

2008

Embedding Indigenous Content into Qualitative Research in Psychology in Reflective Case Studies: A Case for Social Change

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Originally published in the Proceedings of the EDU-COM 2008 International Conference. Sustainability in Higher Education: Directions for Change, Edith Cowan University, Perth Western Australia, 19-21 November 2008.

This Conference Proceeding is posted at Research Online.

<http://ro.ecu.edu.au/ceducom/19>

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ABSTRACT

Australian universities recognise cultural competency as an essential attribute for graduates. Within this context, The Australian Psychology Accreditation Committee (APAC) has enforced requirements for students within psychology programmes to have access to Indigenous content. Though Indigenous participation rates are low, the inclusion of Indigenous content or what is often labeled ‘Indigenous psychology’ acts at least as a symbolic gesture and important step forward in reconciling the massively disadvantaged position of Indigenous Australians. However there is little to date in that way of guides to help develop appropriate teaching methods to include such content more substantially in programmes. This paper reflects on embedding Indigenous issues and content within curriculum of qualitative research methods. While all content areas can or could include Indigenous content, the teaching of qualitative research methods has enormous capacity to bring Indigenous content to life for students. First, a general argument for the inclusion of Indigenous content within the qualitative research methods curriculum of psychology is suggested. Second, several case study examples of teaching praxis including Indigenous content are provided. Finally, evidence on the utility of such examples for students in learning about Indigenous peoples and key processes and skills for working with Indigenous communities from student feedback are discussed.

Keywords: Indigenous Australians, Qualitative Research, Cultural Competency

*“a powerful tool for learning more about our lives and the socio-historical context in which we live”
(Merriam, 2002, p. xv)*

PSYCHOLOGY, INDIGENOUS CONTENT, AND CULTURAL COMPETENCY

Australian Indigenous communities have extremely rich cultures as some of the oldest surviving cultures in the world, but contemporary survival, especially in remote localities, is subject to immense pressures due to a range of macro social, economic and cultural pressures (Milroy & Kuposar, 2005). In terms of spatial distribution almost a third (30 percent) of Indigenous people live in major cities with a further 20 and 23 percent living in inner- and outer-regional areas respectively with over a quarter (27 percent) of the population in remote (9 percent) or very remote (18 percent) areas (Wensing, 2007). Indigenous populations are growing with (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001) showing 410,000 (2.2 per cent total Australian population) the 2006 Census shows numbers of 455,000 (2.3 percent total Australian population) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). However the majority of communities continue to occupy a secondary position within Australia and this is reflected in a whole host of socio-economic indicators including: health welfare dependency, incarceration, housing, unemployment and, educational attainment (Guilfoyle, 2006; Holman, 2005; Sinnott & Wittman, 2001). The severity of this disadvantage is poignantly reflected in the average life expectancy amongst people which has been described as ‘third world’. On average male and females can expect to live to 59.4 and 64.8 years old respectively. This contrasts with 76.6 and 82 years amongst non-Aboriginal Australians – a 17 year difference in life expectancy!

Strategies for social change to reduce these inequities can include greater public educative exposure about the plight of communities and action based research with communities in which their real concerns for change can be heard, documented and acted upon. However Indigenous people are suffering from research fatigue (Coffin, 2002) and historically, research has been viewed with due suspicion because it imposes external agendas onto communities. Ironically, whilst research is still needed it is imperative to identify how communities feel about participating in research in order to develop better research into the future. Thus we need to better align our research methods with the needs of communities if we want research graduates who can work with and engage communities. Clearly this strategy requires a work force, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, skilled in ways of creating cultural secure (Coffin, 2007), participatory dialogue and processes for working with communities who define their own problems and approaches to change (Guilfoyle, Coffin & Maginn, 2008). The argument below is for one path in training professional psychologists interested in promoting social change within communities along these lines. Embedding ‘Indigenous Psychology’ in qualitative research methods teaching is one way.

Australian universities recognise cultural competency as an essential attribute for graduates. Despite critiques of the monoculturalism of Australian psychology (Riggs, 2004), deeper assertions of the ‘cultural malpractice’ of psychology generally (Hall, 1997) and calls for a socially and culturally relevant psychology (Riggs, 2004), little has changed for Indigenous communities. Indigenous issues remain at the margins within psychology pedagogy and practice. Within this context, the Australian Psychology Accreditation Committee (APAC, 2008), which controls the accreditation of all psychology courses across Australia, has, rhetorically at least, enforced requirements for students within psychology programmes to have access to Indigenous content. Though Indigenous participation rates within university generally, and psychology specifically, are low, the inclusion of Indigenous content or what is often and problematically labelled ‘Indigenous psychology’ (see Ranzijn et al., 2008) acts at least as a symbolic gesture and important step forward in reconciling the massively disadvantaged position of Indigenous Australians.

However, there is little to date in that way of guides or appropriate teaching methods for the inclusion of Indigenous content in ways relevant to the profession of psychology (Ranzijn et al., 2008). One of the earliest examples described the process and initial outcomes of incorporating Indigenous and cross-cultural content within a standalone psychology unit (Sonn et al., 2000). Importantly, a team has recently embarked on an ongoing project called ‘Disseminating strategies for incorporating Australian Indigenous content into psychology undergraduate programs throughout Australia’. To date, the team has produced a website (www.unisanet.unisa.edu.au/pia), workshops and conferences, and several publications devoted to documenting the development of curriculum guidelines and a preliminary analysis of student responses (e.g., Ranzijn et al., 2006; Ranzijn et al., 2008). They want to provide some scaffold and their argument is for the inclusion of Indigenous content systematically across any given psychology program, within foundational units and/or by placing content within all units.

This paper doesn’t depart from the suggestions in Ranzijn et al. (2008) in the sense of the more the better, but argues while all content areas can or could include Indigenous content, including worked examples of (both successful and unsuccessful) qualitative research with communities within qualitative research units provides the following:

1. An immediate foothold for Indigenous content by embedding it within an existing or at least emergent structure of units; which are already partly or wholly present within most contemporary psychology schools and departments.
2. An embedding of content into a space where underlying foundations and assumptions can be culturally secure.
3. Creates a cultural competence for social change. This is twofold. First equipping students with cultural competence through better understanding about the social issues facing Indigenous communities and simultaneously building culturally competent skills for applied research with Indigenous communities to address the very same issues.

THE CASE FOR EMBEDDING INDIGENOUS CONTENT INTO THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY CURRICULUM

Without space to fully make the argument about how the teaching of *specific* qualitative methodologies/methods can act as catalysts for the three points above, the author is illustratively quite broad and sweeping here in the use of the word ‘qualitative’. Clearly some methodologies are more suitable than others and some are often applied far better than others. The aim here is to begin a dialogue for future arguments grappling more intricately with how qualitative research methods can be applied. In the general sense therefore (and temporarily idealistic perhaps), the point is that the collected advantage of qualitative methodologies as context for Indigenous content is, by and large, they share core foundations which can align with culturally secure ways of doing research. These foundations are expressed in a range of contemporary methodologies, under epistemological positions of constructivism / subjectivism (Crotty, 1998). Suffice to say; often the primary advantage of qualitative approaches is their shift from objectivism. Thus one path to describing qualitative values (one we use in teaching praxis) is to cite its core values in juxtaposition to the post-positivist framework which historically poisoned communities as objects of research, with the researcher separated from participants as an expert, and with an aim to identifying universal therein, one size fits all truths.

[dump stuff in core values of qual research social constructivist, participation, equal researcher and participants, voice, multiple truths, looking at context, lived experience, meaning, getting to where people in situ, ethics, interviewing,]

By including Indigenous content in teaching it is hoped to demonstrate some shared ‘qualitative’ core values in operation within contemporary best practice expression and applications of foundational epistemologies of constructivism and subjectivism, and theoretical frameworks dating to Hermeneutics, Phenomenology, Symbolic Interactionism, Post-structuralism, Critical Theory, Postmodernism and the more recent pragmatic and advocacy approaches. Examples are provided from within interpretive communities of researchers applying methodologies drawn from and adapting these frameworks including Discourse Analysis, Phenomenology, Narrative, Case Study, Ethnography, Grounded Theory, Participatory Action Research and of their adapted methods of data collection, analysis and presentation of culturally secure findings and interpretations.

The aim is to show (teach) how culturally secure core principles can apply through these various methodologies when working with Indigenous communities. That is, to teach these within some key principles of qualitative research and demonstrating how they powerfully apply in concrete settings. This is through reflective case studies which describe a particular research project or issue and how qualitative research, designs and methods apply in that context. Thus both examples of the conditions faced by communities can be highlighted, the way that research can help unpack and create change for these and skills needed by researchers to work within these communities at the level of values, research methodology or design or methods.

Often successful adaptations of qualitative research designs that work to explore Indigenous communities’ interactions with allied health services can be illustrated. For example a Grounded Theory design (particularly that following Charmaz, 2006) can help to develop theory suited to Indigenous communities’ definitions of service needs or indeed definitions of health and well being (Guilfoyle & Guilfoyle, forthcoming) per se. Phenomenological and Narrative research can be applied to report the authentic lived experiences of community members or collect stories of members of Indigenous communities as they interact with health services. The aim is to better service communities based on ‘real’ experiences/stories documented. Critical Case Study and Ethnographic approaches, or their borrowed methods of participation and observation, can help report on the unique meaning making systems and webs of cultural practices of various communities in order to develop services tailored to the unique needs of communities. Studies of Discourse can aim to better understand the

exchanges both within communities and those of stakeholders with invested interest at all levels and, more importantly, critically observe the interaction of these discourses to examine how Indigenous communities are best positioned to create change.

In particular, at least for illustration, Critical Participatory Action Research (Guilfoyle et al., 2008) is advocated. Participatory Action Research (Stringer, 1999; Kemmis and McTaggart, 1998; Reason, 1994, 1998; Reason and Bradbury, 2006; Schmuck, 2006) is a qualitative research methodology with a dynamic and powerful potential in both rural and urban contexts. This methodology when applied well and critically, can account for social forces and macro systems of injustice which affect the lives of people within a community and thus achieve using this methodological frame demonstrate processes for ensuring the community identifies, defines and owns the research concerns and, are an excellent basis to show case qualitative research, with all its strengths and utility. Examples of where this sort of methodology has been applied successfully, can directly illustrate for students not on a useful research strategy, but the current plight, issues, concern needs for change that are being defined by communities themselves. It should be noted even if in fact there are to date very few ideal examples of this community ownership of research – we have a reflective, rather than a stopping point. Here we can illustrate to students the value of and need for more genuine qualitative research approaches which do achieve community ownership and definitions of the problems and need for change. We might, through such examples and commentaries, inspire future cohorts of students willing to develop and apply such approaches better, and achieve genuine participatory-action-research.

One of the shining aspects of a Critical Participatory Action Research (when it works well, and these moving parts will be discussed elsewhere) is topics arrive from the community per se (rare to date but not unachievable) or are very much defined or re-defined by the community (Guilfoyle et al., 2008). After all how we define the problem will shape the solution, and for Indigenous communities for too long both the problems and solutions have been imposed by the agendas of researchers (see Davidson et al., 2000; Fielder et al., 2000; Gridley et al., 2000; Hall, 1997; Milroy & Koposar, 2005; Smith, 1999). It is argued that we can shift beyond this real, common and disempowering state of affairs, by teaching qualitative research methodologies, where students learn about the protocols and processes for the consultation with key people in developing qualitative research projects and for working with or alongside communities on problems communities define. Thus at the level of teaching methods it can be shown through reflective case studies of past Action based projects how key issues in qualitative research process, ethics and sensitivity in defining of research problems, data collection and methods of gaining participation, ways of collecting data, analysing data and verifying, as well as presenting and distributing findings and interpretations, can be applied in ways that secure community ownership. This is not researcher as expert, separate from the community, but researcher as community colleague and learner.

Let's examine some reflective case studies used in the current teaching praxis. For the flow of argument here the focus is narrowed to some examples illustrating purposive sampling principles and practices as they have been applied within the consultative and participatory processes of our qualitative research projects.

REFLECTIVE CASE EXAMPLES

The Reflective Case Study used in teaching 3rd year undergraduates in the unit 'Research Methods and Ethical Issues' at Edith Cowan University, builds on work of completing a Commonwealth Government funded project: Towards an Indigenous Child Care Plan. This study has been used to illustrate a range of methodological process such as purposive sampling (n = more than 350 community members in communities across the nation), team projects, ethics, data analysis, and particular issues surrounding reporting of findings, and the need for highly inclusive consultation in design or projects. The first phase of the Participatory Action Research project was aimed at a preliminary validating of the dimensions and protocols for the interviews with a local reference group.

The research team was confronted firmly and directly: “All I see is a sea of white faces sitting here. This is about our kids. We should be doing this project not you”. The member had a highly valid point. She had not been included in the original grant submission. Further had she been, she would have outlined her concern that communities desired Indigenous-centred approaches to child care rather than mainstreamed provision by mainstreamed services and she knew, and was ultimately proved right, that the government of the day had intended the agenda (unbeknownst to us as researchers at that point!) as one of ‘mainstreaming’. For her this meant the basic human right to define how to care for one’s own children was denied. She argued the ‘research problem’ should have had a basic community definition rather than being imposed on the community vis-a-vis the government’s agenda and we indeed have to question our role as researchers inadvertently complicit in this. We outlined the research funding process and how her views and the views of any other participants we spoke to, would appear in our report (and indeed how we could collaborate in future projects to help her community apply for the funds). Including the views of community has meant that only now (3 years on and a new government) has the government agreed to release some contents of the report. The story of this project has acted as a powerful catalyst to illustrate to students not only the political macros surrounding research but the need for full community consultation before a project, small or large, gets off the ground. Sometimes we can highlight good process by the shadows of bad process!

To move to a micro level, culturally competent skills sit side by side with the practicalities of purposive sampling. In one teaching case study we use Juli Coffin’s description writing in Guilfoyle, Coffin & Maginn (2008) when reflecting on her involvement in a project to support community based nutrition (Miller et al., 2004). Juli describes her need to sample carefully *by creating* a ‘mind map’ of each of locality detailing each family and/or language group. Her next step was to identify the culturally secure contact within each group. In speaking to this person issues around inter-racial feuding or relationships was duly recorded as these matters have implications on finding a unified voice and representative speakers. Evidence, or suggestions, of what Juli suggests we might term ‘nepotism’ which excludes some members from getting involved were also recorded. She reports that this entire process took several months and many cups of tea. More importantly, as each step had been recorded carefully, clear links and contacts with each group could be demonstrated if there were any questions from communities about certain groups being overlooked or missed. Thus participation is achieved, when researchers utilise cultural protocols to ensure and demonstrate transparent and valid process to the community involved. To sample properly in this context required the researcher to both know and be in a position to make, the appropriate initial contacts and to fully reflect on all factors affecting who will participate in the project. Not to mention, the need for researchers whose competence comes by dedication and want to map and represent all potential participants. It is good example of the power of well applied qualitative sampling.

Opportunistic and ‘snowball’ sampling are requisite for many designs and are recounted to a second year cohort through a project in the remote areas of Western Australia (Kimberley Sexual Health Project: Bolger, Guilfoyle, Hunter & Ejai, 1998). In this case study the process by which a cultural mentor facilitates sampling is highlighted. The mentor arranged all talks between the researchers and each key Elder from 42 family groups, with some Elders acting as official proxy for others. Once the agreement was reached the mentor put the word out and contacted researchers whenever outlying community Elders were in town and arranged meetings with them to gain their consent. Word of the project spread through the ongoing interviewing process and other informal networks across the consenting communities over several months. Thus on a walk home one night one of the research team was approached by a young man who stated something like: “Hey! You are that sex fella aren’t ya”?. The young man suggested he had heard about the project through various networks and then at this point voluntarily detailed in rich terms the effects of having an STI infection and the acute problem of having no culturally appropriate medical service to attend. Not only does the case study serve to show that all key stakeholders must provide consent before any sampling occurs, but that natural networks within the community spread the word about the project. It also illustrates the idea of immersion in the field. Qualitative researcher’s to varying degrees, depending on their research design, populations, will

sometimes need to spend sufficient time engaged in the community to know those networks and develop a process where participants are conformable to make an approach.

Teaching ethical issues properly, we need to go beyond mere descriptions of procedural ethics and illustrate to students ethical process which involves adapting our methodologies as well as our behaviours and practices contextually to suit the participants *per se*. Thus the following reflective case study is used in present teaching practice to illustrate a process of appropriate ‘approach’ within qualitative sampling. Good qualitative research means awareness of the particular norms and values of the participants. This case study is again based on the work of Juli Coffin in the Aboriginal Stroke Project Steering Committee (2004) reported in Guilfoyle et al., (2008). Juli suggests that within some Indigenous cultures people may be offended when the name of a deceased person is mentioned or when a male or female enters a gender specific space (called Men’s country or Women’s country). If after being made aware of the protocol a visitor once mistakenly uses a name or enters an inappropriate area, but makes an effort to apologise then culturally s/he has made the proper acknowledgement and shown respect. If, however, the visitor has been told on many occasions about a particular protocol, but does not abide by it, the entire community is affected and would no longer want to engage with such a person. For some communities protocols include: “no respect shown, none is returned” and basic cultural oversights or transgressions will antagonise cultural security, putting the whole community offside before a project has achieved engagement. The case illustrates on one level quite directly the cultural norms that resonate within one Indigenous community and the broader point that researchers must be prepared to *both* learn and, abide by, the precise norms of any communities they engage with.

‘Member checking’, or roughly speaking, having interpretations qualified by research participants, is one prized validation process for many qualitative research methodologies. One case study used in current teaching practice shows this research process alongside the powerful nature of qualitative data analysis. An interview with an Aboriginal Elder (Guilfoyle et al., 2008) had recorded the following statement: “I know who you are I know why you are here (a long pause and) make sure there is shady tree’. In reflections with a cultural mentor, ‘pencil circling’ this exchange in the notes, the mentor suggested to the researcher that what the Elder was saying was that the shady tree was metaphor, a reference to an open area in which a new medical service should be located, as it provided less potential ‘shame’ or stigma of attending the clinic for treatment. It was a space where people could wait without feeling embarrassed, and could easily exit if they felt they needed to. It meant the service should be functional, as is a shady tree in the hot sun of North Australia. It was a space which was neutral, transitory, a walk through space used by all in the community in their daily activity. The suggestion was that a new health service must, in the first and last, be a place where people are comfortable. Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) of course is a powerful, often not well used, method for analysing qualitative data. In our experience students of qualitative research hearing this case study readily take the points about the process of member checking in reflexive interpretations and the utility of qualitative data analysis in finding new ways to think about service provision for communities.

Examples which refer to research with Indigenous communities can demonstrate powerfully, and in some cases extremely, key points for reflection about applying qualitative research methodology and processes are argued. These serve not only to teach about qualitative research and skills it requires, but to develop a cultural competence in understanding more about the concerns of Indigenous communities. It should be noted the above examples are not to imply that Indigenous communities concerns are negative, our experience is one of highly positive working relationships with communities and great learning about the ways that communities work towards creating positive change, and there are many examples of this to share with students.

DOES IT WORK? STUDENT FEEDBACK FOLLOWING 2ND AND 3RD YEAR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH LECTURES IN PSYCHOLOGY

Students were emailed the following question: We are always keen to collect feedback to improve teaching style, process and content. If you have a spare minute and feel comfortable emailing, could you email me your thoughts? Please comment on any aspect of the qualitative component or the unit generally.

At a general level, the students responded positively to the Indigenous issues which were included in the presentation of the qualitative research material and, connected the two quite seamlessly. For example, one student commented, 'I enjoyed this unit, and found your examples on working with indigenous communities very useful' while another stated, 'I really really enjoyed the qualitative side of the unit. I gained a lot of useful knowledge about it and Aboriginal people and learnt a lot. I thought that your examples about doing research with Aboriginal communities that you used were so relevant and interesting'.

The students also reported specifically on gaining a greater understanding and appreciation of qualitative research. For example, one student reflected that 'I think qualitative research is essential for psychology to understand the deeper meaning of human interaction, thinking and decision making especially within cultural groups and all of the vulnerable members of our society'. Some students were left wanting more information on both qualitative research and the issues facing Indigenous peoples and communities. One student suggested, 'I really enjoyed your qualitative component of the unit and definitely feel there should be more focus on it after three years of mainly quantitative' and another stated 'I would be interested in learning more about Aboriginal culture and issues. I look forward to hearing more from you next year'. Some students commented positively on the use of real-world examples. For example, 'thank you for all of your personal anecdotes, they were very enjoyable!' and 'I did think that your examples were very useful to my understanding of research and the complexities of working and researching issues that affect people who may be labelled as part of a minority group. I am glad that your examples were about something you are passionate about.'

Importantly, the students were informed in a relational sense about the social position of Indigenous communities and the concerns of these communities. One student wrote that the content 'did increase my knowledge and appreciation of experiences and issues facing Aboriginal people and conducting research with vulnerable populations' and another stated 'the lectures on how to do research made me look a lot further than I may usually'. The potential for social change of the cultural environment through the reflexive nature of the case studies is evident when students stated that the content challenged some of their biases and preconceived ideas about Indigenous people. For example:

I was surprised at the level of increased appreciation I gained for the plight of Aboriginal people from completing the course. I found the qualitative process really helped me to take the perspective of others, and was surprised to discover plenty of my own biases along the way even though I have always strived to be a fair and kind person! I really believe this process has provided me with a great deal more insight in this respect...

Finally, and of great interest is any potential for instrumental change through building capacity was evident when several students commented on that the examples of doing research with Indigenous communities helped them see how they might use their applied research skills in the future in order to counter the disadvantaged social position of Indigenous communities. For example, one student described, 'Prior to your lectures I was not fully aware of the opportunities available to conduct such research and work with Indigenous communities and I am seriously considering it as a field that I would be interested in' and another asserted, 'Doing research with Indigenous people is actually something I'm really interested in. I was wondering if you might be able to suggest pathways I could/should take if I wanted to work in this field in the future?' All the feedback received was positive? What we don't know is the extent and impact of student discomfort and impact of being

challenged, which has been reported elsewhere (e.g., Gerrett-Magee, 2006; Rademacher, 2006; Sonn et al., 2000).

In sum, the data indicate that the students gained an appreciation of the processes and complexities of qualitative research and the issues affecting Indigenous communities, and some were keen to develop their skills and knowledge further.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus it is suggested that by embedding Indigenous content into qualitative research methodologies in psychology at least four outcomes can be achieved:

1. A description of the theories, methods and applications of qualitative research for students in concrete terms;
2. Informing students about the social position of Indigenous communities and the concerns of these communities;
3. Equipping students with understandings, skills, research tools and ideas that they might apply as professionals to counter the disadvantaged social position of Indigenous communities;
4. An appreciation of the need to be culturally competent generally.

Of course symbolism is good and embedding Indigenous context can act symbolically as a positive gesture as suggested by Ranzijn et al., (2008). We do need more than symbols though, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith suggests "It is one thing to get the foot in the door, another to have it remain there, and yet another to then communicate and interact with those on the other side" (Smith, 1999, p. 145 in Sonn et al., 2000). At this stage the discipline is tentatively towards openings for Indigenous content, however to create a strong flow with doors fully revolving we will need to look at how we can structurally support such programs.

As the rhetoric shifts to reality in structural support for programs what can be achieved are reports by individuals who have found ways to include Indigenous content into their teaching units. It is hoped that this paper is one which can invite a dialogue of published case examples to document where this is occurring successfully or otherwise. Ideally, Indigenous issues could and should be included in other and all content areas of Psychology, in this paper it is hoped to provide some examples of how to make a start.

Programs that are not deeply embedded face constant jeopardy. The author is not Indigenous and does not represent the concerns of the rich and varied Indigenous communities in the nation in any way (the first case study evidenced this!), other than by citing collaborative research. As others have argued before now (e.g., Ranzijn et al., 2008), it is argued for the embedding of Indigenous psychology in qualitative research methodologies to be fully secured and functional, the voice of Indigenous community members and researchers as guest speakers in lectures is the essential. These are *the* speakers positioned to talk about Indigenous communities concerns and how the broader sectors of the community can support research for the social elevation of communities. A case for change through reporting contemporary research projects (and ones that failed reported alongside reasons for the failure) to current students has been outlined. The broader aim was opening this idea up to dialogue. The problem with non Indigenous reports of research is whether these reports themselves are culturally secure, the reports here are of research with collaborative Indigenous partners, but that alone is no assurance, and this point needs further debate. We also need Indigenous students embedded in Universities, and without strategies for social change in attracting and supporting Indigenous students our future is without leaders who can guide optimal research and teaching praxis.

In aligning qualitative research methodologies and Indigenous content, the aim is not to use Indigenous issues as a way of furthering the cause of qualitative research at the expense of Indigenous peoples' issues and concerns. Doing so would be an act of exploitation. Although zealous believers in

the strengths of qualitative research, our primary concern is for social change for Indigenous people. Thus it is argued that qualitative methodologies are useful and perhaps a foundationally 'culturally secure' vehicle in which to talk about concerns of Indigenous communities and to educate students about these. But although education is always a first step, mere description per se does not advantage Indigenous people further. Embedding Indigenous concerns within the teaching of qualitative methodologies does more than give voice to some concerns of communities; it also can equip (more evaluative research is planned on this point) students with a deeper understanding of skills and tools to act in future to assist or support Indigenous people through applied research. In educating students by equipping with skills of qualitative research the hope is that they will find a way to use these skills to realistically, practically and ethically 'do-good' in their communities and this includes helping those who are disadvantaged. Embedding Indigenous content within qualitative research curriculum in psychology is ultimately about creating a basis for action against cultural disadvantage.

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