Female	PhD	Senior Lecturer	Chinese	Tenured
Manaia	Male	PhD	Lecturer/ Associate Dean -Pasifika	Samoan	Tenured
Jess	Female	PhD	Professor	New Zealand Pākehā	Tenured
Narelle	Female	Postgrad (not social work)	Lecturer	Pākehā	Tenured
Evelyn	Female	PhD	Senior Lecturer	Samoan/ Pākehā	Tenured

The participants came from diverse backgrounds and had various experiences in and out of the field of social work. Nine participants held doctorates, although not all had studied social work as undergraduates, these having studied psychology, philosophy, or health science. For example, Sarah held a degree and doctorate in philosophy and taught politics to social work students within the Indigenous unit at her university. Four participants were in the process of completing their doctorates and three of the four held tenured lecturers' positions. One male participant held an Associate Dean position and two women held Professorial positions. Interestingly, Sam did not hold any postgraduate qualification and had been employed based upon Aboriginality, rather than qualifications. The leadership in that university seemed to believe that Aboriginality qualified a person to teach Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in any topic.

Interestingly, none of the Australian academics interviewed had held positions in Aotearoa New Zealand, yet two of the Aotearoa New Zealand participants had previously held academic positions in Australian universities. Anna and Madesh had immigrated to Australia and shared how this impacted upon the way they integrated Indigenous content into their teaching. Madesh had been teaching for seventeen years at his university but had no contact with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples outside of the academy. Pat and Kaia had both immigrated from overseas to Aotearoa New Zealand and both were quite passionate about teaching in a bicultural way, honouring the Te Tiriti and how to integrate Indigenous content into the curriculum. Manaia and Evelyn, both of Samoan decent, approached the interviews similarly since neither covered the questions in a systematic way as the other participants had. Their interviews were more of a narrative than taking on a question-and-answer format; they told stories and meandered through various content during the interview time. Yet, upon analysis, they had covered the content without referring to the questions.

Anahera, Aroha, Hinewai and Pania, four Māori academics, who also acknowledged their Pākehā heritage, had created their own whānau staff group that enabled them to collectively navigate the challenges of working in the whitestream as Māori academics. The four had hoped to be interviewed together but, due to living in different parts of the country, it was not possible, so three separate interviews were completed. Anahera and Hinewai were interviewed together as they preferred this collective approach to being interviewed. Aroha and Pania were interviewed separately in the towns they resided in. In this study, the four Māori participants will be known individually by their pseudonyms and collectively as 'The Māori staff group'.

Each academic was given the same list of questions prior to the interviews in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Transcripts from the interviews were coded through a thematic analysis process discussed in the previous chapter. The overarching themes, codes and sub-themes from the interviews are listed in Table 6.3. To begin the interviews, I asked the participants why they were interested in participating in my research, as I was interested to hear from their perspective if they felt that my research was worthwhile. Australian academics saw the value in this study, as Edith explained:

> 'I think it's a really important area of research that you're doing'.

Jess added:

> '… it is a great study that you are doing. I mean, all those kinds of things add to the knowledge base and push it a bit further'.

From Aotearoa New Zealand, Hinewai explained that the Māori staff group were interested in this research topic because:

> '… this is pretty much what we do!'

Hinewai expounded that she felt that teaching can always be done better. Pania shared how she had been through a process of decolonisation herself which led her to find her own identity as Māori. Pania had attended an Indigenous social work conference in Darwin in Australia in 2015 and had her eyes opened to:

> '… how backward Australia was'.

She realised that there were not a lot of Indigenous voices in Australia in social work and she felt that being interviewed would add her voice to other Indigenous voices:

> '… to make it stronger, a strong presence'.

Many of the participants had years of experience working in social work in practice and brought that to their teaching.

6.4 Developing an ecological model to understand and discuss the findings relating to relationships

RelationaLearning and RelationaLeadership are terms coined by Dr George Otero and Susan Chambers-Otero (2000). In their article in 2000, they proposed an approach to teaching which enabled educators to reimagine education ecologically by connecting to the interrelationships of organisms and their environments. The focus of the article was upon learning in relationship and the authors saw RelationaLearning in education as a way to correct the balance of human ecology by focusing upon the personal and relational. Correcting the balance of human ecology provides, 'an antidote to the isolation and depersonalization of both the global context and the current thrust of standards and testing and performance – objectified goals' (Otero & Chambers-Otero, 2000, p. 1). The authors argue that human ecology has the potential to recontextualise education, since 'it is not a matter of what is taught, or how it is taught, but the context in which learning occurs' (Otero & Chambers-Otero, 2000, p. 1). As mentioned previously, this study focuses more upon the context than the content of what is being taught, focusing upon the whitestream of academia. Even though this article by Otero et al. was written in 2000, applying an ecological model to the context of this study within the academy provides a way of recontextualising social work education. Understanding human ecology, focusing upon the relationships that an academic has within their role of teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives within the whitestream, shines a light on aspects of context not formally considered. Correcting the human ecology, as asserted by Otero and Chambers-Otero (2000), has the potential to provide an antidote to the isolation and depersonalisation that Indigenous academics experience in teaching social work within the whitestream. Both students and educators can experience the isolation and depersonalisation of both teaching and learning within the whitestream.

Otero and Chambers-Otero (2000) propose that 'education and all its participants need to become multidimensional … they are still thinking in the box, not above and beyond the box, and they under-emphasize the power of the personal and relational in learning' (Otero & Chambers-Otero, 2000, p. 3). My interpretation of this idea led me to investigate how social work education and academics within teaching social work could become multidimensional. I began to rethink and reimagine how I was interpreting and investigating the research question that I had developed. I began to think outside of the box, above and beyond it and I began to investigate the power of the personal and relational aspects of learning and teaching within the transcripts. This led to investigating what relationships were being used by participants in their teaching. Relationships became the subject that I was investigating and how could these relationships enable and support the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum. Otero and Chambers-Otero's (2000) statement, '[c]urriculum was no longer the subject. Everyone became the subject as well as every relationship' (p. 4), resonated with this new investigation, as I looked critically at the relationships that were involved for an academic to integrate Indigenous content into their teaching. Initially I used Otero and Chambers-Otero's (2000) five relationships to guide my thinking, 'the student's relationship to self; the student's relationship to the subject; the student's relationship to the teacher; the student's relationship to other students; the student's relationship to the wider world' (p. 9). From the transcripts I began to develop a visual representation of what I was thinking after engaging with Beverley Milne's model, as in Figure 6.1. Milne had adapted Otero and Chambers-Otero's work and placed six relationships at the centre of the Power Lenses learning model (Milne, 2013, p. 39).

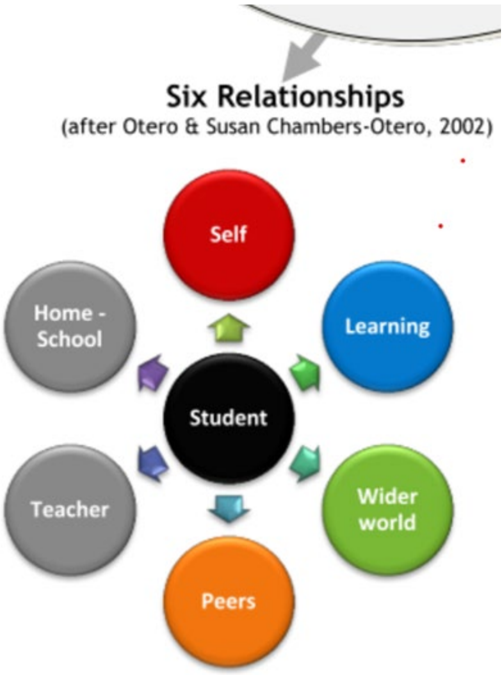


Figure 6.1 The Power Lenses learning model (Milne, 2013, p. 39), reproduced with permission from author.

I recontextualised these relationships within my study and reimagined these in relations to the data that had been presented by participants in their interviews. As the focus of the interviews was upon academics and not upon students, I began to reconfigure Otero and Chambers-Otero's (2000) and Milne's (2013) structures to suit my research. I found initially that there were six key relationships that were important to academics as they navigated the whitestream when integrating Indigenous content into the social work curriculum. These were:

- The academic's relationship to self.
- The academic's relationship to students.
- The academic's relationship to Indigenous knowledges, languages, and culture.
- The academic's relationship to peers.
- The academic's relationship to those in power and the whitestream, including those in positions of leadership in the university, the power structures in social work, such as AASW and ANZASW, and the issue of Registration.
- The academic's relationship to Indigenous community, Elders and Kaumatuas.

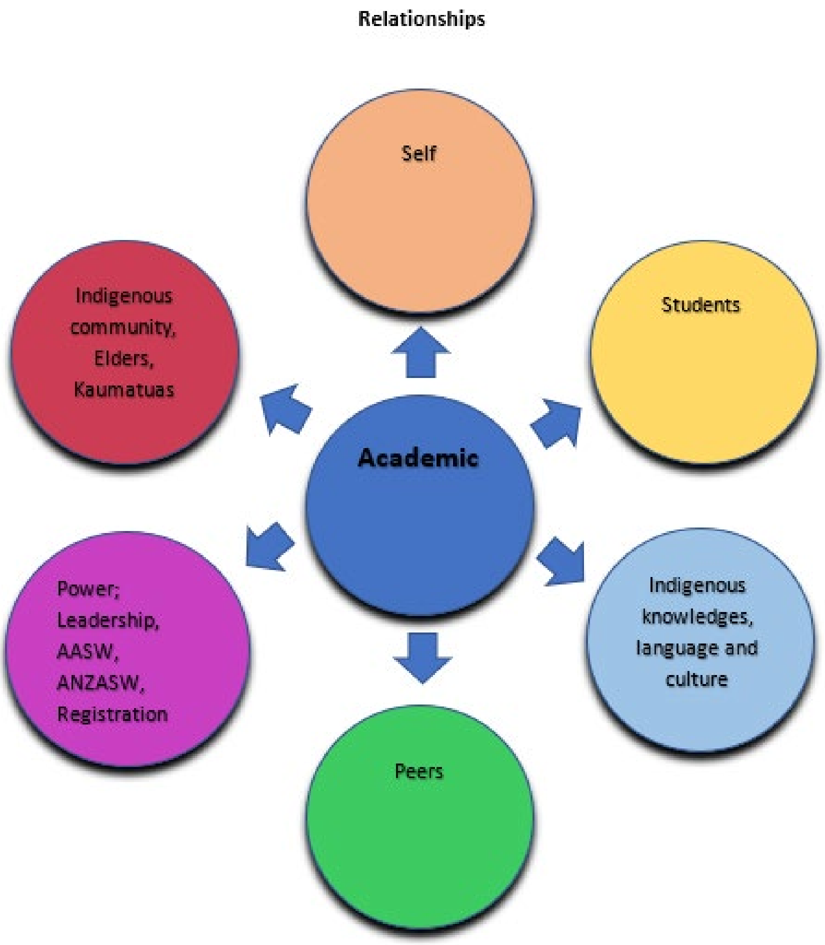

Relationships
Self
Students
Indigenous community, Elders, Kaumatuas
Academic
Power; Leadership, AASW, ANZASW, Registration
Indigenous knowledges, language and culture
Peers

Figure 6.2 Developed after Milne, 2013, p 39 adapted from Otero & Chambers-Otero, 2000; (Milne, 2013, p. 39).

While developing the ecological model, I continued to engage with Milne's work. Milne (2017) encourages teachers to raise 'their own awareness of their own cultures so they could better understand others, exploring their knowledge and experience of social justice, and culturally responsive, critical, pedagogy' (p. 97). Encouraging academics to become self-reflexive as they engage with integrating Indigenous content into their teaching sat well with other literature that I had read. Milne's (2017) emphasis upon teachers doing some soul-searching requiring reflection, reading, talking, questioning, researching and further personal study at higher levels (p. 97) also related well to this doctoral study. Within the context of her own work, Milne and her colleagues had developed teacher requirements that encompassed critical consciousness and cultural responsiveness that could be applied to social work educators/academics in the context of this doctoral study. Educators were required to practice:

> … a critically conscious, culturally responsive, pedagogy that understands the relationship between power and knowledge; shows evidence of ongoing learning and developing of their pedagogy in the areas of social justice, solidarity, and critical thinking [and] shows commitment to becoming secure in their own cultural identity (Milne, 2017, p. 97).

These aspects of critical consciousness were also important to the integration process referred to in this doctoral study.

An aspect of educators becoming more conscious of themselves, and their teaching is by rejecting deficit thinking. Here I diverge from Milne's ideas and apply 'rejecting deficit thinking' within the social work context that my research focuses upon. Within this context, social work educators must reject deficit thinking regarding the inclusion of Indigenous knowledges into the curriculum. Here educators/academics need to see the value and importance of Indigenous knowledges and practices within social work. Another aspect of deficit thinking within social work is to see Indigenous people as the problem and in need of help. This has already been discussed in the literature review, yet it is important to note that in the act of becoming critically conscious one needs to regularly assess what knowledge is given preference and reflect upon personal views and values regarding Indigenous peoples.

Karen Martin, Aboriginal academic and Associate Professor in education, has written upon the topic of relatedness from an Aboriginal perspective. Martin (2009) discusses the interface of teaching and learning. Her work focuses upon the outcomes of Aboriginal students, yet I would argue that her work is also relevant to this study as it relates to teaching Indigenous knowledges. Relatedness is described by Martin (2009) as an experience between or amid elements both natural and supernatural through reciprocal 'engagements of giving and receiving, confirming and affirming' (Martin, 2009, p. 71). Relatedness goes beyond physical objects including people and is active (Martin, 2009). Relatedness is sustained within environments that are 'physical, spiritual, political, geographical, intellectual, emotional, social, historical, sensory, instinctive and intuitive' (Martin, 2009, p. 71). A key aspect of relatedness is that it is both an obligation and a responsibility. You have the obligation to maintain relatedness and you are also obligated to maintain it and relatedness in turn maintains you (Martin, 2009, p. 71). Martin asserts that 'since Aboriginal epistemology, or knowledge systems, emanate from and evolve out of a worldview where the premise is relatedness, they both serve and are served by this relatedness' (Martin, 2009, p. 72). In this sense, this study sought to interpret the data through the lens of relatedness, to understand the importance of relatedness to teaching Indigenous content in social work education. In no way do I as a non-Indigenous researcher propose that I understand the depth of relatedness as an Aboriginal person, yet relatedness, even with the limitations of my knowledge, has an important role to play in decolonising social work education.

Martin (2009) affirms the use of relatedness within teaching as a way to ‘move the dialogue beyond models of culturalism … and cultural awareness, cultural understanding and cultural deficit and the dualism of “Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal” and of “teacher and learner”’ (Martin, 2009, p. 73) to teachers as learners, teaching with Aboriginal students in a teaching-learning interface. In relation to this doctoral study, positioning the teacher as learner rather than the expert has been found to be fundamental in the decolonising of social work education. Martin (2009) explains that ‘teaching is intensely relational. To teach well requires some sophisticated and mature knowledge of the relationships to knowledge, to self, to students and to schools and communities’ (p. 75). As did Milne, Martin (2009) also encourages teachers to know themselves, as she suggests that teachers are the main learners in any classroom. Martin (2009) explains that the role of the teacher starts with relatedness while respecting the autonomy of each person and also being self-reflexive. Teachers are required to answer questions like ‘who they are’ and ‘where they come from’ within the context of their own history and their own ‘political, societal, gendered, professional, cultural, social, emotional, spiritual and intellectual sense’ (Martin, 2009, p. 76). Martin asserts that to maintain relatedness, the teacher must maintain the teacher-as-learner-as-teacher during teaching, maintaining a ‘moral, intellectual, spiritual and emotional compass that regulates relatedness, and hence, the teaching and learning. Then, different interactions are possible because different sets of relatedness are known’ (Martin, 2009, p. 76). Concerning this doctoral study, it was evident during data analysis that there were key relationships that were interpretable from the data. In the following chapter I will discuss the relationships that were interpreted from the data (see table 6.3 below), the themes are often interrelated and interlinked. The next chapter begins with discussing the educator/academics’ relationship to self.

Table 6.3

Overarching Theme	Codes	Sub-themes identified
Relationships	Relationship to self	1) Desired self 2) Ascribed identity 3) Positioning 4) Confidence
	Relationship to students	1) Student centred teaching philosophy 2) Challenges 3) Supporting students
	Relationship to Indigenous knowledges, language, and culture	1) Indigenous knowledges 2) Culture 3) Language
	Relationship to peers	1) Reciprocal relationships 2) Collective support 3) Allies 4) Indigenous professionals 5) Challenges 6) Underrepresentation of Indigenous academics 7) Leadership by Indigenous academics 8) Supervising post graduate students
	Relationship to those in power and the whitestream	1) University leadership 2) Opportunities for leadership 3) Māori autonomy and solutions 4) Developing policies 5) Promotion 6) Support for post grads 7) Social work governing bodies 8) Research and teaching 9) Other universities 10) The whitestream system
	Relationship to local community, Elders, Kaumatua	1) Bridging the gap 2) Learning from Indigenous community and Elders and Kaumatuas 3) Resistance from the whitestream 4) Honouring Elders and Kaumatuas

CHAPTER 7
NARRATING THE FINDINGS

The key research question posed by this study is: ‘How do relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education? In answering this question, six relationships were interpreted from the interviews and discussed in relation to current literature. This developed a relationally focused understanding of academics teaching Indigenous content in social work.

7.1 Relationship to self

One of the key relationships that was interpreted from the data was the relationship that each educator had with themselves. As mentioned by Martin (2009) and Milne (2017), teachers/educator/academics are required to be self-reflexive. Social workers have been found to gravitate towards operating out of their own conventions of their professional, racial, and ethnic identity due to educational traditions and inevitably they may not alter ‘their practice or communication to accommodate different ways of knowing and being’ (M. Adams, Fleay, Mataira, Walker, & Hart, 2019, p. 58). The literature supports educators critically examining their internalised personal values and truths and their own ideological position, including the ideology of colonisation (Fernando & Bennett, 2019; Harms Smith & Nathane, 2018; Muller, 2007, p. 83). An academic’s relationship with self and identity corresponds with an educator developing a critical consciousness, both professionally and personally (Burgess, 2019; Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Kumagai & Lypson, 2009) and ‘using reflexivity … [a]cting courageously using pedagogies in ways that disrupt and contravene, displace and upend inherited concepts and practices’ (Harms Smith & Rasool, 2020). Literature highlights that a significant aspect of decolonising social work education is decolonising oneself (Sinclair, 2004, 2019). Decolonising both heart and mind by reflecting upon how colonisation has formed individual worldviews and impacts upon relationships with one another (Green & Baldry, 2013, p. 171). Critical consciousness and decolonising oneself is a key aspect of the integration process as it places the academic in a better position to acknowledge the coloniality of knowledge that occurs within the academy and to bring about epistemological equality within the social work curricula.

Each educator that was interviewed had aspects of self-reflection in the way that they taught and thought about how they could integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching. This self-consciousness and self-reflection led them to think about issues such as their own identity, both their 'desired identity' and 'ascribed identity'. Many of the participants reflected upon their own upbringing, assumptions held, racism, the development of their own identity, and the impact that this had upon their teaching. Self-reflection led them to critically reflect upon their world, both personally and professionally and their experiences; asking important questions including whether they should or should not be teaching Indigenous content, to ensuring that they had Indigenous people and community members or practitioners from whom they could obtain advice or be accountable to, when teaching Indigenous content.

7.1.1 **Desired identity**

Desired identity was interpreted from the data as a theme as several of the academics interviewed, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, discussed how they would like to be perceived or how they felt they were perceived by others. Several academics discussed how they would like to be seen not just by students but also by those in power and by their peers. This led to me investigating how the participants developed their desired identity within the academy and how this idea impacted upon the integration process.

Being yourself

Several academics discussed how important it was for students to know who they were as people and how important it was to be themselves in their teaching. The Indigenous academics felt that one of their main attributes in teaching was being able to bring themselves to their teaching as this enabled them to teach Indigenous knowledges and perspectives more effectively.

Universities have been known as monocultural environments and it has been argued that these institutes 'are a contested social space with a culture of exclusion that inscribes racialized bodies as *space invaders'* (Naepi, 2019, p. 222). Naepi (2017) and colleagues highlight that the inclusion or addition of 'diverse' or 'different' bodies into academia only confirms that whiteness belongs in academia and 'the other' bodies are 'merely guests who have been provided a conditional invitation' (p. 85). In the interviews, being yourself including acknowledging that your cultural identity was significant to the participants.

Aroha, a Māori academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, viewed 'being yourself' in teaching social work as important and she explained the impact that it had upon her teaching and her students.

> 'You don't have to be Māori to work really well with a Māori family, but you have to be yourself. You have to know who you are, and you have to really be genuine and authentic in

> yourself and to sort of shatter the ideas that this person is going to know how to do it, cause that's what they think, they might see their Māori class mates, what do I do? And the Māori classmates thinking, I don't know'.

Aroha accentuated the need for academics and social workers to know themselves and to be genuine and authentic in being themselves. Aroha's presence in the academy challenged the status quo by being herself and acknowledging that she did not know all there was to know about Indigenous knowledges. Within the academy there is an expectation that an academic is the expert, yet in teaching Indigenous knowledges it is important to recognise the limitations of your knowledge and that you speak from your own position. Aroha, being herself, meant that Māori students felt they had permission to say, "I don't know", when their peers asked them questions, instead of them being perceived as cultural experts. In turn, this allowed Māori students to be themselves within the classroom setting and provided them a culturally safe environment. Research has shown that Indigenous academics act as role models and mentors to Indigenous students and provide culturally comfortable and safe spaces that support learning (Mayeda, Keil, Dutton, & Ofamo'Oni, 2014, p. 167 & 174). Being taught using Indigenous teaching and learning practices where, for example, 'Māori and Pacific instructors [academics] drew positively from their cultures during lectures, a cultural pride emanated that helped offset feelings of isolation' (p. 172) for Indigenous students (Mayeda et al., 2014). Emanating this cultural pride to students through academics being themselves and drawing positively from their cultures supports this idea of academics 'being yourself/themselves'. Being perceived as yourself enabled academics, particularly Indigenous academics, to challenge several aspects of the status quo within the whitestream environment.

Similarly in the Australian context Sam's cultural identity, as an Aboriginal Australian, played a pivotal role in Sam's teaching. Sam's teaching centred upon Sam's identity, Aboriginality, and relationships. Sam's teaching was influenced by Sam's Aboriginal life and lived experience, Aboriginal learning methods and Aboriginal epistemologies, including yarning and a flexible structure. Sam reflected upon their cultural identity and its impact upon his/her teaching:

> 'Very much Aboriginal life, lived experience, epistemologies, … so very much talking, yarning, structure, a flexible structure'.

Like Aroha, Sam too challenged the status quo within the whitestream and used Aboriginal epistemologies and a flexible structure to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into her teaching.

Anahera, a Māori academic, discussed how her cultural identity had grown and developed within her teaching. She described the process as organic. Anahera chose different ways to express to students her Māori identity. She sang songs like 'hutia te rito' rather than just introducing herself as Māori. Anahera also used whakatauki, the proverbs; to begin a class and in using these cultural practices she modelled to students how they can practice social work with whānau in culturally responsive ways. Anahera explained:

> 'It's organic anyway, like it grows and develops that's what I find … I sang, hutia te rito … like it's not just getting up and saying I'm Māori … it's using the whakatauki, the proverbs … just looking at different ways … its modelling how you can practice with whānau as well'.

Like Sam, Anahera explained how her cultural identity was the basis for her philosophy of teaching:

> 'For me it's just bringing who I am … all of who I am … being Māori, Pākehā, being an older woman, a grandmother, my role, status in life, mother, grandmother, aunty, great aunty, all that comes with me, practitioner, manager … so I use all of that … bringing yourself but that's how I have always practised and that's how I teach people … have to bring yourself, who you are into relationships, so don't try to be something that you are not. So, from Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) all those important values, principles that underpin Te Ao Māori come with me …'.

Anahera identified as both Māori and Pākehā and recognised the need to understand her own relationship with 'self', her desired self and how she wanted to be perceived in the context of her teaching. Knowing who she was, being authentic and genuine in who she was also appeared to enable her to teach more authentically and genuinely.

Evelyn, who is of Samoan/Pākehā descent, realised that she was not what students were used to within the academy:

> 'It's almost a bit scary and I'm aware that I'm kind of not like a lot of people that teach. So, there are – this is quite shocking - probably three Pacific academics in this university, so I'm not what people usually find themselves sitting in front of. So, I think good, let's do it differently then so that's kind of how I approach it. And I haven't heard too many complaints so I'm hoping it's okay'.

Evelyn was aware that students were not used to having a Pasifica academic or Indigenous academic teach, yet she used this difference to allow her to teach in more creative ways within the academy. Dudgeon and Walker (2015) suggest that for social transformation and decolonisation to occur, it depends upon both a strategic essentialism and strategic hybridity. This means that academics can hold claim to their own distinctive cultural identity and self-determine what they desire that to be, while also working collectively with other academics as they aspire to change the system, the whitestream. Through understanding a relationship and connection to self, that was self-reflexive of one's identity, including cultural identity and desired identity, academics were better positioned to challenge the status quo within the whitestream academy and more effectively engage with the integration of Indigenous content into their teaching. Understanding a sense of bicultural self was also interpreted as important from the interviews.

Bicultural self

All four Māori participants in Aotearoa New Zealand were aware of their 'bicultural self' in respect to their own upbringing as well as in their teaching. Aroha who has one Māori and one Pākehā parent explained how:

> 'I've grown up as what I would see as a real bicultural environment and seeing Mum and Dad, sort of having cultural clashes or … how they work through those things and so I've always felt really strongly that I needed to accentuate my Māori side because, and my parents did too … and learn as much of the Māori language as we could, because of colonisation and everything'.

Aroha felt that growing up in a bicultural household had equipped her to be able to be bicultural in many aspects of her life and she brought her bicultural self into her teaching.

Non-Māori participants in Aotearoa New Zealand also appeared to have a bicultural sense of self, as they too were aware that they lived in a bicultural environment. This bicultural self was evident in their integration of Māori language within their everyday speech. All the non-Māori academics mentioned integrating Māori traditions and customs within their teaching processes, for example incorporating a pepēha, mihi, karakia and waiata in their teaching.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was foundational in both Māori and non-Māori participants' teaching and therefore influenced their bicultural self. Narelle, a non-Māori academic employed at a South Island university, commented:

> 'Treaty, Te Tiriti is obviously a big one and the foundational document kind of idea for me and that's a framework it's bringing from that the, how do those principles translate into day-to-day practice for me and my classroom teaching for what my students need to learn, what our students need to be – the competencies they need to demonstrate. And so, for me some of that is things like I, whenever I start a class, I always do a mihi, first class of the year every year. I think if we're expecting our students to learn it, I should be doing that too'.

Like Narelle, all the Non-Māori participants from Aotearoa New Zealand were aware of their need to be bicultural; they had an understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and their obligations under Te Tiriti (The Treaty). Participants' awareness of their 'bicultural self' meant a commitment to demonstrate bicultural confidence and competence in accordance with Te Tiriti. Jess, also a non-

Māori academic and colleague of Narelle’s, stated, “we are meant to be demonstrating bicultural confidence and competence in this university”.

ANZASW advocates for biculturalism to be exemplified as a social work academic in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the literature, academics are encouraged to role model biculturalism within their teaching and biculturalism is identified as a key element in decolonising social work education (McNabb, 2019a; P. Ruwhiu, 2019). Māori academic, Paulé Ruwhiu (2019), asserts, ‘the teaching staff need to be confident in their own position as educators of social work with a bicultural focus regardless of their own cultural backgrounds’ (p. 199). Ruwhiu’s research supports the need for academics to reflect upon their knowledge and understanding of themselves and to be able to ‘come from their own cultural paradigms when explaining any information that reflects a kaupapa Māori focus’ (P. Ruwhiu, 2019, p. 201). As biculturalism is a key aspect of the Te Tiriti partnership between Māori and non-Māori, it was seen by participants as an important part of their teaching. McNabb’s (2019a) research also highlights that biculturalism is an important aspect of operationalising decolonisation in social work education. As a researcher interviewing academics in Aotearoa New Zealand, whether Māori or not, I perceived that there was an awareness of the need for biculturalism and of Māori language, culture, and Te Tiriti. Whereas, within the Australian context, biculturalism was not a term or idea discussed by academics from Australia participating in this study.

Monocultural self

A sense of a ‘monocultural self’ was interpreted from the Australian interviews. The Euro-Australian participants appeared to be aware of their raced selves. Many had critically reflected upon how their race and culture had influenced their sense of self, their positioning and privilege. As academics teaching in social work, they were all aware of Aboriginal issues and needs, to varying degrees. This was illustrated by Matilda’s comment:

> ‘Oh, look my family’s Anglo background, Anglo Australian background. I guess growing up in a farming community I wasn’t really tuned into Indigenous culture at that time even though kids around me and families around me were Indigenous. But I do remember going to university was a big turning point for me in terms of reflecting on my values and my position in society as you do in social work’.

The non-Indigenous academics in Australia had developed an understanding of the impact of colonisation upon Aboriginal people and themselves and had an awareness of how their own racial and social standing had been acquired at the expense of Aboriginal peoples, their lands, culture, and language; yet biculturalism was not identified as a way to decolonise social work education.

Monoculturalism was also evident in Aotearoa New Zealand as academics experienced students who had never encountered Māori people and had no real relationship or understanding of Māori people other than from the media. In this sense, the Māori academics who taught them at university became their first experience of a Māori person. Students' perceptions of Māori, the stereotypes that they have believed, and their understanding of Māori people's way of life were reassessed. McNabb's (2020b) research in Aotearoa New Zealand found that 'social work educators found their institutions to be monocultural, influenced by neoliberalism and often hostile to Māori and diverse staff' (p. 139), highlighting how White social work education is in whitestream academia on both sides of the Tasman. The ANZASW Code of Ethics (2019) highlights mono-culturalism and advocates rejecting and promoting change towards the aspirations of Te Tiriti, including Indigenous practice models. An aspect of Te Tiriti is working in partnership, a bicultural relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, as highlighted by McNabb (2019b) 'where indigenous partners are recognised for their insider knowledge of the colonisation problem, alongside non-indigenous allies who are often the dominant majority and a key partner in creating change within conservative systems' (p. 6). Biculturalism, when operationalised by social work educators, has been found in Aotearoa New Zealand as a method to decolonise social work education, and to provide a new lens to the monocultural self. Perhaps it could be used within the Australian context also.

Country of origin

Participants' country of origin, where they had grown up, had impacted upon their identity and upon their perception and engagement with Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Kaia, a non-Māori academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, explained how she had adopted Māori cultural perspectives and Te Reo Māori to introduce herself. Growing up in Eastern Europe had impacted upon her identity yet, in her country of choice, she had chosen to adopt Māori cultural perspectives in her teaching:

> 'I adopted Te Reo way of introducing myself because this is a country of my choice, my conscious choice and I came to New Zealand … years ago … country of my origin kind of shaped the way I grew up … I grew up in socialism… so that's interesting how the country of our origin shapes us, and how it builds the way we are'.

As a migrant to Australia from Bangladesh, Anna had a different cultural background from other non-Indigenous educators, and she had seen firsthand the impact of colonisation. "I'm not an Aboriginal person but I know how it feels to be the product of colonisation". Even though the colonial power had left her country of birth, the impact of colonisation remained in her country of origin. Anna felt that not being Australian born nor Anglo meant that she was more accepted in the Aboriginal space by Aboriginal people. She could connect at a different level as a person who knew what it felt like to be "the product of colonisation". Anna had been taught by an Aboriginal academic, Associate Professor Karen Martin, about how to understand her place within the Aboriginal space, how to understand her motivation for working within an Aboriginal space and who she was within an Aboriginal space. Anna shared:

> 'I come from a third lens perspective [in the sense of being a migrant, with a different cultural background]. Part of my PhD research is that I am not White, I'm not Aboriginal, I've got a different point of view, so I feel I can actually add something new or something different in the space'.

Country of origin could have an influence upon the way an academic perceives and engages with Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing during the integration process.

Establishing a desired self as an academic appeared to be developed through being self-reflexive and understanding the interrelatedness concepts of self. Academics developed an authentic and genuine concept of self that included understanding biculturalism and developing their bicultural self in preference to a monocultural self. Establishing your desired self, regarding these aspects of self could mean that academics would be better equipped to decolonise their teaching and integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work curriculum more successfully.

7.1.2 **Ascribed identity**

Another aspect of 'relationship with self' that was interpreted from the interviews was 'ascribed identity'. Ascribed identity is the identity that is attributed to someone by other people or society. In this study, the 'other people' may be students, colleagues, or those in leadership as well as wider society. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics, on both sides of the Tasman, experienced a sense of having 'a self' or identity ascribed to them through their interrelatedness with others. Participants felt these ascribed identities were not accurate and not a reflection of their own self-identity or desired self. Due to these ascribed identities, some academics, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, experienced resistance from students when teaching Indigenous content. Academics believed that this resistance was due, in part, to the students' perception of the lecturer. Academics felt that students placed different expectations upon them depending upon their appearance and their perceived identity. Ascribed identity appeared to impact the way that Indigenous knowledges and perspectives were received by students in social work education.

Some participants shared their personal experiences of having an identity ascribed to them. Anna had taught and practiced in Aboriginal spaces. She explained that her appearance was both a bonus and a challenge as people ascribed an identity to her.

> 'The fact that I look Aboriginal is probably a bonus but when people find out that I'm not … that's been a challenge, but I've never let that be a barrier'.

At times people assumed Anna was of Aboriginal descent due to her appearance and ascribed her an Aboriginal identity. This ascribed identity made it easier for Anna to navigate Aboriginal spaces and integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into her teaching. Anna was always open about her identity and did not seek to mislead people. Yet, once people found out that she was not an Aboriginal person, they tended to then question what she knew, and this had the potential of undermining Anna's ability to integrate Indigenous content into her teaching. Anna's 'ascribed identity' did not seem to hold the same credibility as her 'actual identity'. Yet ultimately, Anna was still the same person. Having a relationship with self that engaged in self-reflexive and critical consciousness enabled Anna to reflect upon this 'ascribed self' and gave her a greater understanding of how others perceived her and her competence in teaching Indigenous content.

Similarly in Aotearoa New Zealand, Evelyn, a Pasifica/Pākehā academic, had often been ascribed a Māori identity. People assumed that she was Māori even though she is of Samoan descent. This ascribed identity was based upon her appearance and had at times given her an advantage in teaching Indigenous content, yet at other times it had been problematic. Evelyn shared an incident where she had been on a non-Māori panel providing guidance in delivering Māori content and a person assumed that Evelyn was Māori rather than Pasifica:

> 'I'm non-Māori and I realise because I'm brownish … I know I'm non-Māori but then I realised that people, unless I state it, they don't know it. So, I really clearly state who I am with every class at the beginning'.

Another aspect of ascribing an identity to academics was students ascribing negative stereotypes to Māori academics, such as 'they are going to be able to sing and play the guitar' or adhere to 'Māori time', which is more flexible than western time. Aroha did not fit these stereotypes assigned to Māori people as she is very punctual, which she believes comes from her Māori dad, who is strict and a manager. Aroha challenged the stereotypes that had been ascribed to her by students. Aroha explained her experience in teaching a Māori topic in social work:

> 'I have taught it for that long and quite often students are still writing that they thought that Māori people were all sort of one way which was like, 'lazy', or 'violent' or all the negative things that they see on the news. Because they haven't met any Māori people, which is crazy. I find it really hard to understand that they haven't ever really, some of them, not all of them, but some of them haven't engaged in real life. So, their image of Māori people is all this way and then they write their assignments, and then I met you [Aroha] and I realised that Māori people are all like, they have strong family values and … I am the new image of Māori, which is wrong, … so I think it is really important for them [students] to see us, like my parents navigating the differences within a cultural group as well, is really important'.

Aroha challenged the status quo by 'being herself' and therefore she had found a constructive way to deal with students' negative stereotypes and preconceived ideas of what an Indigenous person should be like. Aroha did not fit the preconceived stereotype of Māori and she challenged representations the students had of 'Māori'. Students saw Aroha as portraying a 'new image of Māori', which she felt was wrong, as this only highlighted the students' lack of understanding and engagement with Māori people. Māori are not a homogenous group of people and, as Aroha emphasised, there are differences within a cultural group. Aroha saw the need for students to have a deeper engagement with Māori, "not just learn the Treaty … the theory behind it, but actually what does that mean in real life and how am I going to be in that environment". The identity that students ascribed to academics appeared to be impacted upon by their perceptions of Indigenous people and their previous learning or lack of it.

As a faired skinned Māori, Hinewai believed that it is human nature to make a judgement and ascribe an identity to someone. Hinewai had firsthand experience of how appearance and an ascribed identity can create a barrier in teaching Indigenous content in social work.

> 'I think it's just human nature, isn't it? You make a judgment … it can definitely be a barrier … I welcome people in Māori, I say my pepēha (the way Māori introduce themselves), like whakapapa, my family connections and I guess for me that's a bit like me saying to them, I am Māori and I am Pākehā … sometimes I feel uncomfortable going, Kia Ora I'm [Hinewai] and I'm Māori … like my Nan used to always say to me, let them know your whakapapa, be really proud of who you are. I'm like I am really proud of who I am, but I don't know how to navigate that when you're already feeling a bit, maybe in an uncomfortable position'.

Hinewai realised that people were going to see her as Pākehā because of her fair skin and consequently ascribe to her a Pākehā identity. Regardless, Hinewai included her Pākehā connections in her pepēha because she wanted to give "kudos to that really big part of my family as well and not just saying whilst I look Pākehā, I am only identifying as Māori, but usually that's sort of goes without saying". By including both her Māori and Pākehā heritage within her pepēha, Hinewai presented how she wanted to be identified to students rather than allowing students to ascribe her an identity based upon her appearance.

Pania, as someone who by her appearance could be ascribed the identity of 'Māori', shared her experience of teaching White privilege:

> 'So, the first class that I taught White privilege to, really, really soaked it up and they really enjoyed it and really embraced it. I … stood up there and went, my mum is about this high (short), old, White and she is a part of me too. So I still have that voice, even though I look like this (Māori). I still got that as part of my heritage. So that kind of made the class at ease that I still had that permission to talk about White privilege'.

In this instance, Pania explained to the students that she was also White even though she appeared to be Māori and that gave her permission to teach White privilege. Pania shared another experience of teaching the same content but to another class with a different reaction from students:

> Pania: 'The second class that I taught was, there was a huge resistance about it'.
>
> Researcher: 'was that because of the cohort of students?'
>
> Pania: 'yeah so, no class is the same, … so there was a lot of resistance around, who are you to … talk about White privilege … that was a huge challenge for me because I felt personally that I had lost a little bit of respect for the class. It may have been my delivery, I don't know. So, I got [another academic] … she does a lot of research on White privilege … she talked about it and she's more [or] less said exactly the same as what I said but she is Māori, but she looks White and then the students went, oh wow, this is amazing. So, I don't know, a little lesson learnt maybe, maybe it might be who teaches it'.

This is an interesting example of how ascribed identity impacted upon the students' ability to receive the content based upon the appearance of the lecturer. The content was, as Pania described, "more [or] less" exactly the same as what she had taught, yet students were more receptive to receive the content when delivered by someone with a fairer appearance.

As a non-Indigenous academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, Pat's experience of having an identity ascribed to her in academia was different again. Pat, being of Asian descent, felt that students ascribed an Asian identity to her that impacted upon how students saw Pat in terms of teaching Indigenous content in the topic she teaches. Pat remarked:

> 'Students might think, well [what] is your background, you're obviously not New Zealand born Pākehā, you're not Māori … there's a little bit of that have to prove to people that'.

Pat felt that she had to prove that she was capable of teaching Indigenous content in her topic, which she does under the guidance of Māori mentors. Ascribed identity led to an examination of the responsibilities that were attached to these ascribed identities.

Ascribed responsibilities

Along with ascribed identity came ascribed responsibilities, particularly for the Indigenous academics. These ascribed responsibilities have led to identity taxation for Indigenous academics. Identity taxation is a term adopted by Hirshfield and Joseph (2012) to describe 'when faculty members shoulder any labour – physical, mental, or emotional – due to their membership in a historically marginalised group within their department or university, beyond that which is expected of other faculty members in the same setting' (p. 214). Hirshfield and Joseph (2012) argue that women of colour experience identity taxation by belonging to two minority groups, being women and being of colour. In this study, the Indigenous women academics experience the intersectionality of gender and race simultaneously within the academy. Applying Hirshfield and Joseph's (2012) research to this study has shown that gendered identity taxation can lead to female Indigenous academics being ascribed responsibilities beyond those of their non-Indigenous counterparts which impact upon their teaching, adding an unfair burden upon their time, productivity, and emotional health. Indigenous female academics shared examples of how they were expected to be tokens, role models and advocates and deal with negative stereotypes assigned to them by their race. Overburdening Indigenous female academics can impede their participation in research and therefore their voices may be missing from published literature, and their unique teaching and practice examples and experiences may not be available to further the integration process. Identity taxation therefore affects research productivity which may impact on job security for Indigenous female academics.

Sam's ascribed identity as an Aboriginal person within the academy showed similarities to Indigenous academics' experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand. Sam was expected to do more than Sam's non-Indigenous colleagues regarding teaching Indigenous content. The ascribed identity as an Aboriginal academic meant that Sam was ascribed more responsibility and was expected to teach across different disciplines. Sam related,

> 'But for some reason they [leadership] think … because you're Aboriginal you can go and talk in a politics course, because you're Aboriginal you can go and talk to nurses and there's some element to that. But I think that that's like a guest thing, but if you were to teach and design and come up with the curriculum in the whole course for nurses or for people in journalism,

> you need to be in those disciplines … social work is growing as a discipline and a field for Indigenous social work’.

Leadership ascribed greater responsibility to Sam due to Sam’s Aboriginality. This is not uncommon, as mentioned in literature, Indigenous people are expected to take on more responsibility because of their cultural identity (Duthie, 2019; McAllister et al., 2019).

Māori academic Aroha explained how being Māori automatically meant that certain responsibilities were ascribed to her as an academic. She shared an experience of being asked by a professor to welcome students into his workshop and at the time she did not feel that it was appropriate.

> ‘When you are Māori, you automatically get asked to open meetings and do a Karakia. And an assumption that if you are Māori that you are Christian … people forget about Māori spiritual beliefs and Ranginui and Papatūānuku and the gods … I don’t feel like I can welcome people … So, I said ‘no’ and then that Professor has not made eye contact with me ever since then … but that’s alright I can handle that’.

Aroha had experienced having both cultural responsibilities as well as religious beliefs ascribed to her due to her Indigeneity. This could be perceived as a non-Indigenous professor in the whitestream enacting patriarchy, expecting an Indigenous female academic to welcome people as an extension of their role and then ostracising them when they do not comply with their request. Having responsibilities ascribed to you can mean that you have extra expectations placed upon you and it can impact upon your confidence and possibly your career. Having a relationship with oneself that engaged in self-reflexive and critical consciousness enabled Aroha to be aware of how colleagues ascribed responsibilities to her that were not actually her responsibility.

Decolonising self

Pania, a Māori academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, began her life on the South Island where she was born. While living there she had experienced racism. She later moved to the North Island where there is a greater Māori population. Pania attended university and she went through what she described as a decolonisation process:

> ‘I did a decolonisation process there and realised that I was Māori, and just reclaiming my culture and stuff and that really helped me and I kinda, I think I spent years and years trying to find my identity, so it’s a long story made into a short story’.

Within literature there has been a strong argument for an understanding of the discursive field of knowledge and its origins within colonisation, as this allows for an analysis of how the mind has been colonised, how this has occurred and how a mind may be decolonised. Several scholars write about the importance of decolonising the mind and oneself (Dudgeon & Walker, 2015; P. Ruwhiu, 2019; Thiong'o, 1986). Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues the need to decolonise our minds ‘to recover ourselves, to claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity’ (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 24). Decolonising oneself presents another aspect of self that may constitute change within social work education. Hendrick and Young (2017), two non-Indigenous academics in Australia, assert the importance of decolonising oneself in their experience of teaching Indigenous content in social work. Their work emphasises the need for academics to ‘unlearn’ and to question what they know, and how they know what they know. Academics are encouraged to ‘relearn’ in the direction of disrupting patriarchal and colonial systems (Hendrick & Young, 2017, p. 21). Hendrick and Young (2017) emphasise the ongoing process of decolonising oneself through critical self-awareness and explicitly defining one’s ‘own values, beliefs, experiences and biases’ (p. 22) and they encourage academics to become allies to decolonise the curriculum. Decolonising oneself was not spoken about by participants other than Pania, yet there was evidence that academics, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, were aware of their need for self-reflection, self-reflexive and critical awareness of their own values, beliefs, experiences, and biases. This once again supports the need for educators to be aware of their relationship to self.

7.1.3 The importance of positioning and not being the expert

An aspect of the relationship to self is for an academic to understand positioning, their position in society, to Indigenous peoples, to Indigenous knowledges and perspectives and their position within the Western academy. Within literature, Indigenous academics like Sandra Styres (2019) emphasise the need for:

> … [l]ocating oneself in relation to everything one does is one of the key foundational principles in Indigeneity. The only place from which any of us can write or speak with any degree of certainty is from the position of who we are in relation to what we know (p. 39).

This resonates with Smith and Smith’s (2019) account of the importance of positionality and they also add the principle of relationality or relationships as a dynamic idea that supports positionality, in the sense that academics position themselves and acknowledge their relationship to the content that they are teaching. This principle of positionality applies to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics. As emphasised by Green et al (2013), ‘social work educators need to be afforded the space in which to identify and challenge their own colonisation … and the impact it has upon them and their practice’(p. 226). Having a critical awareness of your own positioning was highlighted by participants as being an important aspect in their teaching of Indigenous content.

Anna, a non-Indigenous academic from Australia, was clear about her position when teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to students:

> 'I always explain my position, I always explain that I'm not the expert. I am only talking from my perspective, so for me it is really, really important that it comes from the experts'.

Narelle, a non-Indigenous academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, accentuated the need for academics to acknowledge their positioning:

> 'I feel comfortable teaching it from my position of who I am. I think it's really important to acknowledge the position I'm coming from, it's not, I'm not trying to be Māori and teach it from a Māori perspective, but I think as a Pākehā I need to be able to be fluent in those concepts and ways of working and if I'm not then I can't be in partnership with Māori. And so, for Pākehā students that's what I expect them to be able to do as well'.

By positioning herself, Narelle as a non-Māori person understood who she was and did not try to be Māori in her teaching of Indigenous content, she could do so authentically and respectfully from the position of being a Pākehā. Narelle was aware of her responsibility to be fluent in Māori perspectives of social work and Māori ways of working, these were key to working in partnership with Māori people.

Another key aspect of an academic's relationship with self is an awareness of their own expertise or lack of expertise. The academics in the study were candid about their desire to ensure that they were not seen as 'the expert', not just non-Indigenous academics teaching Indigenous content but also Indigenous academics teaching Indigenous content. In the process of positioning oneself, several of the academics made their students aware that they did not see themselves as 'the expert', especially when it came to Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

When I asked Anna from Australia what made her confident or sure in the way she teaches, she shared:

> 'I'm very honest, and I don't pretend to be anything that I am not. I certainly don't pretend to be an expert … the confidence I think comes from having that support from the [Aboriginal] mentors and my connections, who have always supported me'.

Evelyn, from Aotearoa New Zealand, espoused,

> I am really against presenting myself as any kind of expert, I don't, because I am not.

Similar statements were echoed by several other participants. This kind of acknowledgement of 'not being the expert' was not isolated to non-Indigenous participants discussing Indigenous content. Indigenous participants also discussed the need to know the limitations of their knowledge. They highlighted the need for academics to be aware that Indigenous people are not homogenous. Therefore, just because an academic identified as Indigenous did not mean that their experience of being Indigenous gave them the right to speak on behalf of all Māori or Aboriginal people. Each academic, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, definitely saw the limitations of their expertise and experience. Aroha from Aotearoa New Zealand explained:

> 'I have to be really honest, and genuine, like I am not pretending to be an expert … I think they expect you to be experts when [students] start a degree and they think this person has got a PhD'.

Participants discussed the need to decentre themselves within their teaching in the sense of acknowledging that they are not the expert. Literature supports the notion that academics often take the position of the knowledge giver, the knowledgeable one or knowledge holder in the exchange between teacher and student. Yet when integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum, educators are encouraged to facilitate students' learning within a third cultural space where students can interrogate, critically analyse, and question the material that is being taught to them and develop problem solving skills (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014, p. 30). This decentring is especially important for non-Indigenous academics, to admit that they do not have all of the answers and that there is knowledge that they cannot share as they are not the holder of that knowledge, and it would be inappropriate for them to share that knowledge. This requires academics to be transparent about the limitations to their knowledge and acknowledge what they know and what they do not know. As Green and Bennett (2018) explain in the race to indigenise social work education and to embrace Indigenous knowledges, "non-Aboriginal experts" have been created who appropriate Aboriginal knowledge (appropriation of Indigenous knowledges will be discussed in more detail in section 7.3.1). These "experts" do support Aboriginal people and 'provide us with a helping hand to succeed professionally' (p. 263), yet there is no real shift in power and Aboriginal academics 'remain in the subservient position to their "white" benevolence' (p. 263). Green and Bennett (2018) also acknowledge those non-Indigenous academics who walk alongside younger and junior Aboriginal academics for a time and then step aside, giving up their power and privilege to ensure that Aboriginal academics can 'claim their space within their own right' (p. 263) within the academy.

Acknowledging one’s position and decentring oneself as not the expert is an important aspect of decolonising social work education.

7.1.4 Relationship to self and confidence - What makes you confident in teaching Indigenous content?

Understanding the different aspects of self and identity that have been discussed in this section, including desired self, ascribed self, cultural self, bicultural self and monocultural self, appeared to connect to an academic’s sense of confidence in teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Participants were asked, ‘What makes you confident or sure of what you are teaching?’. Both non-Indigenous and Indigenous academics, had developed strategies to gain confidence in their teaching that enabled them to navigate the integration process more confidently.

There was a degree of uncertainty from some of the non-Indigenous academics about their confidence in teaching Indigenous content. Kaia from Aotearoa New Zealand explained:

> ‘I’m not confident or sure at all, I’m always tentative … having said it, what makes me sure is that I keep checking with myself if I’m true to myself or if I’m trying to take a shortcut or if I’m trying to pretend that I know something that I don’t know about. So, it’s really about integrity and honesty … continuous reflection and supervision and continuous growth, never assuming that I know anything basically but just continuous learning … it’s really about being grounded and continuously checking my own biases and, and never stop learning’.

Kaia described herself as ‘tentative’ in her approach to teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. This feeling of tentativeness led her to be honest with herself about what she knew and did not know regarding Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Kaia ensured that she was grounded in her own knowledge and kept her own biases in check. Positioning herself as a learner as well as a teacher was a way that Kaia navigated integrating Indigenous content into her teaching. Like many of the participants, Kaia would have Indigenous guest speakers to teach on content that she felt that she could not teach. Honesty, integrity, groundedness and positioning oneself as a learner as well as a teacher aided the integration process.

Other strategies were employed by non-Indigenous academics to alleviate their lack of confidence in teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives, including trial and error, the use of scholarly literature, mentoring and support from colleagues. Pat, also from Aotearoa New Zealand, shared how she navigated integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into her teaching:

> ‘Trial and error … for my own self as a scholar in academia, I have to enrich myself by reading more … I have to expand the reading list … Still grateful of my connection with a couple of my

> colleagues back in [Australia] … I've enriched my knowledge. To be very honest, colleagues here, the majority are really supportive'.

In Australia, non-Indigenous academics also sought reassurance through relationships with Indigenous colleagues both inside and outside of the university to give them confidence in teaching Indigenous content. These relationships will be discussed in more detail in sections 7.4 and 7.6. Sigrid, from Australia, knew her limits in teaching Indigenous content:

> 'I guess it's to know my limits and to know that it'll never be what the diverse range of Indigenous contributions could be … it's about probably doing my best to be reflecting and responding … I'm learning by Aboriginal people, through Aboriginal people and through the research I'm doing and through practice. So … I have a bit of an informal touch point with Aboriginal former colleagues and … they're my critical friends. And particularly through the research I'm doing as well. There's a cohort of people that I bravely, I bravely go to with different drafts of things and … that helps to keep me on track a bit. But it is so easy, it is so easy to be, majority culture to miss nuances that, that you need to reflect'.

Sigrid highlighted the need for critical conscious reflection and to respond to the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal people in practice and in research. Sigrid also underlines how easy it is for non-Indigenous academics to fall back into the 'majority culture', often coined in literature as the dominant culture, and miss nuances in Aboriginal culture and teaching of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

Experience also played a role in academics feeling confident in what they were teaching. Having experience in practice and teaching supported their teaching. Experience and evidence based upon literature were key in creating a sense of confidence. Hinewai related:

> 'People have written on these Māori models of practice, they're not made up, they actually have … an evidence base, a cultural evidence base and … people have gone on and done more.… studies around how effective they are and things like that too. But everything we teach is evidence based because it's from a cultural perspective. But we also … we bring ourselves; we have our own spin on it too … I don't pretend that with all of these Māori values that I am, that I am the perfect Māori person'.

Hinewai believed that her strong value base gave her confidence in her teaching. When Hinewai felt a bit overwhelmed with how she was delivering content, she reminded herself of why she was in the academy and the impact that she was making. Hinewai also bases her content upon literature, upon Māori models of practice that have been written about, based on cultural evidence and practice evidence showing how effective the Māori models are. Hinewai also recognised the different values that underpin her teaching, both her Māori values and her Pākehā value system as well, and other influences, including her world view and practice experience. Hinewai explained that, even though two Māori academics may draw on the same literature, they may teach the content quite differently, “but actually they [students] would probably get the same take home message, so I think that adds confidence”.

Experience and evidence-based teaching were connected to the academic’s relationship with self and their positioning. Jess, a non-Indigenous academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, explains how experience layered with honesty supports her teaching:

> ‘I suppose the experience makes me feel confident, knowing my subject area, being open to questions and saying, I don’t know everything about this, but I can always find out or help find out. So that’s about the cultural dimension, there is a lot that I don’t know … but also very consciously every single session, weaving in some sort of resource that gives that Indigenous lens on the topic area is important. So, whether it’s using YouTube clips or guest speakers or readings’.

Critical consciousness was evident in Jess’ comment. Jess consciously ensured an ‘Indigenous lens’ was included in each topic that was taught utilising resources such as YouTube clips, guest speakers and literature to support the integration process.

For some of the academics, their confidence was based upon an absolute belief in the content, content that has been developed and found successful in practice with Indigenous peoples. Evelyn, also from Aotearoa New Zealand, explained that the confidence that she has in what she teaches comes from:

> ‘An absolute belief in commitment so when I’m standing there talking about Indigenous issues …, I’m absolutely, totally believing in that … sitting alongside me and behind me and around me are all those Māori social workers I’ve worked with and all those Māori clients I’ve worked with that tell me that that is the right thing to do and support me in saying that’.

The Indigenous knowledges and perspectives that Evelyn shared with her students were based upon strong relationships that she has with Māori practitioners and clients who have supported her in her knowledge development.

Developing a relationship with self, gave social work academics an awareness of their desired self, how they wanted to be perceived by students and colleagues. Academics being themselves and being aware of their cultural identity, whether bicultural, monocultural, and aware of their country of origin all appeared to be important in their teaching. Self-consciousness and self-awareness led to an authentic, genuine, and honest understanding of the academics’ teaching abilities and limits in teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work. In terms of navigating the whitestream, it was evident that academics experienced a sense of an ‘ascribed identity’, that had been attributed to them, mainly through their appearance or complexion.

Some of the academics were conscious that students, colleagues, and leadership were inclined to ascribe to them certain expectations depending on their ‘ascribed identity’ as academics. In turn this meant that within the academy these academics were also ascribed certain responsibilities that were associated to the ‘self’ to which they had been ascribed. This led to increased workloads for some, particularly the Indigenous academics, who were expected to teach more than their fair share regarding Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

Finally, many of the academics mentioned student feedback giving them a sense of confidence in what they were teaching. Sam from Australia, reflected,

> ‘It’s my students, the feedback that I get … Whether it's higher degree studies … they've decided to volunteer in programs in the community or they've gone into an organisation that’s Aboriginal or they've gone into an organisation and they’ve said look, we’re not doing enough around Aboriginal people, and they’ve started to. That's what gives me confidence that we’re on the right track and also when I talk to Elders, community and practitioners about what I'm doing, and they say, that sounds awesome, then that's gives me confidence’.

Relatedness between academics and their students and the impact that these interactions had upon the integration process were also considered.

7.2 Relationship to students

Participants were asked: What values, practices and beliefs undergirded their teaching of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives? A theme that was interpreted as the result of this question was an academic’s relationship with students. Karen Martin’s (2009) work focuses upon teaching Aboriginal students, yet her work also provides knowledge for social work educators as it highlights the role that relatedness plays in the teaching and learning process. ‘[T]ransformation occurs as the synthesis of teaching-as-learning is driven by relatedness that occurs at an interface to inform the relationships to knowledge, to self and to others’ (p. 76). This is important where teachers transform their teaching so that they are no longer teaching ‘at’, ‘for’ or ‘to’ students but ‘with’ students. This next section discusses the role that an academic’s relationship with students has upon integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education.

7.2.1 **Student centred teaching philosophy**

The participants did not appear to have one distinct philosophy of teaching that governed the way that they managed the integration and teaching of Indigenous content in social work. Most participants mentioned that they held to social work values; participants articulated their own pedagogical approach that influenced the way that they taught students. A theme that was interpreted from the data was a student-centred teaching philosophy being used by academics as they taught Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

Many of the academics who were interviewed had a student-centred philosophy of teaching that were influenced by their own beliefs, practices, and values such as respect, collaboration, support, patience, reciprocity, love, and compassion that were underpinned by academics having a relationship with students. Edith (a non-Indigenous academic from Australia) emphasised her student-centred philosophy of teaching that includes students engaging with their own ways of learning:

> 'Very student centred, very collaborative – I really emphasise learning between each other rather than individually … I really encourage the idea of community of learners, discussions, activities that will provide students with opportunities to support each other, provide resources etc … so, there's a variety of choices I give to students about how they learn and what's important'.

An aspect of the student-centred philosophy was to create a nurturing and open learning environment where students could discuss issues including their different world views. Hinewai, from Aotearoa New Zealand, shared how she relates to students to ensure that they feel nurtured and can be open in her classroom:

> 'Your world view really matters, people do have a different world view to you, nurturing that openness to learning and being open and just learning what social work is and developing their passion for it'.

Another key aspect of a student-centred philosophy that highlights Manaia's (Samoan academic from Aotearoa New Zealand) relationship with students was patience:

> 'For me as an educator … it's also important to be patient because let their development unfold, don't force it, … or don't interfere with it too much, … patience is a big thing because you don't want to write them off in the first year, … I believe in lots of chances, give them lots of opportunities, … they have put some money into this, let's just wait, …I have spent fifteen years before I got my PhD, … I am a product of patience'.

Manaia saw a student's development as a work in progress. Samoan values, practices and beliefs undergirded Evelyn's teaching and her relationship to students, particularly respect, love, compassion, and relationships. She explained:

> 'In Samoan culture one of the things is that there is a number of values that we have that … influence how I work and live. So, one is fa'aaloalo or what it's called is respect. Essentially, it's respect, love and compassion … focus on relationships as being central to everything'.

Evelyn believed in having respectful relationships with students that would enhance their learning. Relationships were a focus in Evelyn's teaching as they were in her life.

Matilda's (non-Indigenous academic from Australia) relationship with students was demonstrated in her style of student-centred philosophy of teaching that included valuing the transformative aspects of education for students. Matilda was aware that a student needed to develop their own critical consciousness regarding social change and social justice and her role was to facilitate that process. She commented:

> 'I really like those ideas of transformation that come with education … you can see overtime those shifts and changes occur and that process of becoming, in this case a social worker … seeing how much a student that might have struggled in particular with being able to reflect on their own values and experience … to make that connection between themselves and what they're trying to do, and what the purpose of social work is in terms of social change and social justice and then seeing them really get it at the end is really awesome … I think I'm probably just more there to facilitate that process'.

Matilda was not alone in identifying herself as a facilitator. Narelle, from Aotearoa New Zealand, also saw herself as a facilitator in her relationship with students:

> 'I'm a facilitator; I provide some ideas and information and I raise lots of questions'.

Sigrid (a non-Indigenous academic in Australia) explained how she related to students as she saw students as future practitioners and approached her teaching from the perspective that she was preparing students for employment:

> 'I see students as being future practitioners, well first and foremost, and all that they do needs to make some sense and have some connection to the work … the diverse work that they might be doing'.

While seeing students as future practitioners, Sigrid used a pedagogy that draws from her practice with Aboriginal people in view of the significance of relationship building. Sigrid chooses to start where students are at, "rather than just rolling out and rolling over knowledge and hoping that people [students] will absorb it to some extent". This sense of care for student's own knowledge and their capacity to take on more knowledge led Sigrid to use a relational model of teaching.

> 'It's very much a relational model … there's a lot of opportunity to provide feedback on emerging ideas, values, those sorts of things. So, I look for those opportunities to help shape students into their professional roles'.

The relational model provided Sigrid with numerous opportunities to provide feedback upon students' emerging ideas and values, shaping and developing students into social work professionals. Many of the participants used a relational model of teaching underpinned by principles of respect, reciprocity, and generosity.

Sam's (from Australia) teaching was informed by Sam's relationship with students:

> 'I have … set topics but you know we can sort of swift and sway as the student group kind of informs me … there are some rules and techniques, it is very much the personable, relatedness approach. I'm certainly not someone who is at a distance to students'.
>
> 'I'll invite them to reflect on in themselves and … then they need to challenge their own, what they have put out themselves … I see that very much as Aboriginal epistemology, but also … that relatedness is what Karen Martin would call it and I guess I try and find that with non-Indigenous people, in establishing who they are culturally at the start of all the courses'.

The emphasis of participants' relationship with students was based upon a student-centred teaching philosophy that is relational and embodies respect, reciprocity, generosity, and nurturing students, also providing open and safe environments for learning. A student-centred teaching philosophy also meant that students learnt from each other.

7.2.2 **Challenges working with students**

Having a student-centred teaching philosophy, focused upon a relationship with students, meant that academics were also mindful of the challenges that were posed in working with students. Within the Australian context, participants emphasised the lack of knowledge that many students had of Aboriginal ways of knowing, being and doing and the history of Australia and the challenges that posed in teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

Madesh, a non-Indigenous academic from Australia, explained that, in his experience of speaking to students about Indigenous aspects of social work, many were anxious because of their lack of knowledge of Aboriginal culture and Indigenous knowledge. Madesh shared how many of his students had not been given an accurate understanding of Australia's history of colonisation prior to attending university.

> 'The [school] curriculum has been designed in such a way that the White people were glamorised and they [students] were also made to understand that Indigenous people are at the mercy of White people, and also … the books which they were studying … didn't talk much about Indigenous people at all'.

Madesh's relationship with students was such that they could share honestly with him. Madesh explained that most students had been shocked when they began learning about Aboriginal people and culture at university. Madesh described how students had to check their old preconceived and biased racist understanding of Indigenous people. Madesh shared that the feedback from students that he had received was that many in their final year still felt anxious about not knowing enough about Aboriginal people:

> ‘I am talking about the final year students because they are going to practice as professionals next year – within a couple of months - so they were still very anxious that they don’t know much … not specified – any way by which they can be empathetic and be an unbiased individual when they work with Aboriginal clients … They must be given more confidence – more comfort and also more curiosity to learn about this population group’.

The challenge for Carmen, another academic from Australia, was expounded as:

> ‘Some students, particularly in the bachelor’s topic, are straight out of school. But their knowledge about Aboriginal issues is so rudimentary and it’s like, “yes, we know they exist”, but you know beyond that it’s really quite amazing. So little do they understand the disadvantage and the history as well … it was based on a non-thinking attitude. They weren’t really thinking it through, and this is what they’re going to get if they don’t engage with the discussion’.

Literature supports the need for students to understand and to think critically about the disadvantage that is experienced by Indigenous peoples and the impact that history has and continues to have upon Indigenous peoples and social work. As discussed in the literature (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014), maintaining the status quo and colonising knowledge and practice has been a general focus historically in social work in Australia. Sharing the true history of colonisation in Australia requires courage from academics and establishing a relationship with students that is based upon a student-centred teaching philosophy was seen as an enabler in that process. Also, having a relationship with students that invokes honesty, generosity, openness, and reciprocity as seen by the participants in this study meant that students found a safe space to critically engage with the historical content and to work towards decolonising themselves and their practice.

Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, students often present differently to their Australian counterparts. Some students thought that they knew everything there was to know about working with Māori people. Consequently, this presented a different set of challenges to academics. Hinewai considered:

> ‘Sometimes we get a bit of a backlash from students who think that they know it all and they tell you like, “oh we’re a bit kind of sick of learning about things Māori, we know all that”’.

Hinewai explained the Māori staff group’s response to this situation is to explain to students that even as Māori they do not profess to assume that they know all that there is to know about Māori. Hinewai added:

> 'I don't even think any Kaumatua (Māori Elder) that's trained for a hundred years would know all of it …'.

The Māori staff group believe that learning about Māori culture, knowledge and perspectives is an ongoing journey. There was a sense that they had successfully integrated Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum yet there needed to be a greater understanding of the values that underpinned that knowledge. Aroha related:

> 'So there needs to be all of the knowledge of the history, colonisation, identities and changes … but then it needs to have the practical component of … what does it mean to participate in a pōwhiri, or a mihi whakatau, which is more like casual welcome … so it's actually a conversation that we are having with our Māori staff group around what do we want them to do at each stage, how will we scaffold that, and we've been really strong on knowledge but we want to tap into the values and I think the only way to do that is through doing stuff, activities and going places'.

Here Aroha advocates for academics to go beyond the theoretical stage of just imparting knowledge to students and to challenge their values and to use creative ways to achieve this by taking students out of the walls of the university and to do activities and to go places.

Even though some of the participants in Aotearoa New Zealand had a different experience to their Australian counterparts, arguably having a relationship with students that facilitates critical reflection and greater understanding results in engagement in a decolonising process. Literature supports the process of decolonising one's heart and mind as it is achieved 'by acknowledging the ongoing process of colonisation, identifying and articulating it, and addressing both the mindsets and the resulting injustices that occur' (Green & Baldry, 2013, p. 172). The literature also highlights the need for social work educators to facilitate a sense of responsibility in students to promote social change and equity (Green et al., 2013, p. 225). An aspect of teaching Indigenous content to social work students is certainly to ensure that students can begin and be led in the decolonising process, challenging students, addressing their mindsets, and promoting social change and equity.

Resistance from students in learning Indigenous knowledges and perspectives is noted in literature and by participants. As an Aboriginal academic, Sam felt that some students resisted being taught by an Aboriginal person or by a member of the Aboriginal community. Sam illuminated this by saying that:

> 'Students can get this idea, … particularly if you are Aboriginal – "Oh, [Sam] wants me to do this, or the Aboriginal community, who[m] they already view as lesser, inferior, wants me to do this. And I'm not going to listen!"'

Sam utilised the support of the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) documents as a strategy to help break down the students' resistance to learning Indigenous content and towards her as an Aboriginal person. Sam reminded students of their professional responsibility. Sam found that using the AASW documents, such as the Acknowledgement Statement to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (2004) and the AASW Code of Ethics, helped to get students on board with understanding their professional responsibilities. Sam acknowledged and respected that students could have all their own ideas but, when they are social workers, they needed to meet their professional obligations. Sam elucidated:

> 'When you've got your hat [on] as a social worker, they have to meet these obligations, particularly because there are supposedly repercussions if they don't, so I find that useful'.

Anna echoed these sentiments; she has had students say,

> 'Why do I need to do this? I'm not going to work in an Aboriginal area'.

Anna sees part of her role in the relationship she has with students is to challenge students to rethink these notions. Anna highlighted that with the overrepresentation of Aboriginal people using social services, social workers will inevitably be working alongside Aboriginal people, whether in child protection, health, mental health, or corrections. Anna acknowledged the importance of having an Aboriginal person explain to students from their perspective how important it is for non-Aboriginal people to know how to work with Aboriginal people.

Similar resistance was experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand, Evelyn commented:

> 'They're lots of different people [the students] with different views and some who've had no contact actually with anyone who's different to them and so that can be disheartening … they sound like people in 1980s – saying, "Why do we have to learn stuff about Māori people for?" "Oh, for God's sake, so sick of hearing about the Treaty" … "Oh, we're still going on about the Treaty; it's time to move on". In fact, that's often not the young students …'.

Challenging student's mindsets, beliefs and values and their reactions to being taught Indigenous content appeared to be evident on both sides of the Tasman. Academics deployed varying strategies in their relationships to students to address this issue, ensuring students understood their professional responsibility and obligations, having Indigenous people participate in teaching content and having students question what the content means for them in their current context. Academics engaged in learning activities outside of the university to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching. As mentioned earlier, a commitment to biculturalism and partnership, role modelled by educators within the classroom was found by Māori academic Paulé Ruwhiu (P. Ruwhiu, 2019) to be advantageous.

Students in Aotearoa New Zealand have the opportunity to partake in a marae visit and during their stay the '[s]tudents are encouraged to examine their own values and attitudes and become 'knowers', or humble experts. They are guests in Māori culture and are therefore 'kaitiaki' (guardians and stewards) not owners of the culture of the 'other'' (Walker, 2012, p. 69). Walker (2012) explains that the challenge is for academics to have students relate these learning activities to working with Māori in their everyday work and he believes 'the more students … are exposed and develop strong relationships with the cultural and ethnic 'other' the more competent they are likely to become' (p 69). This may start with students building relationships with Indigenous academics. Hendrick and Young (2017) reflect upon Walker's work in the Australian context and encourage educators to allow 'students to identify and name their frustrations, biases and resentments in safe environments where they will not be punished for speaking their minds' (p. 15). This is not only productive but also necessary in changing students' attitudes. Developing a reciprocal relationship between student and academic promotes a safe environment for sharing.

7.2.3 **Face to Face contact and online teaching**

Face to face contact and online teaching had an influence on the relationship that academics had with students and with the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education. Academics in this study were involved in both on-campus, face-to-face and online modes of teaching and presenting material to students. The interviews for this study were completed prior to the Covid 19 pandemic, the pandemic having disrupted social work across the globe (Gates, Ross, Bennett, & Jonathan, 2021), including in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet even prior to the pandemic many students were completing much of their degrees online, due to time restraints and distance. An aspect of accreditation standards in Australia requires all social work students to 'meet a minimum level of face-to-face attendance with attendance for online students focusing on practice skills' (McFadden et al., 2020, p. 1157). Aotearoa New Zealand Registration Board (SWRB) instigated short to medium-term flexible responses to Covid-19 for institutes training social workers, including supporting the delivery of innovative face-to-face social work skills teaching and online alternatives to face-to-face fieldwork education as long as competencies are met (Social Workers Registration Board, April 2020). At the time of the interviews, prior to the pandemic, participants in this study had already developed strategies to present material in innovative ways to students online, however some of the participants preferred face-to-face teaching when they were presenting Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

Aboriginal academic, Sam, preferred face-to-face teaching because Sam was able to have valuable dialogue with students. Sam explained that:

> '… the external mob either miss out or they listen to a recording and they don't get that dialogue'.

Sam pointed out that with online learning:

> '… there is something about being in the same physical space that is totally missing'.

However regardless of the pedagogical structure, Sam remained focused upon relatedness with students, always encouraging students to reflect upon their personal and professional life in the context of their learning.

In honouring the values and principles of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, Māori academics have a preference to teach face-to-face and an aspect of that face-to-face experience for social work students in Aotearoa New Zealand is to experience marae-based learning. Marae-based learning is where students have the opportunity to visit and participate in visiting a marae and being guests in Māori culture and ceremonial processes that occur (P. Ruwhiu, 2019, p. 63). Ruwhiu (2019) explained that marae-based experiences play a part in decolonising education, students are 'exposed to and enveloped in certain rituals under te ao Māori' (p 58) and the experience is focused upon a process, rather than on a visit, to enhance learning of te ao Māori and Mātauranga Māori through te reo Māori in Māori spaces. Firsthand experience on a Marae was also highlighted as an essential aspect of learning by the Māori staff group in their interviews. Aroha emphasised the importance of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students going on an emotional journey and experiencing being on a Marae, being immersed. For Indigenous students, a Marae provides a safer place than a classroom setting. Indigenous students are no longer outnumbered. Non-Indigenous students can face their preconceived ideas or stereotypes in a safer environment with less people.

> '… they need to go on an emotional journey and if they are Indigenous, it is a massive emotional journey that sometimes they don't feel safe doing that in the classroom because they're outnumbered or and or if they're not Indigenous and they have had some preconceived ideas or stereotypes they need to really unpack that and that's awkward to do in front of 120 people'.

Being on a Marae can be a safe place for students to connect with their emotions. In a Marae environment, there is always at least two academics present which creates a supportive, collective response for students. Even prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, Māori academics, such as Mari Ropata-Te Hei, were questioning the appropriateness of teaching Indigenous content online. Mari Ropata-Te Hei (2019) argues that online teaching raises a conundrum for Māori educators as they are unlikely to be able to express tikanga Māori through their teaching and learning. Ropata-Te Hei (2019) asks, '[h]ow is it possible to express the metaphysical base that is distinctly Māori, for instance in an online environment where we are separated from people by a computer screen?' (p. 355), where tikanga Māori has been removed from what Ropata-Te Hei identifies as its 'natural habitat'. In this case, the marae and the face-to-face environment is replaced by a computer screen.

Non-Indigenous academic, Matilda from Australia, found the face-to-face contact one of her favourite parts of teaching students:

> 'My most favourite part of teaching is actually doing these face-to-face intensives and just getting to know everyone or meeting someone in person that I've spoken to over the phone about placement so many times'.

Sigrid, also from Australia, reflected upon using an asynchronous pedagogical approach to support her teaching online. She was aware that her ability to teach responsively was impeded by students watching pre-recorded lectures as she was not able to respond in real time and she used her face-to-face delivery with internal students as a yard stick in how to shape lecture delivery:

> '… some students might not meet with me face-to-face at all … they'll be picking up and learning and listening to those lectures at a different point in time. So, … rather than being responsive to a way that you might be teaching in the class at the time. So, there's that tension between the knowledge that's delivered and the experience of how that's being received and how that's being picked up and learnt by students … the internal students … I use them as my yard stick as to, how to shape the delivery of each lecture'.

At Sigrid's university, topics were offered both online and internally, students could complete topics completely online and had the option of watching lectures live.

> 'All students can have the same access to information through the lectures, through all the written materials that are crafted for online learning … online and live **…** there's a lot of scope within that to be introducing resources and materials to shape learning or to stretch learning a bit more that less apparent than the unit outline might be. So, for example, …introducing what some the current media debates are around some of the issues, … So, there's a responsiveness … if you can bring that into the students learning so that they can see what's possible and what's happening out there, before it's necessarily something that's published'.

Sigrid was able to use a relational model of teaching in her online teaching with students. Based upon her relationship with students, Sigrid was able to provide feedback to students to shape them in their professional roles.

> Certainly, it's very much a relational model, so even online there's capacity for a fairly intimate knowledge of how students are tracking with probably the volume of work that they're doing for us to some extent, … because it's an online learning environment I guess there's a whole other suite of good practice and teaching that I'm not there yet, but it's quite – but technology is changing so quickly.

Sigrid highlighted that there is a whole suite of good practice and teaching that accompanies online teaching that at the time had yet to be totally employed.

In the absence of face-to-face engagement with Indigenous peoples to enhance the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education, some academics used pre-recorded lectures with Indigenous people, academics, and Elders to present Indigenous content. Academics used online resources to support their teaching, so students had access to key documents, articles, readings, weblinks, Youtube clips, and artwork. Creative ways of teaching were used by all the academics that were interviewed to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching, many included online resources. Within literature there are examples of Aboriginal academics in Australia developing digital resources (Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018; Cleland & Masocha, 2020) used in teaching social workers to work culturally responsively with Aboriginal people. These resources were not made available to other universities and were specific to working with local communities yet pave the way for other universities to develop their own resources.

Glubb-Smith and Roberts (2020) provide a reflection upon how the Covid-19 lockdown impacted both social work educators and students in Aotearoa New Zealand. The authors recognise and engage with the challenges that face social work students during the Covid lockdown. Their article includes a critical reflection from Roberts as a student applying Te Ao Māori concepts to the Covid-19 situation providing an Indigenous perspective to the situation. In summary, face-to-face teaching was preferred by participants in this study when teaching Indigenous content, yet with the changing teaching environment due to the global pandemic academics on both sides of the Tasman, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, must adapt and develop ways of delivering Indigenous content digitally, while endeavouring to ensure the cultural competence of graduates, some of whom may not have actually met or engaged with an Indigenous person face-to-face.

7.2.4 Supporting relationships with students

Decolonising the social work curriculum must also include developing a stronger connection between academics and students. An aspect of supporting students is preparing them in their practice to be culturally aware, competent, and responsive. Yarning is discussed by Briese and Menzel (2020) as a method of teaching. A key aspect of yarning is that it is always reciprocal and promotes the building of relationships and this is seen as an important consideration in education spaces (Briese & Menzel, 2020). The authors explain how teachers can expect students to share themselves and to bare their vulnerabilities, yet they advocate for this to be reciprocated by teachers, '[t]o expect this of our students means we must also lay ourselves bare. Reciprocity and relationality are essential' (Briese & Menzel, 2020, p. 384). Briese and Menzel (2020) explain that relationality is essential in acquiring Indigenous knowledge, yet first you need to understand relationality from an Indigenous perspective. Understanding the interconnected ways of relationality, seeing and accepting that relationality supports the essential epistemological framework, is to realise the underlying motives, concerns and principles that typify decolonising methodologies (Briese & Menzel, 2020). The authors assert that relationality also requires accountability.

Sam, from Australia, highlighted how Sam supports students in their learning journey. The content was not based upon students' perceived ideas of what they thought they would be taught, for example, playing a didgeridoo, but rather the course content was based upon an accredited social work curriculum.

> 'The course … is structured more around some foundational stuff around Indigenous people in history but it's more focused on the student in relation to that. So they've got to position themselves in all that, themselves and their families … rather than what they think they're going to learn, which is … playing the didgeridoo and throwing a boomerang'.

Sam encourages non-Indigenous students to establish their own cultural background and experience at the beginning of their degree, 'it's about the students … knowledge of self'. Sam believes that the journey for students' learning and developing cultural competency as practitioners is an ongoing process. Sam acknowledges the complexity of teaching students and that setting a good foundation is imperative. Sam encourages students to see themselves in all of what Sam teaches, as professionals, but also within their personal lives too. Sam highlighted:

> 'The knowledge of history, contemporary issues, racism, things like that, all comes from setting that scene. But all the while, the student has to see themselves in all of that professionally, but it does spill into the personal, like students finding out that they are part of a system that

> perpetuates disadvantage. Now that's really a big learning and it can be quite hard for students. But when they are confronted, I mean it's just profound, the learning that they have and that's just what you want … getting them to really critique what their place is in working with Aboriginal people. Are they ready for it? Do they still hold prejudice against Aboriginal people for something that they experienced when they were 15?'

Sam encouraged students to reflect upon their personal and professional cultural background in relation to Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Sam is aware that it is an ongoing journey:

> 'Because the journey for their learning and developing cultural competency as practitioners is an ongoing thing anyway, so I think it's about setting a good foundation for them to do that for the rest of their careers. Because we can't do it all in what's now a 10-week course'.

Supporting Aboriginal students

The relationship between academics and Indigenous students is important for the goal of producing Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work academics. Within the literature, there is guidance given as to how to support Aboriginal students within the university's whitestream. A trauma-informed teaching model has been developed to ensure cultural safety for Aboriginal students within the classroom. This proposed model has been developed based upon key attributes, including decolonisation of social work education, such as 'collaborative partnerships; build relationships; critical reflection; develop cultural courage; and yarning and storytelling; and dadirri' (Fernando & Bennett, 2019, p. 53). This teaching model highlights the need for social work educators to be aware of the personal experiences of trauma that their Indigenous students have and bring with them into the classroom (Fernando & Bennett, 2019, p. 57). Duthie (2019) encourages educators to ensure that their Indigenous students are kept safe within the university space, especially within the classroom. Indigenous students can be called upon by educators to 'explain cultural contexts' (Duthie, 2019, p. 114). Within these cultural contexts, Duthie (2019) explains that these Indigenous students themselves are likely to have living family members who have '… direct experience living under the protectionist and assimilationist acts. They have learned first-hand of the experiences of their grandparents, aunties, and uncles' (p. 114). This places Aboriginal students in precarious positions where they are expected to teach which can in turn impact upon their own learning. At other times, Aboriginal students can be placed in an unsafe learning environment where there are racist comments made by their classmates and the lecturer or tutor is unable to deal with the situation, which leaves the Aboriginal student feeling isolated and vulnerable (Green et al., 2013, p. 211). Aboriginal students may end up navigating these challenges alone and feel a sense of alientation within the university environment (Zinga, 2019, p. 277). Yet Aboriginal students can also find support through Indigenous faculty ‘and occassionaly non-Indigenous faculty who have extensive experience working within Indigenous contexts’ (Zinga, 2019, p. 277 and 278).

Participant, Matilda from Australia, acknowledged the influence her practice had upon her teaching as she was aware of the continual impact of colonisation upon Aboriginal students she taught. As a response to this awareness, she was more responsive in her teaching and support of Aboriginal students.

> ‘Seminal experience in my practice … I guess gave me again another new insight into the layers of or disadvantage and continual colonisation … I think it’s an area that we can certainly improve in, in terms of that connection between Aboriginal students and the support they receive and Indigenous ways of knowledge and social work as a profession and then social work education’.

Matilda reflected upon how a stronger relationship between herself, and Aboriginal students can facilitate and support their learning, particularly in field education.

> ‘I try to match … Aboriginal students in particular to organisations that have identified that they’re able to provide a lot of support around that process of learning, and to do that in a really culturally safe way … that the student’s comfortable with that placement opportunity. And I guess really valuing the student’s contribution to that placement experience, as well as it being a learning opportunity for the student …Interestingly though, I do find that I can’t make assumptions about students and where they want to go based purely on how they identify’.

Matilda had found that she could not assume that because a student had identified as Aboriginal that they wanted to do their field placement in an Aboriginal organisation, so here she needed to be responsive to the students learning needs.

Establishing and maintaining stronger relationships with Aboriginal students beyond their degrees can also have the effect of Aboriginal students wanting to continue into academia, Anna illustrated:

> ‘As soon as somebody gets any kind [of] degree, an Aboriginal person, they get pulled away … So how do we help somebody come back into academia, I don't know? … Two brilliant women who would be amazing academics and come in and really develop all Aboriginal curricula, but they just can't, they have to work, they’ve got to support families … they can't just run away and do a PhD, to be an academic. And the academics who are already there aren’t social workers. We can borrow them and talk about Indigenous knowledge, but we’ve got to do it from the social work perspective, so…we will get there. I think we’re on the right path, yep, it’s just gonna take a little bit longer’.

Given the premise that the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives is improved when guided by Aboriginal people, then having Aboriginal people as academics is a priority. Yet, as highlighted in literature (Green, Russ-Smith, & Tynan, 2018; Kidman & Chu, 2017; Kidman, Chu, Fernandez, & Abella, 2015; McAllister et al., 2019; Moreton-Robinson, 2011; Naepi, 2019) and in these interviews, Aboriginal academics and Indigenous academics face several complex cultural and systemic barriers within whitestream universities. The Australian participants supported the need for Aboriginal academics in social work and articulated the need for Aboriginal academics to be supported in navigating the whitestream and this process starts by academics building strong relationships with Aboriginal students that go beyond graduation. This does not negate the fact that some universities in Australia may have better developed support for Indigenous students. The impression from the academics that were interviewed in this study was that their universities could do more to support Indigenous students, particularly in supporting them into academia.

Supporting Māori students

In Aotearoa New Zealand, there was evidence of a more developed approach to supporting Indigenous students. An element of this was the collective support provided by the Māori staff group. As a group of Māori academics, they saw one of their primary roles was to support Māori students who are coming through their university because they want them to succeed. Another aspect of support was allowing Indigenous students to be given space to meet and support one another. Aroha spoke about Māori students needing space to be able to be with other Māori students in a group:

> 'They usually get together, … and they can just really comfortably talk about like, they go, "I don't speak Māori", "yeah, neither do I, hahaha!", "You know, everyone thinks that we are fluent, but we are not, and we never say Karakia at home, we only do it when we go to work, you know". They can openly talk about that in that group'.

Hinewai described how there had been a decrease in Māori students since she had attended the university (this was due to Māori students attending wānangas', the Māori alternative to whitestream university). This meant that in a class of thirty, there may only be one Māori student and as academics they needed to be careful how they taught Māori content so that the sole Māori student did not feel like they had to be the only expert in the classroom or to ensure that they did not feel isolated by being the only Māori student. The classroom also needed to be a culturally safe environment for Māori students. Hinewai explained:

> 'We used to do caucusing where you would have a separate tutorial group for Māori students, to talk about issues specifically from their perspective. But now we can't really do that because we have like one Māori student in the class of thirty. So, we have to think about how we can talk about Indigenous issues without then that person becoming the only expert in the classroom or isolated. Or sometimes people can say some pretty raw things, because of what their upbringing has brought or a lack of understanding or whatever'.

Another aspect of supporting Indigenous students was assisting them in navigating the whitestream. As found in the literature, navigating the whitestream of a university can be daunting and this once again underlines the dominance of the whitestream and the obstacles that it poses for Indigenous students to complete their degree and then to continue into academia. Narelle related:

> ‘I will sometimes find that there’ll be a Māori student or a Pacific student who has missed assignments or done really well and then not done the exam, … not handed in an assignment … Pākehā students are more likely, not all of them, but many of them more likely to come and ask for extensions ... I contact them and say, I mean it’s not that I don’t contact the Pākehā students too but I’m aware that Māori and Pacific students are less likely to come and ask me for help and I need to go to them and link with the Pacific and Māori liaison and it takes time and effort. And we’re not really, that’s not part of our framework of our workload but it’s really important for me personally’.

Academics, like Narelle, saw the importance in supporting Indigenous students ensuring they have the support to navigate the whitestream and to succeed in their higher education, which in turn will lead to more Indigenous academics within the academy.

Supporting non-Indigenous students - Teaching to your audience

Relationships with non-Indigenous students were identified as important. A feature of teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to students is adapting content to the audience of students. For students to become equipped to work with Indigenous people on both sides of the Tasman, participants believed in developing culturally competent, responsive, and safe practice. Understanding the students’ backgrounds and what form of teaching best achieved these outcomes were obtained through having a relationship with non-Indigenous students. Anna, a non-Indigenous academic in Australia, advocated for non-Indigenous students to have the opportunity to engage with Aboriginal people face-to-face during their degree:

> ‘As we know, particularly in the social and human services, there is an over-representation of Aboriginal people, whether we are talking about child protection, whether we talk about corrections, so if you are going to go into health or mental health, chances are you probably will engage with an Aboriginal person at some point so it is important that you … have an Aboriginal person come in and carry on that conversation’.

Anna discussed supporting non-Indigenous students to develop their cultural competence in working with Aboriginal people. She gave the example of students completing a one week intensive focused on working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples:

> ‘How do you develop cultural competency in such a short space of time? It is not possible, really, but I think what we can do from an education perspective is at least touch it and give students at least an experience where they can reflect on ... We know that you can never be

> totally culturally competent, but at least you can start to acknowledge what you don't know and what you need to develop … From an educational perspective, you can't give someone a better skill set, to actually sit there and talk to an Aboriginal person'.

Similarly, Anahera and Hinewai, who were interviewed together in Aotearoa New Zealand, explained the need to teach non-Māori students how to work with Māori clientele:

> 'Like … in terms of Aboriginal, the clientele of … social services is so high, same deal here … so we have predominantly Māori within these systems, health, children's, child protection services (Hinewai added justice) yeah, justice that are predominantly Māori and so we need people, allies, that understand how to work effectively with Whānau Māori (Hinewai: yeah). And the reality is it hasn't happened very well up until now. I mean, it might be starting to change a little bit, but a lot of change is needed. So that is the other aspect of our work, extending world views and not just of our students either'.

Hinewai and Anahera explained that a lot of students are young, straight out of school, and seek to complete a degree in social work. Students bring different experiences and come from diverse backgrounds. Many of the non-Indigenous students have had relatively privileged backgrounds and some with strong religious backgrounds. Such students were described by Hinewai as "really wanting to help those poor people over there". Anahera and Hinewai had identified a disconnection between some of the non-Indigenous students and their potential clients. Hinewai reflected:

> 'It's about trying to connect them [students] with what is the real world … and like really helping them understand what their own world view is, and that other people actually have different experiences and trying to get them really empathise with those … we want to do it in, obviously, a safe environment but then sometimes, it's not always that safe'.

Preparing students for working with Indigenous clients also meant preparing students for the possibility of clients verbally resisting a student's "good intentions" and clients telling students to "F… off". Pania pointed out that she always begins with relating to her audience and changes her teaching depending on the demographics of the students.

> 'I really start to think about how I can relate to the audience that I am teaching to … [for example] a lot of mature Māori women in the classroom [or]… young school leavers, … so I'd have to change the way that I would relate to them … I really make sure that my teaching is not boring and it's creative and innovative'.

Evelyn also from Aotearoa New Zealand explained how her teaching is led by her relationship with the students, her audience:

> The onus is on me to understand so that's kind of how I teach. What do they know, or they need to know, what do they know that I have to understand in order to help them learn, what experiences, what are they bringing, so I guess maybe that means that I start with them? Yeah, I'll probably start with my students, think about where they're at and try and pitch that

> and sometimes I don't figure out where they're at for – until after their first assignment and I read stuff and I go oh my Lord. Oh, we've got some work to do but that's alright.

Sharing stories with students

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, literature (Briese & Menzel, 2020) supports the use of yarning or story telling by academics in creating a relationship with students. Sharing stories when teaching was an important part of participants integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in both the Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand context. Real life stories from an academic's own life and practice experience, whether they are Indigenous or non-Indigenous, brought teaching Indigenous content to life. In their teaching, Hinewai and Anahera brought their theories alive with their examples from their own practice and the students loved it. Anahera explained how students made connections with their own lives and what they were learning:

> Even just get them making those connections even as students and in their student life and their family life. Like then it's a start, it's getting them better prepared for when they go out and practice.

Anahera explained that it depends on the young student's life experience and journey. Some have gone on to make "awesome practitioners" because of their own life experiences that have equipped them well for what's to come.

Within the Australian context, yarning and storytelling was also used by academics. Sam, from Australia, often used yarning in relating to students:

> '… very much talking, yarning … I try to engage with non-Indigenous students in, which is that flexible, very fluid, very conversational but also reflection. So, it's not all about talking, talking, talking at people'.

This section has covered many different aspects of an academic's relationship with students. The next relationship to discuss is an academic's relationship to Indigenous knowledge, language, and culture.

7.3 Relationship to Indigenous knowledges, language, and culture

The regeneration of Indigenous knowledges, language and culture as part of formal education is supported by academics such as Graham Hingangaroa Smith (G. H. Smith, 2009b), as is their inclusion into the social work curriculum. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) consider the need to interrupt the dominant narrative and reclaim academic space:

> To brown the curriculum is to make it messy, to show how it is already dirty and stained, to refuse romanticized creation stories and fort pedagogies … Like pan-searing, browning brings

> out the flavor through charring. It can be experienced as an irreverent burn that dislodges the handle from the hand, it deliberately seeks to anger, to force the hidden hand of the racism that lurks at every turn of the curriculum studies discourse. Browning highlights the present absences and invokes the ghosts of curriculum's past and futures, unsettling settler futurity (p. 83).

This quote highlights some of the messiness of 'browning the curriculum' revealing racism, highlighting absences and complexities while navigating the whitestream of academia. It refers once again back to the question posed at the beginning of this section on relationships, ''How do relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education? Another key relationship that was interpreted from the data was the relationship that educators have with Indigenous knowledges, language, and culture. This section will investigate what role this relationship plays in the integration process.

7.3.1 **Indigenous knowledges**

Appropriation of knowledge

A key aspect of an academic's relationship to Indigenous knowledges and perspectives is respecting Indigenous knowledges and perspectives to ensure that non-Indigenous academics do not present themselves as the expert (as mentioned in section 7.1.3) and appropriate Indigenous knowledges as their own. The focus on this section is upon the appropriation of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives, yet it is intertwined with understanding who is the expert of the knowledge and to whom it belongs.

Sarah, a non-Indigenous academic who works in the Indigenous unit at her university and teaches social work students, explained that, in western universities, certainly in Australia, the experts have been the anthropologists, legal practitioners, consultants, geographers and environmental planners. These people were often non-Indigenous and tended to have authority and the expertise that was recognised. Sarah shared that, historically, the tendency in Australia and globally has been to appropriate Indigenous knowledges:

> 'The stories that Indigenous people share about their understandings of the world and about themselves tend to be appropriated and used to validate the expertise of people in disciplines like anthropology. So, then that's a sort of process of appropriating Indigenous knowledges and transforming it so that it, the expertise, is divorced from the people who articulate the knowledge in the first place'.

Respect and integrity are key social work values and are required in handling Indigenous knowledges. As Sarah mentions, appropriating Indigenous knowledges can have the consequence of distancing or divorcing social work academics from the people they are intended to support and assist. Sarah, instead of placing herself as the expert and appropriating Indigenous knowledges, uses literature written by Indigenous experts, the rightful authority of expertise, the Indigenous communities, and Indigenous leaders. Sarah explains to her students:

> ‘These are the readings that I’m providing you with so that you will listen to these Indigenous experts talk about themselves and what’s important to them. So, it’s that kind of distinction between myself claiming expertise as the lecturer and the course co-ordinator and the academic in the university setting and pointing students to the rightful authority of expertise, which is Indigenous communities, Indigenous leaders’ themselves’.

Appropriation and misappropriation of Indigenous knowledges by non-Indigenous academics often hinders the integration of Indigenous knowledges into social work curricula and is a continuation of colonialism (Green & Bennett, 2018, p. 262). Sarah continues to explain the danger of appropriating Indigenous knowledges within the curriculum without the guidance of Indigenous leadership:

> ‘We’re being asked to take on board Indigenous knowledges and integrate them into our curriculum. The danger about that is that we are considering ourselves as the experts, non-Indigenous experts, in danger of appropriating Indigenous knowledges for use in our own curriculum without properly understanding what’s appropriate for inclusion. … So, there’s a sort of cultural authority that comes with integrating Indigenous knowledges into the curriculum that I don’t think many universities have quite come to grips with and certainly don’t have the institutional mechanisms for doing that well at this stage, with the exception of universities … who are employing Indigenous professors in every discipline to try to enable that kind of cultural authority to take place’.

Here Sarah emphasises the need for the whitestream to have mechanisms in place within universities to ensure that Indigenous knowledges are not appropriated, and that the integration process is guided by Indigenous professors who have the cultural authority to handle the knowledges correctly and guide the integration process.

Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Kaia, a non-Indigenous academic, highlighted the misuse and mishandling of Indigenous wisdom/knowledges which leads to appropriation and abuse of Indigenous knowledge:

> ‘I think it’s really about partnership and figuring out a way … for this Indigenous wisdom to come to the surface, because in the past Indigenous wisdom would come to the surface and then Westerners would distort it, crook it, use it, abuse it and destroy it basically, misinterpret it. So, I think it is the age of … anti-arrogance and how can we get over our arrogance in social work teaching and practice to start appreciating various ways of knowing? And, but we need to acknowledge … unconscious bias which is … it’s actually racism. So, I like to name it as racism because it’s, well in the light and it’s connected with arrogance and dominance of Pākehā knowledge’.

Kaia believed that we need to deal with the arrogance that leads to appropriating knowing by viewing western knowledge as superior to Indigenous knowledge and instead appreciate various ways of knowing. Kaia spoke about hearing Aboriginal academic, Lilla Watson, speak about appropriation of Indigenous knowledges. As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, Lilla Watson has been quoted to say, 'If you have come here to help me you are wasting your time … but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together' (Watson cited in Riggs, 2004, p. 13). Yet Kaia highlighted Lilla's response to this quote being used and appropriated by the academy:

> '"It's not mine, it's coming from my tribe, it is my tribal wisdom. I cannot, you cannot assign my name to something that has been passed on to me over generations." So, the whole copyright thing is a Pākehā way of commodifying knowledge and there's the main problem because we've got the paradigm which is, outdated, exploitative, top down and not appropriate for a current world. And we still write that, that course, that their course through neoliberal models and they're destroying us all, they're not destroying only Indigenous wisdom, but they're destroying the whole planet'.

So, even as a researcher within this thesis, I have attempted to handle Lillia Watson's quote appropriately, yet I am using western mechanisms to handle that wisdom and knowledge within western research. It would have been more appropriate to acknowledge the quote as coming from Lilla's people, from Gangulu country, yet western referencing systems do not make provision for community authorship. What was classified as legitimate knowledge within the whitestream academy was also taken into consideration.

Legitimate knowledge in the whitestream

Meeting the requirements of what the whitestream calls legitimate knowledge appeared to influence the integration process. Within whitestream academia, legitimate knowledge comes in the form of scholarly refereed articles and evidence-based results from research. Aotearoa New Zealand academics who participated in this doctoral study appeared to be more aware of the literature that was available to them to use to enhance their teaching and to support the integration process. Key literature that enabled the integration process within the Aotearoa New Zealand context were Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Puao-Te-Atu-Tu *(Day Break-The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Māori Perspectives for the Department of Social Welfare)*. These two documents were mentioned by all participants from Aotearoa New Zealand. The Kiatiakitanga framework, Core Competence Standards (The SWRB Ten Core Competence Standards), the SWRB Code of Conduct and the ANZASW Code of Ethics were also mentioned. Both Māori and non-Māori academics knew the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o

Waitangi and sought to abide by them. Aotearoa New Zealand participants, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, listed the same key documents when asked what documents guided them in their teaching. Yet the Indigenous educators from Aotearoa New Zealand also mentioned the lack of published articles to teach from regarding Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Hinewai commented upon the lack of articles and the complexity of producing legitimised Indigenous knowledge for use in the whitestream academy:

> 'Even our Māori literature is still, could be better, … I mean its huge amounts of people adding to it and its growing every day but like sometimes, I just wish I had this article on this … we are going to have to write it, (Anahera agreed) but you know then there's a whole other thing around once you writing it, you are putting that information out to everyone and sometimes people can misinterpret it and then they start using it and maybe it's not right, you know, so we kind of have all these other dilemmas around that information going out and is it, who does it belong to and all that sort of stuff as well'.

Comparatively, Australian academics did not have the same clarity as to what was to guide their teaching and them in the integration process. Australian educators highlighted that they found it hard to find content that was pertaining to local Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

As mentioned in the literature review and in the findings, Indigenous knowledges and perspectives are not always found in scholarly literature, so legitimising what is taught by the standards of the whitestream is not always possible. Sam (an Aboriginal academic in Australia) questioned the academic rigour of the content Sam taught. Sam reflected that Sam's teaching was informed by Sam's lived experience working with families in Child Protection, Youth Justice, and in Domestic Violence houses and working in policy and the lived experiences of Elders, communities, and other practitioners. Sam used western documents/knowledges to legitimise and support the teaching of Indigenous content. For example, Sam used the AASW documents, like the Code of Ethics and Acknowledgement Statement, to ensure students understood their professional responsibilities and obligations to Indigenous peoples. Therefore, in this way, Sam used Western based documents to legitimise the Indigenous content that Sam taught:

> 'It's all informed, what I do, so there's nothing actually really written … I question the academic rigour of that to be honest because … I hold my own view and that's all that I teach because I find my view … it's based on real-life experiences and then it's reinforced by the real-life experiences that people are having [in] communities, so the Elders that I talk to, the community members that I talk to, and the practitioners I talk to. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal practitioners … I can't then go and find a journal article, where someone has written about that'.

This posed the question, is undocumented and un-peer reviewed knowledge any less rigorous than evidence-based practice and research-based practice? It could be argued that Sam's teaching was very much evidence based as Sam relied on tried and tested experiences of Indigenous people to inform Sam's teaching. The content Sam taught may not be based on academically peer reviewed evidence, but it was still informed by evidence, that of informed people. As mentioned in the literature, legitimising knowledge within the academy calls into question what knowledge is deemed worthy and appropriate (Battiste, 2013; Lipe, 2019; L. T. Smith, 2012). Can Indigenous knowledge be placed in a central position and deemed rigorous within the social work curriculum if it has not been peer reviewed? Sam's method of teaching, which includes Indigenous knowledges and perspectives, had not been legitimised by the whitestream, yet it is meeting the desired whitestream outcomes. This signifies a need to broaden the concept of legitimate knowledge within academia. Indigenous social work knowledge, theory and practice has often not been documented in Australia (Green & Baldry, 2008).

Literature written in Australia by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal academics has called for Indigenous knowledge that is based upon knowledge developed through relationships with Aboriginal people with lived experiences to be legitimatised (Duthie, 2019). Behrendt, Larkin, Griew and Kelly (2012) assert that new knowledges develops from the interface between Indigenous knowledges and Western-based system knowledges, engaging respectfully with Indigenous communities enables these new knowledges to develop (p201). Relationships with community will be discussed further in section 7.6.

Pat, a non-Indigenous academic from Aotearoa New Zealand who had also worked at an Australian university, explained that there are a lot of anecdotal stories available to academics that had not been written in a western evidence-based way and she saw that as part of the struggle of the integration process in Australia:

> 'I think that's part of, maybe, is that struggle is Aboriginal, Indigenous knowledge that often is through storytelling to what we, the western ways, the evidence base, or practice base because it's really based on the research, really based on what is published and been peer reviewed. So, they can say, "Oh we, we spoke to our Elder or kaumatua". This … [can be] seen as a gap … because we do focus on evidence base. But we're moving into that practice base … does that mean if the knowledge has been verbal it's not as good as those published in whatever the journal?'

In Aotearoa New Zealand there has been a greater integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the curriculum, as highlighted in literature by McNabb. Non-Indigenous academic, McNabb (2019a), highlights how Te Tiriti provides an overarching influence and an authorising environment that provides legitimacy and accountability to bring about change (p. 45). Te Tiriti 'provides a strong, authorising environment for the advancement of decolonising practices in social work education' (McNabb, 2019a, p. 47). McNabb's (2019a) research suggests that social work education in Australia would also benefit from a treaty that would 'scaffold the development of a partnership to integrate Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledges' (p. 47). Establishing a stronger authorising environment in Australia by way of a treaty or, in the absence of a treaty, a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) can be established. A Reconciliation Action Plan, when founded upon relationships, respect, opportunities and reinforced by governance and reporting, can provide a foundation to support the integration process (Reconciliation Australia, 2018). Therefore, a RAP could provide an authorising environment to scaffold and legitimise Indigenous knowledges within the academy.

Respect for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives

The academics that were interviewed respected and valued Indigenous knowledges, practices, and beliefs. Being aware and critically conscious of one's relationship to Indigenous knowledges is significant in the integration process, as it could be argued the degree of importance that an academic places upon Indigenous knowledges determines the credence that an academic gives such knowledge. Māori social work academic, Shayne Walker (2008), highlights that, 'the teaching and learning of knowledge is not an acultural experience, therefore the knowledge taught may be implicit within the mode of delivery and will affect the outcome' (p. 60). Hence an academic's relationship to Indigenous knowledges is important, as an academic your delivery of that knowledge can affect the outcome of what knowledge students gain. As mentioned in literature by Zubrzycki et al. (2014), and McNabb (2019a), a central part of decolonising social work education on both sides of the Tasman is to establish epistemological equality, de-centring Western knowledge and in turn ensuring Indigenous knowledges are equivalent to Western knowledge.

An aspect of centring Indigenous knowledges is valuing those knowledges. Narelle, from Aotearoa New Zealand, reflected:

> 'Respect is a big one and that respect for diversity, for difference, valuing different types of knowledge … And it's those two different types of knowledge that don't have to be (that) one's right and one's wrong; it's about valuing that there are different types of knowledge there … and they all contribute'.

Narelle did not make western knowledge more valuable than Indigenous knowledge, she valued both knowledges and respected their diversity. Valuing this diversity and knowing how to integrate such knowledge into their teaching came with an element of tension for some academics. Particularly this was the case knowing when to ask Indigenous people for help and when not to ask for help and support when integrating Indigenous knowledges into social work.

Sigrid (a non-Indigenous academic in Australia) teaches in social work and is also conducting research with Aboriginal people to increase the understanding of Indigenous peoples. She explained the tension she felt when researching and navigating the whitestream and carefully handling Aboriginal knowledges.

> 'I take my hat off to Aboriginal people who are continually telling you again. "This, we've told you this already!". And one of my participants actually reminded me … I was trying to be respectful and asking about culture and the place that plays in the opportunities offered by protection and those for protection. Anyway, she goes, … "you can look at that on the internet!". Okay, yeah, you're right'.

There are times when it is necessary to ask for guidance from Indigenous people but, as mentioned above, it is important for non-Indigenous academics to do their own research and to investigate what has already been written and what is already available to be included in the social work curriculum, knowledge that has been made available by Indigenous people to enable non-Indigenous people to enact the decolonising process upon their teaching. Sigrid had to struggle with her own confidence in handling Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. She tried to justify why she was asking the question:

> 'I'm like but, but I just, it just made me feel, oh that's so lazy of me that I would come to your community, not research your specific language group and culture and ask you questions … It … reminded me of just, my place really. And she answered lots of other questions that were really quite intricate but the ones … "we've told you this story and it's out there, go and find it"'.

The need for Indigenous knowledges to be seen as useful in the contemporary context

To assist in the integration process, academics are required to relate to Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in a positive way. It is essential to have an understanding of the usefulness of Indigenous knowledges in the context of contemporary social work. If academics see Indigenous knowledges as outdated, inferior, or not useful in social work, then that attitude will impact upon the way that they integrate the knowledge into social work education. Kaia (a non-Indigenous academic) illustrated her understanding of the usefulness of Indigenous models in New Zealand within a contemporary context by saying,

> There are a number of Indigenous models in New Zealand that are really relevant, useful and other students can readily use them, and I don't want them to use them only with Maori clients. Tell me your pedigree and … then I will pull an appropriate model. No if the model is good it works for everybody, if it's oppressive then it will be oppressive for everybody.

A key aspect of viewing Indigenous knowledges as being useful in the contemporary context is also ensuring that the knowledge is local. Participants expressed the need for Indigenous models and practices to be integrated into the curriculum. Indigenous models and practices were seen in literature as important to social work (Hollis-English, 2017; Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). Within social work, theories, models, practices, policies, procedures, curriculum from the Northern hemisphere context do not fully explain the southern hemisphere context. There is a need for local knowledge. Manaia, from Aotearoa New Zealand believes that:

> 'We are sitting on our own theories and concepts and local knowledge and we, it's just untapped, or we actually, we don't have much confidence in using our own stuff'.

Manaia believes that social work theories, concepts and local knowledge developed in the Southern hemisphere can match that or be superior to that offered by the Northern hemisphere. He believed that Southern hemisphere social work has a specific brand that offers insight into contemporary issues, such as a feminist stream, sustainable social work practice, disaster social work, spirituality and social work, Māori social work, and Pacific social work.

Ensuring Indigenous knowledges are seen as useful within a contemporary context and academics have a positive attitude to the usefulness of Indigenous knowledges within a contemporary context further enables the integration process.

Understanding the importance of history

Understanding the importance of history from the account of Indigenous peoples is mentioned in literature by a number of Indigenous academics in social work, including Bindi Bennett (2019b) and Leland Ruwhiu (2009). Participants in the interviews also identified the importance of history. Both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand have different accounts of their history depending upon who tells that history. It is important for academics to ensure that their account of history is informed by both a western and Indigenous account of history.

Carmen described how as social workers we need to recognise the impact of time, yet also the impact of the past, for example, "in terms of the Stolen Generation – that we're still walking with that past in our work". Carmen highlighted the importance of understanding the impact that the past has upon present practice and this needs to be included in teaching students to work alongside Aboriginal people and families:

> 'Particularly with working with Aboriginal families is that the past informs the present and the future. I always make a point of saying numerous times that … when we meet an Aboriginal

> family, we are actually walking in with 200 years of history, and we need to recognise that that needs to be discussed for some families. And we need to recognise that, yes, we haven't got it right in the past but that doesn't necessarily mean we're not going to get it right in the future – that we need to engage them in that conversation'.

As mentioned in section 7.2.2, participants highlighted that students' could pose some resistance to learning about history and its relevance in the contemporary social work context. Therefore, an academic having an appropriate relationship to history can ensure that the resistance from students is met with understanding rather than defensiveness from the academic. Anna pointed out:

> 'I think it's critical that students understand the history and understand particularly around cultural issues of trauma, transgenerational trauma and because often you get comments like, "Oh but that was like 200 years ago" … it is about saying why it is still relevant today and I think we need to make sure we do it properly'.

Academics having a positive relationship with Indigenous knowledges, including understanding the importance and relevance of history, enables them to de-centre western knowledge, which is a key aspect of decolonising social work education.

7.3.2 **Relationship to culture**

As discussed in the 'desired identity' section, acknowledging one's cultural identity and understanding one's cultured self is important in teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Understanding how an academic relates to other cultures other than their own is also important. All the academics were teaching across cultures, whether they were non-Indigenous teaching some basic elements of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives, or Indigenous academics teaching western knowledges and perspectives. As a Treaty of Waitangi partner, social workers (including academics) must be familiar with and be comfortable in working with Māori people, their cultures, and practices (Nash & Munford, 2001). McNabb (2019b) mentions that the nature of culture, 'adapts and responds to contemporary contexts, requiring continual engagement and development of new understandings' (p. 8). It is necessary as academics teaching within the context of decolonising social work to understand the fluid nature of culture and the need for continual engagement and development of new understandings.

Hinewai, from Aotearoa New Zealand, shared how Māori culture is dynamic and at times as a staff they have had to adapt and respond to the contemporary context within the university:

> 'Maori culture is dynamic, so whilst we have the correct ways of doing things, we adapt to different scenarios. So, for someone they might go, we actually should welcome them on the

> Marae, … actually that's like an hour drive that way, it's not going to work so what can we use from the campus, where we can do similar kind of scenario and who do we need to call on'.

Pat, a non-Indigenous academic in Aotearoa New Zealand, explained how culture is quite fluid. Pat considers her responsibility in teaching and the need to increase her understanding of Māori culture so she can teach content under the guidance of her Māori mentors in a way that is appropriate.

> 'I represent Chinese … but culture is actually quite fluid as well. So, some people might say I have been westernised that way … my knowledge might not necessarily apply to other cultural groups. And the same thing is when we involve our Māori colleagues or the whānau group. I'm quite aware of that. I got to where I am because I have done my hard work, I got a PhD. It should be a fair share in terms of how we do our work'.

Pat does not assume that she can rely on her Māori colleagues to fill in her gaps in knowledge regarding Māori knowledges and perspectives by bringing in a Māori person as a guest speaker, without first doing the work involved in equipping herself with the basic knowledge she requires to teach Māori content.

Some of the participants reflected upon their own upbringing and how that impacted upon how they related to Indigenous cultures. Matilda, a non-Indigenous academic from Australia, considered this:

> '… really kind of review the way that I'd grown up and the assumptions that I'd made about my own culture and being in that dominant culture as a kid and … picking up … explicit racism and I was oblivious to that as a kid, and it was very normalised and still is very normalised amongst the people that I grew up with. And then university just gave me a whole different perspective in terms of thinking about that more critically … And then also having the opportunity to go to community as well, … having really close friendships and relationships with Aboriginal people'.

Becoming critically conscious of her own upbringing, she recognised that she had not identified explicit racism as a child and acknowledged how being part of the dominant culture had meant racism had become normalised. Being given opportunities to visit and work alongside Aboriginal communities meant that Matilda had developed close relationships with Aboriginal people.

From the interviews of academics in Aotearoa New Zealand, there was evidence that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics used aspects of Māori culture within their teaching. Nearly all the non-Indigenous academics used a Māori method of introducing themselves to their students. Narelle, a non-Indigenous academic employed at a South Island university, remarked,

> 'Whenever I start a class, I always do a mihi…'.

It appeared that non-Indigenous academics in Aotearoa New Zealand generally had a greater understanding of Māori culture than their non-Indigenous counterparts in Australia had of Aboriginal culture. Yet this really depended upon the academic's personal experience and interaction with Indigenous cultures.

7.3.3 **Relationship to language**

Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, language was mentioned by all of the participants, whereas it was only mentioned by one Australian participant. Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, the Māori language is integrated to some degree in the everyday lives of non-Māori people. Ruwhiu states that te reo Māori 'has become infused with English language in Aotearoa New Zealand' (P. Ruwhiu, 2019, p. 24). It is common to see signs in public in both English and Māori and at times just in Māori. Within Aotearoa New Zealand, English has Māori terms added which are used by Māori and non-Māori in their everyday language. In Australia, there were hundreds of different Aboriginal languages and currently there still remains a number of Aboriginal languages spoken in Australia. Some of these languages are resurging and are being revitalised yet, due to the sheer number of different languages, non-Aboriginal people do not have the same relationship to Aboriginal languages as non-Māori do to Te Reo in Aotearoa New Zealand. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori language is offered at a tertiary level yet there are few if any Aboriginal languages that are taught at university. An academic in Australia would need to do their own research and find a way of learning an Aboriginal language outside of the academy.

Pania, a Māori academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, expressed the need to handle Indigenous language carefully when teaching Indigenous content, as translating terms from one language to another can have the effect of bastardising the content rather than retaining its original meaning:

> 'Te Whare Tapa Whā … it's a very easy model to learn and a lot of non-Maori pick it up and go yeah, I know how to do this, but the risk to that … translating the Maori words into English … seeing it from their own lens which kind of bastardised [it], so the challenge we have in NZ is introducing other Maori models of practice and being able to get people to understand it … everyone in social services uses Te Whare Tapa Whā and … it's kind of gone through the ringer and back and it no longer has that Indigenous essence'.

Jess, a non-Indigenous academic, explained how she had learnt Te Reo Māori language at school during the first year it was offered in New Zealand schools. However, she felt that she had lost confidence in using it and therefore it hindered her ability to use it in the integration process:

> 'Lots of people who live in New Zealand use terms of Te Reo (Māori language) within their normal conversation because I think increasingly it's become more integrated as mainstream.

> But I didn't, I haven't gone back to it since my high school years, which is a shame really … I miss having the confidence to use it'.

This section has discussed the importance of an academic understanding their own relationship to Indigenous knowledges, language, and culture and how that relationship may impact upon them integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the curriculum.

7.4 Relationship to peers

Relationships to peers has a role to play in the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. Whether these relationships are between Indigenous and Indigenous academics, Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics, or non-Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics, each relationship with peers has a role to play. While navigating the whitestream it could be argued that individualism has been given preference over collectivism, where self-promotion is preferred over working as a cohesive team and collective. Napan (2015), a non-Māori social work academic in Aotearoa New Zealand, advocates for collegiality, camaraderie and a sense of community between academics, to be 'good allies to each other' (p. 19), and she advocates for academics to have collegial conversations where academics initiate dialogue with one another and collaborate together to minimize competition between one another. It was evident from the interviews that creating a collective and collaborative environment is more conducive for decolonising social work education. There was a need for camaraderie between academics. Navigating the whitestream alone as an Indigenous academic only inhibited the integration process, whereas having the support of other academics, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, advanced the integration process.

7.4.1 Reciprocal relationships between Indigenous peers

Tuakana teina is an important concept for Māori academics in teaching as is Ngapartji Ngapartji for some Aboriginal academics. Ngapartji Ngapartji was not mentioned by any of the participants within the interviews but had been experienced by me as I had worked in the Indigenous unit at an Australian university. Ngapartji Ngapartji is an Anangu philosophy and practice (Worby, Tur, & Blanch, 2014). Ngapartji Ngapartji is understood by Aboriginal academic, Simone Tur, as:

> In the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara Dictionary, Ngapartji Ngapartji is defined as: 'in return or later'; and 'I'll give you (something) in return.' The second reading of Ngapartji Ngapartji emphasizes the importance of mutual reciprocity and obligation between individuals, groups or communities. In doing so, it foregrounds the notion of exchange where learning occurs through relationship responsibilities (Worby et al., 2014, p. 1).

Comparatively, Sam was the only Aboriginal academic within her department and did not have the support of other Indigenous academics. Sam did not mention experiencing a sense of Ngapartji Ngapartji with her colleagues. Sam found support outside of academia:

> 'Elders, community members and practitioners. That's really what guides me … really on the ground'.

Worby, Tur and Blanch, one non-Indigenous man and two Indigenous women, are colleagues, collaborators, mutual mentors, willing mentees and critical friends in their relationships with one another within the academy (Worby et al., 2014, p. 2). Within this relationship, they have navigated and negotiated respectfully and critically with one another to work collaboratively. Over time, they have established ground rules of their relationship that are sometimes spoken and sometimes intuitive. They 'have formed a sufficiently strong foundation to contemplate a play of ideas and practices which permits some exchange and melding of voices' (Worby et al., 2014, p. 2). These relationships between colleagues, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, create a foundation for decolonising social work education.

Tuakana teina has similarities to Ngapartji Ngapartji, as it is also a reciprocal mentoring relationship between people. Tuakana teina, translated literally means 'older sibling, younger sibling'. Walker (2008) explains that the tuakana older sibling and teina younger sibling relationship can change depending upon different situations. Walker (2008) uses the example of working alongside another academic and how, as their relationship developed, they discovered more about each other's skills, strengths and weaknesses. At times one would take on the role of tuakana and then at other times the roles were reversed depending upon their strengths in different areas and situations.

Māori academic, Aroha, explained how she had found research that supported the role-model relationship: 'people who did really well had a colleague who was older than them, that sort of mentors them'. Aroha explained how tuakana teina occurs within the context of her mentoring relationships with her Māori colleagues as she watched it occur between her two Māori role models in social work:

> 'It's really role modelled the Tuakana Teina, the older sibling, younger sibling, … it's sort of a learning technique where you have, it's sort of modelled from the older sibling, younger sibling thing in Māori society where they would learn from each other, like a reciprocal relationship and there is sort of the expectation like in Māori families, there is this expectation that you have a role and responsibility and fit into that role ,… having that mirrored in their teaching had a huge impact on me'.

Aroha shared how tuakana teina relationships drew her into academia. She had seen strong Māori academics working in social work, like Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata and Rachel Seelby. 'I was like, there are so many awesome people I want to work with them'. Both Hinewai and Aroha had been mentored by a Māori academic in how to become academics and how to publish. Their mentor made publishing look easy. She published frequently, 'she played a really big part in making us feel welcome and I guess letting us know how we can develop our career as Māori academics'. Their mentor continues in her role mentoring the Māori staff group as a group and has met with them at their wānanga. She asked each of the academics what they wanted to do and then explained to them how they could go about doing it. Anahera described their mentor as tuakana, like an older sibling. Their tuakana guides them in understanding the university system and how to navigate and survive it as a Māori within the whitestream. Their tuakana had survived it for many years and was really knowledgeable on navigating the system. Hinewai explained:

> 'She is amazing, and you know at universities there are all these little nooks and crannies, like you can apply for leave, but no one ever tells you how to, all these things, well she knew all of them'.

It was evident that having tuakana teina and Ngapartji Ngapartji relationships enables Indigenous academics in their navigation of the whitestream. These relationships provide support for Indigenous academics within their teaching of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives and also in their navigation of the whitestream.

Literature indicates that the principal support for Māori academics is other Māori academics (Mercier, Asmar, & Page, 2011). Reciprocal, mentoring, and supportive relationships lead into a discussion upon collective support in the integration process.

7.4.2 **Collective support**

Within the Australian context, having Indigenous academics working as a collective enabled the decolonising process within the academy. Sam explained the advantages of Indigenous academics working as a collective:

> 'You can see very well functioning places and the reasons why it's usually because they've got a collective. I mean, QT they're thriving because they've got the biggest body of Aboriginal academics and they're connected globally … I was very connected to that through being in the Indigenous centre and feel that it's even more and more removed being in a mainstream school now … because you gotta constantly be in this space … it's been really challenging'.

It was evident to Sam that well-functioning, thriving Aboriginal academics within universities are more effective working as a collective. Even though Sam did not have Aboriginal colleagues within her department, there is evidence in literature of Indigenous academics in universities in Australia working collectively. Aboriginal academic, Russ-Smith (2018), explains through connections and networks of relationships with Indigenous women in academia; 'as a network of relationships, we are enacting our responsibilities as sovereign warriors within a space that holds colonial power' (p. 260). The status quo within universities is disrupted when Indigenous academics express solidarity and their sovereignty; particularly when Indigenous academics do not fit into the academy's essentialist definition of what an Indigenous academic should be and how they should or should not act (Green et al., 2018, p. 260). Some of these sovereign acts include calling out and disrupting settler colonialism within the academy, 'keeping whiteness accountable'(Green et al., 2018, p. 261) and having the right to say no to the 'opportunities' and calling out racist practices and then navigating the reactions to these sovereign acts (Green et al., 2018, p. 260).

The collective support of the Māori staff group was spoken about by all four Māori academics that made up this group within their social work department at their university. Working and teaching as a collective had a substantial impact upon their ability to integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education.

Team teaching is an integral part of Aroha's teaching, she insists that the Māori academics teach together as much as possible so that they can have tuakana teina relationships when teaching in the classroom. Team teaching also provided opportunities for students to see the diversity within Māori people: 'One thing I have noticed from our students, it's really easy for them to see one person who is Māori and to think that is what being Māori is and it frustrates me'. Pania explains this further:

> 'Us four Māori academics, we are very, very supportive of each other. We have asked to look at co-teaching because we are a collective culture. Being in a classroom on our own is sometimes more like its western. I'm the teacher and you are the student. So being able to co-teach a lot of Indigenous papers … Aroha and I are teaching, co-teaching that so we are both registered as co-ordinators in that [topic]'.

A benefit of team-teaching or co-teaching is that it enables a collective perspective rather than an individualistic perspective to be given to the students. In literature, Māori academic, Shayne Walker, is an advocate for team teaching. Walker sees the value in students hearing differing and divergent opinions from Māori academics teaching together as it unsettles students' concrete thinking regarding what it is to work with Māori people and motivates students to seek help in their practice:

> Students often think that if they get ‘the’ Māori perspective nailed then they can go out and do the business and be competent to work with Māori. So having complementary skills and knowledge bases that are sometimes conflicting can unsettle their ‘concrete’ thinking. Diverging opinions give them less confidence to go out and work with our people and this is a good thing because it is more likely they will seek help (Walker, 2008, p. 61).

Walker (2008) also found team teaching useful theoretically, as presenting students with several views and approaches to issues, particularly when Indigenous academics disagree, ‘can only add to their intellectual rigorousness’ (p. 62). Team teaching also is a process that assists both Māori and Pākehā as it challenges monocultural views and prevents reducing social work with Māori to a checklist (Walker, 2008, p. 64). Walker (2008) discusses how at times working as a team can become frustrating, yet ultimately, he would advocate for working as a team over working alone. Walker(2008) explains ‘[s]ome may think “harden up, develop your own skill base, this is a co-dependency-based cop out”. Not so, our teaching load at the moment is at least twice that of some of our colleagues and on our own this would not be the case’ (p. 61). Hence, team-teaching can actually add to the workload of an Indigenous academic, yet it provides support, academic rigour and furthers the cause of decolonising academia by de-centring western ways of teaching.

7.4.3 **Relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peers - allies**

The need for relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics is spoken about within social work literature. There is a need for Indigenous academics to have non-Indigenous allies within the academy. Hendrick and Young (2017) provide a framework for practice, teaching and learning on becoming an ally in working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, a framework that is ‘essential to the joint relational project of decolonisation’ (p. 9). Hendrick and Young (2017) encourage others to develop their own practices for being allies. Creating ally relationships was important to participants in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Anna from Australia believed that Australian Aboriginal academics needed allies like herself to support them in teaching and in the integration process. Yet, to build that ally relationship, Anna was always aware of the need to ask first and to ensure that she is working in partnership with Aboriginal people.

> ‘It is about saying that I’m here for the right reasons, I know why I am here, and you can’t do it alone. Only 3% of the [Aboriginal] population, you can’t do this by yourself. You need some people to support you, whatever it is, however … I always ask first’.

Sigrid, also from Australia, used the term ‘relational joining’ to highlight the importance of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum,

> ‘The relational joining of, with our Aboriginal peers and colleagues into teaching into the curriculum. So that there are clear points of difference presented … through the eyes of those [Indigenous] guests that we incorporate into our teaching’.

This is exemplified by Pat, a non-Indigenous academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, who had developed a strong collegial relationship with a Māori colleague that enabled her to be confident in integrating Indigenous content into her teaching, she stated:

> ‘How you position yourself, I just want to make sure that I’m not crossing, tampering other people’s boundary. But I also need to be confident about what I know and what I can teach you, which is more than what you, the student, to scaffold them into the next step, which is, I have to feed them enough so then I can pass them onto their allocated supervisors’.

By being guided by her Māori colleague Pat was aware of her own position as a non-Indigenous academic and the boundaries that were in place regarding teaching Indigenous content. Pat was clear and confident about her responsibility to teach and to scaffold students learning to prepare them for the next step and their future supervisors. Pat was aware of the limits upon her teaching of Indigenous content, she was also aware of what was appropriate for her to teach from her position as a non-Indigenous academic and she chose not to cross or tamper with other people’s knowledge or expertise.

Conversely, Māori academic, Pania, explained that she had experienced some resistance from non-Māori colleagues in creating relationships:

> ‘With our non-Māori colleagues, they really, really try and I give that credit to them but there’s also, there’s this overhanding resistance sometimes of, I don’t know how to do that and I’m not sure if I can or it’s not my culture and all of that sort of thing. So, while they are supportive, there is a little bit of resistance’.

The Māori staff group did feel that they would get more support from their colleagues who knew them better, ones that they had an established relationship with, this once again shows the importance of relationships.

Narelle, a non-Indigenous academic, reflected upon the need for reciprocal relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous staff so that, when Māori staff were asked to come in to present in a topic other than their own, the non-Indigenous staff member could reciprocate back in some way to the Indigenous academic. Narelle highlighted the need for institutions to support non-

Indigenous staff to have the time to develop and maintain relationships with their Indigenous peers:

> ‘I guess workload is probably a challenge because some of the things that I’m talking about take time and relationship building and valuing relationships and being able to reciprocate when staff, Māori staff, do things for us, being able to reciprocate back takes time and we’re really pressured; we’re really time poor and so I don’t know that the institution supports us to develop and maintain those relationships’.

Jess, another non-Indigenous academic from the same university as Narelle, discussed how in their department they have a kaiārahi (guide, mentor):

> ‘Who is a person who we can draw on … we can go to her and say we’re wanting to do this, and she’ll give us some suggestions’.

Evelyn, a Samoan academic highlighted the importance of having relationships with Māori who can support her in her teaching and locating teaching resources, “but I do find that that challenge can be met from my point of view by the relationships I create or maintain and enhance with Māori to help me”. Evelyn has also made connections with the University’s School of Māori and Indigenous Studies. Evelyn explained that:

> ‘I think we have to role model for students what we’re doing. So, we stand at the beginning, and we say, “Persons, I welcome you today and we do it in a Māori way”, and we have, you know, the person from [School of Māori and Indigenous studies] that comes to do that and encourages them. So, the first look they get at us is that relationship … I think engaging with the Indigenous population internally and externally and demonstrating the bi-cultural relationship all the time. All the time’.

Evelyn here emphasises the need for relationships both internally and externally of the university to support teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Literature supports the role modelling of bicultural relationships in the classroom so that students can see it in practice (P. Ruwhiu, 2019).

Within the Australian context, there had been different experiences of academics working with and in an Indigenous unit. Sarah, a non-Indigenous academic, worked within an Indigenous unit at the university at the time of the interview and found that her Indigenous colleagues were very supportive:

> ‘I’m in a great spot and my colleagues are very supportive … sometimes I’ve wished for more support from the institution when dealing with racism which I take to be much more serious than the institution tends to understand that it is’.

Relationships between peers are important. Edith, a non-Indigenous academic in a different University to Sarah in Australia, worked in a social work department that did not have an Aboriginal social work academic on staff. She highlighted how she relies heavily upon her fellow non-Indigenous academics regarding knowledge of the local area:

> 'A lot of them have worked here for a long time and are very familiar with the social work networks, the issues, have actually worked in Indigenous communities, so, we support each other very well and I never pretend to have the knowledge that they have, and I turn to them a lot'.

Sigrid, a colleague of Edith, highlighted the commitment that herself and her colleagues have to bringing Indigenous voices into their teaching by bringing in guest speakers. Sigrid explained the importance of building strong relationships with Aboriginal colleagues and networks:

> 'So, certainly, building up networks of people that can help to encourage our students to just really, to be growing and learning I guess in an experiential way, not just about the head … we support each other in making contacts with other colleagues and networks to enhance our learning. It's, I think it's just because of where we are and because of our experience across Aboriginal populations that keeps it on our radar'.

Literature supported the need for non-Indigenous academics to take their share of the responsibility in teaching Indigenous content. This can be achieved through the guidance and support of Indigenous colleagues, so it is not solely the responsibility of Indigenous academics. Duthie (2019) supports the need for non-Indigenous social work academics to 'have a responsibility to contribute to embedding core Indigenous curriculum—a need to step up, embrace, and contribute to learning and teaching in the Indigenous space' (p. 114).

7.4.4 **Relationships between academics and Indigenous professionals**

Academics pointed out the need for academics to have relationships with Indigenous professionals outside of the university. Many of the academics agreed that having Indigenous practitioners coming in and speaking to students first-hand was a valuable way for students to learn about both working alongside Indigenous people and Indigenous practitioners. There are opportunities for academics to support Indigenous practitioners to continue with their qualifications. The need for remuneration and reciprocal relationships with those Indigenous professionals who are asked to come in as guest speakers is significant.

Reciprocal relationships between academics and Indigenous practitioners give the academic opportunities to learn from Indigenous people. Carmen, a non-Indigenous academic from Australia, highlighted the need to learn from Aboriginal people:

> '… we're not going to have that in – that knowledge about their culture necessarily and their experiences so we need to [be] learning from them'.

Carmen explained her strong relationship with senior Aboriginal women who are Aboriginal practitioners and how she has them check her PowerPoints prior to teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives:

> 'I've got really strong links with some senior women there that are Aboriginal practitioners. So, what I do is I actually check with them if what I'm teaching is helpful. If they think it is okay … I'll send them my PowerPoints and they will say, "Yes that's really good" or "you could add in a bit more here". The other thing that I've done with them is I've had them come to the class and actually talk about, so not only are they [students] meeting Aboriginal women but they're also hearing a much more different perspective than I could ever give. I could have as much experience as possible but it's a whole different viewpoint and so that's how I guess that gives me that little bit of confidence that sometimes going in the right direction … but the other thing that I find is that it does give, I guess, an element of credibility to what I'm teaching'.

7.4.5 **Engaging in collaborative relationships is not always easy**

Engaging collaboratively in relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is not always easy. One of the academics shared how she had found it hard engaging with the Indigenous colleges within the universities in which she had worked. She explained,

> 'Trying to encourage connections and communication and collaboration between that college and us isn't always easy, and I think it's to do with different worldviews and perspectives'.

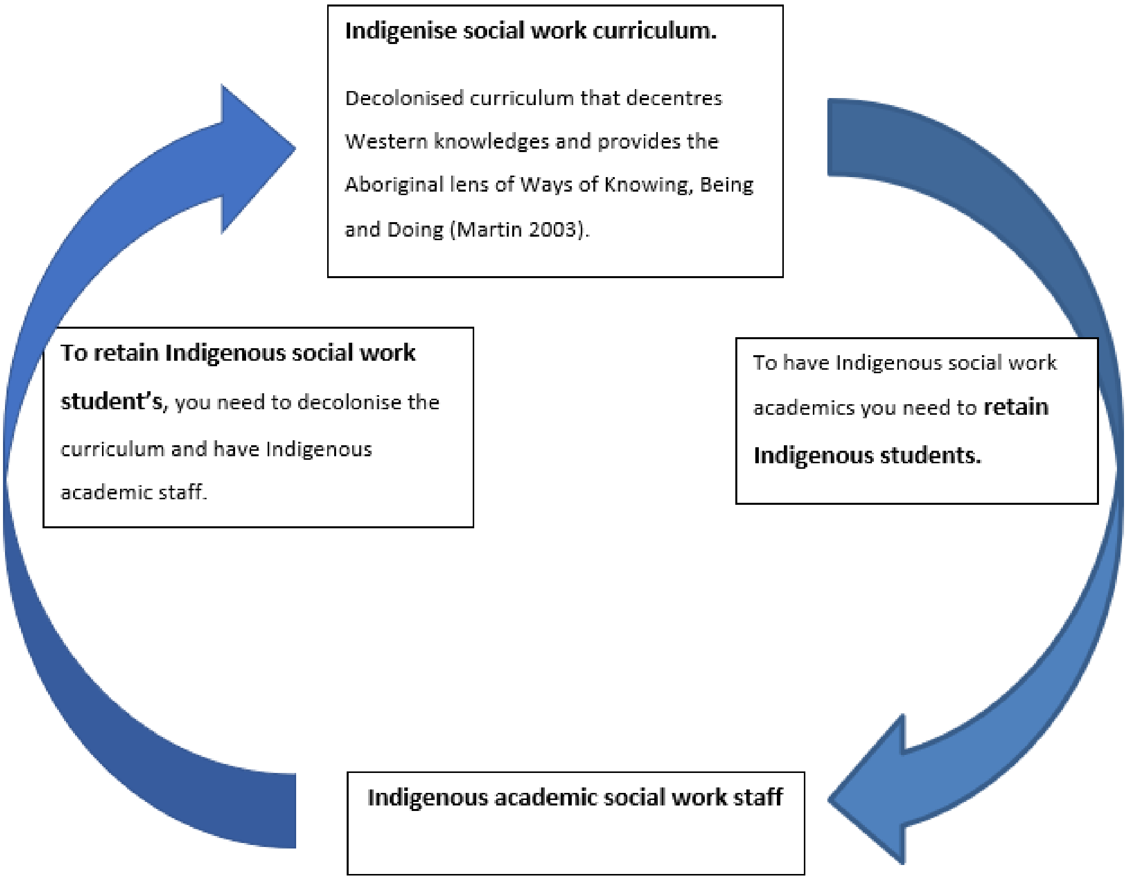
The example she gave was that she found it difficult to assess some of the staff in different Indigenous organisations and having them commit to attend. She put this down to "*different world views in terms of timing".* The academic felt that there was a need to work more closely with Indigenous colleagues as she highlighted that,

> 'These are the people [Aboriginal academics] that are actually living and have a lived experience and we need to connect with them more constructively'.

7.4.6 **Underrepresentation of Indigenous academics**

Underrepresentation of Indigenous academics within the whitestream academy was a barrier to building relationships. Participants supported the view that Indigenous academics play an important role in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum. Fourteen of the eighteen participants made mention of the need for an increase in numbers of Indigenous staff. One of the main points that participants highlighted was the need for Indigenous people to be involved in curriculum development and content delivery. Indigenous academics are 'enablers' as they bring a unique perspective to the integration process. One of the major ways that the curriculum can be decolonised is by having Indigenous academics employed to teach in social work. As mentioned, two of the universities that participated in Australia, did not employ Aboriginal academic staff to teach in social work. The value of Indigenous academic staff was evident yet there was an inability in Australia to actually employ Aboriginal academic staff.

Underrepresentation of indigenous academics in the academy and the fact that many academics hold lower ranked academic roles than their non-Indigenous counterparts negatively impacts upon the decolonisation of the curriculum. The impact of the lack of Indigenous staff to teach caused a cycle to occur, see Figure 7.2. Indigenous staff are important in the process of decolonising the social work curriculum. Without Indigenous staff, it was less likely for the curriculum to be decolonised, less likely that Indigenous students would remain in social work programs in tertiary institutes which in turn would lead to less Indigenous students to go onto postgraduate education leading to less qualified Indigenous academic staff to go on and teach.



Indigenise social work curriculum.

Decolonised curriculum that decentres Western knowledges and provides the Aboriginal lens of Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing (Martin 2003).

To have Indigenous social work academics you need to **retain Indigenous students.**

Indigenous academic social work staff

To retain Indigenous social work student's, you need to decolonise the curriculum and have Indigenous academic staff.

Figure 7.1 Cycle to increase Indigenous academics

Aroha highlighted that there were only six Maori academics that held PhD's in social work and there was only one teaching in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Aroha is one of a handful of Māori social workers to ever get a PhD in New Zealand and in the world. Aroha explained:

> 'I can name how many Maori social workers with PhD's on one hand [she named five Maori social workers who have PhD's] … I'm the only one working in a university … in New Zealand, so it means that I am the only one who can examine things, so that's been really, It's actually been a huge weight on my shoulders … when I'm teaching I am thinking what Maori students could carry on and do a thesis and then try to really encourage them to carry on, you can do this … so those are really what drive me in my teaching and in my job, thinking what's best for Maori families at the end of the day, and so if I ever feel like I'm not needed at Uni I will go find something else to do'.

For Aroha completing a PhD was not about the money or actually having a PhD. One of her values that she brings to her teaching is to grow Maori as a people. Aroha insists that the higher profile roles that she has taken on at the University are to build up the number of Maori social workers. She explained:

> 'We have so many Māori accessing social services that we need more Maori social workers, more positive role models and so my role, for the past, I don't know, ten years or something has been about being a positive Maori role model to students … like I've got my first PhD student … nearly submitting and I've managed to supervise Maori thesis [Master] students is what I do now really'. Aroha explained 'there are heaps of people doing it [beginning a PhD] but not finishing'.

There were Maori social work graduates teaching in academia who were doctoral candidates. There are also Maori social work graduates who teach in academia who come from applied/professional background rather than going through the academic system to obtain academic positions (Walker, 2008, p. 60). Statistics between 2012 and 2017 show that the number of Maori academics in universities was approximately 5% of the overall academic workforce (McAllister et al., 2019). Within Australia there appears to be a similar number of Indigenous academics holding PhD's that teach in social work. The number of Indigenous academic staff overall in Australian universities has grown from 282 in 2005 to 408 in 2018, yet overall Indigenous academic staff are only 0.92 per cent of the overall academic workforce (Universities Australia, 2020). Consequently, there was evidence given by participants of the lack of Indigenous academics within their universities, non-Indigenous academics are or have topic co-ordinated Indigenous specific topics and are teaching much of the content. The lack of support and exclusion of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives continues. The rite of passage for Indigenous academics into higher-ranking roles within the whitestream appears to be problematic as there is often a clash of Indigenous worldviews and values. Despite commitments by universities to national policies and Indigenous strategies to increase the number of Indigenous academics, the process continues to be elusive.

The lack of Indigenous staff was evident in Australia as the recruitment of Aboriginal academics for this research in social work was problematic. As mentioned under 'Ascribed responsibilities', Sam from Australia was often expected to teach in different disciplines as Sam's Aboriginality was seen by leadership as a qualification to teach Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in any topic:

> '… [it] is extremely challenging and then I am across disciplines … for some reason they [leadership] think that we, Aboriginal people, can traverse everything and so that's a big problem …

Participants in Australia expressed the need for Indigenous academics. Carmen expounded:

> 'I think we need more Aboriginal social workers and academics working alongside social work which I think is what we promote as best practice in working with Aboriginal families or Aboriginal people. So, I think it could be emulated in our teaching as well'.

Sam, as an Aboriginal academic, strongly agreed with the need for more Indigenous academics:

> '… more Aboriginal people involved in the actual teaching … we need more Aboriginal academics … definitely getting people into academia, getting people through to PhD's, getting people published, so making those spaces … I really think we need to have direct connection between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, in order to truly understand, or at least start to understand'.

Anna from Australia emphasised the need for students to hear about Aboriginal content from Aboriginal people, from "the expert". Carmen suggested that Aboriginal social workers and academics could work alongside social work, being involved in curriculum development and teaching ensuring that social work education emulates what is expected out in practice. Carmen also considered that the AASW could play a greater role in ensuring that the integration of Indigenous content is more than a 'tick the box' process and supports Aboriginal social workers going into academia:

> 'We need more Aboriginal social workers and academics working alongside social work … we promote as best practice in working with Aboriginal families or Aboriginal people … it could be emulated in our teaching as well … have Aboriginal practitioners … have much more of an active role in our curriculum development … I think the AASW could be a little bit more in terms of making sure that it's not just a tick box exercise but actually somehow support Aboriginal practitioners to become academics … promoting that pathway'.

The need for Indigenous academics is echoed in literature. Duthie (2019), an Australian social work academic, remarked, '[i]t is acknowledged that Indigenous academics teaching in this space are vital. We bring our cultural knowledges, experiences, cultural capital, and model our own ways of Knowing, Being and Doing into our classrooms' (p. 114). The need for Indigenous academics in universities is also affirmed by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics in literature (G. H. Smith, 2003; G. H. Smith & Smith, 2019). Graham Hingangaroa and Linda Tuhiwai (2019) believe that Indigenous faculty and staff are catalysts and 'one source for initiating institutional change' (p. 1078). Styres (2019) remarks that '[u]niversities need to establish and maintain a visible, active, and engaged Indigenous presence across all disciplines and in every facet of education' (p. 52).

7.4.7 Leadership by Indigenous academics

Indigenous academics provide leadership in curriculum design. Who better to design a curriculum that integrates Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the curriculum than those who have firsthand knowledge and who can teach the content themselves?

Participants saw the need for Indigenous academics and the key role they play. Aroha, a Maori academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, reflected upon the positive impact that having permanent Indigenous staff can have upon curriculum development and decolonising of teaching:

> 'Being able to change curriculum has been put on hold because of all of the lack of having Maori people, Maori people to support other people and implementing Treaty stuff so it's been real minimal but so they bought on [more Maori staff] … we have got more stability, we can teach differently, we can and we all bring different skills and different knowledge'.

Indigenous academics can enable the implementation and commitment to Treaty and bicultural relationships. Employing Indigenous academics on both sides of the Tasman can bring stability to 'other' academics and enhance others' teaching. Indigenous academics also enhance the curriculum by bringing different skills, knowledge, and ways of teaching. Indigenous academics can provide opportunities to co-teach topics as mentioned previously.

Aroha also clearly understood the pressure that Indigenous staff were under and her need to take on the responsibility of her own teaching:

> 'I don't want to be just like, "Oh I don't understand … I'll just ask my Maori colleagues and see well you can come in and do this lecture for me." … you've got a PhD and you've been publishing; you should even have some knowledge about the basic and then maybe for certain area then you can call upon your Maori colleagues … it's about respecting the fact that just because she's Maori it doesn't mean she should be doing my job … do we just call upon these people because they are identified whoever their cultural or ethic group or because we really value the fact that it's their contribution to the program, to the university, and maybe to our students. So, I, I guess I'm quite mindful of the whole notion of tokenistic use or that we only use for convenience because, "Hey you Maori you come and do my lecture."'

7.4.8 Supervising post graduate students

Indigenous academics are a resource in the sense that they provide the ability to supervise upcoming academics in social work. There is a very real need for Indigenous PhD candidates to be supervised and supported by Indigenous academics that have been through the process themselves and have successfully navigated the whitestream within a western university. Supervision of Indigenous PhD students may take on different configurations, with an Indigenous supervisor and a non-Indigenous supervisor, or an Indigenous supervisor as a secondary supervisor with the non-Indigenous supervisor in the primary role. However, if a non-Indigenous academic takes on the supervision role, then it is important, as Fejo-King (2013) highlighted, that the non-Indigenous academic critically analyses themselves and their position and asks themselves the question if taking on that role is in the best interests of the student. (p. 36). Relationships that academics have with power and with those in the whitestream were also given credence.

7.5 Relationship to those in power and the whitestream

This section investigates the relationships of participants to those in power and the whitestream. A key element of decolonisation is to 'problematise settler-colonial power relations' (McAllister et al., 2019, p. 243) and relinquishing in part settler-colonial power. This is done not just by adding Indigenous academics to the whitestream but by addressing the inequalities that exist at the centre of the institutions that seek to exclude Indigenous academics and Indigenous knowledges and perspectives (McAllister et al., 2019; Naepi, 2019; Rigney, 2001). Rigney (2001) encourages Indigenous scholars 'to understand the causal tendencies of "racialised" practices and to move beyond their restrictions' (p. 10). This section looks at how both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics can move beyond those restrictions by analysing and turning the lens upon those relationships of power that impact upon integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education within the whitestream.

Colonial practices are evident in whitestream academia, particularly when it comes to leadership. At a leadership level within whitestream universities sit predominantly White males (Moreton-Robinson, 2011; I. Watson, 2014). Social work as a profession is dominated by White females and this is also reflected within social work departments within the academy. Henry et al (2017) explain that structural barriers and obstacles within the academy, like unconscious gender and racial biases, limit the opportunities of women and racialized minorities taking on leadership positions within the academy. As mentioned previously, structures within academia that protect and maintain Anglo-European/Pākehā privilege is known as the practice of “whitestreaming” (Kidman & Chu, 2017, p. 8). Whitestreaming within a university is evident in the way that academics from minority groups are not represented in leadership. McAllister, Kidman and Rowley’s (2019) research found that there needs to be more than a critical mass of Māori academics within universities and that there also needs to be Māori scholars at all levels of seniority within the academy. Kidman and Chu (2017) found that the greatest factor in determining workplace satisfaction of Māori academics was reliance upon them having a Māori manager. Aboriginal social work academic, Sue Green, and two PhD students, Jessica Russ-Smith and Lauren Tynan (2018), discussed their experiences as Indigenous women within academia. They do not use the term whitestreaming, yet their experiences of the academy are similar to Indigenous academics in Aotearoa New Zealand and reflect the dominance of whiteness. The authors state, ‘the academy is a place that frequently leaves Indigenous women feeling isolated and patronised and questioning if there is a place for them’ (Green et al., 2018). Green (2018) discusses her relationship with the academy, she describes it as a place of extremes, where she has felt empowered by becoming financially and emotionally independent, finding her own abilities and achievements. Yet the academy has also been a place where she has had to fight to claim her space and to have her work and knowledge acknowledged as her own and not appropriated. Green (2018) has had her work taken from her on more than one occasion ‘by more powerful ‘white’ academics and I have had colleagues discredit me’ (Green et al., 2018, p. 258). Green has also had to stand up against stereotypes and constant questioning of whether she deserves the title of ‘Associate Professor’. Green (2018) understands that she sits on the margins within academia, she describes it as ‘a guest in someone else’s house’ (p. 257). This section looks at some of the relationships that participants experienced as they navigate the whitestream academy while integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching of social work.

7.5.1 University leadership

Both whitestreaming and gender imbalances were evident within the participants’ positions within the universities in which they worked. Amongst the participants, only one leadership position was held by an Indigenous academic, a male Samoan. One female non-Indigenous academic in Aotearoa New Zealand held a professorial position and two non-Indigenous women held associate professorial positions, one in Australia and one in Aotearoa New Zealand, at the time of the interviews. The Indigenous academics that participated in the study operated within the margins of the university structure, the whitestream, continuing to find ways of creating change and decolonising their teaching. Much of these changes occurred due to having working relationships with those in leadership.

Sam, an Aboriginal academic from Australia, explained that all universities integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives differently. The components Sam identified as helpful were an excellent Vice Chancellor (VC), excellent Human Resource Director and that the senior management group had some real champions:

> ‘Universities all do it differently … the components for here was an excellent VC, excellent HR director and then senior management group had some real champions. So not all of the senior management group were obviously Aboriginal lovers but there are a couple of champions. That's the era I got employed and then when they were all gone, is when I started to really struggle and then, when the [Indigenous] school closed’.

Sam believed that it did not necessarily need to be Indigenous leadership. When Sam had worked in the Indigenous unit, there had been a non-Indigenous Head of School who had been excellent. Sam reflected:

> ‘It’s not to say that non-Aboriginal people can’t lead … but they have to be the right type of person … Your leadership has to understand you and value you and believe in what you do, in order for anything to change and happen … I've had it before and I’ve seen how things have worked and gone really well. Now that I don't have it, I can see why things aren’t going so great’.

Sam felt that the leadership had to understand Sam, rather than focusing upon key performance indicators. Within the whitestream, ‘neoliberal regimen of measurement, audit and performativity’ (Kidman & Chu, 2017, p. 8) are valued more than relationships. Sam had identified the need for academics to build a working relationship with those in leadership. Indigenous academics need to be valued and believed in and supported, which in turn enables them to teach Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

Non-Indigenous staff also recognised the need to have leadership support in their integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. In Australia, Anna highlighted the importance of having supportive discipline Heads and Deans. They supported her in providing extra funding to support the way that she wanted to include Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into her teaching. Anna explained:

> ‘At that time, [name removed] was the Dean, hundred percent supportive, and [name removed] was the discipline head, hundred percent supportive … I think it has to be like a whole of discipline commitment, not just a few people here and there’.

Jess, from Aotearoa New Zealand, discussed the support they received through professional development to include Indigenous content into the social work curriculum:

> 'We have in-service professional development … two-or-three-day workshops to help with looking at curriculum and inclusion of Indigenous material, which is great. We do have resources we can use here'.

Professional development in this sense provided opportunities for non-Indigenous academics to be given guidance on how to best teach and integrate Indigenous knowledges into the curriculum.

The Māori staff group had been encouraged by the fact that their Vice Chancellor (VC) was personally taking Te Reo Māori classes to learn language so the VC could learn waiata (songs) in Te Reo Māori language. The Māori staff group had been able to meet with the VC at the waiata classes that the VC had been attending. The VC has been able to sing Māori songs at graduation ceremonies that they had attended. The VC led by example. Aroha had also experienced support from her Dean:

> 'Pretty much anything I ask for, [the Dean] will say yes'.

Pania also had a similar experience with their Dean:

> '[Name removed] is very pro-Māori and he is very, very supportive of Māori staff there and building that strongly. So, he supports us really well … that's half of the battle because we are not battling against the management'.

Pania felt the management team were supportive of Māori staff. Yet when leadership changes, so do the relationships, and the support for the integration process changes. This change in management can lead into some negative aspects of leadership.

Negative aspects of leadership

Sam, from Australia, who was the sole Indigenous academic in the social work department, had had bad experiences with those in leadership. Sam strongly felt that:

> 'Some leadership don't respect Indigenous knowledges and what I do'.

Sam felt that leadership placed unrealistic expectations upon Sam. Leadership seemed to believe that Sam's Aboriginality qualified Sam to teach Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in any topic. Sam believed that teaching some aspects of various topics relating to Sam's expertise as a guest speaker was reasonable, but Sam felt that being required to design and teach the whole topic as was expected by leadership to be unreasonable. Yet even in this situation, Sam was able to navigate the whitestream by finding leadership outside of the academy to guide Sam's teaching according to Sam's culture:

> 'I am kind of jumping on board with what our Aboriginal leadership is saying that we should and can do, so that relates to Indigenous knowledges'.

Ewick and Silbey (1992) support this act of resistance by Sam to the whitestream: '[r]esistance, to the extent that it constitutes forms of consciousness, ways of operating and making do, may prefigure more formidable and strategic challenges to power. Through everyday practical engagements with power, individuals identify the cracks and vulnerabilities of institutions' (p. 749). Sam had developed strategies to challenge power and integrate Indigenous knowedges and perspectives by being guided by Aboriginal leadership instead of necessarily being guided by non-Aboriginal institutional leadership. Sam also had Aboriginal social work academic mentors from outside university to support Sam in publishing. Kidman and Chu (2017) explain that these relationships outside of the university are quite hard to be managed and monitored by the 'institutional elite' (p. 17) and therefore provide 'opportunities and possibilities for creating genuine social change' (p. 17), and in this case, resistance to the whitestream.

While the Māori staff group were experiencing supportive leadership, they were aware that support could change as leadership changed. The Deans at their university have a four-year contract so, when their contract runs out, then it is likely that their working environment will change. To circumvent these changes, the Māori staff group were in the process of developing policies that would outlive their relationship with their Dean. This will be discussed further in the next section, 7.5.2.

Academics in the study experienced different expectations depending upon who was in leadership. As leadership changed, so did their working environment. This occurred in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. (Note: due to the sensitivity of this information, participants' comments have not been attributed to a specific person in this section of the study to ensure anonymity).

> 'And then, all of a sudden when leadership changes, I am told that I am not good enough, like because I don't have a PhD … It's happened in practice too … But either saying, 'we value [Indigenous] people with or without qualifications' and sticking to it, whatever it is going to be. 'With qualifications' and then stick to it, 'without qualifications' and then stick to it. Because once that leadership left in which I was employed in academia, I was basically left by the roadside to sink or swim and I think If I didn't believe a lot in what I was doing and had a lot of colleagues that supported what I did and do, I would have gone … The cultural competence of

> the University, which I know, Universities Australia is always trying to understand, chops and changes depending on who's in your leadership'.

This participant, as did other Indigenous participants, experienced the impact that change in leadership can have upon their confidence and identity. Even with the principles of the Te Tiriti in their mission statements and equity and diversity policies, it has been found that most universities in Aotearoa New Zealand continue to have 'little or no corresponding structural change to facilitate equitable relationships with Māori' (Kidman & Chu, 2017, p. 14). Lack of a supporting relationship can inhibit the progress of integrating Indigenous knowledges within social work. Having strong leadership support from all levels of university management was seen as an important consideration for the integration process, as cited in 'The Getting it Right' Framework from Australia (Zubrzycki, Bessarab, et al., 2014, p. 78). Yet it was evident amongst some of the academics that participated in this study that leadership were not providing the support that academics required to effectively integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum.

One participant had experienced paternalistic leadership from their Head of School, and this impacted upon the academic's confidence and contribution to teaching. The whitestream did not appear to value Indigenous academics and the unique contribution that they brought to the integration process.

> 'I don't know what they're doing but it's that real paternalistic, it's as if your Head of School becomes your father, not your boss. And that's stuff that I struggle with all the time. Because it's just actually foul and I just friggin' hate it! But also, that your [Indigeneity] is all that is seen. Not actually what you value, what you contribute and what you actually do. And I'm reminded of that all the time, that it's purely because I'm [Indigenous] that I am here and that's just, its, it's very hurtful'.

Institutional elitism was experienced by a participant who did not hold a doctorate. They did not feel heard because they did not hold the appropriate institutional status. Indeed, they believed that, without Indigenous people at a leadership level, systemic change would not occur.

> 'But people really don't listen to people who don't have PhD's, but also about us [Indigenous] getting into leadership roles as well in the University to be able to change some systemic stuff as well'.

Another participant had seen how employing Indigenous academics in leadership positions showed commitment to the integration process and enabled Indigenous content to be handled appropriately; rather than by non-Indigenous Deans who may not have the expertise or authority to handle the process appropriately.

> ‘Some universities are employing Indigenous professors in every faculty, so I know the [university name removed], it’s got a plan to appoint an Indigenous professor in every faculty … so that’s a major commitment of both funds but also of principle to ensure that those Indigenous professors have a say in what the curriculum is going to look like. The danger for some institutions … is that [non-Indigenous] Deans left alone in the faculties to decide what’s appropriate Indigenous content may not have the necessary expertise and certainly not the necessary authority as Indigenous people to say what’s the appropriate content for inclusion in the curriculum. So, I mean, and those are just institutional challenges that all universities face’.

Acknowledging Indigenous Elders and their expertise in the academy in Australia appeared to be problematic. A participant explained how an academic in Australia had been working on developing stronger relationships with Elders to decolonise the social work curriculum.

> ‘So, I think social work has been trying to bring … the perspective from the Elders … I know that she had a lot of stumbling blocks to convince … the Faculty Dean and to really move away just focussing on evidence base but looking at relation also’.

Acknowledging and honouring Elders was one way that a participant felt the University could respect and engage with Indigenous knowledges and ways of being.

Elders and Kaumatuas play a key role in meeting some of the challenges that Indigenous academics experience in navigating the whitestream. (The relationship between academics and Elders and Kaumatuas will be discussed in more detail in 7.6)

7.5.2 **Opportunity for leadership**

There are opportunities for non-Indigenous leadership to lead in the integration process by the way that they build relationships with and supported their Indigenous staff. As mentioned, one of the participating universities in Aotearoa New Zealand had developed a whānau staff group of four Māori academics that worked collectively in decolonising social work in their university. All four members of the Māori staff group felt fortunate to be in the social work school where both Head of School and Associate Head of School were previously social work practitioners. Hinewai expounded:

> ‘They have been in practice and they really understand and value Māori input. So, they have been super supportive actually of us, holding wānanga, … putting towards the cost of supporting our [the Māori staff] group, and also understanding when we want to pull back from things, make sure we don’t burn out, I guess. So, I think that is different to how other departments run and actually we have had feedback actually from other people saying there is zilch in some of the other departments. There is none of this kind of cultural consideration, so I think we are really lucky in that, I mean that is what you would expect, I think, from a social work department’.

Pania explained that their university had a strong Māori presence and a strong Māori voice within the university. This contributed to a supportive environment for the Māori staff. Pania reflected upon how this supported curriculum and content development:

> 'I think [name of institute] has a lot of Māori, very strong Māori voice in there compared to other[s]. I don't know about other institutes, but I feel that [name of institute] has a very strong Māori presence in there and very supportive management team. And the development is always, I think, the curriculum serves a purpose and it's the curriculum has been there since I was a student in 2001. So, they haven't changed much but it works. So, I think what has changed is the development in social work. They are always up to the play on what's new in social work here'.

The Māori staff group as a collective felt supported by their Head of School and Associate Head of School as they had arranged for an official welcome into the school with a Mihi Whakatau when one of them started. Anahera felt that this was an example of the expression of support that they experienced from their leadership. The Māori staff group had also presented their ideas around kaupapa Māori, biculturalism and how they felt that they could improve the school and again the response they received was "super supportive". They felt that there was some anxiety expressed by some of the staff with some of the ideas, but overall, they were "super supportive". Hinewai explained that she felt that leadership supporting the Māori staff group was actually of value to the leadership itself, especially when it came to accreditation with the Social Work Registration Board (SWRB). The Māori staff group could be put forward as an initiative and some of the ideas coming out of the Māori staff group would "look good" and consequently support accreditation.

The Māori staff group were aware that the leadership positions changed every four years in their university, as mentioned previously, so they would not have the same Head of School or Associate Head of School once their term had finished. So, there was a level of uncertainty of who would be filling those positions in the future and what would that mean for the continuation of their Māori staff group. The Māori staff group navigated the uncertainty of the whitestream by establishing an infrastructure that would exist beyond them and their leadership's employment. They were developing policies that would extend beyond the current management. They were putting in place policies that would survive a change of leadership. Aroha explained that is:

> 'Why I want it written down before [leadership changes] because for the next person, we'll say well you have to, cause this is the policy … and that's why, what we have been able to do'

Some of the initiatives and ideas raised by the Māori staff group are extras for the academic staff to take on but they feel that the benefits outweigh the negatives. Even though it has meant extra work for them as a group and hard work, they felt that eventually they as Māori academics would be able to take a step back and obviously monitor the Māori initiatives that they had put into place right through all of the programs. Some of these initiatives have been motivated by student feedback, for example, “we think you should be doing things better from a Māori perspective”. As a Māori staff group, they had already recognised this, but it was also supported by student feedback.

From a Māori perspective, Spiller et al. (2020) highlight that a leader or a rangatira ‘is to excel at weaving people together, to encourage or inspire others to go on a journey together, to exercise agency, and to light the way toward a world in which all flourish’ (p. 522) and it is not about any one leader. Instead each person’s leadership qualities are recognised and a weaving process occurs where a person comes forward and leads in their area of expertise and then moves back and allows others to come forward (Spiller et al., 2020, p. 522 & 523). A leadership system based upon a collective also comes with tension, resistance and discomfort and working through the conflict can actually ‘be a necessary part of testing the knowledge code, and perhaps paradoxically, cultivating ties of affection’ (Spiller et al., 2020, p. 532).

Unlike the one Māori example of working and leading collectively illustrated by the Māori staff group in this study, the Indigenous academic from Australia was not aware of any similar form of Indigenous leadership working collectively in social work in an Australian University. Universities in Australia tend to have Indigenous units and Indigenous education centres, staffed by Indigenous people; provide governance, support and leadership to Indigenous academics. An example from literature was found at the Australian Catholic University (ACU). The university’s Aboriginal education units were involved in providing governance and support to the social work school in embedding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content into their curriculum (Bennett, Coghlan, Evans, & Morse, 2018, p. 179).

Maori autonomy and solutions

The Treaty of Waitangi also provides the foundation for Māori autonomy and Māori solutions to be used within the context of social work education. One of the principles of praxis mentioned by Graham Hingangaroa Smith is ‘the principle of self-determination or relative autonomy’ (G. H. Smith, 2009a, p. 24). McNabb (2019b) highlights the need for a partnership approach in creating change within conservative systems so that Māori can experience self-determination in finding solutions. This includes finding solutions within social work education. It can be argued that

Māori autonomy and solutions initiated and determined by Māori within the whitestream can enable the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

Aroha discussed how principles such as te rangatiratanga highlighted in Te Tiriti o Waitangi underscored her teaching and her ability to have autonomy, decision making and being as a Māori as she teaches and practices social work.

> '… values and principles like Te Tiriti of Waitangi, kanohi ki te kanohi, which is being face to face and te rangatiratanga so having autonomy and decision making and being, so having those values of that particular theory in my own social work practice makes it easy to sort of take it on into teaching'.

The Māori staff group had been given opportunities to be autonomous and self-determine how Indigenous knowledges and perspectives would be integrated into the social work curriculum. The group were able to work as a collective to find solutions to some of the issues that had been identified.

Pania, from the Māori staff group, discussed how they investigate the current curriculum looking at how Māori models of practice were being taught. They found that Māori models were not being taught or integrated into the curriculum in a culturally responsive manner.

> 'What we found was a lot of our Māori models of practice were all over the place and our non-Māori staff were teaching them and or just giving the information but not actually teaching it'.

The difference between kaupapa Māori and biculturalism was made apparent by the Māori staff group. The group also discussed the need for non-Māori academics to let the students know that they are teaching their non-Māori perspective not a Māori perspective when teaching Māori models of practice. Kaupapa Māori supports Māori autonomy. Building consistency into how Māori knowledge was placed in the degree was imperative. Pania explained:

> 'So, we talked about bicultural versus kaupapa Māori, so kaupapa Māori being our knowledge. That should come from Māori, and bicultural is knowledge that can come from non-Māori. But letting the students know that it comes from their perspectives. Not a Māori perspective so we're still working on that … we are trying to build consistently, how we can place Māori knowledge into the degree'.

The importance of distinguishing between bicultural teaching and kaupapa Māori was also made evident by Hinewai. The group discussed the need for both biculturalism and kaupapa Māori within the curriculum

> 'Kaupapa Māori is really about the Indigenous person teaching from their own perspectives … and there is always going to be Western influence no matter what now anyway. But it's more,

> like for us, it's more by Māori, for Māori so we've been looking at in our curriculum. What stuff is bicultural? cause a lot of the time this idea that our curriculum had to really strive for biculturalism and yes that's great but what was missing was the Kaupapa Māori stuff … what is the stuff that sits with the Indigenous people, alone, separate'.

Kaupapa Māori is by Māori for Māori, it sits separately to the bicultural content.

Policies developed to ensure that Te Tiriti would be abided by

Aroha discussed how the Māori staff group went onto develop solutions by developing policies that saw Māori navigating the whitestream and changing the path of the curriculum from within the academy. The policies defined how to be bicultural and how to be Tangata Whenua, kaupapa Māori. Māori autonomy was acknowledged by Māori getting to say what was being taught in social work education:

> 'We realised that we needed to have a policy on how to be bicultural and how to be Tangata Whenua, [like] Kaupapa Māori and separating that, because what we've found was that in [location removed] the Māori's worldview paper was being taught by someone from the States and … there's no autonomy. Māori get to say how it's been taught so we have set that in policy, so it's really exciting because some of the things, like encouraging the use of Te Reo and actually reviewing what we are using and saying well that's not actually grammatically correct, and that's been the name of an assignment for the past five years'.

As mentioned, this led to Māori language, Te Reo, being more appropriately used and integrated into the curriculum. Aroha suggested that the reason that the Māori staff group was having such an impact was due to their number, "I think it is due to having more, due to having four people". Indigenous autonomy and solutions were not evident in the interviews from Australia, as there was not a critical mass of Indigenous staff in any of the social work departments that participated in this study.

7.5.3 Relationship with promotion

Only a few participants touched on the topic of promotion. As has been discussed, having Indigenous academics in leadership roles at higher levels supports the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into education. It is also important for Indigenous students to have Indigenous academics teaching and supporting their own progress through university.

> Current promotional practices in universities focus on research (40% of the time), teaching (40% of the time) and service (20% of the time) and do not consider ontological differences that see all three as deeply intertwined given the importance of relationships (Naepi, 2019, p. 229).

An example of this intertwining of relationships from an Indigenous perspective is given by Naepi (2019) describing how Pasifika academics have the highest rate of community engagement and contribution to public understanding to help foster debate. Basically, the university is measuring Indigenous academics using whitestream values. Indigenous academics value relationship with community and their culture over promotion. Casual labour and short-term contracts also do not support Indigenous academics being promoted into higher academic positions (Naepi, 2019). Naepi (2019) highlights the need for further research in this area.

Within this study, Aroha discussed that she became an academic to be a role model for other Māori social workers and to build up the numbers of Māori social workers. In her role at the university, she has taken on the role of supervising Māori PhD students and examining theses. Aroha is not wanting a promotion or the money that is offered by the whitestream, as that is not what motivates her. Her Māori beliefs and values motivate her to continue in her role.

> ‘This goes back to my values that I bring to my teaching; is about that I am doing it to grow Māori as a people. In New Zealand like, I have never ever cared about having a PhD or I don’t care about the money. Like at the moment … I am sort of a cultural advisor for our Head of School … I do all the things, and they are trying to say to me, “You have to go through your senior lecturer position because you’ll get paid more and you are doing all the jobs of a senior lecturer”. And I am like, “I can’t be bothered!”. Why, I don’t need to get paid more, and they are like, “You’d get paid nearly double of what you have got, now that you are part-time”. I am like, maybe I should’.

Manaia discussed how he had a Samoan colleague, who has been promoted to senior lecturer, but he had to navigate the whitestream to achieve his promotion:

> ‘He has gone through those battles, and for him, he has now made senior lecturer, but it’s been a real hard yards, hard task but it’s not about making the promotion but it’s about it ties into his whole world view and his value system’.

In terms of Aboriginal people going into academia in Australia, as has been mentioned in the literature, the representation of Aboriginal people in university is very low and one reason for this is because Aboriginal people do social work to work with their community not to become academics and rise through the ranks of academia. This was supported by Anna from Australia who commented:

> ‘We do have some anecdotal information that Aboriginal people do social work because they want to work in their community, not because they want to just go into mainstream. There is no Aboriginal specific social work roles … in terms of getting, having Aboriginal people come in and … speak’.

Literature supports the anecdotal evidence that Anna speaks about, as Bennett and Zubrzycki’s research, published in 2003, identified how the Aboriginal social work participants highlighted how they were ‘committed to somehow ”give back to their community” (All)’ (2003, p. 64). Bennett and Zubrzycki's (2003) research also highlighted how Indigenous communities can be cautious and suspicious of Indigenous people becoming social workers as, once they become part of the [White] system and have a White education, there is the potential for the Indigenous social worker to remove children from the community. There is also the potential that the Indigenous person will no longer return to the community once they have become educated. Therefore, there are very real barriers to Aboriginal people becoming academics, yet these can be circumvented through establishing good relationships with communities to alleviate their fears and suspicion and build trust.

Literature supports the notion that the existing promotional processes and overarching structures work against and exclude Māori and Pasifika peoples from moving into senior academic positions (McAllister et al., 2019; Naepi, 2019). 'Results also show that Māori are more likely to be employed as lecturers/tutors and as other academic staff/tutorial assistants' (McAllister et al., 2019, p. 243). McAllister et al (2019) also argue that institutions lack the will to appoint Māori to senior levels and do not have effective institutional policies and approaches in place for hiring and promoting Māori staff.

7.5.4 Good support for post graduate qualifications

Providing good support for postgraduate Indigenous students to further their education and to support them into positions in academia was seen as a positive path through the whitestream. Within the Australian context, academics highlighted the need for more support for Aboriginal students to progress into academia. Sam knew from experience that there was a lack of support for Aboriginal students to progress through academia and Sam believed making space within academia and supporting students through to gaining a PhD would alleviate the isolation, workload and increase the amount of Indigenous knowledge being integrated into social work education:

> 'It's not only isolating but there's too much work … Definitely getting people into academia, getting people through to PhD's, getting people published, so making those spaces'.

Likewise, Anna saw the need to support and build the capacity of Aboriginal people who want to work in academia:

> 'Let's try to get an Aboriginal person on the academic team and build them up, build their capacity, help support. We have got brilliant academics here, we have got brilliant field staff here, bring them in, build their capacity and help them and I think that would be a really good starting point'.

Māori academic, Pania, had worked at a technological college in Aotearoa New Zealand and she approached leadership for support to do a PhD. Unfortunately, they were unsupportive in her desire to become an academic. Pania contacted another institute and they agreed to support her on supernumerary, part-time teaching and part-time doing her PhD. This flexibility and support enabled her to navigate the whitestream. At the time of the interview, she was about to take on a full-time teaching position while finishing her PhD.

Within the literature, Aboriginal academic, Sue Green, discussed how the support of her two non-Aboriginal academic supervisors, who walked the PhD journey with her, provided support and guidance. They became her 'great friends and allies in the battles within universities' (Green et al., 2018, p. 258). Green's (2018) supervisors did not try to have her fit into a rigid structure for her PhD. Green explains, '[t]hey understood that as an Aboriginal person, I lived an Aboriginal life and that being in academia did not magically make all those problems disappear' (Green et al., 2018, p. 258). Since completing her PhD, Green has worked with her supervisors as colleagues and values those relationships, she has also gone on to supervise students herself. Green (2018) discussed her relationship with her students, and it appears to be a reciprocal one, as they learnt from one another. She had walked supervising journeys with both of her co-authors and Green believed that her struggles within academia had not been in vain as she sees the next generation stepping up, she describes them as 'strong warrior women' (Green et al., 2018, p. 258). Once again relationships were pivotal in supporting and developing future Indigenous social work academics that would play a role in the integration process.

7.5.5 **Social work governing bodies**

The Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) approves and accredits social work programs in universities in Australia. The central document within the Australian context is the Australian Social Work Education and Accreditation Standards (ASWEAS). This document provides guidelines for essential core curriculum content, programme delivery, field education programs, organisational arrangements and governance of social work programs (Australian Association of Social Workers AASW, 2012a).

Aotearoa New Zealand has a more complicated system as social work is taught in universities, polytechnics, wānanga and in private training establishments (McNabb & Connolly, 2019). All programs are required to be recognised by the Social Workers Registration Board (SWRB). The Board has instituted a policy that incorporates social work education standards, including social work competencies, a graduate profile that is to be integrated into learning outcomes and a set of program standards (McNabb & Connolly, 2019, p. 37 & 38). These program standards include governance, curriculum, field education, admission criteria, professional and stakeholder collaboration and staffing resources (Social Workers Registration Board, 2018).

There was a sense of accountability from the academics in terms of knowing that standards needed to be met to ensure that their programs remained accredited. There was a sense by some participants that the governing bodies could do more to support Indigenous academics in their desire to become academics. As already mentioned by Carmen, a non-Indigenous academic in Australia:

> ‘I think the AASW could … somehow support Aboriginal practitioners to become academics … there could be some way of promoting that pathway’.

Sam, from Australia, found support through the AASW providing clear guidelines of what was expected by students as they became social workers. Sam used the authority and power given by the AASW to ensure that students understand their professional responsibilities:

> ‘I definitely utilise the AASW because it helps, I think to break down the resistance that students have, is by reminding them of professional responsibilities. AASW documents, like the acknowledgement statement, the code of ethics very much feature in my courses to get students on board with what are their professional responsibilities …’

Sam also believed that the AASW accreditation and requirements also meant that Indigenous content was being included in the social work curriculum. Sam noted:

> ‘AASW accreditation and the requirements for teaching mean that we have Indigenous content’.

Yet the AASW also had the power to not recognise academics if they did not hold social work qualifications. One participant commented:

> ‘AASW doesn't recognise me, but they are quite happy to consult with me all the time, asked me for my opinion and you know, for me to be on all these groups, but won't acknowledge me in the profession … because I am not a social worker’.

However, this academic had experience in teaching and publishing in social work, but no formal social work qualifications. Their qualification is their indigeneity.

The AASW also provided guidance on how to include designated Indigenous components into the curriculum. Edith explained:

> ‘The AASW have told us from our last accreditation that we need to have a more designated Indigenous component. So, I’m now including, as from the end of next year, a unit through our Indigenous College which is on Indigenous history and cultural issues’.

This shows the power that the AASW has to ensure that Indigenous content is placed within a social work degree and ensuring that it is a distinct component.

Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Evelyn highlighted that the Social Work Registration Board (SWRB) was quite an influence upon the development of the social work curriculum at the university at which she was currently employed. Evelyn had been on the SWRB earlier in her career.

> ‘Because they actually approve, recognise our program … every five years, you have a recognition, they approve you and then you have a mid-cycle review where they come and look at your curriculum and what you’re doing and so that’s influential’.

Jess also discussed the influence that the SWRB have upon the curriculum and teaching cultural competence, core competencies and exposing students to Māori knowledge and developing skills to work with Māori:

> ‘Big influence in our social work curriculum … clear curriculum areas that we have to teach so there’s not a lot of space for electives. So, we have to actually… and of course the cultural competence is a big part … that's why all of our students are exposed to knowledge and skill development and working with Māori, so that’s a major influence, the Social Workers Registration Board, their core competencies’.

The Māori academics stated the impact that the Treaty of Waitangi, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, has upon the ANZASW and SWRB. Te Tiriti can be utilised to ensure that Māori aspirations are considered by the ANZASW and SWRB,

> ‘What we have been able to do with the Treaty, because it is written down in the Treaty, where it is actually and because social work registration Board and ANZASW, association and it’s… the Treaty is throughout that, so we can use that as leverage’.

Anahera also commented:

> ‘The Treaty of Waitangi … Te Tiriti o Waitangi, so in terms of social work and education, there is that, that we have to acknowledge and link back to that … It’s relevant even now, even though it was signed back in 1840, but such relevance now, particularly in social work, not just social work but, yeah, so The Treaty of Waitangi, ANZASW, Aotearoa New Zealand Association for Social Workers, Social Workers Registration Board, the competencies, that guides how we’re teaching and educating’.

Pat mentioned how unique she felt her university was in the fact that it has several Māori academics in their social work department, she felt that this weighed well with the SWRB and supported their accreditation:

> ‘We are growing … with our Māori staff which is … not a prevalent situation to other university … I think it is quite unique, … we need to get accreditation from SWRB here. And I think my understanding is they have been quite impressed with us because we’ve been able to retain Māori staff or attract them to come through … I teach [topic name removed] for those going into thesis, half of them are Māori and I’m quite confident that they are all enrolling into doing Master thesis’.

Hinewai explained that there had been some debate and a backlash from Māori community regarding the introduction of compulsory registration of social workers:

> ‘There is lots of debates about some of those documents that are coming through, because we are looking at mandatory registration and I think there is actually quite a big backlash from the Māori community about it being so prescribed … and ‘big brother is watching’ sort of styles … and it is good to have a healthy debate, I suppose’.

Anahera related this to unqualified Aboriginal social workers and how mandatory registration experience of Indigenous people will not be recognised fully:

> ‘Aboriginal social workers who aren’t qualified … we’ve had that same situation, where we have had a lot of people working with whānau, who can work very eff.., more effectively perhaps, than a university-trained social worker … but, under this system of mandatory registration, their experience isn’t acknowledged and looked at. It has been, but this will require people to be a lot … [unfinished thought]’.

McNabb (2020b) also highlighted that the requirements of the master’s level qualification for social work academic staff only exacerbated the already short supply of Māori staff within social work education.

Pat had worked as an academic both in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. She explained that, in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is easier for the SWRB to monitor and survey the social work field due to the size of the country in comparison to Australia.

> ‘In New Zealand we are small enough as a country that the SWRB can probably monitor and survey things, but in [Australia] … it is quite hard if you have a national body when you have so many on the West, East Coast already, that it takes time to manage that, let alone on the … middle … And then you have TAFE’.

Currently social workers in Aotearoa New Zealand have a voluntary registration system, however amendments to legislation in 2019 mean that all social workers in Aotearoa New Zealand will be required to be registered from 2021 (McNabb, 2020b, p. 27 & 28).

A considerable gap for the SWRB regulator had been not having a more comprehensive set of standards regarding Tiriti-based practices in programmes (McNabb, 2019a, p. 44). McNabb (2020b) identified the Kaitiakitanga Framework as a ‘ray of light within the regulatory environment of social work education’ (p. 133) Māori leadership was involved in developing the Kaitiakitanga Framework, which McNabb believed had the potential to fill this gap for the SWRB (McNabb, 2019a, p. 44). The Kaitiakitanga Framework was designed and drafted in 2015 by the Tangata Whenua Voices of Social Work and it sits beside all the competency standards for the SWRB (P. Ruwhiu, 2019, p. 222). The intention of the Kaitiakitanga framework is to offer a cultural approach to support and guide social worker’s competence to work with Māori. Several of the Aotearoa New Zealand participants identified the framework as being a key document used in their integration process. At the time of the interviews the document was still relatively new. Pania considered the Kaitiakitanga Framework as a key document in preparing students in their work alongside Māori and in her teaching.

> One of the key documents that have just come out, is the Kaitiakitanga Framework from the Social Work Registration Board so they’ve got some key principles for … competency and working with Maori so that’s got a lot to do with my teaching to make sure that the students understand those concepts. And when I’m teaching … it’s okay to go, ok here’s a concept whanaungatanga and it means, building relationships and connecting.

There is a sense that Pania felt that the Kaitiakitanga Framework not only guided her teaching but also gave her licence in a way to integrate her culture into what she was teaching in a way that honoured her Māori heritage. The Framework within the whitestream gave her the ability to teach in a more culturally appropriate way that suited her Māori culture.

> So that kaitiakitanga framework has four principles and so when I am teaching that I’m making sure that the students can feel the principle or can feel the concept that we are trying to deliver rather than just, oh yeah I know what like manaakitanga is about helping people and making sure that they are cared for, but there is a feeling that comes with that … so a deeper meaning to the word, not just seeing as a superficial word.

The partnership between SWRB, Māori social work educators and practitioners was seen to possibly ‘break through what has become something of an impasse that places real constraints on the development of social work education and practice based on Te Tiriti’ (McNabb, 2020b, p. 133).

One of the key documents that was written to guide the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in Australia was the ‘Getting it Right’ Framework (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). Interestingly, not all of the Australian academics interviewed were aware of the existence of this document or had only recently been made aware of it. One academic downloaded it on the morning of the interview because she did not know that it existed.

> ‘I downloaded that ‘Getting It Right’ this morning. I didn’t know that it even existed.’

There were four out of the eight academics who were interviewed in Australia who were familiar with the framework. One academic had been involved in the some of the research regarding the framework, so she was aware of it, and it guided her teaching.

> Getting it Right is, … [I] was involved with that … So, it was certainly a platform and an expectation when I stepped into a teaching role that was the culture or the aspiration that we had for our program. So, I would say that that’s quite influential in I guess grounding us to a commitment over the years to keep working towards that … it’s … a quick win in some ways, is how to incorporate horizontally, how do you embed content horizontally through the curriculum, rather than just that, just having a unit developed on indigenous issues for example … that document informs that, the value of horizontal embedding and doing that incrementally.

Another academic was familiar with the framework yet was critical of the lack of depth in the content of the framework and hence the academic did not use it in their teaching.

> I read it to be contextualising exactly what I said, what does cultural competence mean? And I actually didn’t find that document very, umm, it lacked heaps of depth. Put it that way … I certainly don't use it if that's the question, but I have heard of it, because I remember coming across ‘Getting it Right’

Unlike Aotearoa New Zealand, there was not a clear consensus amongst the academics in Australia of what framework, documents and literature undergirded their teaching of Indigenous knowledges. Academics did mention some documents, including the Australian Social Work Education and Accreditation Standards (ASWEAS), AASW Code of Ethics and Guidelines.

The AASW and SWRB have the social work curriculum under surveillance, which is a mechanism that is needed. Yet who make up these organisations? Are mechanisms in place so Indigenous voices are heard? What lens is used to survey what is taught? Is it a decolonising lens or a whitestream lens? Is this process continuing colonisation? Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics alike have challenged whiteness found in social work education, yet Indigenous voices continue to be marginalised within whitestream social work education.

7.5.6 **Relationship to research in teaching**

In the context of whitestream, historically research has had a negative impact upon Indigenous people (L. T. Smith, 1999). Aboriginal academic, Bindi Bennett (2019a), remarked ‘[s]ocial work continues to ‘Whiten’ the landscape of academic literature and thereby undermine the self-determination of Aboriginal peoples’ (p. 43). Research continues to be a contested space. There is a need for culturally appropriate research to be completed to produce evidence-based literature and material that is recognised and rendered legitimate in the eyes of the academy. An academic’s research can add to their ability to integrate Indigenous content into teaching. Non-Indigenous academic, Sigrid from Australia, had developed relationships with Aboriginal people in the context of her research and that influenced the way that her team had incorporated Indigenous knowledges into the curriculum:

> ‘In some ways the research component of what we do draws, definitely influences, the way we incorporate Indigenous knowledge … about our own reflecting back on the inability of our own systems to forge some space for Indigenous voices, for example … to deal with those complex issues like child protection those sort of things … there’s a weaving in of that learning that I’m doing in a research capacity, that really quite quickly informs some of the teaching that I’m doing’.

Research provides an opportunity for Indigenous voices to be heard within the academy and informs academics’ teaching. Sam highlighted the need for further research to develop the material available to teach Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. As an Aboriginal academic, Sam discussed the need for more Indigenous social work material to be made available for academics to use in their teaching, highlighting the need for academics to have a positive relationship to research.

Aroha, a Māori academic in Aotearoa New Zealand, saw the ‘*flow on*’ effect of researching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into her own teaching. She had completed research upon Māori theories in social work and this directly influenced the content of her teaching.

> ‘So, my teaching is very much influenced by Māori worldview, Teo Māori, and when I was studying … no one had really written down any Māori theories, although we understand them, but they are not necessarily articulated for an academic … So, I did some research about that and was able to write an article about Māori theories so that having done that article I’ve been able to really teach from … that, students can clearly see there’s some Māori theories that underpinned by Māori values. They manifest in models, and then these are the skills and things you need, so … that sort of flow on’.

Anahera, another Māori academic, explained her relationship to research. When she was employed at the university, she was not aware of the need for her to conduct research and teach at the same time.

> ‘The main reason I came here was to teach social work, but I didn’t really have that understanding about the research component … You don’t just teach; you have to research as well … So, I really wanted to teach social work to social workers and part of that comes from

> my own experience of some social workers … and just realised that research side of things is a big part of the job as well'.

For the Indigenous participants, their relationship to research was connected to their Indigenous values and developing social work that was decolonising and responsive towards Indigenous people, rather than research being an exercise in promoting themselves or as a way of progressing themselves through the whitestream.

Some of the non-Indigenous academics that participated in this study in Australia, like Sigrid, had chosen to research within the Aboriginal space under the guidance of Aboriginal people. As mentioned, this impacted upon their teaching and navigating the integration process. Within the whitestream, research is seen as a way of advancing knowledge and bringing in revenue to the university. Yet, as mentioned previously, academics may not have time to, firstly, add to the knowledge of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives within social work, secondly, develop their research skills and, thirdly, for non-Indigenous academics, conduct research to develop their knowledge in teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives.

7.5.7 **Relationships with other universities**

Other universities methods of integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their curriculum seemed to offer insights to some participants. Sam had an established relationship with another university that had a developed integration process and Sam used this university's method as a model for Sam's own integration. The model included having a core group of Elders work with the social work department and Sam framed their model on the other university's model:

> We're particularly framing it around placement based on modelling [name removed] University … they have a core group of Elders that work within their schools, … who meet with students who are going on placement.

This poses the question, could universities work together in developing models and teaching material? For example, in South Australia, there are two universities within the same city which are training social workers to work with Aboriginal peoples. Could they work together to develop teaching material and share professional development costs to train their academic staff?

Other options to traditional university outside of the whitestream

Social work education in Aotearoa New Zealand is offered outside of whitestream universities, including polytechnics, private training establishments and Wānanga (McNabb, 2020a). Wānanga are Māori tertiary education institutions that are founded upon Māori customs and values and

Māori knowledges and perspectives are central to their social work programs (McNabb, 2020b). McNabb asserts that social work programs based in wānanga are leading the way in indigenisation and they ‘could also provide insight into the ways in which mainstream programmes might more strongly indigenise academic programmes’ (McNabb, 2020b, p. 79). Each establishment, whether Wānanga or university, must meet the standards and reviews set out by the SWRB. Comparatively social work education in Australia is only offered in whitestream universities with a foundation based upon Western epistemology, ontology, and axiology. This study did not produce data on the relationship between whitestream universities and Wānanga, yet it would make sense for universities to pursue relationships with each other, where they could learn from one another and share resources with the goal of more successfully achieving epistemological equality. However, the whitestream education system is influenced by neoliberalism and pursuing reciprocal relationships between academics across universities, and sharing knowledge is not often supported within a system that commodifies that knowledge and where colleagues become competitors.

7.5.8 **Relationship to a system**

Education systems in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand have been influenced by neoliberal ideologies and practices of governments. The literature advocates for educators to understand neoliberalism, the nature of hierarchies and apparatuses of competition (Connell, 2013). Within an education system that is based upon neoliberal ideologies and practices, social work education may be influenced by a number of factors, including managerialism, commodification and commercialisation and the impacts of neo-colonialism (McNabb, 2020a, p. 9 & 10). Relational, reflexive and ethical practices that are core to social work in this environment may reduce social work education to a ‘narrow prescription for training social workers’ (McNabb, 2020b, p. 115). This system inevitably impacts both the academics involved in the integration process and the integration process.

Research is only beginning to investigate ‘how the double-helix of neoliberalism and settler-colonialism affects indigenous scholars and their knowledge production activities’ (Kidman, 2020, p. 249). Indigenous academics ‘often have an uneasy relationship with the neoliberal academy’ (Kidman, 2020, p. 247). Through their teaching and research, Indigenous academics challenge settler amnesia and public silences about the colonial past and its measurable consequences in contemporary society (Kidman, 2020). Simultaneously, Indigenous academics can be celebrated as partners in diversity and yet relegated to the universities’ margins or fringes (Kidman, 2020, p.

257). The margins of academia are sites of decolonial activity, Indigenous faculty connect in meaningful ways with decolonising activities and movements outside of the universities (Kidman, 2020, p. 248). These decolonial activities and movements then feed into Indigenous academics' scholarship and the integration of Indigenous content into the social work education.

Participants shared their experiences of navigating the neoliberal whitestream academy. Anahera explained her relationship with the whitestream university system:

> 'The other thing that you need to acknowledge is the system of our university … is very western and so that fit into the system is quite hard … I came from quite a bicultural organisation where I could be Māori very freely within it and I was in a leadership role, so I could model and whole lot and it was a non-hierarchical system and coming to universities like this are very hierarchical, so I struggled with that whole, but you know I am very vocal about it, like "I don't know whether I really fit here" … I am starting to feel a bit better about it now, but that is also because I have put in support networks to help me to manage being in this place that doesn't feel a natural fit for me, so and other Indigenous academics would probably feel the same way in a big system, a Western system such as this'.

Navigating the western system for an Indigenous academic, when they were used to a more bicultural organisation that allowed them to be their cultural self, was defined by Anahera as a struggle, nevertheless she worked at creating a support network to manage the system. Anahera explained that the university was much the same as other organisations in which education was based on a monoculturalism.

> 'As Māori, … always challenging systems and how often, education that comes with that real monocultural lens, … this place is no different than a lot of other places".

Challenging the system took energy and time. Hinewai expressed:

> 'Puts you in a position do I have the energy to do that or should I just listen to them and just do [follow the instructions]'

The Indigenous participants had to decide whether to challenge the system and if it was worth it. Anahera shared a story of how she had challenged the system and a key element of challenging the system was the support that she received from her colleagues:

> 'That support makes us strong, to be able to do what we need to do I guess, particularly as Maori educators, that support, we have, we give and receive, for each other, from our school as well'.

However, Anahera also pointed out that someone else may have chosen not to challenge the system and just done what they were told:

> 'I've been told that I can't, so I won't'.

Collective support, as discussed in 7.4.2, from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous staff given to Indigenous academics meant that they were more likely to challenge the neoliberal whitestream system. There are examples in literature of Indigenous women navigating the whitestream system. As a PhD student, Russ-Smith (2018) had been offered a number of opportunities yet, in fact, most of these opportunities were tokenistic gestures enabling those who gave her the "opportunity" to use it to 'tick the box', fulfilling cultural inclusivity. These opportunities may be at prestigious events, or in the form of keynote invitations or requests to be the 'posterchild' to publicise Aboriginal success (Green et al., 2018, p. 263). Russ-Smith highlights that their refusal to fulfill these 'opportunities' as 'sovereign warriors is met with resistance attacks of white fragility and white possessiveness of the academic space' (Green et al., 2018). Russ-Smith (2018) states that '[t]he academy functions not as a community, but as a space of colonial legacies regarding knowledge production, ownership and Aboriginal deficit' (p 259) making the relationships between fellow Indigenous women in academia invaluable. Russ-Smith (2018) speaks admirably regarding Indigenous women within the academy, 'there is something deeply powerful about being in the presence of Indigenous women and their knowledges' (p 259).

Budget and funding

Another aspect of navigating the whitestream system is understanding budget and funding constraints and how these elements impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the social work curriculum.

A major challenge for academics regarding the lack of funding was their ability to have their students engage with Indigenous guest speakers, including Elders, Aboriginal practitioners, and communities. Sam from Australia mentioned the lack of funding several times during the interview:

> 'But again, the blockages are money, because you have got to pay the Elders … they [Elders] might then get a consultancy or pay for a guest lecture or something like that. But in terms of a continuing kind of way to engage, because if you don't keep people [Elders and guest speakers] invested in what you're doing there's too much going on in life and community, they can go and do other things and also there are paid jobs out there'.

In the past, Sam had had the support of community members free of charge, but Sam had decided that if the money was not available to pay community members who had been asked to be guest speakers or as consultants Sam would no longer utilise their services:

> 'It is always about being paid and I'm disgusted even in the past, how much the community has done for me to support me in my work for free, purely because the money is not there, but

> what I do now is, if the money is not there, we don't do it. I am drawing that line now and that's a real shame, but the exploitation of Aboriginal people needs to stop'.

Therefore, when the funding was not available, instead of having a guest speaker, Sam had utilised multimedia, which Sam described as:

> '… multimedia is extremely useful. Some people haven't even visually been able to engage with Aboriginal people and things and places and stuff like that'.

So at least students can visually see an Aboriginal person. Sam highlighted:

> 'I find … the guest spots that I have had in the past, and they are starting to really get slim now is because of budget. I've been told that there isn't the money to do it, so that's a challenge'.

Several participants reported that the budget limited the number of Indigenous guest speakers that could be paid to teach.

The challenges of budget impacted upon teaching and their ability to provide students with opportunities to engage with Aboriginal practitioners and community. Sam clarified:

> 'But over time I've noticed it's become less and less of [a] commitment and keeping in mind, I used to be in the Indigenous school which then closed, so being in a mainstream school now. It's a very different environment. I am finding I am getting less and less support even though AASW accreditation and the requirements for teaching mean that we have Indigenous content. There isn't the money for it. I'm the only one. For example, so I kind of got to be and, I don't like it, but be the Aboriginal representative to students and also the teacher, so it's like a dual kind of role'.

It was evident that the university had not made a budget commitment that matched their perceived commitment to fulfilling the Indigenous strategies that they espoused to and that were required by the AASW. This was not isolated to this one university within the study. The lack of Indigenous academic staff in the other two universities in Australia that participated showed their lack of commitment to fulfilling their espoused Indigenous strategies and their fulfillment of AASW requirements.

Budget constraints limited Indigenous guest speakers, academics had to find other creative reciprocal ways of 'paying' guest speakers for their time and resources. Jess, from Aotearoa New Zealand, explained that she provided supervision in exchange for a guest speaker doing something in her class and there was no money exchanged. Jess reflected:

> 'They are also of goodwill arrangements, because we don't have any money to pay people, which is rubbish … so the only way I can feel okay about asking people, is if I do something back, but it shouldn't be like that'.

Money constraint impacted the employment of Indigenous academics, which in turn creates greater challenges for non-Indigenous academics' abilities to gain the support and guidance they need to teach Indigenous content:

> 'Actually I think the students are really opened to learning about this and they're thirsty for this knowledge, so I see the challenges for them, we don't have any money to bring, to actually, we don't have a Maori academic on staff, which is a huge challenge we really need to have a Maori academic (said with conviction) … we have someone is adjunct to another department, who is always willing to give time to our department, so we are lucky in that regard, but probably the biggest challenge is our, we're a tiny team … and we don't have a Maori academic, as part of our team, which is a real short fall … so you have to go outside your team to get support?'.

Narelle, a colleague of Jess, echoed this sentiment:

> 'I just don't think we have enough [indigenous knowledges and perspectives in the curriculum] and that's largely to do with resourcing and staffing'.

Lack of resourcing and staffing within universities was identified by academics as an ongoing challenge. Financial challenges were evident in delivering Indigenous content. Anna had developed a way of assessing social work students' competence in the use of narrative approaches and being culturally sensitive in their engagement with Aboriginal people through the use of role plays. Anna had paid Aboriginal actors and assessors to come into her class and this well-developed assessment tool was scrapped because it was not cost effective. Anna explained:

> 'It was costly because obviously … we had 196 students. I had to get 10 actors and then 10 assessors but effectively these students have gone out; some have actually gone into an Aboriginal sector as a result'.

Anna believed that a lot of the decisions are made upon finances:

> 'It comes down to ching, ching dollars … it did cost a bit too much money, I believe, but it worked'.

Anna obviously saw the value in providing students with hands on experience in developing skills working with Aboriginal people in person rather than through other avenues, like multimedia, that are deployed often to save money. Anna explained that, for international students, the narrative role plays had been the only opportunity that they had to meet face to face with an Aboriginal person, which made for a very valuable experience.

Loneliness and isolation

Being the only Indigenous academic within your social work department can be both lonely and isolating. Hinewai, from Aotearoa New Zealand, discussed how it can be quite lonely without the support of other Indigenous academics. She explained the need to have a commitment to building people up to that position. Both Hinewai and Anahera were concerned with a sole Aboriginal person being recruited into an academic position in Australia that they would feel quite lonely:

> '… being aware that just bringing in say one Aboriginal social worker to become an academic, the pressure and the isolation that person is going to feel, you know, so how can that be really well supported for that person, they will bring their own supports, but they will need a lots of support'.

Hinewai pointed out that there may be other Indigenous academics in other schools that could support this person but that they would not have a social work perspective, although they would have an Indigenous perspective. Both Anahera and Hinewai agreed that:

> '… because it can be quite lonely… can be quite isolating if you are on your own … and that support is really important'.

As a Whānau group, Anahera had experienced this isolation herself while both Hinewai and Aroha were on maternity leave or not necessarily available at different times (Pania had not been employed at this stage). They really wanted to be able to connect with each other. Another aspect that hindered their ability to connect was the business of academic work.

Loneliness and isolation were felt by Sam when working in a whitestream university. Sam was the only Aboriginal person in the social work department:

> 'it's not only isolating but there's too much work'

Loneliness and isolation may be accentuated for academic staff that also experience the precariousness of casualisation.

Casualisation of academic staff

Neoliberalism has impacted upon social work pedagogy through its managerial administrative culture and has 'profoundly reduced the ability of academics to maintain and further develop sound, critical teaching practices' (p. 28), robbing academics of time to develop thoughtful and quality teaching (Morley et al., 2017, p. 28). Neoliberalism has also impacted upon the workplace within universities. The culture within universities is such that self-censorship, conformity, silence and competition are promoted (Morley et al., 2017, p. 32). Precarious employment within the academy is gendered and racialised, 'the near invisibility of racialized and Indigenous women faculty holding tenure track positions' is evident in universities (Abawi, 2018, p. 87). Naepi (2019) discussed the increased casualisation of labour within international and Aotearoa New Zealand universities. Naepi (2019) predicts that as casual contracts increase in Aotearoa New Zealand universities that the position of Pasifika, and arguably other Indigenous academics' working conditions will deteriorate. Certainly, it could be argued that the precariousness of casualisation can also impact upon teaching and inevitably the integration of Indigenous content.

Casual labour within universities has also impacted upon the integration process. Most of the academics that were interviewed were tenured. Australia had two academics that were untenured, whereas all the academics from Aotearoa New Zealand were tenured. Interestingly, the academics were contacted in December 2020 and January 2021 to review the findings of this study and, within the Australian context, only two of the eight academics remained in the same position that they had been in at the time of being interviewed in November and December 2017. As of January 2021, three had left academia and three had moved to different universities in different states, displaying the precariousness of academia. The precariousness of academia has been highlighted in the literature. Casualisation of staff is occurring more regularly within academia (the whitestream) with casual academics assuming over approximately 50% of the overall teaching load (Jayasuriya, 2020). Many of the casualised precarious workforce are on long-term contracts and yet, due to their casualisation, these employees do not have the same level of employment rights as their tenured colleagues (Jayasuriya, 2020, p. 594). The Covid-19 has made visible what has existed all along, a vulnerable and fragile whitestream system.

Structural inequalities were discussed by Anna from Australia who explained that, as a casual academic:

> 'Even when I work as a topic coordinator, I don't have the same level of influence'.

Anna felt that that had impacted upon her performance in her role, she felt that she could have done a lot better. Anna's precarious position as a casual meant that she had less say in how Indigenous knowledges and perspectives were integrated into the curriculum.

Time

Time was identified as a necessary part of the decolonising process, as a missing element as such for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics. Participants often mentioned their need for more time to read, invest in expanding their knowledge and to publish. This is supported in literature, for example by Maori academic, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), who asserts that, for decolonising and systemic change to occur, time is required (p. xiii). Napan (2015), a social work academic in Aotearoa New Zealand, found, due to the neoliberal institutional environment, that academics were continually expected to compete, work more for less in an environment with less job security, 'academics are robbed of time to think, time to reflect, time to explore and invent' (p. 12). Time itself has been commercialised for academics in a neoliberal environment, connected to market demands, globalisation and global capitalism (Kidman & Chu, 2017, p. 11). In the context of this study, time was seen as a valuable resource by academics. Matilda disclosed:

> 'Look I think the most immediate barriers are just time … to be able to find time to, for myself to do the reading and reflection and searching for resources and thinking through how to approach things, and to be a lot more collaborative in terms of my teaching practice and start to really draw on maybe some of the resources and people that are actually already at the university and maybe outside of the university … to put on my to do list but then actually don't get a chance to follow through … particularly Indigenous theories of practice, social work practice as well, I've got the bare bone stuff there, mainly thanks to using that 'Our Voices' text and tapping into some of the Aboriginal social workers that come in as guest speakers from time to time".

Time to build relationships was identified as a genuine need by participants. Sam, an Aboriginal academic, emphasised the need for leadership support in Sam's endeavour to build relationships with local Elders and community. Sam felt that there was an expectation that being an Aboriginal person meant that you already had significant relationships with Aboriginal people and that Sam did not need time to build those relationships like her non-Indigenous colleagues needed. Sam explained:

> 'I am an Aboriginal person, but if you bring your relationships into this academic space, they need another layer of time. It's not about me having, and I think this is where people miss what it means to have Aboriginal people in practice and in academia, is that our personal lives and our professional does actually have a line. It might be a dotted line that's drawn. So, we can't always rely on personal relationships to feed into here [referring to guest speakers] because that's just not appropriate. And it's not right! And therefore, we need that time to just like any other non-Indigenous person as well would do, around developing relationships for the academy, is what we need as well, and I don't think that [is] really acknowledged'.

Sam described the need for Aboriginal academics to have the same amount of time as non-Indigenous people to build and develop professional relationships for the academy.

Relationships, within neoliberal universities between the institutional elite and marginalised scholars have experienced 'distance decay' (Kidman & Chu, 2017, p. 16). This means that within whitestream academia there is a widening gap in the day-to-day communication between academics who are teaching and those who are classed as the institutional elite. Relationships between those on the margins and those at the university's core are progressively arbitrated by meso-level 'entrepreneurs' whose focus is upon ratifying and upholding whitestream neoliberal practices and institutional policies as a representative of senior leadership (Kidman & Chu, 2017, p.

17). Māori academics and other marginalised groups seize opportunities to make genuine social change through using their scholarly identities and affiliations both inside and outside of the universities to bring about social change. This is a site of resistance to the whitestream as often the universities are unable to monitor, access or manage this type of activity and activism (Kidman & Chu, 2017).

There are arguably many aspects of working in the whitestream academy that impact upon the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education that warrant further research, including institutional racism, workload, uncertainty, disciplinary silences, and class size.

7.6 Relationship to Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous community,

The final section focuses upon one of the most, if not the most important cluster of relationships that an academic can have in the integration process: relating and engaging with the Indigenous community, Elders and Kaumatuas and Indigenous organisations. The importance of relationships with Indigenous Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous communities has been emphasised in literature. 'He [Rigney 2011] calls for full-scale commitment of educators who consult with Aboriginal people as equals' (Green et al., 2013, p. 225). Bennett and Zubrzycki (2003) challenge all social workers to 'develop networks with Indigenous communities and acknowledge, respect, listen, follow and consult' (p. 69). Relationships and partnerships between academics and Indigenous communities, their Elders and Kaumatuas are a necessary part of decolonisation. Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2019) assert that, for institutional transformation to occur, there is a need for Indigenous peoples to develop their own theories of transformative action and for Indigenous communities to take responsibility to name, define and intervene in the crises which have impacted upon their language, culture, collectives and families, a crisis that they have not essentially been responsible for (p. 1077 & 1078). Smith and Smith advocate for Indigenous scholars to build their own intellectual capacity and capabilities, remaining connected to Indigenous communities. In this way they can be critical change agents and advocates. Smith and Smith (2019) advocate for academics to focus upon working as a collective rather 'than as competitive individuals, engaging in privatized acts of academic achievement' (p. 1090). In building relationships with Indigenous communities, Elders and Kaumatuas, it is also acknowledging and respecting the expertise they have regarding their own people and culture. Acknowledging community relationships as a source of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives enables and supports the integration process. Relationships between the university and community that are genuine and sustainable have the 'potential to inform a range of professional practices' (Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018, p. 822). Recent literature in social work education continues to point out the need for academics to build and develop genuine relationships with Indigenous communities to engage and implement approaches that are Indigenous led and codesigned, including university policy, practice, and curriculum (Satour & Goldingay, 2021, p. 2 & 3). Yet the 'how to' regarding how to build and sustain relationships with Indigenous community is continuing to develop, as there is no one way to do it (Satour & Goldingay, 2021, p. 2 & 3). Maintaining and sustaining these relationships with community takes both time and resources (Bennett, Redfern, et al., 2018, p. 822).

Personally, as a researcher and an academic, my moto has been, 'if you want to know about Indigenous people then speak to an Indigenous person'. It is important to understand that there is a direct relationship between what is being taught in the university and the experiences of Indigenous communities. Therefore, it is imperative that this section begins with the understanding of the context on both sides of the Tasman.

7.6.1 **Bridging the gap between the academy and the community**

In the Australian context, Carmen described the gap between practicing social work in the field compared to what was being taught in the university. Child protection in Australia was problematic. Carmen in Australia remarked:

> 'What's happening at the front line is not necessarily reflected in … what we're teaching social workers … so if we take the child protection area at the moment – the discourse is that we're creating another Stolen Generation … if we are wanting things to change then we need to be educating emerging social workers. So, the way that they practice is going to be much more responsive to Aboriginal families and children or generally speaking Aboriginal children - whether it be from a community perspective. So, I think the academic or our social work faculty hasn't really engaged with that challenge'.

Carmen highlights the need for academics to have relationships with local communities so that what is being taught actually meets the needs of the Indigenous communities they intend students to work with. For change to occur, social work students need to have the ability to be culturally responsive in their practice when working alongside Indigenous peoples.

An aspect of building relationships with Indigenous communities is for social work to be able to respond to the needs and aspirations within the region and local communities in which the university exists. Sigrid led her students to look beyond mainstream systems and to engage critically with what was occurring outside of the academy to gain a greater understanding of the capacity and agency that Indigenous communities already had in place:

> ‘Rather than students just looking traditionally at models of addressing family violence through mainstream systems, they’re encouraged to be looking at where advocacy and social action is happening around them … So, encourage them to notice … the positives and the community capacity and agency … of Aboriginal people to be starting to inform their own futures’.

Edith, an academic in Australia, explained that her university had emphasised the need for their university to be responsive to state and territory and regional issues that arise and engage with communities and government bodies. These relationships with Indigenous communities and Indigenous organisations produce opportunities for social work placements and graduate employment. Edith explained:

> The university emphasizes the need for the university to be responsive to [state/territory] issues … So, we’re trying to move more into the community, into the region and engage with both the government bodies … making arrangements with [name removed] for instance to take social work students and for social work to employ a certain number of graduates so there’s more of a connection with local authorities, with government, and with the region than there have been in some areas. We must be responsive to the region.

The gap between education and the community was also evident in Aotearoa New Zealand. Pania explained:

> ‘There’s a gap between the tertiary providers and the community. So, we are doing all this training inside the tertiary institute, then they go out in practice and find that it’s not like what they’ve been taught here, so I really want to focus on that cause I think it’s a huge thing’.

The gap between what is being taught in whitestream tertiary institutions can be bridged by academics engaging in genuine and authentic relationships with Indigenous communities and being responsive in their teaching to the needs of what is actually occurring outside academia. Several of the participants were involved with Indigenous communities outside of the academy. Pania gave an example of how she remained connected to the community through visiting students on placement:

> ‘I know that a lot of the staff are involved in outside activities with the community. … So, when the students go on placements … we get allocated different students to go and visit. So, it keeps us connected to the community’.

Remaining connected with Indigenous community appeared to impact the Indigenous content that was being taught by academics. Evelyn, a Samoan academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, related a similar response from the university in which she works,

> I think there's been a move … towards enhancing the university's connection with community. So, it doesn't sit in its little academic world completely isolated but being the voice about a whole lot of things.

The university's connection to community was important, that relationship assisted academics in having an informed voice rather than one that was completely isolated in an academic world.

Evelyn maintained professional connections to what was occurring in the Indigenous community by being involved with several different Pasifika organisations in an advisory capacity or on NGO's (non-Government Organisation) governance boards. Evelyn connected with Pasifika organisations and was in touch with what was happening within these organisations. She brought those stories of social work practice back to her team and used them in her teaching. Evelyn said,

> So, they are my touchstones for what's going on … the stories that those organisations bring about what's happening … that's amazing social work practice.

It was evident that Indigenous knowledges and perspectives taught were not just evidence based but also based on relationships, like with elders, so that what was being taught was correct and contextual. Evelyn stated

> 'So, in every course in a way that it's locally, it's contextualised locally but also globally'.

Learning from Elders, Kaumatuas and the Indigenous community was seen as a valuable element of the relationship for academics.

7.6.2 **Academics learning from Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous community,**

Academics learning through relationships with Indigenous Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous community was evident in the interviews. The collective support of the Aboriginal community gave Sam confidence in Sam's content and methods of teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. Sam reports:

> I talk to Elders, community, and practitioners about what I'm doing, and they say, "that sounds awesome". Then that gives me confidence.

Anna, a non-Indigenous academic from Australia, highlighted the importance of developing her own knowledge as an academic and in having relationships with Indigenous mentors and community.

> 'I research in the areas … I try to get as much information as I can, from the academic side is because you want to make sure you are teaching it properly … Developing my own knowledge is really important and having trust from the community.

Anna had felt uncomfortable about teaching Indigenous knowledges and perspectives, but her mentors assured her that as long as she did not position herself as the expert and was honest with her position, then they felt that she would be fine.

> ‘When I first started teaching the Aboriginal topic, I actually spoke to my [Indigenous] mentors, and said, “should I be doing this?” Because I wasn’t comfortable about it and they said, “look, if you do it with the purpose that you have in mind, (with just me not being the expert), then you will be fine, and you always put your position, you will be fine. Just say your facilitator if that is what you are comfortable with”. I said, actually that is what I am comfortable [with] and that's what motivated me to really engage the community into the topic’.

Like Anna, several of the participants felt that having the support and guidance of Indigenous mentors gave them more confidence in their teaching of Indigenous content.

One of Carmen’s passions is being an effective change agent and one way she sees that she can do that is by learning, engaging, and understanding Aboriginal people, families, and Aboriginal workers.

> ‘One of my passions is … we want to be effective change agents. Then we need to be engaging with and understanding the experiences of people with whom we are working. So that means if we’re working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people … Whether it’s the family or practising in a way where we partner with Aboriginal people – Aboriginal workers to then give us that knowledge and understanding so then we can work together to make those necessary changes and to make children safe. So, it’s about knowledge; it’s also about you know what social justice is’.

Carmen also highlighted that, as she continues to work part-time in child protection alongside her academic role at the university, having a relationship with Indigenous people outside of the university in child protection brings more credibility to her teaching.

> ‘But the other thing that I find is that it does give, I guess, an element of credibility to what I’m teaching’.

Matilda and Sigrid, both non-Indigenous academics from Australia, described how important building relationships with local Indigenous people is, yet also ensuring that the knowledge that is taught does not exclude other Aboriginal groups. Sigrid remarked:

> ‘We enjoy quite a close connection with industry here and with Aboriginal people within the sector as well or not. So, we also ensure that there’s … different and diverse voices obviously by different Aboriginal people but there’s always incorporation of local Aboriginal people into presentations or delivery of some key components about … the curriculum that I teach’.

Matilda considered:

> ‘I think definitely building more relationships with different Indigenous social workers, Indigenous communities and Indigenous non-social work practitioners and people in our community would be good … So need to be very much more mindful of having a broader outreach to make sure that [name removed] knowledge, … doesn’t necessarily exclude other Aboriginal cultures and ways of doing things’.

It was evident from the interviews that Australian academics had to rely more on their relationships with Indigenous people outside of their universities to fill the gaps in knowledge, either due to the lack of Indigenous academics or lack of literature to support their teaching.

Aroha, from Aotearoa New Zealand, explained how genuine relationships with Indigenous people in the communities and local kaumatuas can keep academics grounded. This meant building relationships based upon trust. Aroha encourages her colleagues to not just speak to colleagues but to find experienced people to guide them in their teaching:

> ‘A lot of people say I asked my colleague … weeelll maybe you need to ask someone more experienced than your colleague. So, it’s about having those relationships to keep you grounded … I try to have genuine relationships with people … that’s what makes a good social worker too. Having those genuine relationships in the communities, being trustworthy’.

Aroha also accentuated the need for academics to be role models to their students in the way that they build relationships with Indigenous Kaumatua, Elders and communities:

> ‘I think, just have to be an example of that in your teaching with students. So, if you are trying to say to them, “well you know, you need to go up to your local kaumatua” and then you don’t even know who the kaumatua is…’.

Indigenous Kaumatuas and Elders are also consulted regarding the use of cultural protocol, for example, welcoming guests. Aroha may also check in with her aunties and grandparents to ensure that it is appropriate for her to do a welcome in certain circumstances. Aroha ensures she asks the appropriate people advice and permission to attend to cultural protocols:

> ‘Having really genuine connections and relationships and checking in with people … having the support networks around you, I have been building really good relationships with Māori [department] … and a lot of the staff there so, like the people who are fluent in Te Reo [Māori language] and they know all the answers to all the questions and being comfortable to go, “what do I do?” … and getting the nod from my aunties and grandparents and whoever is to say, “yes, you can go off and do that”’.

Non-Indigenous academics in Aotearoa New Zealand also knew the value in building strong relationships and connections with community. Evelyn shared regarding where and how to integrate Indigenous content into her teaching:

> ‘I think all the way through the curriculum is good and local and external, yep connect with community to make that happen, build those relationships’.

Building relationships as an academic outside of the university is not always easy but is essential.

7.6.3 Resistance from the whitestream in including Indigenous community, Elders and Kaumatuas in the integration process

Hinewai and Anahera felt that the university can become an ivory tower and be disconnected from the community. Hinewai explained:

> 'Cause we talk about [name of university removed] being a little bit disconnected from the community (Anahera: yeah, the ivory tower) the ivory tower'.

Sarah from Australia echoed these sentiments saying that it was absolutely essential for Indigenous community to be involved in curriculum development. Sarah states that to have non-Indigenous task force members on high salaries consulting with Indigenous Elders who are already overburdened and expect them to be consulted free of charge is a continuation of colonisation. Once again, the whitestream is endeavouring to appropriate knowledge without building genuine relationships with Indigenous people. Sarah expounded,

> I think it is absolutely essential. I don't think it's going to be successful to integrate Indigenous knowledges, Indigenous perspectives into the curriculum unless it comes from Indigenous people saying, this is appropriate to include, this is not appropriate to include, pointing out this is a continuation of a colonial relationship, when you appropriate this kind of understanding and use it to educate non-indigenous students, it's not right for you to do that.

Sarah also stated the need to provide remuneration and employing Indigenous people the university is consulting with.

> This can only come through Indigenous people being involved in that process of integrating perspectives and knowledges and not just as people who are being consulted free of charge but actually employed properly by the university, by the government to develop the curriculum appropriately. It's not appropriate for government or for universities to employ non-indigenous task force members on high salaries to then go out to consult with Indigenous Elders who are already burdened with such a range of governance problems and community matters they need to take control of but having to also do university business on top of that for no remuneration or anything like that, it's inappropriate.

Australian academic, Sigrid, discussed how they had proposed to consult with an Indigenous Community Action Group (CAG) to have different agencies involved with contributing and/or reviewing the course curriculum at different points. Yet the practicality and the reality were different. Sigrid stated that there needed to be a better model in place to ensure that Indigenous people's expertise was recognised and financially supported.

> 'The more we drain and draw upon people with the expertise without having funding to do that, … it's almost like asking people again to be doing our business … if there was more

> funding to better recognise the contribution of Aboriginal people in that formal way, … that would be a better model, than just having people who might have some time yet again, share knowledge about how things should be done, because that's the experience of so many … it's not rewarded, … we're expecting people to do that voluntarily … there are some practical limits to it … if we could employ Indigenous academics as teachers as well, so that they're part of our thinking and system'.

This is an example of an academic trying to navigate the whitestream. The expectation was that Indigenous knowledges and perspectives would be integrated into the curriculum, yet funding was not given to support this endeavour. Relationships were needed with Indigenous people to decolonise the academy, including community consultation.

This would also be a relationship where power remains firmly in the hands of the University rather than a shared power between the knowledge holder and the knowledge acquirer. Within a neoliberal, financially driven institute of knowledge, also known as the whitestream university, the acquisition of knowledge from Elders, Kaumatuas and community in exchange for money may also bring into question who owns the knowledge. Does the intellectual property remain with the community? Further research could provide academics with solutions in maintaining these relationships with Indigenous Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous communities.

7.6.4 **Honouring Elders and Kaumatuas**

Acknowledging and honouring Elders was one way that Sam felt the University could respect and engage with Indigenous knowledges and ways of being. One useful mechanism to honour Elders within the academy was by inviting an Elder to be an adjunct or be a holder of an honorary doctorate:

> There is one Elder in this University who was given an honorary doctorate and then given … invited to be an adjunct, so I think that's one really useful mechanism.

Aboriginal Elders play a key role in meeting some of the challenges that Sam experiences in navigating the whitestream. These relationships can support and enhance Sam's work and can provide a pool of Aboriginal people who can be called upon to support Sam's work and can come in as guest speakers:

> 'I get an Elder to come in and talk to students'.

Indigenous communities have called for 'more Indigenous control and self-determining forms of higher education provision … options that reflect their aspirations, needs and "rights"' (G. H. Smith & Smith, 2019, p. 1079). Whether this occurs within the existing academy or within an Indigenous learning environment like Te wānanga, the outcome needs to give space to Indigenous knowledges and perspectives that is supported by Indigenous community. Within the social work context, the curriculum should be responsive to the needs and aspirations of the Indigenous people that social workers will work alongside to aim for reconciliation and decolonisation.

7.7 Summary

This chapter emphasised the role an academic's relationships play in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education, in the context of the current literature. The interviews were interpreted to include six main relationships for an academic as they navigate the whitestream, these are.

1) Relationship to self
2) Relationship to students
3) Relationship to Indigenous knowledges, language, and culture
4) Relationship to peers
5) Relationships to those in power and the whitestream
6) Relationship to Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous communities

Each section provided evidence from participants that supported the importance of each relationship in the integration process. This evidence included each participant's own experience of teaching Indigenous content and provided insight into how both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics navigated the many challenges. Several positive factors within each relationship were identified that enabled the integration process and operationalised indigenising and decolonising the curriculum. For example, having supporting relationships with students, collective relationships with peers and developing reciprocal relationships with Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous communities. A further summation of these findings will be discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 8
SUMMATIVE DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

> [C]ontemporary higher education challenges are a product of our dominant systems and frames of reference, and thus, solutions to these challenges that are formulated from within these systems and frames will only address the *symptoms* of today's crises, while the *root causes* remain unaddressed and continue to cause harm. That is, if we simply re- imagine higher education from where we currently stand, we will likely continue to imagine and create more of the same (emphasis in the original) (Stein, 2019, p. 144).

8.1 Introduction

This study has explored the question, 'How do relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education?' My original contribution to knowledge is the development of a relational model for academics that focuses upon six key relationships that an academic may consider when integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching. Through semi-structured interviews, six key relationships were interpreted that both enhance and at times challenge the integration process in social work education in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand within whitestream academia. I embarked on this study to discover what was enhancing and impeding the integration process for academics in whitestream academia and what could be learnt from each other across the Tasman. In an attempt to answer these questions, this study focused upon the experiences of eighteen social work educators as they endeavoured to develop and deliver a curriculum that places Indigenous knowledges and perspectives equal to Western knowledge, creating what Zubrzycki et al. have termed 'epistemological equality' (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014). While the findings support existing research in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education, it adds to our understanding and knowledge in the role that relationships play for an academic in the integration process, which has not been developed into a model within literature. This study is unique as it looks at the experiences of academics in social work education, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous on both sides of the Tasman. The study has identified significant relationships for an academic and has developed a model that may have the potential to enhance the integration process in the whitestream.

8.2 Summative discussion

8.2.1 **The study**

From the outset of this study, I endeavoured to reverse the gaze away from focusing upon Indigenous knowledges themselves and to focus upon the context in which the content was to be embedded, the whitestream. The review of literature provided the background to the colonised environment of whitestream Eurocentric universities where Indigenous peoples and their knowledges are marginalised. Social work education globally acknowledges its need to decolonise its education to better work alongside Indigenous peoples. In the global south, Australia developed the 'Getting it right' framework (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014) to guide the integration process and Aotearoa New Zealand SWRB introduced the Kaitiakitanga framework (Social Workers Registration Board, 2016). The 'Getting it right' framework endeavours to inform and guide both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social work academics in their integration of Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing into the social work curriculum. Whereas the Kaitiakitanga framework informs and guides social work practice more broadly and supports the assessment of the competence of social workers in their work with Māori. The Kaitiakitanga framework can inform and guide educators as they integrate Māori concepts into their teaching programs. Further resources and articles to guide the integration process are continually being developed and published.

At the time of the interviews, in late 2017 and 2018, the 'Getting it right' framework had been available to academics for approximately three years, yet participants had varying interactions with the framework and varying success at integrating Indigenous content into their teaching. The Kaitiakitanga framework was relatively new at the time of the Aotearoa New Zealand interviews in early 2018. From the findings of this study, operationalising the frameworks into teaching within the whitestream academy appeared challenging on both sides of the Tasman. This is supported by McNabb's (2020b) research, where he argues that 'introducing decolonising expectations in social work standards is not quite the same as operationalising them in practice' (p. 78). Globally, decolonising social work programs are gaining momentum and there are examples of social work programs that are having success including Hawai'i and Canada (see section 3.3).

8.2.2 **Balancing change**

Maintaining the status quo and colonising knowledge and practice has been the focus historically of social work in many colonised countries, including Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Zinga

(2019), a non-Indigenous academic, indicates that understanding the status quo and the systems that support and maintain hegemonic views are the problems that demand attention. Operationalising the aspirations of decolonising social work education within whitestream academia poses several challenges and many have been outlined in this study. Some of the messiness of 'browning the curriculum', as highlighted by Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández (2013), is that it reveals racism, settler futurity and exposes the absences and the complexities of navigating the whitestream. The whitestream is a place where the power is held by predominantly White people and introducing and integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the whitestream challenges the status quo. I argue that the notion of incremental change has played a role in slowing the integration process. Incremental change in this context has meant that the changes to the curriculum have occurred at a slow pace which DeCuir and Dixon (2004) describe as 'palatable for those in power' (p. 29). Incremental change tends to benefit those who are 'less likely to be directly affected by oppressive and marginalizing conditions' (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 29). Within the academy, those in power are predominantly White and govern the legitimacy of knowledge and its integration into education and subsequent curricula. The very processes, policies, and structures of the whitestream are based upon the dominant discourse of Whiteness. To indigenise the curriculum and decolonise social work education, applying DeCuir and Dixon's (2004) suggestions of addressing and dismantling the processes, structures and ideologies, particularly challenging and changing racist practices and policies within the whitestream, are necessary to ensure equity occurs rather than just equality. Equity appreciates that the playing field within whitestream universities is not equal and endeavours to tackle the inequality (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). This study has focused upon the whitestream tertiary environment and discussed some of those inequalities and barriers.

There has been evidence within literature and within this study of some of the many barriers that impede the integration process including tokenism, paternalism, racism, and the lack of Indigenous academics employed to teach, guide and mentor. These barriers all need to be navigated within the whitestream to bring about change, whether it occurs incrementally at a rate that is palatable to those in power or not. Indigenous academics, like Nakata (2013), Green and Bennett (2018), as mentioned in the literature, all caution rushing the integration process. As rushing the process leads to generalisation of Indigenous knowledges, uncritiqued Indigenous knowledges, and non-Indigenous people can become the "experts" of the Indigenous knowledges.

This study has presented a relational model that may enable further operationalisation of decolonising aspirations and may bring further change to the whitestream.

8.2.3 **Challenging the whitestream status quo**

Using the lens of critical race theory and reversing the gaze to focus upon Whiteness and the whitestream, upon systems founded upon colonial power, colonial structures of education, colonial sovereignty and colonial knowledge provide a path to disrupt the status quo. Interest convergence, a tenet of critical race theory proposed originally by Professor Derrick Bell and also discussed by DeCuir and Dixson (2004), asserts that change only really occurs when the self-interests of Whites converge with those of non-Whites. The motivation behind decolonising the curriculum may be due to non-Indigenous social workers globally understanding that their work with Indigenous people has not been as successful as they would like. Statistics persistently show that Indigenous people are overrepresented in several wellbeing figures, including high rates of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and so on, and many are consequences of the impact of colonisation that is experienced daily by Indigenous peoples.

Applying interest convergence to the integration of Indigenous content into social work within the whitestream may reveal another reason why operationalising decolonising aspirations continues to be restrained. An element of interest convergence is that White people will be happy to be involved as long as their ‘normal’ way of life is not disrupted (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Like incremental change, interest convergence is restricted and governed by those in power, so if those in power are happy that their lives are not disrupted beyond what they can handle, then the integration process will continue at a rate that is comfortable for those in power. The power remains with those in power. However, Hurtado (2021) suggests that interest convergence can be leveraged within higher education leadership towards equity, based upon an understanding ‘how power, privilege, and oppression sustain the inertia of White supremacy’ (p. 32). Leveraging interest convergence suggests that the power that sustains the status quo can be used to dismantle systems of oppression, and power can be redistributed so that marginalised people within the whitestream can gain academic capacity to operationalise decolonising aspirations.

As discussed in this study, having strong supportive leadership at all levels of university management is an important consideration within the whitestream. This includes understanding the importance of indigenising the curriculum and decolonising education and making a commitment to operationalise these into action within the system. Hurtado (2021) advocates for adaptive leadership in higher education, and for change-agents who have ‘the ability to navigate hostility, volatility, … go beyond the follower-leader relationship … are experts in problem identification, isolating the issue, and formulating solution[s]’ (p. 34). This study and literature provide examples of adaptive leadership within the whitestream. One example was the non-Indigenous leadership in an Aotearoa New Zealand university which redistributed their power and supported the establishment of the Māori staff group who were able to progress the integration process through their collective leadership. Having Indigenous academics employed to provide leadership in a way where they are supported and valued rather than being added tokenistically into the academy is crucial. This study has highlighted the need for support for Indigenous academics as they navigate the whitestream and come up against racism, colonial power, and ascribed responsibility. Indigenous academics are often expected to take on more responsibility than their non-Indigenous counterparts within a racist system.

Critical ways of thinking provide non-Indigenous academics with opportunities to acknowledge the pervasiveness of race and racism within the narratives of the academy. Non-Indigenous academics have a role to play in the integration process and can critically evaluate their relationship to knowledge and seek to give up their position as holders of knowledge and make way for Indigenous knowledge to sit beside western knowledge within social work education. Non-Indigenous academics can critically reflect upon the role they play in maintaining the status quo, by questioning if they are adhering to incremental change or interest convergence in unhelpful ways. Also questioning the role that they may be playing in colluding with the contemporary colonial project by gate keeping and controlling knowledge. Asking themselves if they can allow others to be the gate keepers of knowledge, including Indigenous communities and can they be fully committed in integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in a way that ensures epistemological equality rather than tokenism.

Placing Indigenous knowledges as epistemologically equal to western knowledge benefits Indigenous academics as they can be their authentic selves and teach from their own cultural perspectives and experiences. This study and the literature show that integrating Indigenous content into the curriculum benefits social work academics as well as the Indigenous people they work alongside. Indigenous knowledges and perspectives also benefit both Indigenous and non-Indigenous graduates as they are equipped to be culturally aware, competent, and responsive in their practice as social workers. Whether teaching or learning, all people benefit from the integration of Indigenous content into the curriculum. However, operationalising epistemological equality within a system that is inequitable poses numerous hurdles. Building relationships may provide the impetus for academics to challenge the status quo and disrupt and redistribute power to bring about change. As the integration benefits 'all' people, the responsibility to challenge, dismantle, and address the processes, structures, and ideologies of the whitestream that uphold the status quo within social work education and practice should fall upon 'all' academics rather than upon Indigenous academics solely to change the system. Creating space within the whitestream that is conducive to establishing and maintaining these relationships maybe a way of countering hegemony and support academics in their endeavour to integrate Indigenous content into social work education.

8.2.4 Creating space within the whitestream for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives

This study has often mentioned the importance of the third cultural space. Cree academic, Willie Ermine's (2007), ethical space of engagement framework illustrates that, '[W]e continue the posturing and the status quo remains as it always has because we lack clear rules of engagement between human communities and have not paid attention to the electrifying space that would tell us what the other entity is thinking across the park bench' (p 197). That electrifying space upon the park bench could also be identified as the third cultural space as mentioned in section 4.2. It is a collaborative space, for both Indigneous and non-Indigenous academics to meet and to work together to develop themselves and the curriculum. This engages with Bhabha's (1994) concept of the third space, as Dudgeon and Fielder (2006) have, where tension and uncertainty are present in between the coloniser and colonised. Dudgeon and Fielder (2006) discuss the third space, as Bhabha not only challenges the claims of the dominant group to cultural authority and superiority but he makes a counter claim that Indigenous groups cannot claim inherent cultural purity either, therefore neither culture can make a claim to cultural superiority. The third cultural space is used in the 'Getting it right' framework as it states that, 'new knowledge, insights and understandings about identity and positioning emerge' and where 'previous ways of knowing and doing are challenged and changed' (Zubrzycki, Green, et al., 2014, p. 19).

Ensuring that the space in the whitestream is also an ethical space is important. Zinga (p. 286) advocates for creating an ethical space as a way that individuals can 'engage with their own implication in the perpetuation of colonialism' (Zinga, 2019, p. 286) and where ethical action and conversation can happen (Zinga, 2019, p. 286). Ethical space is a place of engagement and also a neutral zone where critical dialogue can occur, where control can be taken back from the system that perpetuates the privileging of one worldview and also oppresses Indigenous worldviews and culture (Zinga, 2019, p. 287). Taking back control occurs when the embedded assumptions and related prescriptions within the institutions are challenged. Add to this space McNabb's (2020b) idea of creating an authorising environment, as spoken about in section 7.3.1, where a Treaty or Reconciliation Action Plan povides legitimacy and accountability within the whitestream to bring about change that could enhance the integration process.

A decolonising process would add value to this space. Paulé Ruwhiu's (2019) research advocates for 'a decolonising process that is embedded into social work education as a central tenet promot[ing] a structured process that caters to all the participants' (p. 99). A decolonising process ensures that Indigenous knowledges and perspectives are integrated into the whole foundation of social work education and, as Ruwhiu (2019) suggests, the process provides a filter to screen other paradigms through. This is specially to ensure that the knowledge is relevant and locally based rather than a one size fits all international approach.

Yet creating space at the cultural interface is complex and Martin Nakata cautions academics who handle Indigenous knowledges that 'we need to be careful here. Things aren't just white or black, and things cannot be fixed by simply adding in Indigenous components to the mix. This is a very complicated and contested space' (Nakata, 2007a). Within this ethical, electrifying, third cultural, collaborative, authorising and decolonising space, this study brings the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into the focal point. Based upon the study of the integration process, six relationships were interpreted to influence this process. Many authors in the literature throughout this study highlight the importance of relationships in the integration process and in the decolonising of social work education. The six relationships outlined in this study provide a model to improve the integration of Indigenous content into the curriculum while also challenging the status quo within the whitestream.

8.3 Implications of the relational model for social work education

This study uniquely looked at the experiences of Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics from Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand and the relational model that has been developed identifies some of the key aspects an academic may consider when integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into their teaching. Each one of the six relationships provide different ways that an academic may enhance their integration of Indigenous content into their teaching and potentially navigate the whitestream more successfully. The six relationships identified in the relationship model are an academic’s relationship with self; relationship with students; relationship to Indigenous knowledges, languages and culture; relationship with peers; relationship with those in power and the whitestream; and relationships with Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous communities. Examples of the possible implication of each relationship to social work education is provided below.

The relationship with self that an academic has may enable the academic to be themselves, present who they are to their students as genuine and authentic, including their cultural self. In the case of Indigenous academics, this will enable them to bring their Indigenous knowledge and practice experience to their teaching. Another aspect of the relationship with self is having an understanding that, at times, others may ascribe an identity to an academic that is not always welcomed and that comes with ascribed responsibilities. Yet, within the whitestream, a third space may be created where academics are able to critically reflect and be aware of what responsibility is theirs to bare. Having a relationship to self, established on reflexivity and self-awareness, may give academics the impetus to challenge the system.

Participants highlighted the value of student-centred teaching philosophy within their teaching based upon their relationship with students. These student centred, supportive, and reciprocal relationships meant that participants were also mindful of the challenges that students posed. Understanding relationality was identified in literature as an essential component in acquiring Indigenous knowledge (Briese & Menzel, 2020) and this relationality was evident in the participants’ interactions with students in their endeavour to present Indigenous content in their teaching. Academics having supportive relationships with students can provide safe environments, promote learning, and ultimately produce students who are culturally aware, competent, and responsive in their practice.

An academic’s relationship with Indigenous knowledges, language and culture is important as having a critical awareness of how each of these components are valued by an academic can impact upon how they are handled and integrated into the curriculum. For example, understanding appropriation of knowledge, what is meant by legitimate knowledge within the whitestream, respectfully handling Indigenous knowledge and understanding the importance of history enabled participants to de-centre western knowledge and operationalise decolonising aspirations.

Relationship to peers is also interpreted as crucial in the integrating process. Whether it is relationships between Indigenous peers, between non-Indigenous peers, or between Indigenous peers and non-Indigenous peers, having supportive reciprocal relationships gives collective support behind the endeavour of placing Indigenous content into the curriculum. Many of the non-Indigenous participants were aware that their Indigenous peers carried a greater load in the integration process often as mentors and cultural advisors. There was also an awareness by non-Indigenous academics that they needed to step up and take responsibility in teaching Indigenous content, knowing their limits and being guided by their Indigenous peers.

Relationships to those in power and the whitestream are seen as a key element in decolonising social work education. The Māori staff group provided several examples of how their collective group provided Indigenous leadership in the integration process in the social work department at their university. One of the most significant contributions they made to disrupting the whitestream was to establish policies that enacted Te Tiriti and to ensure that the changes that they made to the curriculum and teaching would outlive current leadership and themselves. There were several examples of participants navigating the neoliberal education system and creatively negotiating the lack of Indigenous academics, resources and funding that restricted their students engaging with Indigenous people and Indigenous communities.

The literature often discusses the need for academics to have reciprocal relationships with Elders, Kaumatuas and Indigenous communities (Bennett & Zubrzycki, 2003; Green et al., 2013; Satour & Goldingay, 2021; G. H. Smith & Smith, 2019). Within this study, many of the participants had established relationships with Indigenous people as their mentors in supporting them in integrating Indigenous content into their teaching. These important relationships also played a significant role in ensuring that the content within the curriculum was responding to the needs and aspirations of the local Indigenous people as often these Indigenous people maybe the people who students would be working alongside in their future career.

8.4 Recommendations and considerations

The insights gained from this study strongly support the importance of considering a relational model when integrating Indigenous content into social work education. There is a sense that implementing such a model may seem simplistic when coming up against the well-established whitestream of academia in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, therefore I recommend that research in this area continues. The following recommendations may be considered as a result of this study.

- Encourage universities to introduce the relational model to academic staff. I would suggest using a workshop style run by at least two Indigenous people or an Indigenous person and a non-Indigenous person. And provide time for academics to gain an understanding of the six relationships and then have them assess themselves by reflecting upon each relationship.
- Universities to provide support in the retention of Indigenous students and then support their endeavours to pursue an academic career, including providing mentoring and peer support, including professional development and support in publishing. Ensure Indigenous academics have time to publish and to establish strong relationships with Indigenous communities.
- Ensure that Indigenous academics have the support needed to successfully navigate the whitestream; this includes employing more than one Indigenous academic within social work departments and to support the promotion of Indigenous academics.
- Ensure University leadership understand the complexities of the whitestream and how they may be continuing the colonising project within their leadership or disrupting the status quo to bring about change.
- Implement policies and procedures that ensure that the changes enacted by Indigenous staff outlive changes in leadership.
- Ensure non-Indigenous academics are supported in developing relationships with Indigenous mentors and Indigenous communities and provision is made for renumeration for the mentor services that are provided.

These recommendations would benefit from a coordinated and strategic approach by leadership in universities. The approach can be based upon partnership and collaboration, with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics and Indigenous communities involved, with the goal of collectively moving towards indigenising the curriculum and decolonising social work education.

8.5 Limitations and opportunities for further research

In terms of the limitations of this study, I acknowledge that there are other relationships that are involved in the integration process. For example, an academic's relationship with Country and its impact upon decolonising social work education. In Russ-Smith's discussion of indigenising social work, she states, ‘Indigenising social work itself does not have to be understood as a set Indigenous developed framework that can be applied, but rather is about process of relationships between social work curriculum, a professionals and the sovereign lands upon which they live’ (Russ-Smith, 2019b, p. 110). Further research into an academic’s relationship to land or Country, could prove worthwhile as it would add a greater depth to understanding Indigenous people’s connection to Country, particularly for non-Indigenous academics. This greater understanding by academics would help them in their support of Indigenous students and in preparing students for their future social work practice.

Another key relationship that could be investigated could be that of field education. Decolonising field education from the perspective of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students on placement has received attention from researchers in Australia (see Zuchowski, Savage, Miles, & Gair, 2013). A recent article by Chilvers (2021) from Aotearoa New Zealand provides some insight into the integration of Indigenous knowledge and Māori pedagogical models into field education from a field educators perspective. There does not appear to be any trans-Tasman comparisons made upon field educators’ perspectives, and this may warrant further research.

The relationship between a social work academic and the government was not the focus of this study. The impact that different governments have upon social work education was not included in this study but, as found in literature, the political climate and government reviews do appear to impact upon social work and social work education (Ballantyne et al., 2017, p. 2).

I also acknowledge that each one of the six relationships covered in this thesis is complex and each one could produce an area for further research, as this study had several methodological limitations, as outlined in 5.7. Limitations such as being bound by time and context, having only one Aboriginal participant and this research being written in English. The content of these six relationships may be expanded upon through further research with the involvement of different universities and academics.

8.6 Personal reflection

I began this thesis with a Māori whakatauki or proverb that emphasised sharing, co-operation, and collaboration of knowledge for the benefit of all, bringing your knowledge basket and my knowledge basket together. I have spoken about creating a space in the whitestream at the cultural interface, an ethical, electrifying, third cultural, collaborative, authorising and decolonising space where relationships are the focal point.

Another aspect of the knowledge basket is the weaving that goes into creating a basket. Weaving is important in many cultures. I have participated in weaving circles in Australia and weaving flax in Aotearoa New Zealand. My Grandma was also a weaver and one of my treasured items I have from her is something she has woven. One weaving circle I participated in was facilitated by Common Grace, a movement of people pursing Jesus and justice, that I am a member of. As a way of commemorating NAIDOC Week 2020, I participated as part of the movement in a NAIDOC (stands for National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee) weaving and yarning circle. As it was during the Covid pandemic, we participated via zoom which meant there were both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people from all over Australia sharing in the circle. The focus was not just upon learning to weave but upon taking time to listen and learn from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Christian Leaders facilitating the space as they shared their hearts and reflections on the NAIDOC Week's theme, 'Always Was Always Will Be'. Key aspects of our time together were upon deeply listening (Dadirri), engaging respectfully and being ready to learn and grow together. The Aboriginal people facilitating the circles shared how they had woven their Aboriginal and Christian spirituality together. They called on us to listen to the land and to connect through deep listening, to acknowledge and to grow in understanding.

During our time together, non-Indigenous people were encouraged just to listen, to participate in dadirri, deep listening, not just with the head but with the heart and not to ask questions but to just listen (Miller, 2014; Ungunmerr, 2017). Listen in relationship with one another on a deeper level. The focus was not so much upon the weaving as it was upon the relationships that were occurring during the weaving process. As participants we focused upon the listening and the hearing, not upon asking questions or clarifying what we were hearing. We participated in the spiritual practice of dadirri, of deep inner listening, to improve our wellbeing, we learnt to listen with our ears, eyes, heart, mind, and spirit. I gained a greater understanding of Aboriginal Christian's relationship with land and how they interweave their faith and culture together and this occurred through the practice of dadirri.

Some people fear being involved in learning something new. Yet creating a safe space for dadirri to occur, so that people really listen to one another in relationship, can help in overcoming the fear. The foundation of this study has been upon my ability to listen, dadirri, to hear from the participants and literature and to then make an interpretation that has developed into a relational model for academics to use to enhance their teaching of Indigenous content.

I speak as a non-Indigenous academic who has had to navigate the whitestream and integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into my own teaching. I have endeavoured to use this relational model to reflect upon my own teaching of Indigenous content. The model has given me a greater awareness and understanding of what is occurring. I often think about my relationship to self and use self-reflection in my teaching and I have consciously developed a more student-centred teaching philosophy to ensure that I am meeting the educational needs of my students. I have reflected upon my relationship to Indigenous knowledges, languages, and culture and I remind myself to check my motivations behind the content that I am teaching. One area that I know I need to work on is to develop relationships with peers. As a casual academic, I often do not have regular contact with my peers. This casual precarious employment has also meant that I do not have much contact with those in power, yet I am regularly reminded that those in power within the academy make decisions that impact upon my work. I have been able to develop strong relationships with my local Aboriginal community which includes my two Aboriginal cousins, which I treasure.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a summative discussion of the findings of this study, including balancing change, challenging the whitestream status quo and creating space within the whitestream for Indigenous knowledges and perspectives. The research question that was addressed during this study was, ‘How do relationships impact the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives for academics in social work education?’ This question was underpinned by four research objectives.

1) What can be learnt about an academic’s relationships to the integration process from those teaching social work in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand?

2) What relationships enable and influence the integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into whitestream teaching of social work?

3) What challenges are experienced in an academic’s relationships when teaching Indigenous content in social work as they navigate the whitestream?

4) How do social work academics' experiences of integrating Indigenous knowledges and perspectives compare between Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand?

Each objective was successfully attained.

Objective one was achieved through participants sharing their experiences of teaching and navigating the whitestream.

Objective two was directly met through the development of the relational model, as the six key relationships were interpreted from the participants' interviews.

Objective three was realised as academics shared their challenging experiences of teaching and navigating the whitestream.

Objective four was met as there were many similarities and differences discussed between the two countries, both in the literature review and in the findings. Overall, the argument was made that there were a considerable number of similarities within the whitestream academy in both countries that meant that many of the academics experienced similar challenges on both sides of the Tasman.

The six relationships that were interpreted from the data are not exhaustive, but they do provide a model for academics to consider in their navigation of the whitestream and in their integration of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. The literature covers many aspects of these relationships; however, this model brings the literature and the participants' views from both sides of the Tasman into one place, providing a model that can be implemented mindfully by academics to support and provide direction in their self-reflexivity and teaching. The recommendations suggest the possible implementation of the model and provide suggestions to universities who are seriously wanting to integrate Indigenous content into their curriculum. For social work, this model is significant as it provides insight into navigating the whitestream for academics, whether Indigenous or not, and they can use it to reflect upon the different relationships and the different aspects of each relationship that may be either supporting or challenging the process. This model may also provide progress in meeting the goal of epistemological equality that social work governing bodies in both countries are seeking to achieve. This model may be adapted to suit other disciplines. For those who participated in this study, it provided a valuable opportunity for them to reflect upon their own journey and to identify what was working and what challenges they were experiencing. It gave all the participants the opportunity for their voices to be heard by bringing their own basket of knowledge, experience and expertise to the space that was created by this study within the whitestream academy.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Epiphanic experiences

The first epiphany experience was a cross-cultural exchange as a young adult in my teens in the mid 1980's. I had spent from age eight years to almost nineteen years of age growing up on Kangaroo Island, an island off the southern coast of South Australia, living in an isolated community and location. It was a monocultural environment. Prior to the cross-cultural exchange, I only knew one Aboriginal person. To my knowledge, she was the only Aboriginal person on the Island, had been adopted by a White family and was my age. In 1984-85, our school participated in an exchange with Amata, an Aboriginal community in central Australia. A group of Aboriginal students, teachers and Elders came to visit Kangaroo Island where I lived. Most of the group had never seen the ocean before, let alone travelled on a boat before. Many spoke very little English. I went camping with the group at a camping facility near the national park on the island for a few nights, then one of the young adults came and stayed with our family for the weekend. A significant part of this exchange was the return visit that we made to central Australia, into what seemed like another world to me. I was exposed to culture, in dance, song, spirituality and in relationships with Aboriginal people. It included going out with Aboriginal women, collecting witchetty grubs then eating them both raw and cooked. I was not a tourist on a paid tour. This was being with Aboriginal people on their country. It was an experience that I will always remember, and I have great memories of that experience. This began a desire to meet other cultures and find out more about what was outside of Kangaroo Island.

The second epiphany moment took place in Aotearoa New Zealand on a Marae in 1990. This second epiphany moment occurred when I met a Kaumatua, a Māori elder, on a Marae. He pulled me aside and said to me that he appreciated the way I accepted Māori people and did not judge them but was just happy to 'be'. A culmination of events had occurred to bring me to this place. In 1988, in my final year of schooling in Australia, I was accepted to be an exchange student to Aotearoa New Zealand for three months, in a Māori/Australian exchange. I lived with a Māori family in a town where the population was predominantly Māori. After the exchange, I returned to Australia for only a few months and then decided to move to Aotearoa New Zealand, and I lived there until 2001. During the first two years in Aotearoa New Zealand, I had the opportunity of being a youth group leader in a predominantly Māori youth group with predominantly Māori youth leadership. During this time, I frequently visited different Marae in the area for various occasions including Tungi (funerals), birthdays and weddings. I sang in Māori with the group at special occasions and, to be honest, I thought this was just part of life in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was not until years later that I realised that my experiences were quite unique and that my relationships with my Māori friends were also unique. Not all Pākehā (White Person) had had the same experiences on a Marae or of being accepted with open arms into Māori culture like I had. As I wrote in my Honour's thesis in 2004, 'After spending twelve years living in New Zealand, I gained greater cultural understanding. I become (sic) aware of the need to tread carefully as a Pākehā walking amongst the woven threads of a Maori person's life … Living and working alongside Maori people influenced my beliefs and values in regard to the importance of family and community, processing grief and relating to others' (Grant, 2004, p. 3). I loved the country and culture whilst living and working in Aotearoa New Zealand and I picked up more than an accent. I studied social work and learnt about Aotearoa New Zealand history, the Treaty and Māori culture and knew more about Aotearoa New Zealand than I did about Australia's history. During my time living in New Zealand, I felt that I had experienced a level of acceptance in Māori culture/context that made me feel like I belonged. I felt at home on a Marae and, even though I spoke minimal Māori language, there was a sense that I was accepted, largely because I had accepted them. The second epiphanic moment, when the Elder reassured me, was a profound moment in my learning.

The third epiphany moment occurred when I returned to Australia after living in Aotearoa for twelve years. My younger sister's leukemia diagnosis in 2001 led me to return to Australia. At the time in Aotearoa New Zealand, I had been studying social work in a tertiary institute that had Indigenous educators teaching Indigenous content. During this time, I was exposed to Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing as a normal part of these lectures and tutorials. I also had Indigenous classmates. Indigenous content seemed to be accepted and integrated into the curriculum. As a consequence of my sister's prolonged illness, I decided to transfer my degree to a university here in South Australia. My experience of learning in an Australian university contrasted to my experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. This contrast also extended to my life experience. The third epiphany moment was the realisation that the disenfranchisement of Aboriginal people in Australia was at a different level to Indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The fourth epiphany moment is similar to the second. It occurred over ten years after the second moment, in about 2002. This fourth epiphany moment occurred towards the end of my social work student placement in community development, working alongside Aboriginal people. As happened on the Marae in Aotearoa New Zealand, an Elder at the community centre said that she appreciated how I was happy to be with Aboriginal people and just listen to them, rather than ask questions. This inherent ability to relate across cultures has been identified on other occasions, yet both of these epiphany moments were significant as I realised that the learning and natural way that I related to people in Aotearoa New Zealand had translated into a similar response when working alongside Aboriginal people in Australia.

These four epiphany moments all had an impact upon my life and upon why I decided to do research within an Indigenous context.

Appendix 2: Ethics Approval

FINAL APPROVAL NOTICE

Project No.: **7605**

Project Title: Comparing the integration and co-production of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education in Northern Territory, South Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand

Principal Researcher: Mrs Libby (Elizabeth) Hammond

Email: libby.hammond@flinders.edu.au

Approval Date: 13 April 2017 Ethics Approval Expiry Date: **10 February 2021**

The above proposed project has been **approved** on the basis of the information contained in the application, its attachments and the information subsequently provided with the addition of the following comment(s):

Additional information required following commencement of research:

1. Permissions
   Please ensure that copies of the correspondence granting permission to conduct the research are submitted to the Committee *on receipt.* Please ensure that the SBREC project number is included in the subject line of any permission emails forwarded to the Committee. Please note that data collection should not commence until the researcher has received the relevant permissions (item D8 and Conditional approval response – number 7).
2. Other Ethics Committees
   Please provide a copy of the ethics approval notice from [NAMES REMOVED] *receipt*. Please note that data collection should not commence until the researcher has received the relevant ethics committee approvals (item G1 and Conditional approval response – number 8).

RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESEARCHERS AND SUPERVISORS

1. **Participant Documentation**
   Please note that it is the responsibility of researchers and supervisors, in the case of student projects, to ensure that:

- all participant documents are checked for spelling, grammatical, numbering and formatting errors. The Committee does not accept any responsibility for the above mentioned errors.
- the Flinders University logo is included on all participant documentation (e.g., letters of Introduction, information Sheets, consent forms, debriefing information and questionnaires – with the exception of purchased research tools) and the current Flinders University letterhead is included in the header of all letters of introduction. The Flinders University international logo/letterhead should be used and documentation should contain international dialling codes for all telephone and fax numbers listed for all research to be conducted overseas.
- the SBREC contact details, listed below, are included in the footer of all letters of introduction and information sheets.

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project Number 'INSERT PROJECT No. here following approval'). For more *information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au.*

2. Annual Progress / Final Reports

In order to comply with the monitoring requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (March 2007)* an annual progress report must be submitted each year on the **13 April** (approval anniversary date) for the duration of the ethics approval using the report template available from the Managing Your Ethics Approval SBREC web page. *Please retain this notice for reference when completing annual progress or final reports.*

If the project is completed *before* ethics approval has expired please ensure a final report is submitted immediately. If ethics approval for your project expires please submit either (1) a final report; or (2) an extension of time request and an annual report.

Student Projects

The SBREC recommends that current ethics approval is maintained until a student's thesis has been submitted, reviewed and approved. This is to protect the student in the event that reviewers recommend some changes that may include the collection of additional participant data.

Your first report is due on **13 April 2018** or on completion of the project, whichever is the earliest.

3. Modifications to Project

Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval has been obtained from the Ethics Committee. Such proposed changes / modifications include:

- change of project title;
- change to research team (e.g., additions, removals, principal researcher or supervisor change);
- changes to research objectives;
- changes to research protocol;
- changes to participant recruitment methods;
- changes / additions to source(s) of participants;
- changes of procedures used to seek informed consent;
- changes to reimbursements provided to participants;
- changes / additions to information and/or documentation to be provided to potential participants;
- changes to research tools (e.g., questionnaire, interview questions, focus group questions);
- extensions of time.

To notify the Committee of any proposed modifications to the project please complete and submit the *Modification Request Form* which is available from the Managing Your Ethics Approval SBREC web page. Download the form from the website every time a new modification request is submitted to ensure that the most recent form is used. Please note that extension of time requests should be submitted prior to the Ethics Approval Expiry Date listed on this notice.

Change of Contact Details

Please ensure that you notify the Committee if either your mailing or email address changes to ensure that correspondence relating to this project can be sent to you. A modification request is not required to change your contact details.

4. Adverse Events and/or Complaints

Researchers should advise the Executive Officer of the Ethics Committee on 08 8201-3116 or human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au immediately if:

- any complaints regarding the research are received;
- a serious or unexpected adverse event occurs that effects participants;
- an unforeseen event occurs that may affect the ethical acceptability of the project.

Appendix 3: Ethics approval of modification

MODIFICATION (No.1) APPROVAL NOTICE

Project No.:	**7605**
Project Title:	Comparing the integration and co-production of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education in Northern Territory, South Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand
Principal Researcher:	Mrs Libby (Elizabeth) Hammond
Email:	libby.hammond@flinders.edu.au

Modification Approval Date:	30 April 2018	Ethics Approval Expiry Date:	**10 February 2021**

I am pleased to inform you that the modification request submitted for project 7605 on the 23 April 2018 has been reviewed and approved by the SBREC Chairperson. Please see below for a list of the approved modifications. Any additional information that may be required from you will be listed in the second table shown below called 'Additional Information Required'.

Approved Modifications	
Extension of ethics approval expiry date	
Project title change	
Personnel change	
Research objectives change	
Research method change	
Participants – addition +/- change	X
Consent process change	
Recruitment process change	
Research tools change	
Document / Information Changes	
Other (if yes, please specify)	

Additional Information Required
None.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESEARCHERS AND SUPERVISORS

5. Participant Documentation

Please note that it is the responsibility of researchers and supervisors, in the case of student projects, to ensure that:

- all participant documents are checked for spelling, grammatical, numbering and formatting errors. The Committee does not accept any responsibility for the above mentioned errors.
- the Flinders University logo is included on all participant documentation (e.g., letters of Introduction, information Sheets, consent forms, debriefing information and questionnaires – with the exception of purchased research tools) and the current Flinders University letterhead is included in the header of all letters of introduction. The Flinders University international logo/letterhead should be used and documentation should contain international dialling codes for all telephone and fax numbers listed for all research to be conducted overseas.
- the SBREC contact details, listed below, are included in the footer of all letters of introduction and information sheets.

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project Number 'INSERT PROJECT No. here following approval'). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au.

6. Annual Progress / Final Reports

Please be reminded that in order to comply with the monitoring requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (March 2007)* an annual progress report must be submitted each year on **13 April** (approval anniversary date) for the duration of the ethics approval.
If the project is completed *before* ethics approval has expired please ensure a final report is submitted immediately. If ethics approval for your project expires please submit either (1) a final report; or (2) an extension of time request and an annual report.

Student Projects
The SBREC recommends that current ethics approval is maintained until a student's thesis has been submitted, reviewed and approved. This is to protect the student in the event that reviewers recommend some changes that may include the collection of additional participant data.

Your next report is due on **13 April 2019** or on completion of the project, whichever is the earliest. The report template is available from the Managing Your Ethics Approval SBREC web page. *Please retain this notice for reference when completing annual progress or final reports.*

7. Modifications to Project

Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval has been obtained from the Ethics Committee. Such proposed changes / modifications include:

- change of project title;
- change to research team (e.g., additions, removals, principal researcher or supervisor change);
- changes to research objectives;
- changes to research protocol;
- changes to participant recruitment methods;
- changes / additions to source(s) of participants;
- changes of procedures used to seek informed consent;
- changes to reimbursements provided to participants;
- changes / additions to information and/or documentation to be provided to potential participants;
- changes to research tools (e.g., questionnaire, interview questions, focus group questions);
- extensions of time.

To notify the Committee of any proposed modifications to the project please complete and submit the *Modification Request Form* which is available from the Managing Your Ethics Approval SBREC web page. Download the form from the website every time a new modification request is submitted to ensure that the most recent form is used. Please note that extension of time requests should be submitted prior to the Ethics Approval Expiry Date listed on this notice.

Change of Contact Details

Please ensure that you notify the Executive Officer if either your mailing or email address changes to ensure that correspondence relating to this project can be sent to you. A modification request is not required to change your contact details.

8. Adverse Events and/or Complaints

Researchers should advise the Executive Officer immediately on 08 8201-3116 or human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au if:

- any complaints regarding the research are received;
- a serious or unexpected adverse event occurs that effects participants;
- an unforeseen event occurs that may affect the ethical acceptability of the project.

Appendix 4: Letter of introduction

School of Social Policy Studies
GPO Box 2100
Adelaide SA 5001
Tel: +61 (08) 8201 5619
keith.miller@flinders.edu.au

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear Participant

This letter is to introduce Libby Hammond who is a postgraduate student in the Discipline of Social Work in the school of Social and Policy Studies at Flinders University. She will produce her student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

She is undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis and other publications on the subject of comparing the integration of indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education.

She would be very grateful if you would volunteer to assist with this project by agreeing to be involved in an interview; which covers certain aspects of this topic. No more than one hour on one occasion would be required. A Delphi technique will be employed to determine an expert consensus. You will be given feedback on how your responses compare to the rest of the experts and asked to consider your feedback and if you have more to add or subtract to reach a consensus within the group.

Since she intends to make an audio recording of the interview, she will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview and to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis and other publications, on condition that your name or identity is attributed to you. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation within six weeks of the interview or to decline to answer particular questions.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project should be directed to me at the address given above or by telephone on +61 (08) 8201 5619 or e-mail at keith.miller@flinders.edu.au

Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely

Keith Miller PhD
Senior Lecturer
Program Coordinator, Undergraduate Studies
Social Work and Social Planning
School of Social and Policy Studies

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 7605) For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on +61 8201 3116, by fax on +61 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 5: Information sheet

Mrs Libby Hammond
School of Social and Policy Studies
Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences
GPO Box 2100
Adelaide SA 5001
Tel: +61 0403927945
libby.hammond@flinders.edu.au

CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

INFORMATION SHEET

Title: Comparing the integration and co-production of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education in Northern Territory, South Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Researcher:
Mrs Libby Hammond
Social Work Department
School of Social and Policy Studies
Flinders University
Ph: +61 8 8557 8120
Email: libby.hammond@flinders.edu.au

Supervisor(s):
Dr Keith Miller
Social Work Department
School of Social and Policy Studies
Flinders University
Ph: +61 8 8201 5619
Email: keith.miller@flinders.edu.au

Dr Helen McLaren
Social Work Department
School of Social and Policy Studies
Flinders University
Ph: +61 8 8201 3025
Email: helen.mcLaren@flinders.edu.au

Description of the study:

This study is part of the project entitled ‘Comparing the integration and co-production of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education in Northern Territory, South Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand’. The practice of four tertiary education institutes will be investigated to see what guides and informs educators, why they choose to do what they do and how they implement these choices into their teaching. Flinders University Department of Social Work supports this project.

Purpose of the study:

This project will compare the integration, design and co-production of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education. This comparison will be used to develop an understanding for producing a curriculum that is robust, culturally informed, culturally sensitive and ethical.

What will I be asked to do?

You are asked to provide a copy of the topic guide/course guide of your subject that will be used to look at how indigenous knowledges and perspectives are integrated into the social work degree. There may also be a possibility of you being involved in the interview phase of this project as a key informant. As a key informant, you will be given the questions prior to attending a one-on-one interview with Libby Hammond who will ask you questions regarding how you integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into your teaching. This one-on-one interview maybe via skype at your convenience. The interview will take approximately one hour. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder and then this recording will be transcribed and sections of your transcript may be used in the final report or future publications. Your voice will be recognisable and your intellectual knowledge and expertise will be accredited to you. A Delphi technique will be employed to determine an expert consensus from the group of informants. You will be given feedback on how your responses compare to the rest of the experts and asked to consider your feedback and if you have more to add or subtract to reach a consensus within the group. Your participation is voluntary and you can choose to stop the interview or decline to answer specific questions. You may withdraw entirely from the study at any time up until the end of the six-week period after you have been interviewed.

What benefit will I gain from being involved in this study?

The sharing of your topic guide/course guide will provide valuable information for the comparative study. It is hoped that this will provide documented evidence of ‘how to’ integrate indigenous knowledges and perspectives into social work education that is robust, culturally sensitive and ethical. If you do participate in the interview process, you will have the opportunity to talk about your work and to reflect upon how you are integrating indigenous knowledges and perspectives into your teaching. The sharing of your experience and knowledge will hopefully improve the planning and delivery of future courses within social work education in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Will I be identifiable by being involved in this study?

Yes, due to requiring expert knowledge in this field and the participation of specific tertiary institutions it is impossible to ensure anonymity so instead your expertise will be accredited to you and your voice will be used to support your work in this field.

Are there any risks or discomforts if I am involved?

The researcher anticipates few risks from your involvement in this study. If you have any concerns regarding anticipated or actual risks or discomforts, please raise them with her.

How do I agree to participate?

If you agree to have your topic guide/course guide as part of the analysis, please contact libby.hammond@flinders.edu.au or likewise please contact Libby if you would like to be a key informant in this study.

How will I receive feedback?

As part of the Delphi technique participants in the interview phase will have an opportunity to come to a consensus with the other experts. The findings will be made available to key informants prior to publication. The final copy of the PhD publication will be available for participants should they wish to access it. The findings of this research will be presented to interested parties in a public seminar.

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 7605). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on +61 8201 3116, by fax on +61 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and we hope that you will accept our invitation to be involved.

Appendix 6: Consent form

Flinders
UNIVERSITY

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH
(by interview)

Comparing the integration and co-production of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives in social work education in Northern Territory, South Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand

I …...

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the ………………………………… for the research project on ……………………….

1. I have read the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to audio recording of my information and participation.
4. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.
5. I understand that:
    - I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
    - I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to answer particular questions.
    - While the information gained in this study will be published as explained, I recognise that I will be identifiable, and so individual information will not remain confidential.
    - I may ask that the recording be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.

Participant's signature……………………………………Date…………………...

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name…………………………………………………….................

Researcher's signature…………………………………..Date……………………

Appendix 7: Email to potential participants

Dear Staff Member,

Would you be willing to be one of four social work academics to become involved in my PhD research? If so, could you please contact me at libby.hammond@flinders.edu.au
My research project will compare the integration of Indigenous knowledges in social work education across four tertiary institutions within South Australia/Northern Territory and Aotearoa New Zealand. The aim of my research is to produce new knowledge on how to develop Indigenous centred social work in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand through an assessment of indigenous content within the social work curriculum.
My research question: 'How can Indigenous perspectives/knowledges be successfully included and taught in the social work curriculum, in a robust, culturally informed, culturally sensitive and ethical manner, to benefit the vocational training of social work practitioners? - A South Australian/Northern Territory and Aotearoa New Zealand comparison'.
Most social work topics do not contain specifically Indigenous content. Indeed, your topic may not. My intention is to look across the whole social work curriculum to see how Indigenous perspective/knowledges can be more successfully included. I am looking at several documents and policies that guide and govern the social work curriculum for both countries and within tertiary institutions.
What you will be asked to do: If you chose to be involved in the interview phase of this project as a key informant, you will be given the questions prior to attending a one-on-one interview with myself via Skype, I will ask you questions regarding how you integrate Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into your teaching. This one-on-one interview will be at your convenience via skype. The interview will take approximately one hour.

Please find further information attached.

a) Letter of Introduction
b) Information Sheet
c) Interview Consent Form
d) Interview Questions

I look forward to your response,

Libby