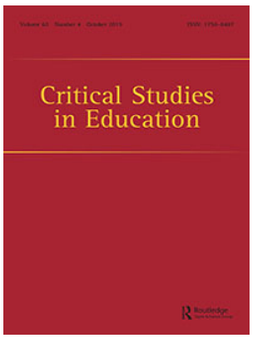

Critical Studies in Education

ISSN: 1750-8487 (Print) 1750-8495 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rcse20

Beyond cultural competence: transforming teacher professional learning through Aboriginal community-controlled cultural immersion

Cathie Burgess

To cite this article: Cathie Burgess (2019) Beyond cultural competence: transforming teacher professional learning through Aboriginal community-controlled cultural immersion, Critical Studies in Education, 60:4, 477-495, DOI: 10.1080/17508487.2017.1306576

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2017.1306576

CRITICAL STUDIES IN EDUCATION
2019, VOL. 60, NO. 4, 477–495
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2017.1306576

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Beyond cultural competence: transforming teacher professional learning through Aboriginal community-controlled cultural immersion

Cathie Burgess

Faculty of Education and Social Work, Aboriginal Studies Association, University of Sydney, Sydney, NSW, Australia

ABSTRACT

This paper problematises the concept of cultural competence in teacher professional learning arguing instead for opportunities to develop critical reflexivity in the ongoing construction of a pedagogical cultural identity. In the Aboriginal context within Australia, this research study demonstrates how attaining cultural knowledge, understandings and skills is most effective when professional learning is delivered by local Aboriginal cultural knowledge holders. This research study analyses the New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Connecting to Country cultural immersion programme for local communities and schools. A mixed methods approach, analysing quantitative and qualitative data from questionnaires and interviews, highlights the significant impact this experience has on teachers in building relationships with local Aboriginal community members. Teachers reported learning new knowledge about local Aboriginal people, culture, history and issues that challenged their assumptions, personal and collective positioning and pedagogical approaches to teaching Aboriginal students. Implications from the study identify the significance of privileging Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing in order to realise culturally responsive schooling and empower teachers as critically reflective change agents in their schools. It further identifies the need for significant human and financial investment so that all teachers can engage with this authentic and potentially transformative professional learning experience.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 29 September 2016
Accepted 9 March 2017

KEYWORDS
Aboriginal community; Aboriginal students; critical consciousness; cultural competence; cultural immersion; culturally responsive schooling; Indigenous education; Indigenous knowledge systems; pedagogical cultural identity; teacher professional learning

Introduction

This paper problematises the concept of cultural competence in teacher professional learning arguing instead for opportunities to develop critical reflexivity in the ongoing construction of a pedagogical cultural identity (Burgess, 2016). The term cultural competence itself is problematic in that together, the words have a sense of being counter-intuitive. Competence, for instance, implies the attainment of a proficient level of knowledge and/or skills, assumedly identified via some form of testing or measurement.

CONTACT Cathie Burgess cathie.burgess@sydney.edu.au Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Sydney, Manning Rd, Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia

This works well for measuring demonstrable skills, but difficult for complex, abstract concepts like culture. There are a number of definitions of culture, many of which acknowledge this complexity and diversity. For instance, Clifford Geertz's (1973) notion of culture as contextual and fluid rather than as 'entity' and 'static' illustrates that culture should not be neatly framed or reduced as noticeable patterns of behaviour. Rather, it lies within the learned meanings behind these such as body language, rituals, artefacts, etc. and that meanings are often misinterpreted by those not part of the cultural group. Therefore, the lack of any standard, generally accepted definition of culture and the dangers of imposing one, makes measurement pointless if not obsolete activity.

Perhaps a more effective way to consider the notion of cultural competence is to think about *who* a culturally competent person might be and *how* they might enact this in their daily practice. The *who* is the teacher who is aware of and constantly developing their critical consciousness through ongoing reflection on personal positioning with reference to relationships of power, whiteness, privilege and the continuing impact of colonisation in settler economies like Australia. The *how* refers to the development of culturally responsive schooling for student diversity, which places the student at the centre and acknowledges their ethnic and cultural identities, lived experiences and community contexts as assets (McInerney, 2009) in curriculum and pedagogy. This notion of pedagogy 'shifts, changes, adapts, recycles and recreates instructional spaces to ensure that consistently marginalised students are repositioned into a place of normativity – that is, they become the subjects in the instructional process, not mere objects' (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 76). The development of a pedagogical cultural identity (Burgess, 2016) entrenches the *who* and *how* into a professional identity by embedding tacit cultural knowledge, lived experience, passion and skills into pedagogical practice in order to critically reflect on the self as cultural being, teacher and learner (Burgess, 2016, p. 109).

This paper analyses how a teacher professional learning programme, the New South Wales (NSW) Aboriginal Education Consultative Group (AECG) Connecting to Country (CTC) cultural immersion programme delivered by local Aboriginal people, has been successful in supporting the development of teacher critical consciousness and a pedagogical cultural identity. Evidence from an evaluation of the programme (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2013) identified significant improvements in acknowledging the impact of Australia's colonial legacy, rejecting deficit discourses about Aboriginal peoples and understanding that Aboriginal culture is dynamic and fluid rather than static. Teachers also reported a growing confidence in developing culturally responsive pedagogies that affirmed student identities, implemented place-based curriculum and built relationships with Aboriginal parents and community members (Burgess & Evans, 2017; Kearney, McIntosh, Perry, Dockett, & Clayton, 2014). Therefore, I argue that this approach challenges commonly understood notions of cultural competence training because it is local, contextual and empowers the cultural knowledge holders (Tanaka et al., 2007) as experts and change agents in their communities.

Background

Cultural competence training has emerged largely in this country in health and social services (see Australian Association of Social Workers, 2015; National Health and

Medical Research Council, 2006) and is currently gaining momentum in education, particularly in teacher professional learning (Perso, 2012). Cultural competence training tends to consist of general checklists or accreditation requirements such as the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (ATSIL, 2014). In these standards, only 2 of the 37 focus areas refer to Aboriginal and Torres strait Islander students (henceforth referred to as Aboriginal students). Notions such as addressing racism, affirming cultural identities and teaching for social justice are absent despite these imperatives underpinning the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008).

In these neo-liberal, financially conservative times (Connell, 2013), online teacher professional learning options are increasingly popular as they are cost/time effective. This is concerning in areas such as cultural competence in Aboriginal contexts because it means that one could successfully complete an online course without meeting an Aboriginal person. Of further concern is the generalist nature of these courses because they tend to promote a pan-Aboriginal view that invariably fosters generalisations and stereotypes. Further, as education department policy documents emphasise the importance of schools consulting with local Aboriginal communities (New South Wales Department of Education and Training [NSW DET], 2009), teacher professional learning that does not do this is questionable at best.

The range of definitions and conceptual differences about cultural competence renders it problematic, especially when the people whose culture the training is about are not involved in developing or delivering the training. Contrary to this trend, the NSW AECG developed a teacher professional learning programme, 'Being culturally aware, becoming culturally inclusive: A pathway to cultural competence' (Williams, 2010), commonly referred to as the CTC programme. The NSW AECG is the peak Aboriginal agency providing advice to the Minister for Education on behalf of Aboriginal communities. Through the Report on the Review into Aboriginal Education (New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Incorporated and New South Wales Department of Education and Training [NSW AECG & NSW DET], 2004), the AECG identified a lack of teacher awareness and understanding of local Aboriginal peoples, cultures and histories as negatively impacting on Aboriginal student outcomes. They secured government funding to deliver local cultural immersion workshops to teachers highlighting a significant shift in power from the state to local Aboriginal communities. Notably, the localised and personalised nature of the programme has been highly successful.

The 3-day CTC programme consists of activities such as cultural site visits, field trips to local Aboriginal organisations, yarning with Elders, community members and families, and listening to Aboriginal students talk about their school experiences. Evaluation of this programme (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2013) produced substantial evidence of the transformative nature of developing genuine relationships with Aboriginal parents and community for teachers who then build these understandings and skills into their daily teaching practice.

The design and success of this programme reflects key tenets of Indigenous knowledge systems (Martin, 2009; Nakata, 2002; Phillips, 2011; Yunkaporta, 2009). These include acknowledging Aboriginal ways of knowing, doing and being, abiding by Aboriginal protocols and communication processes, focussing on relationships and

notions of reciprocity, understanding and working within specific historical, social and cultural contexts, and privileging Aboriginal voices and experiences (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003). New opportunities for teachers to learn from and about their local Aboriginal community has resulted in a process of rejecting deficit discourses about Aboriginal people and culture and has contributed to the development of personal and professional critical consciousness (Gay & Kirkland, 2003).

Context

While this paper draws on international research (see Brayboy & Castagno, 2009; Gay, 2000; Perso, 2012), the study is located in the Aboriginal Australian educational context, framing an understanding of the complexities of cultural competence in this country. An understanding of the politics of representation of Aboriginal peoples, their culture, history and society and the influence this has had on Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relationships is crucial to understanding the significance of the success of the CTC programme.

Since invasion, Aboriginal people have been categorised to the extent that in 1986 legal historian John McCorquodale (1986) found over 700 pieces of legislation describing, defining and categorising Aboriginal people broadly grouped as racial identification, territorial habitation, 'blood'/descent and subjective identification. The New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group (NSW AECG, 2011) notes that 'from the earliest days of invasion and colonisation, white people have grappled with the issue and constructed and applied definitions of Aboriginality to primarily serve their own purposes and to marginalise and oppress Aboriginal peoples' (p. 4). These representations are underpinned by populist notions of culture as a fixed and essential entity, espousing binary opposites and reinforcing reductionism in 'holidays and heroes' understandings of culture (Keddie, 2012, p. 319). These 'assumptions produce and naturalise the other' (p. 320), as well as silence, inferiorise and position Aboriginal people as deficient. Since 2009, reports such as the annual Australian government 'Closing the Gap' report, terminology like disadvantage, accelerating progress, transparency and accountability, ' describes this 'gap talk' as a discursive strategy that serves political purposes by deflecting attention away from the actual scale of the disparity, whilst concurrently masking incremental improvements' (Vass, 2014, p. 183). This rhetoric speaks to non-Aboriginal discourses of condescension, indifference, resentment and blame.

How these representations play out in the education system is evident in relatively poor Aboriginal student outcomes compared to non-Aboriginal students (Vass, 2014). Statistics indicate that Indigenous educational outcomes in literacy, numeracy, attendance and Year 12 completion are still well below non-Indigenous Australians. Exacerbating this is the current monolingual, hegemonic education system shaped by Eurocentric values, beliefs and practices which reproduces, normalises and embeds white, middle-class understandings of education (Lowe & Yunkaporta, 2013), thus compounding the inequality and oppression of non-whites (Smyth & Wrigley, 2013). Given that the teaching population is also largely white, middle class, an overall lack of understanding of Aboriginal and minority students contributes to the cycle of failure and severely limits their life chances. This then pre-empts the need for teacher

professional learning that addresses these key issues as well as the power imbalances between teachers, students, parents and Aboriginal community members. Cultural competence theories and practices are often drawn upon to develop effective teacher professional learning, but there are many limitations and criticisms of this approach in delivering effective and sustainable changes.

Problematising cultural competence

While cultural competence service learning has found traction in health and social services, it is less popular in education because it is often described in terms of service provision for clientele (Grote, 2008, p. 5). These terms are not commonly used or accepted in education as they imply a simplistic, transactional approach to education that positions students as passive recipients while undermining the complex and deeply humanistic dimensions of teaching (Smyth, 2012). Further, social and relational factors inherent in multicultural, diverse and/or Indigenous contexts are not addressed and this tends to focus on the 'Other' as different (often interpreted as deficit) rather than on the hierarchical nature of power relationships that exist in colonial systems such as Australia. In fact as Pon (2009) suggests, this common understanding of cultural competence creates a new form of racism that conveniently ignores the devastating impact of colonialism and oppression on relationships with non-Aboriginal people and authorities.

Cultural competence is commonly conceptualised through a broad range of definitions (see Perso, 2012; Universities Australia, 2011) as an approach that 'limits its goals to *knowledge* of characteristics, cultural beliefs, and practices of non-majority groups, and *skills* and *attitudes* of empathy and compassion' (Pon, 2009, p. 783). Kumagai and Lypson (2009) suggest that while personal development of appropriate attitudes, values and beliefs can occur, this does not necessarily involve 'the fostering of a critical awareness-a critical consciousness-of self, others, and the world' (p. 782), therefore ignoring and/or misrepresenting ethnicity, culture and difference (Hollinsworth, 2013, p. 1050). It also fails to acknowledge the importance of relationality, localisation and reciprocity embedded in Indigenous knowledge systems (Martin, 2009). Consequently, many cultural competence training programmes are unlikely to engage participants at the deeper level of challenging personal values, beliefs and attitudes, or power imbalances that occur at the school and classroom level.

Further, technical approaches to cultural competence imply that culture is static, one-dimensional and not influenced by history, change or power relationships. It essentialises the 'Other' into fixed prejudged categories, carrying the risk of 'objectifying individuals whose appearance, language, national origin, religion, or sexual orientation is different into overly simplistic categorical descriptions of character and behaviour' (Kumagai & Lypson, 2009, p. 783). Not only does this presuppose binary understandings of culture and ethnicity, it denies the legitimacy of those who don't fit stereotypical versions and fails to acknowledge individual multiple identity positions.

This focus reinforces what is 'normal' and becomes a benchmark upon which to judge all others, basing individual autonomy and choices on a sense of superior knowledge and universal values that engenders a misplaced confidence in those 'who are often anxious about their effectiveness with 'others' or who are frightened of being

racist' (Hollinsworth, 2013, p. 1051). The deficit thinking implicit in this stance reinforces power relations and perpetuates a negative paradigm where Aboriginal people are generally blamed for their own disadvantage (Vass, 2012, p. 88).

In research studies such as the Systematic Implications of Pedagogy and Achievement in NSW public schools, Amosa, Ladwig, Griffiths, and Gore (2007) identify links between low teacher expectations, poor pedagogical practice, low quality assessment tasks and poor academic results, particularly for Aboriginal and low socio-economic background students. This seminal study found that while high quality assessment tasks contributed to 'closing the gap' for Aboriginal students, the majority of tasks only required students to address knowledge from white, middle-class perspectives. This research identifies the need for effective teacher professional development that prioritises culturally responsive learning environments and inclusive pedagogies to embed multicultural, Aboriginal and minority perspectives into curriculum.

Buehler, Ruggles, Dallavis., and Haviland (2009, p. 410) report that the emotional, contextual and racial dimensions of intercultural teaching are often not clearly articulated in cultural competence frameworks, yet demand attention if they are to be effective. Zembylas' (2013) claim that emotions are structured by sociocultural contexts, relationships and power relations, highlights the connection between emotion and values and the need to reflect on 'how we see the 'Other' and the world around us, and how we relate to issues of discrimination and inequality' (Jokikokko & Uitto, 2016, p. 3). Jokikokko and Uitto (2016) suggest that teacher critical reflection of one's own beliefs, values and attitudes can 'threaten people's core beliefs and create powerful (often negative) feelings' (p. 3), thus facilitating or hindering a teacher's attempt to structure meaning and navigate change in their specific context. Working through the emotional aspects of teaching is crucial to engaging with discourses about race, diversity, social justice and the power relationships that underpin these in developing a critical consciousness (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Kumagai & Lypson, 2009).

Similarly, cultural competency frameworks tend not to account for understanding how the sociocultural and political context of specific sites influences teacher–student relationships. Ladson-Billings (1995) notes that many students 'have little or no understanding of their own culture; notions of Whiteness are taken for granted' (p. 96). This not only normalises and maintains the status quo but also evokes the notion of 'color-blindness' (Delpit, 1995), further impeding the acquisition of cultural competence (Buehler et al., 2009, p. 410). Kumagai and Lypson (2009) also suggest that 'if social justice is an educational goal of cultural competency, discussions of racism should be prevalent in curriculum content: however, only 2 of the 34 different cultural competency curricula studied by Beach et al. (2005) involved discussions of racism' (p. 782). Nicholls (2009) notes that a deep understanding and practice of reflexivity is crucial here and suggests three levels of reflexivity be undertaken: transparent self-reflexivity to critique hidden assumptions, interpersonal reflexivity to assess relationships and collective reflexivity to evaluate the collaboration process in the development of the relationships. Attending to these layers provides a deeper understanding of the relationships of power, the central role of personal positioning and the impact of a racialized education system in marginalising the 'Other'. Of further relevance here is Pon's (2009) claim that

cultural competency does not adequately acknowledge the devastating impact of colonisation and oppression including the consequent ongoing power issues. He notes that this form of racism continues 'othering' non-whites through ignorance of the contested histories of settler societies as well as reductionist views of culture. Problematizing one-dimensional approaches to cultural competency training is therefore essential in addressing these key concerns.

Methodology

In 2011, the NSW AECG identified 14 schools to participate in the programme evaluation conducted by the Aboriginal Studies Association External Research Team (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2013). This included seven high schools, six primary schools and one central school across five Department of Education regional, rural and isolated areas where low socio-economic circumstances and poor access to employment and educational opportunities are prevalent. Participating teachers, parents and community members, and school students volunteered to participate in the evaluation. This resulted in 54 teacher interviews, 27 parent/community member interviews and 14 student focus groups (99 students from 10 to 16 years of age), providing rich sources of data. Questionnaire-style evaluations designed and administered by the AECG to 357 teacher participants included both closed- (Yes/No binary questions) and open-ended responses. These elicited information about participant knowledge of Aboriginal history and culture, confidence in engaging with the local Aboriginal community and including Aboriginal content in their lessons. The statistics cited later are calculated from the closed responses. These results were included in the analysis to enhance our depth of understanding of participant experiences. This mixed methods approach included analysis within and across sites providing important data triangulation, enhancing the validity and reliability of the findings (Creswell, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The required ethics approval was obtained from the NSW Department of Education and ongoing consultation with the AECG ensured that the research proceeded appropriately. As consenting volunteers, participants were provided with information about the research study including options to withdraw if needed, and copies of their interview transcript to comment on if they wished.

For the purposes of this paper, the findings and analysis are based mainly on teacher responses in order to fully explore the issue of teacher professional learning in developing cultural competency. Some community comments are included as they shed light on their perception of teachers' values, attitudes and reactions to the cultural immersion experiences.

Initial impact of the CTC experience

In the interviews and anonymous evaluations, teachers overwhelmingly reported that the CTC programme had improved their knowledge and understanding of local Aboriginal people, histories and cultures and enhanced their confidence in incorporating authentic Aboriginal perspectives into the curriculum. Further, participants reported developing increased confidence through new skills in communicating with Aboriginal people and gaining new awareness of the benefits of this for Aboriginal

student outcomes. This is supported by statistics compiled from the AECG questionnaires:

- 98% increased their knowledge and understanding of local Aboriginal people, history and culture;
- 91% adopted new approaches to teaching Aboriginal history and culture;
- 81% changed their approach to teaching Aboriginal students;
- 84% felt more confident and willing to build relationships with Aboriginal families; and
- 95% stated that they would recommend the CTC experience to other teachers.

Significantly, participants overwhelmingly reported positive responses to the life stories of local Aboriginal people because the immediacy and temporality of these stories struck a deep chord as one teacher notes, 'it really got me, and that's the thing, that's why it was good'. Many commented that although they had previously learnt aspects of this history, they had not realised how raw this emotional experience still is for Aboriginal families. This is reflected in comments such as, 'I didn't realise the extent of how much it effected the current generation we've got at school. So that was a real insight'. Many participants also commented that this experience provided opportunities to meet Aboriginal people in non-school settings for the first time. They were often surprised that they shared many attitudes, aspirations and cultural commonalities with Aboriginal parents and were humbled by the way in which they were accepted and welcomed despite local tensions. Poignantly, the participants were in fact experiencing pedagogical approaches that Aboriginal people often express a preference for such as

- the importance of social interaction and development of meaningful relationships;
- the acknowledgement of land, place and kin relationships as the embodiment of cultural knowledge;
- adequate time to learn, assess and reflect on new knowledge, understandings and skills; and
- informal learning and participatory hands on activities, particularly outdoor activities.

Beyond cultural competence

The CTC programme makes a significant contribution to the complex and nuanced articulations of culturally responsive schooling. This approach emphasises the importance of culturally informed and appropriate pedagogies to engage minority students and develop the critical thinking skills needed to challenge the inherent inequities in the education system (Bishop & Berryman., 2010; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995). The common theme in the literature that authentic cultural competence training must go beyond short-term feel-good surface-learning approaches (Perso, 2012, pp. 56–62) bears out in this research study within and across the sites.

This programme also reinforces the importance of recognising and working within Indigenous knowledge systems where acknowledging and respecting the central role of

cultural knowledge holders is pivotal to learning. The results and ensuing discussion further reflect an understanding of these systems through supporting participant reflexivity, acknowledging the significance of the past, rejecting deficit discourses, acknowledging Aboriginal culture as dynamic and adaptive, recognising the importance of place- and relationships-based pedagogies, engaging with Aboriginal parents and community members, acknowledging power relationships and highlighting the transformative potential of teacher critical consciousness. The deep learning that emerged through the CTC programme became increasingly evident in participant's articulations of their experiences.

Supporting participant reflexivity

The CTC programme is an example of authentic and transformative cultural competency training. Teacher responses to the CTC experience reinforce this through comments such as, 'It was the most significant professional development I have experienced in 10 years of teaching. It was highly significant in the depth of its content and in building intercultural respect, confidence and understanding'. Importantly, this sentiment was evident in many of the interviews we conducted and is reflected in Nicholls' (2009) multilayered reflexivity around self, others and interrelationships. Reflexive transparency where hidden assumptions are questioned became evident in growing participant awareness of the significance of the past to Aboriginal people, the importance of rejecting deficit discourses and new understandings of the dynamic and adaptive nature of Aboriginal culture in their community. Participants' interpersonal reflexivity emerged when they began to make connections with Aboriginal parents and the community through concepts such as place-based and relationships-based pedagogies. This second layer required participants to consider and articulate their positionality so as to engage with the third layer, collective reflexivity. At this level of genuine collaborative learning and practice, the potential for personal transformation leading to social change can be seen as participants began to recognise and acknowledge the impact of power relationships and what this means for engagement with Aboriginal students, parents and the community, as well as for the pedagogic enactment of curriculum. An emerging collective reflexivity is evident in this teacher's response:

> We were all looking at issues together. No one side was dominant, it helped us see we were all facing this difficulty together and we shared information as truthfully as possible. There is definitely now a feeling of more acceptance.

Clearly, this level of engagement is in its infancy in terms of Nicholls (2009) reification of collective reflexivity, but within the context of tense Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relationships at many of the sites, it is significant and enlightening.

The significance of the past

Central to developing cultural responsiveness is acknowledging the significance of the Australian colonial legacy of dispossession, oppression and marginalisation of Aboriginal people (Phillips, 2011), as one community member notes, 'they need to be aware that white Australia has a black history, talking about things that's real, that

happened to us, a lot of them don't know the history of this valley, the massacres, that sort of thing'. Community people believe that a deep understanding of this history is important knowledge for teachers and was noted in teacher participant comments such as, 'telling stories was definitely quite profound for a lot of us and helped us realise just how raw that emotion still is for those people and how it has affected their life, so it made it very real'. Notably, this first-hand experiential approach to learning models a pedagogical approach that many Aboriginal students relate to.

Rejecting deficit discourses

Rejecting deficit discourses about Aboriginal peoples and the cultural reductionism that accompanies this is a key element in challenging neocolonial policies and practices in schools (Bishop & Berryman., 2010; Hattam, Brennan, Zipin, & Comber, 2009). Community members often highlighted the misunderstandings and misconceptions that they believed teachers have about Aboriginal students: 'teachers don't understand these kids, it's not that they're naughty it's just because they might be going through stress. When they tell a kid they're bad they just keep being bad 'cause they're getting attention'. This assumption of 'naughtiness' is absorbed and enacted by the student, inadvertently reinforcing deficit positioning, resulting in low expectations and poor outcomes. The following comment demonstrates how a shift in a teacher's perception of a student changes their view and expectations of him: 'one of our kids is fairly difficult but you get him on the didgeridoo. It blows you away and you realise; "Well if that's there what else is he doing that we have no idea about at school?"'

Acknowledging Aboriginal culture as dynamic and adaptive

In understanding and enacting a high expectations approach for Aboriginal students, teachers acknowledge that Aboriginal culture is alive and adaptive, not static. This is particularly relevant in urban areas where the stereotype of lost culture persists and is reflected in this teacher's surprise in experiencing the vibrancy of local Aboriginal culture.

> The thing for me was seeing that Aboriginal culture is so alive and thriving, especially in our community in Redfern (inner city Sydney). To visit places like the congress, lands council and to see that people are working so hard and going to such lengths to bring the community out into the broader Australia. I think that was really powerful for me because you don't see it – this was a real eye-opener.

The teacher who understands the significance of this learning draws on Aboriginal students' funds of knowledge to embed their students' experiences into pedagogy and curriculum (McInerney, 2009), resulting in confident Aboriginal people as well as confident learners (NSW AECG & NSW DET, 2004). Yunkaporta (2009) suggests that Aboriginal perspectives in the form of cultural content, 'not only develops Indigenous students' pride in their culture, but it allows for cultural abilities and talents to surface and be identified' (p. 16). This approach sees teaching and learning at the centre of knowledge production rather than what is already codified in traditional resources. It is empowering because it challenges traditional interpretations of cultural

and social capital (Hattam et al., 2009, p. 309) as one teacher notes, 'having those insights of what is important to the local community, the significance of land features and the river, that comes through the kids, you know they talk about not being able to eat the mullet out of the river'. Jovés, Siqués, and Esteban-Guitart (2015) identify this as a 'funds of identity' approach that recognises historically accrued and culturally developed individual student geographical, social, cultural, institutional and practical positionalities. Wrigley, Lingard, and Thomson (2012) further suggest that understanding and mobilising community-based, cultural and youth knowledges produces learning environments that are simultaneously grounded and critical.

Place-based and relationships-based pedagogies

Crucial to enacting culturally responsive pedagogies is engaging with culturally appropriate, innovative, place-based curriculum that reflects students' lived experiences (Gruenewald, 2008; Hattam et al., 2009; Yunkaporta, 2009). The current articulation of Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003; Yunkaporta, 2009) conceptualises an Indigenous approach to knowledge production and practice embedded within a cultural and personal identity. This approach explores, honours, and problematises culture and heritage as interpreted through 'youth of colour' (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 86) rather than aspiring to white middle-class norms. Fogarty (2010) suggests that for Aboriginal students, a pedagogical framework is needed 'to enable the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge in pedagogic design and a connection between this knowledge and Indigenous development realities in remote communities' (p. 218). This approach responds to demographic and social change as well as neoliberal challenges to social justice and equity goals that invest in deficit policy and problematise the 'Other' (Smyth, 2012). Culturally responsive pedagogy applies concepts such as heritage and community practices to reflect the past and present community dimensions that account for culture as dynamic, shifting and fluid. One teacher's efforts to embed local community knowledge and expertise into her teaching demonstrates a growing sense of interpersonal reflexivity (Nicholls, 2009) which leads to collective engagement such as,

> Because of making connections through Connecting to Country, I chatted with the Lands Council Coordinator and told her that I was in the early stages of getting this girls well-being program together because she has got a women's program running. So I thought we could tie the girls' program in with the women's program so I'd have those community contacts and have the school working within their own community on a wider scale.

The real value of this is that student learning is embedded in a strong cultural identity connected to country, culture and community. This level of engagement increases capacity, confidence and resilience and is more likely to improve student academic, cultural and social outcomes.

Aboriginal parent and community engagement

Parent and community engagement is another important aspect of developing culturally responsive teaching and learning practices. While mindful of the historical

sociocultural issues and committed to acknowledging these in daily practice (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2016; Harrison & Greenfield, 2011), teachers need to build relationships with the Aboriginal community to better engage students in their classroom. As one teacher notes, 'when you can talk to kids about the Elders that you've met and about people that you know in the community, that helps kids to know that there's a dialogue happening, there is some contact'. When students realise that their teacher knows members of their community, they feel that the teacher has an understanding of who they are as Aboriginal people. Further, the opportunity for teachers to meet Aboriginal Elders, parents, service providers, government employees and volunteers was acknowledged by many as improving the prospect for deeper connections at the community level, as one teacher explains;

> We need to build those relationships, so that they (community members) will feel more comfortable coming into our classrooms, because without that relationship, they're going to feel like an outsider. They need to feel like they have a strong connection with the teacher so that they feel confident that we're not going to let them down.

This teacher demonstrates an emerging understanding of Nicholls (2009) multi-layered reflexivity by not only recognising the importance of Aboriginal community relationships but also in understanding the implications of the difficult historical relationship between schools and communities, and in a sense of personal responsibility to redress this.

Acknowledging power relationships

Acknowledging the impact of discursive power relations between schools and communities is an important step in developing meaningful, authentic and caring teacher–student relationships (Bishop & Berryman., 2010; Burgess, 2016). Nicholls (2009) notion of collective reflexivity is essential here if current tensions based on oppressive historical practices are not addressed. It is through the CTC programme that a rare window of opportunity opened up as noted by one teacher:

> We heard some of the local people talking about being taken away from the Stolen Generation and some of their stories and then how today they're still treated differently. It's hard to get my head around that so much time has passed and they're still separate from us and it shouldn't be like that.

That local Aboriginal communities through the NSW AECG design and deliver professional learning for their teachers is, in itself, a significant acknowledgment of power relationships at the systemic level. It models a redistribution of power essential to easing tension between historically disparate groups, building equitable relationships between schools and communities and strengthening community social capital. Brough et al. (2006) suggest a strong correlation between levels of educational achievement and levels of social capital, that when perceived as 'community cultural wealth' (Yosso, 2005), becomes a normalised presence in the professional learning arena, therefore advancing the cultural capital of the whole community.

Transformative potential of teacher critical consciousness

The development of genuine critical reflexivity of personal positioning is central here and includes the development of a critical consciousness (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Kumagai & Lypson, 2009). Gay and Kirkland (2003) identify the notion of a cultural critical consciousness as one where, through the lens of race, ethnic diversity and social justice, teachers are 'self conscious, critical and analytical about one's own teaching beliefs and behaviours … and … what is to be taught, how, and to whom' (p. 181). They suggest that subsequently, teachers need to develop the habits, skills and behaviours that embed criticalness and reflexivity into daily personal learning, and teaching practice (p. 182) foreshadowing the development of a pedagogical cultural identity. This teacher's response to being asked to reflect on her cultural background illuminates a starting point for developing critical consciousness.

> In the second workshop we talked about our own personal culture and what that means to us and no-one's ever asked me what my culture was. I had to sit there and think what's my culture and then there were a few other questions we got asked that had us actually thinking about place, like where do we most feel connected to?

Her surprise at being asked about her sense of place highlights different understandings of self as a cultural being, and suggests that Aboriginal people recognise a general lack of cultural literacy in teachers. This has important implications for critiquing the school and classroom culture as well as opening up communication channels between teachers and students. This was clear when an Aboriginal presenter explained Aboriginal English as a dialect rather than an inferior version of English. The teacher remarks, 'previously I had judged the Aboriginal kids for how they speak because it wasn't the same as the way I speak. This was a light-bulb moment for me'. Another teacher notes that he was 'really deeply moved by one speaker in particular who had a huge effect on me on a personal level' as the community member explained some of the difficulties Aboriginal students experience outside of school. For this teacher, the community speaker was, 'making it real, like you're seeing this on a daily basis (and) this fellow is sitting in front of you discussing this openly'.

Limitations of the programme and the research

A limitation of the CTC programme is the small number of participants from each school, generally early career and/or newly appointed teachers and the principal. While their professional learning is important, it is unlikely to impact significantly on curriculum, pedagogy and school structures unless the principal explicitly prioritises and actions these areas (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2013). Once teachers return to school, there is no systematic support or monitoring of their progress in implementing the knowledge and skills gained from their CTC experience and so it is often difficult for them to maintain momentum beyond initial enthusiasm (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2016). If this programme does not sit within a framework of overall school structural and cultural change, then its transformative potential is limited to largely individual efforts,

therefore, contributing to a sense of ongoing disconnection that plagues education in this area (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2013).

Further, as this study was conducted early in the implementation of the CTC programme (year 2 and 3), the findings are limited to short-term impacts. Ideally, a longitudinal research study is needed to ascertain any significant and sustainable impacts of the CTC programme (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2013) for teachers, Aboriginal students and school-community relationships.

Where to now?

A significant implication from this study is that simplified short-term cultural competence training programmes are inadequate. Commonly applied descriptive lists gloss over deeper imperatives such as understanding the impact of colonisation on Aboriginal people and the ongoing legacy this has on relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and the state. These lists tend to reinforce hierarchies and maintain the status quo rather than engaging with the process of decolonisation through challenging and disrupting power and privilege (Keddie, 2012; McInerney, 2009). Certainly, the overall lack of attention to the social processes of learning means that significant skills such as relationship building, developing trust and reciprocity are ignored, thus ironically undermining claims of competence.

Evidence from the CTC programme demonstrates the importance of addressing these key issues through recognition of Aboriginal people as the experts in deciding what knowledge, understandings and skills teachers need to become culturally responsive practitioners. Privileging Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing over western ways is a significant cultural and resource shift away from the state. This empowers local people to become genuine stakeholders in the education of their children as they can influence the very people who spend more time with their children outside the family than anyone else. Building relationships between families and teachers must therefore attract significant effort if we are to develop critically reflexive, culturally responsive teachers of Aboriginal children (Burgess & Evans, 2017). The real strength of the CTC programme is in the development of new relationships between people from historically and socially disparate groups and the power of these relationships to transform education at the grass roots level (Kearney et al., 2014).

Through the CTC experience, teachers gain significant knowledge and confidence in working with Aboriginal students, their families and communities to challenge the colonising practices of education and the school. As such, they potentially become change agents in their schools, advocating for reciprocal relationships and shared responsibility while concurrently replacing deficit discourses with a dialogic framing of belonging, connection and engagement. This positively influences school culture and creates an atmosphere conducive to collaborative success although as noted (Burgess & Cavanagh, 2013).

While the programme currently caters for teachers at schools with significant Aboriginal populations, it is potentially transferable to school contexts with small Aboriginal student numbers. This depends largely on financial resources and commitment at the local school level. The programme's crucial role of engaging local schools

with local Aboriginal culture and community is important regardless of the number of Aboriginal students enrolled as it supports the authenticity and integrity of the Welcome/Acknowledgement to Country protocol that most schools now include in their own protocols. Further, it is justifiable in terms of meeting departmental policy aims (New South Wales Department of Education and Training, 2009), Australian curriculum priorities (ACARA, 2011) and professional teaching standards (ATSIL, 2014).

Overall, the positive outcomes from the CTC programme provide a convincing argument for privileging this approach over current preoccupation with quantifiable outcomes demonstrated by limited accreditation regimes, which reflect only narrow accounts of teaching and learning. Consequently, this study has further implications for quality teaching such as prioritising culturally responsive relationships-based pedagogical approaches through proactive engagement with the Aboriginal community and developing teacher critical cultural reflexivity (Nicholls, 2009). It also indicates the need to invest in longitudinal studies to assess the role of quality teacher professional learning in improving Aboriginal student outcomes.

Conclusion

This paper argues for the importance of problematising and challenging populist cultural competence training programmes that focus on the warm–fuzzy aspects of culture while ignoring the more uncomfortable historical, sociocultural and political issues that continue to oppress Aboriginal people (Pon, 2009; Vass, 2014). It brings into focus the underlying neo-liberal push for narrow, financially motivated accountability regimes that prioritise short-term box-ticking procedures and contributes to the 'technicization of professional knowledge' (Connell, 2013, p. 99) over quality professional learning.

As can be seen by the rich data revealed in the interviews, cultural competency is both profoundly challenging and rewarding when delivered by local Aboriginal community experts who prioritise relationship building, experiential learning and personal accounts. This powerful approach embeds the local sociocultural and political landscape into teacher consciousness and so challenges the nature of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relationships in educational contexts. As teachers critically reflect on their positioning and think about how this impacts on their teaching, they are in many cases liberated from the constraints of uncertainty and fear so often attached to teaching in this area (Maxwell, 2012).

Genuine cultural competency is a lifelong project that involves significant personal and professional commitment to reframing one's thinking from another's standpoint, and understanding the role of knowledge, knowledge ownership and knowledge production through the lens of power relationships. Mobilising critical reflexivity is important because this contributes enormously to developing relationships-based pedagogies crucial to engaging Aboriginal students. The real power of this journey, however, is the potentially positive impact on Aboriginal families and communities who became genuine partners in improving the educational outcomes of their children and in the process, enhancing social capital and community cultural wealth. The CTC

programme demonstrates that when power is with the genuine knowledge holders, transformational change is more than just a possibility it can become a reality.

Acknowledgement

This work is supported by the NSW Department of Education and Communities.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

This work was supported by the NSW Department of Education and Communities.

Notes on contributor

Cathie Burgess is Senior Lecturer in Education and Aboriginal Studies Curriculum at the Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Sydney. She has extensive secondary teaching experience in Aboriginal Studies, History, Geography and Literacy Support. Her academic interests include culturally responsive and critical pedagogies, Aboriginal community driven pre-service and in-service teacher professional learning, Aboriginal student engagement and socially just approaches to education. Cathie is the convenor of the Indigenous Research Collaboration, president of the Aboriginal Studies Association, life member of the NSW Aboriginal Education Consultative Group and board member of the Aboriginal Education Council.

ORCID

Cathie Burgess http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0580-7191

References

ACARA. (2011). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures. Retrieved from http://www. australiancurriculum.edu.au/CrossCurriculumPriorities/Aboriginal-and-Torres-Strait-Islander-histories-andcultures

Amosa, W., Ladwig, J., Griffiths, T., & Gore, J. (2007, November 25–29). *Equity effects of quality teaching: Closing the gap*. Paper presented at the Australian Association for Research in Education Conference, Fremantle.

Australian Association of Social Workers. (2015). Preparing for culturally responsive and inclusive social work practice in Australia: Working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Retrieved from http://www.aasw.asn.au/document/item/7006

Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership. (2014). Australian professional standards for teachers. Retrieved from http://www.aitsl.edu.au/australian-professional-standards-for-teachers/standards/list.

Bishop, R., & Berryman., M. (2010). Te Kotahitanga: Culturally responsive professional development for teachers. *Teacher Development: An International Journal of Teachers' Professional Development*, *14*(2), 173–187. doi:10.1080/13664530.2010.494497

Brayboy, B., & Castagno, A. (2009). Self-determination through self-education: Culturally responsive schooling for Indigenous students in the USA. *Teaching Education*, *20*(1), 31–53. doi:10.1080/10476210802681709

Brough, M., Bond, C., Hunt, J., Jenkins, D., Shannon, C., & Schubert, L. (2006). Social capital meets identity: Aboriginality in an urban setting. *Journal of Sociology*, *42*(4), 396–411. doi:10.1177/1440783306069996

Buehler, J., Ruggles, A., Dallavis, C., & Haviland, V. (2009). Normalizing the fraughtness: How emotion, race, and school context complicate cultural competence. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *60*(4), 408–418. doi:10.1177/0022487109339905

Burgess, C. (2016). Conceptualising a pedagogical cultural identity through the narrative construction of early career Aboriginal teachers' professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *58*, 109–118. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2016.04.007

Burgess, C., & Cavanagh, P. (2013). *Opening Up To Local Communities. 'You must have a heart miss, none of them other teachers ever go there'. Final Report of the External Research Team on the implementation of the Connecting to Country Program*. Darlinghurst: Department of Education and Communities. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.4884.9761

Burgess, C., & Cavanagh, P. (2016). Cultural immersion: Developing a community of practice of teachers and Aboriginal community members. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, *45*(1), 48–55. doi:10.1017/jie.2015.33

Burgess, C., & Evans, J. (2017). Culturally responsive relationships focused pedagogies: The key to quality teaching and quality learning environments. In J. Keengwe (Ed.), *Handbook of research on promoting cross-cultural competence and social justice in teacher education* (pp. 1–31). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

Connell, R. (2013). The neoliberal cascade and education: An essay on the market agenda and its consequences. *Critical Studies in Education*, *54*(2), 99–112.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. LA: Sage.

Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: New York Press.

Fogarty, W. P. (2010). *Learning through Country: Competing knowledge systems and place based pedagogy*. Unpublished thesis; Australian National University.

Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally responsive schooling: Theory, research, and practice*. NY: Teachers College Press.

Gay, G., & Kirkland, K. (2003). Developing cultural critical consciousness and self-reflection in preservice teacher education. *Theory Into Practice*, *42*(3), 181–187. doi:10.1207/s15430421tip4203_3

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Grote, E. (2008). *Principles and practices of cultural competency. A review of the literature*. Paper prepared for the Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Council, Canberra, Australia.

Gruenewald, D. A. (2008). The best of both worlds: A critical pedagogy of place. *Environmental Education Research*, *14*(3), 308–324.

Harrison, N., & Greenfield, M. (2011). Relationship to place: Positioning Aboriginal knowledge and perspectives in classroom pedagogies. *Critical Studies in Education*, *52*(1), 65–76. doi:10.1080/17508487.2011.536513

Hattam, R., Brennan, M., Zipin, L., & Comber, B. (2009). Researching for social justice: Contextual, conceptual and methodological challenges. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *30*, 303–316.

Hollinsworth, D. (2013). Forget cultural competence; ask for an autobiography. *Social Work Education*, *32*(8), 1048–1060. doi:10.1080/02615479.2012.730513

Jokikokko, K., & Uitto, M. (2016). The significance of emotions in Finnish teachers' stories about their intercultural learning. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*. doi:10.1080/14681366.2016.1201128

Jovés, P., Siqués, C., & Esteban-Guitart, M. (2015). The incorporation of funds of knowledge and funds of identity of students and their families into educational practice. A case study

from Catalonia, Spain. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *49*, 68–77. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2015.03.001

Kearney, E., McIntosh, L., Perry, B., Dockett, S., & Clayton, K. (2014). Building positive relationships with indigenous children, families and communities: Learning at the cultural interface. *Critical Studies in Education*, *55*(3), 338–352. doi:10.1080/17508487.2014.914963

Keddie, A. (2012). Poetry and prose as pedagogical tools for addressing difficult knowledges: Translocational positionality and issues of collective political agency. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *20*(2), 317–332. doi:10.1080/14681366.2012.688768

Kumagai, A., & Lypson, M. (2009). Beyond cultural competence: Critical consciousness, social justice, and multicultural education. *Academic Medicine*, *84*(6), 782–787. doi:10.1097/ACM.0b013e3181a42398

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *32*(3), 465–491. doi:10.3102/00028312032003465

Ladson-Billings, G. (2014). They're trying to wash us away: The adolesence of Critical Race Theory in education. In A. D. Dixson & C. K. Rousseau (Eds.), *Critical race theory in education, all God's children got a song*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Lowe, K., & Yunkaporta, T. (2013). The inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content in the Australian National Curriculum: A cultural, cognitive and socio-political evaluation. *Curriculum Perspectives*, *33*, 1–14.

Martin, K. (2009). Aboriginal worldview, knowledge and relatedness: Re-conceptualising Aboriginal schooling as a teaching-learning and research interface. *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, *12*(4), 66–78.

Martin, K., & Mirraboopa, B. (2003). Ways of knowing, being and doing: A theoretical framework and methods for indigenous and indigenist research. *Journal of Australian Studies*, *27*(76), 203–214. doi:10.1080/14443050309387838

Maxwell., J. (2012). Teachers, time, staff and money: Committing to community consultation in high schools. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, *41*(2), 120–130. doi:10.1017/jie.2012.31

McCorquodale, J. (1986). The legal classification of race in Australia. *Aboriginal History*, *10*(1), 7–24.

McInerney, P. (2009). Toward a critical pedagogy of engagement for alienated youth: Insights from Freire and school based research. *Critical Studies in Education*, *50*(1), 23–35. doi:10.1080/17508480802526637

Miles, M., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs. (2008). The melbourne declaration on educational goals for young australians. Retrieved from http://apo.org.au/node/29859

Nakata, M. (2002). Indigenous knowledge and the cultural interface. Underlying issues at the intersection of knowledge and information systems. *International Federation of Library Associations*, *28*, 281–291.

National Health and Medical Research Council. (2006). *Cultural competency in health: A guide for policy, partnerships and participation*. Canberra: Commonwealth Government.

New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group. (2011). *Aboriginality and identity. Perspectives, practices and policies*. Sydney: Author.

New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Incorporated and New South Wales Department of Education and Training. (2004). *Yanigurra Muya: Ganggurrinyma Yaami guurulaw Yirringin. Gurray - Freeing the spirit: Dreaming an equal future*. The Report of the Review of Aboriginal Education. Darlinghurst: Author.

New South Wales Department of Education and Training. (2009). *Aboriginal education and training policy*. Darlinghurst: Author.

Nicholls, R. (2009). Research and indigenous participation: Critical reflexive methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *12*(2), 117–126. doi:10.1080/13645570902727698

Paris, D., & Alim, H. S. (2014). What are we seeking to sustain through culturally sustaining pedagogy? A loving critique forward. *Harvard Educational Review*, *84*(1), 85–100. doi:10.17763/haer.84.1.982l873k2ht16m77

Perso, T. F. (2012). *Cultural responsiveness and school education with particular focus on Australia's first peoples: A review & synthesis of the literature*. Darwin: Menzies School of Health Research, Centre for Child Development and Education.

Phillips, D. J. (2011). *Resisting contradictions: Non-Indigenous pre-service teacher responses to critical Indigenous studies*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis), Queensland University of Technology.

Pon, G. (2009). Cultural competency as new racism: An ontology of forgetting. *Journal of Progressive Human Services*, *20*(1), 59–71. doi:10.1080/10428230902871173

Smyth, J. (2012). The socially just school and critical pedagogies in communities put at a disadvantage. *Critical Studies in Education*, *53*(1), 9–18. doi:10.1080/17508487.2012.635671

Smyth, J., & Wrigley, T. (2013). *Living on the edge: Rethinking poverty, class and schooling*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Tanaka, M., Williams, L., Benoit, Y. J., Duggan, R. K., Moir, L., & Scarrow, J. C. (2007). Transforming pedagogies: Pre-service reflections on learning and teaching in an Indigenous world. *Teacher Development*, *11*(1), 99–109. doi:10.1080/13664530701194728

Universities Australia. (2011). *National Best Practice Framework for Indigenous Cultural Competency in Australia*. Canberra: Author.

Vass, G. (2012). So what is wrong with indigenous education? Perspective, position and power beyond a deficit discourse. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, *41*(2), 85–96. doi:10.1017/jie.2012.25

Vass, G. (2014). The racialised educational landscape in Australia: Listening to the whispering elephant. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *17*(2), 176–201. doi:10.1080/13613324.2012.674505

Williams, S. (2010). *Being culturally aware becoming culturally inclusive: A pathway to cultural competence*. Stanmore: NSW AECG.

Wrigley, T., Lingard, B., & Thomson, P. (2012). Pedagogies of transformation: Keeping hope alive in troubled times. *Critical Studies in Education*, *53*(1), 95–108. doi:10.1080/17508487.2011.637570

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *8*, 69–91. doi:10.1080/1361332052000341006

Yunkaporta, T. (2009). *Aboriginal pedagogies at the cultural interface*. (Unpublished PhD thesis), James Cook University.

Zembylas, M. (2013). Critical pedagogy and emotion: Working through 'troubled knowledge' in post traumatic contexts. *Critical Studies in Education*, *54*(2), 176–189. doi:10.1080/17508487.2012.743468