Unthinking the 200-year-old Colonial Mind: Indigenist perspectives on leading and managing Indigenous education[1]

Zane Ma Rhea
Monash University, Australia: *zane.marhea@monash.edu*

ABSTRACT

Two hundred years ago in 1814 in Australia, Governor Lachlan Macquarie developed a 15 point plan for the provision of education services to Indigenous children. Using the tools of policy ethnography, this paper will examine the administration of Indigenous Education from the establishment of the first Native Institution in NSW in 1814 up to the present policy of 'Closing the Gap'.

Education systems in pluricultural, postcolonial democracies worldwide are grappling with the incommensurability of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People with the colonial legacies embedded within education systems. Comparative analysis of education policies up to the present find striking similarities of colonial thinking embedded in policy formulation, aspects such as infantilization of Indigenous people, the unwillingness of administrators to share power and collaborate equally in the education of Indigenous children, and lack of willingness to bureaucratise the provision of education services for Indigenous children into the mainstream efforts of governments, with key individuals instead holding onto the legacy of executive powers enshrined this work from early colonial times.

This paper argues for the need to develop an Indigenist, rights-based approach to the leadership and management of education of Indigenous children and to the education of non-Indigenous children about Indigenous matters, proper cross-cultural training for bureaucrats, proactive support for schools to bring Indigenous people into the governance structures of schools, substantial commitment of funds to teacher professional development in Indigenous matters.

Keywords: colonization, Indigenist, Australia, education, postcolonial

---

[1] For a full version of the arguments and research touched on in this extended conference paper paper, please refer to Ma Rhea, Z. (2015). *Leading and Managing Indigenous Education in the Postcolonial World*. London, UK: Routledge.

INTRODUCTION

It is not only those who have been minoritized or deprivileged who can speak about oppression. Those in positions of power and privilege also have an obligation to speak about these issues. (Sefa Dei 1999)

What are the problems facing education systems with respect to addressing the rights of Indigenous peoples? At its foundation, what is understood as the formal or mainstream education system was commonly exported from imperial centres to their colonies in order to establish an educated class of colonial administrators. Indigenous and other local communities were rarely considered in the early days of the establishment of these systems in colonies such as the Malay Peninsula, the Americas, Papua New Guinea, Canada, New Zealand, India, or Australia. This paper argues that the development of education in colonial Australia had both similar and distinct characteristics to systems implanted in other parts of the British Empire and as such provides a working example of the general case to be made about the colonial mindset that established the system of education for Indigenous peoples globally.

Many previous colonies have become independent nation states in the ensuing years and have begun the process of nationalizing their education systems, developing local adaptations more suited to the emerging needs of a postcolonial state within a highly globalized world. The enormity of the task looms large and the problems appear myriad. There is an overarching valuing of Western industrial scientific and technical knowledge over human lifeways knowledge that is so very deeply embedded in the modern education system that once one is given responsibility by the state for the leadership and management of Indigenous education one needs to unthink one's previous approach (Ma Rhea & Teasdale 2000).

While beyond the limits of this short paper, the following argument draws on a range of theorists across the academic fields of educational leadership, educational administration, strategic change management, and Indigenous education internationally to examine the key problematic of systemically embedded, and arguably racially determined, failure. Reflecting on the evidence over the past 200 years, this paper aims to add strength to the argument for an Indigenist, rights approach to nation state provision of education to Indigenous peoples that includes recognition of the human rights of Indigenous peoples as fundamental, and specifically their distinctive economic, linguistic and cultural rights within complex, globalized, postcolonial education systems (Rigney 1999).

Postcolonial theorists commonly point to the enduring and complex nature of the task of decolonizing society. Ashcroft, Griffin and Tiffin (1998) employed Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome metaphor and postcolonial theorists of education such as Kaomea (2005: 35), builds on Ashcroft et al. (1998) and their use of the Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of the rhizome arguing that:

For colonized peoples, the rhizomic nature of imperialism is especially difficult to combat because of the intermittent, overlapping, and intertwining nature of its operation. A rhizome may be broken or shattered at a given spot, but will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines (Deleuze and Guattari 1987).

Consequently, seemingly viable anti-colonialist and decolonizing movements are sometimes less than successful in combating colonialist and neo-colonialist legacies whose practices inherit the rhizomic operations of imperialism. It is therefore unsurprising that school decision makers face

a difficult task in rethinking their engagement with Indigenous people. They are members of a society that resists decolonization.

The capacity of schools to disrupt or maintain societal expectations about Indigenous education is centrally in the hands of principals and teachers (Kitchen et al. 2013; Price 2012; Sarra 2011; Thaman 2013). While it is recognised that there are many factors outside the school that influence what the child brings to their education experience, it is understood that the biggest 'in school' influencer is the teacher. It is the contention of this paper that unless teachers and other school leaders are aware of the colonial mindset that influences their thinking, that they will unwittingly reinscribe the contemporary school experience with tropes of education that are painfully familiar to generations of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Island people.

The task of examining a decree such as the one discussed below, is that it has a powerful fractal impact into the future. To explicate its rhizomic nature and its colonial attributes, I draw on the established tools of ethnography and apply them to policies (Agar, 1996; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I have called this methodological approach 'policy ethnography' (Ma Rhea, 2011; see also, Hammersley & Atkinson, Chapter 6) to examine this 15 point plan, to look at the life and impact of this document rather than to maintain the colonially-permissible research gaze on the Indigenous people and their communities as the focus of analysis. In this way, the rights-based methodological approach I take examines how iterations and echoes of this policy have been enacted, and the ongoing legacy of its presence ethnographically in the minds and behaviours of education administrators of Indigenous affairs.

200 YEARS AGO…ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIVE INSTITUTION, 10 DECEMBER 1814

The groundwork for the colonial mindset was established 200 years ago and there is convincing evidence of the enduring rhizomic nature of its legacy on current provision of education services to Indigenous Australian people. In late 1814, the fifth Governor of NSW, Major General Lachlan Macquarie, issued a fifteen-point plan about improving the lives of Aboriginal people, saying:

> *With a View, therefore, to effect the Civilization of the Aborigines of New South Wales, and to render their Habits more domesticated and industrious, His Excellency the Governor, as well from Motives of Humanity as of that Policy which affords a reasonable Hope of producing such an improvement in their Condition as may eventually contribute to render them not only more happy in themselves, but also in some Degree useful to the Community, has determined to institute a School for the Education of the Native Children of both Sexes, and to assign a Portion land for the Occupancy and Cultivation of adult Natives, under such Rules and Regulations as appear to him likely to answer the desired Objects ; and which are now published for general Information.*

In pronouncing this plan, no mention of discussion with Aboriginal people is evident. There is an inherent, and enduring, assumption that Indigenous education will be conducted under Executive Order. The full version contains 15 points (see Appendix for full list), containing ideas and assumptions that would still be argued to be relevant today by those persuaded by the colonial mindset (Macquarie 1814). Those of particular relevance to this paper are:

- *First, That there shall be a School for the Aborigines of New South Wales, Established in the Town of Parramatta of which His Excellency the Governor is to be Patron, and Mrs. MacQuarie, Patroness.*

- *Secondly, That there shall be a Committee, consisting of several Gentlemen, for conducting and directing the Institution:--One of the Committee to act as Treasurer and Secretary.*

- *Fourthly, That the main Object of the Institution shall be the Civilization of the Aborigines of both Sexes.*

- *Eighthly; That the Children of both Sexes shall be instructed in common, in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; That the Boys shall also be instructed in Agriculture, Mechanical Arts, and such common Manufactures as may best suit their Ages, and respective Dispositions ; That the Girls shall also be taught Needlework : For all which Purposes, Instructors, properly qualified, will be employed.*

- *Eleventhly, That the Committee shall meet Quarterly ... for the Purpose of ... examining the Pupils as to their Progress in Civilization, Education, and Morals...*

- *Fourteenthly, That no Child, after having been admitted into the Institution, shall be permitted to leave it, or to be taken away by any Person whatever (whether Parents or other Relatives, until such Time as the Boys shall have attained the Age of sixteen Years, and the Girls Fifteen Years; at which Ages they shall be respectively discharged.*

By Command of His Excellency
The Governor,'
J. T. Campbell, Secretary GOVERNMENT and GENERAL ORDERS.
Government House, Sydney, Saturday, 10th December, 1814.

Of note, civilization was the explicit goal (Point 4); keeping children away from their families was another (Point 14), the oversight of the Institution by a committee of Gentlemen (Point 2) and that Indigenous students were coerced into a type of schooling that has not changed very much in 200 years (Points 8, 11, and 14). Arguably, all are present in contemporary national and regional policy making with respect to the education of Indigenous children in Australia.

This first Native Institution with its 'experimentation' was deemed a failure and, by 1838, the ninth Governor Sir George Gipps was again bringing together a number of reports on 'the Aborigine question' and appointing protectors. The responsibilities of the Colonial Secretaries were extensive. L. Fletcher (1994: 7) observes that:

The philosophy and outlook of these agents of culture was partly a product of their education and training. Until after mid-century, initial appointments went largely to men of good social background and a university education. It was a time when knowledge of the classics and of the ancient foundations of western civilisation were seen as the sine qua non of the administrator.

J. Fletcher (1989) contended that by 1850s there was nothing that had not previously been tried by the State and by the churches in relation to Indigenous education. Unfortunately, my research

agrees with Fletcher's analysis, suggesting that despite a number of important attempts to the contrary, the 'colonial mind' has been tenacious. Despite a high water mark in policy making in Australia in 1989 with the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy (cited in MCEETYA 2000), the general policymaking effort has been directed to the same goals as were initially established by the colonial administrative class under Macquarie. The ongoing focus of Australia's Indigenous Education policy efforts towards improving reading, writing, and mathematics maintains echoes of Point 11.

THE COLONIAL MIND: A CONCEPT

The concept of the 'official mind' is a useful theoretical construct by which to examine the history of educational administration in Australia. Heinlein (2002: 7) usefully defines the 'official mind' as the sum of ideas, perceptions, and intentions of those policy-makers who had a bearing on imperial policies. He designates 'policy-maker' to those politicians and civil servants who were responsible for or had a bearing on the development and execution of imperial policy. As Liska (1978: 73) wryly observes of the development of empire, 'The career of empire starts with the learning process of expansion, is prolonged by the dreary task of management, and ends in the climactic agony of dissolution'. This captures the development of the systems of educational administration of Indigenous Education aptly. Like the above, Robinson et al. (1963: 11) observed that in India, 'The white rulers became increasingly absorbed with the mechanics of administration and sought to solve their problems less in social and more in narrow administrative terms'. Recognition of the colonial mindset is not new. The Coombs Report (Australian Government 1976: 340) identified that:

> *Some members of staff have become tired and disillusioned by the strain and disappointments of this exacting work; some lack any real commitment to its purposes or to contemporary policies based upon changed objectives. There is therefore a need both for the recruitment (for short terms if necessary) of those with a firm desire to work in this field, and for a positive program of counselling and placement in other work of those who are or have become unsuited to it. Secondment for a period of years could prove a useful device.*

O'Donoghue (1997: 6) highlights the problem for the non-indigenous administrator working within the Indigenous service provision domain. She observes that:

> *For the public administrator, Indigenous affairs has presented unique problems and challenges that were no doubt unforeseen or underestimated when the national effort to raise Indigenous living standards began. Indigenous affairs has had to operate across cultural barriers; it has had to defend itself in the face of waning public support and extraordinary scrutiny. More than any other area of government activity, it has had to contend with the charge of failure.*

Folds (2001) writes about the often conflict-ridden interface between managers and Indigenous communities in remote locations failing in their work. He (2001: 3) begins by explaining that:

> *What was best for the Pintupi seemed so obvious to me that I failed to ask them about their own aspirations. I mistook their apparent acquiescence to my blueprint as agreement, not realising that my eager plans were listened to without demur because I seemed to be just another zealot, there for the short term, assailing them with his own particular brand of salvation…*

His thoughtful book explores his coming to understanding about 'a competent indigenous society, still resilient at the periphery, while at the centre the dominant society self-confidently regards its policies as critical to the physical and emotional well-being of a disintegrating culture' (p.3). He concludes his analysis by saying that'…it is only through acknowledgement of the collision of values at the interface that the achievements of both sides of the relationship will ever been seen or appreciated' (p.181).

Mahood (2012) examines 'White workers on Australia's cultural frontier'. It is a sharp and though provoking indictment on how policies are not working and how Indigenous people speak about non-indigenous people who work in their communities. She reflects on the lack of preparedness that most non-indigenous people have when they become involved in the provision of services to Indigenous communities (2012: 1) noting that:

> *It is mandatory for anyone wishing to work in Antarctica to undergo a physical and psychological assessment to establish whether they will stand up to the stresses of isolation, the extreme environment, and the intense proximity to other people. All the same factors exist in remote Aboriginal communities, along with confronting cross-cultural conditions. Yet there don't appear to be any recognised training programs for people who aspire to work in a community, or screening criteria to weed out the mad, bad and incompetent who prowl the grey zone of Indigenous service delivery.*

TOWARDS AN INDIGENIST PERSPECTIVE

The idea contained in the term Indigenist is the support for Indigenous rights and perspectives without implying that the supporter is Indigenous. The term is most often used in reference to non-indigenous settlers in postcolonial nations who are actively supportive of Indigenous lifeways (see, for example, Rigney 1999; Wilson 2007). The activities of Indigenist settler groups include anti-racist work with non-indigenous people, offering cultural awareness workshops in workplaces, running community education campaigns such as Reconciliation groups, and working within organisations that are controlled by non-indigenous settlers to effect changes that acknowledge and respect Indigenous peoples rights, histories, cultures, and languages.

As there is no agreed use of the term, with most literature either focussed on the views of Indigenous people, hence the use of the descriptor 'Indigenous', or drawing on descriptors such as 'anti-racist' or 'Whiteness' to describe the engagement of non-indigenous people in the work of shifting unequal power relations, the motivation and goals of Indigenist settlers could be understood as various. Of importance to this discussion, in the same way that not all women are feminist, not all Indigenous people are Indigenist in their worldview. There are increasing numbers of Indigenous administrators around the world who are implementing colonially framed policies for Indigenous populations. The term Indigenist implies a commitment to a pro-Indigenous worldview.

Six Elements of an Indigenist Perspective

In asking administrators to shift from a colonial, deficit to an Indigenist, rights-based mindset, this last part of my paper will explore some of the following possibilities that such an administrator would have:

- Empathy for Indigenous matters revolving around acceptance that Indigenous and non-indigenous people are equal and should thus be treated equally, that is, Indigenous people

should have the access to and outcomes from education as non-indigenous people do

- A passionate and profound commitment that has changed every corner of their lives, containing a radical questioning of the traditional, colonial, civil service administrative mindset, of the ways in which these privilege settler ways of being and knowing
- An understanding that Indigenous people suffer inequalities and injustices in society, while non-indigenous settlers, particularly those in the administrative and governing classes receive various forms of power and privilege, and
- A recognition that the current, dominant model of education fails to recognise the rights of Indigenous Peoples and is therefore oppressive to Indigenous children, as well as being limiting for non-indigenous settlers.

Arguably, the Indigenist, non-indigenous administrator would understand that non-indigenous administrators in control of Indigenous education must take responsibility for their own behaviours and attitudes and work to change those of non-indigenous people in the education system in general, and that both personal and social change are vital (Sarra 2011). In this short paper, it is acknowledged that just as there is substantial diversity and disagreement within other social movements such as feminism, there is also diversity among settlers and Indigenous people that have adopted an Indigenist perspective in their work.

CONCLUSION

All these authors point to the need for a new class of administrators who can work effectively in the complex interface of negotiated meaning that is undertaken in every part of the process of providing public services to Indigenous people and in doing so working to co-create an Indigenist future for education in postcolonial nations such as Australia. For this to occur, I argue here that it is necessary for Australia to reset its relationship between Indigenous people and the Australian government, to begin to operationalize in policy making its endorsement of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, and to unthink its 200-year-old colonial mindset first laid down by Macquarie in his 15 point plan. This short paper proposes that administrators of government, both Indigenous and non-indigenous, require a new sort of professional development that enables them to rethink their practices from an Indigenist standpoint, in consideration of their ongoing professional responsibilities in the provision of education services to Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander populations in a postcolonial, democratic Australia.

APPENDIX

Major General Lachlan Macquarie's fifteen-point plan (Macquarie 1814):

- *First, That there shall be a School for the Aborigines of New South Wales, Established in the Town of Parramatta of which His Excellency the Governor is to be Patron, and Mrs. MacQuarie, Patroness.*

- *Secondly, That there shall be a Committee, consisting of several Gentlemen, for conducting   and directing the Institution:--One of the Committee to act as Treasurer and Secretary.*

- *Thirdly, That the Institution shall be placed under the immediate Management and Care of Mr William Shelly, as Superintendant and Principal Instructor.*

- *Fourthly, That the main Object of the Institution shall be the Civilization of the Aborigines of both Sexes.*

- *Fifthly, That the Expences of the Institution shall be defrayed for the first two Years by Government, in such Manner as the Governor may deem expedient; but with a View to extend the Benefits of it after that Period, that Subscriptions shall be solicited and received from public Societies and private Individuals.*

- *Sixthly; That this Institution shall be an Asylum for the Native Children of both Sexes; but no Child shall be admitted under four, or exceeding seven Years of Age.*

- *Seventhly, That the Number of Children to be admitted in the first Instance, shall not exceed Six Boys and six Girls; which Numbers shall be afterwards increased, according to Circumstances.*

- *Eighthly; That the Children of both Sexes shall be instructed in common, in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; That the Boys shall also be instructed in Agriculture, Mechanical Arts, and such common Manufactures as may best suit their Ages, and respective Dispositions ; That the Girls shall also be taught Needlework: For all which Purposes, Instructors, properly qualified, will be employed.*

- *Ninthly, That the Manager or Superintendant shall have the immediate Care of the Children, the Purchase of Provisions, and of the Materials for employing them, together with the Disposal of the Articles manufactured by the Children.*

- *Tenthly, That a Portion of Land shall be located for the Use of adult Natives, who shall be invited and encouraged to cultivate it; and that such Assistance shall be rendered them for that Purpose by Government, as may be deemed expedient : That the Management and Superintendance thereof shall be also vested in Mr. Shelly; and under his immediate Inspection, subject to such Directions as he shall receive from the Committee.*

- *Eleventhly, That the Committee shall meet Quarterly at the Town of Parramatta, on the first Wednesday in each succeeding Quarter, for the Purpose of inspecting and auditing the Quarterly Accounts of the Manager ; and also of examining the Pupils as to their Progress in Civilization, Education, and Morals; and how far the necessary Attention has been paid to their Diet, Health and Cleanliness-That the Committee (which shall at no Time consist of less than five Members) shall have Power to take Cognizance of and correct any existing Abuses, and frame such additional Regulations as may appear neccesary for the Improvement and Benefit of the Institution.*

- *Twelfthly, That the Committee shall make a written Report of the Result of their Observations and Enquiries, at their Quarterly Meeting to His Excellency the Governor, as Patron of the Institution; and also of such Rules and Regulations as they may diem necessary to frame for the Benefit of the Institution ; which must receive the Sanction of the Governor, previous to their being carried into Effect.*

- *Thirteenthly, That the proposed institution shall be opened for the Reception of the prescribed Number of Children, on Wednesday the 18th Day of January next, being the auspicious Anniversary of the Birth of our Most Gracious QUEEN.*

- *Fourteenthly, That no Child, after having been admitted into the Institution, shall be permitted to leave it, or to be taken away by any Person whatever (whether Parents or other Relatives, until such Time as the Boys shall have attained the Age of sixteen Years, and the Girls Fifteen Years; at which Ages they shall be respectively discharged.*

- *Fifteenthly, The undermentioned Gentlemen having expressed their Willingness to forward and promote the Objects of the proposed Institution, His EXCELLENCY is pleased to constitute and appoint them (with their own Concurrence) to be the Committee for Conducting and Directing.*

REFERENCES

Agar, M. H. (1996). *The Professional Stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography*. New York: Academic Press.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., and Tiffen, H. (1998) *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, London: Routledge.

Australian Government. (1976). *Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration: Report* (Coombs, N. C., Bailey, P. H., Campbell, E., Isaac, J. E., and Munro, P. R.), Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. E. (1986). *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. School of American Research advanced seminar. University of California Press.

Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1987) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fletcher, J. (1989). *Clean, Clad, and Courteous: A history of Aboriginal education in New South Wales*, Carlton: J. Fletcher.

Fletcher, L. (1994). 'Schooling an empire', *Education Research and Perspectives*, 21 (1): 1-112.

Folds, R. (2001). *Crossed Purposes: The Pintupi and Australia's Indigenous Policy*, Sydney: UNSW Press.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. Third Edition. UK and USA: Routledge.

Heinlein, F. (2002). *British Government Policy and Decolonisation 1945-1963: Scrutinising the Official Mind*, London and Portland: Frank Cass.

Kaomea, J. (2005) 'Indigenous studies in the elementary curriculum: a cautionary Hawaiian example', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 36 (1): 24-42.

Kitchen, J., Hodson, J., and Raynor, M. (2013) 'Indigenous teacher education as cultural brokerage: a university/first nations partnership to prepare Nishnawbe Aski teachers', *International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives,* 12 (1): 119-134.

Liska, G. (1978). *Career of Empire: America and imperial expansion over land and sea*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Macquarie, L. (1814). 'Establishment of the Native Institution 1814'. NRS 1046 [SZ759, pages 11-14; Reel 6038]. Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/digital-gallery/lachlan-macquarie-visionary-and-builder/public-notices/full-transcript-establishment-of-the-native-institution-1814> (accessed 2 September 2015).

Mahood, K. (2012). 'Kartiya are like Toyotas: White workers on Australia's cultural frontier', *Griffith Review,* 36: 43-60.

Ma Rhea, Z. 2015. *Leading and Managing Indigenous Education in the Postcolonial World*. London: Routledge.

Ma Rhea, Z. (2011) 'Partnership for improving outcomes in Indigenous education: relationship or business?' *Journal of Education Policy*, 1-22. doi:10.1080/02680939.2011.621030.

Ma Rhea, Z. and Teasdale, G.R. (2000). 'A dialogue between the local and the global', in G.R. Teasdale and Z. Ma Rhea (Eds) *Local Knowledge and Wisdom in Higher Education*, Oxford: IAU Elsevier, 1-14.

Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training, and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA). (2000). Achieving Educational Equality for Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples: A discussion paper. Online. Available HTTP: < http://www.mceecdya.edu.au/verve/_resources/reporta_file.pdf> (accessed 2 September 2015).

O'Donoghue, L. (1997). 'In Indigenous affairs nothing is new, just forgotten', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 56 (4): 5-10.

Price, K. (2012) 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies in the classroom', in K. Price (ed.) (2012) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education: An introduction for the teaching profession*, Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 151-163.

Rigney, L. I. (1999). 'Internationalization of an Indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies: a guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles', *Wicazo Sa Review*, 14 (2): 109-121.

Robinson, R., Gallagher, J. and Denny, A. (1963). *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, London: Macmillan and Co Ltd.

Sarra, C. (2003) 'Young and black and deadly: strategies for improving outcomes for Indigenous students', Paper No.5 in the *Quality Teaching Serie*s. Online. Available HTTP: <http://austcolled.com.au/> (Accessed 2 September 2015).

Sarra, C. (2011). *Strong and Smart: Towards a pedagogy of emancipation*, London and New York: Routledge.

Sefa Dei, G. (1999). Interview with Mike Gismondi. Online. Available HTTP: <http://aurora.icaap.org/index.php/aurora/article/view/22/33> (accessed 2 September 2015).

Thaman, K.H. (2013) 'Quality teachers for Indigenous students: an imperative for the twenty first century', *International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives,* 12 (1): 98-118.

Wilson, S. (2007). 'Guest editorial: what is an Indigenist research paradigm?' *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 30 (2): 193-195.