



Regular Article

Methodological tensions for non-Indigenous people in Indigenous research: A critique of critical discourse analysis in the Australian context

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Settler colonialism
Critical discourse analysis
Indigenous peoples
Methodology
Reflexivity
Racism
Power

ABSTRACT

There are complex ethical issues about appropriate roles, responsibilities and methodologies for non-Indigenous people researching Indigenous Peoples and contexts. As a research methodology, critical discourse analysis (CDA) may expose colonial power and inequities through an examination of language and discourse. This study examined, via a scoping review, non-Indigenous researcher CDA application when analysing discourse relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia. Eighteen articles were included in the analysis. Within most articles, settler colonialism, imperialism, white supremacy and/or structural racism were named when examining oppressive power structures. Whilst some studies incorporated the scholarship of critical theorists and critical Indigenous theorists, this review raised further questions about the methodological underpinning of studies. For example, there were a high number of authors with unexamined power, sociocultural position and standpoint, particularly when analysing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' talk and text. In proposing a way forward for CDA research in Indigenous contexts, this review identifies three areas for non-Indigenous researchers to consider: critical reflexivity, colonial power analysis and demonstrable anti-racist action.

1. Introduction

In Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples belong to the oldest continuous culture on earth, which is at least 65,000 years old (Clarkson et al., 2017). Settler colonialism has disrupted and in some cases destroyed the traditions and way of life for Indigenous¹ Peoples worldwide, causing health and social inequities (Dudgeon, Wright, Paradies, Garvey, & Walker, 2010). Settler colonialism seeks to replace the Indigenous populations of a colonised territory with foreign settlers who establish an ongoing system of control, domination and marginalisation (Wolfe, 2006). This structure normalises continuous settler occupation and erases Indigenous Peoples' pre-existing relationships to their lands, which benefits settlers and oppresses Indigenous populations. Settler colonialism is deeply embedded within political, economic and legal systems that deny Indigenous Peoples' rights to their lands and perpetuate racism and socioeconomic inequities (Jaworsky, 2018). Tuck and Yang (2012) view settler colonialism as operating through dual modes of external colonialism, where fragments of

Indigenous lands such as minerals, animals and plants, are extracted to build the wealth, privilege and appetites of the colonisers, and internal colonialism, which involves modes of settler control such as prisons, schooling and policing. The Australian continent was settled by the British on the illegal claim of terra nullius (unowned land) and sovereignty of the land has never been ceded by any Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Peoples. Unlike other British settler colonies (Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and the USA), historic and contemporary Australian Commonwealth Governments have and continue to evade constitutional provisions or entering into treaty-making negotiations with Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Peoples. In settler colonial territories such as Australia, Eurocentric modes of thinking continually reproduce power and privilege in settler institutions such as churches, education facilities, governments, prisons, and healthcare (Graham, Brown-Jeffy, Aronson, & Stephens, 2011). As such, there are calls for greater acknowledgement and understanding of settler colonialism within the public sector, which is dominated by non-Indigenous people (McGuire-Adams, 2021; Paradies, 2016; Sherwood, 2013).

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¹ The term Indigenous is used when referring to the international context.

Research conducted by non-Indigenous people without permission, consultation, or involvement of Indigenous Peoples can perpetuate settler colonialism (Martin & Mirraoopa, 2003; Smith, 2012). Positivist scientific research that describes and quantifies health and social problems in Indigenous populations has dominated, sometimes without critique of structures that give rise to inequities or offering positive models or solutions (Sanson-Fisher, Campbell, Perkins, Blunden, & Davis, 2006). For example, positivist health research often categorises 'Indigeneity' as a risk factor but does not explain how ongoing processes of settler colonialism and racism reinforce health inequities faced by Indigenous Peoples (Ryder et al., 2020). Such approaches to knowledge production can perpetuate deficit narratives where Indigenous Peoples are presented in terms of deficiency or failure, which can reinforce stereotypes and inhibit the provision of alternative solutions (Fogarty, Lovell, Langenberg, & Heron, 2018). Years of Indigenous-focused research have largely failed to address social issues and improve the conditions of Indigenous Peoples subjected to research (Smith, 2012). As such, critical Indigenous theorists have called for scholarship that challenges power structures and settler discourses that frame Indigenous Peoples from a deficit paradigm (Bond, 2005; Moreton-Robinson, 2016).

Within the Indigenous research field there is ambiguity about the roles and responsibilities of non-Indigenous researchers and methodologies that are ethical for them to use (Puch-Bouwman, 2014). Existing Indigenous research ethical guidelines provide some direction for non-Indigenous researchers conducting research with Indigenous Peoples and communities in Australia (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2020; National Health & Medical Research Council, 2018), Aotearoa New Zealand (The Pūtaiora Writing Group, n.d.), and Canada (Canadian Institutes of Health Research & Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2018). Much of the existing literature that offers guidance for non-Indigenous researchers also has the underlying assumption that Indigenous Peoples are research participants (Gray & Oprescu, 2016; Jamieson et al., 2012; Kilian et al., 2019; Skille, 2021). Whilst examples of non-Indigenous researchers reflexively questioning their place in Indigenous research contexts exist (Aveling, 2013; Krusz, Davey, Wigginton, & Hall, 2020), there is a lack of literature that provides guidance for non-Indigenous researchers investigating non-Indigenous people's roles in settler colonial processes and where settler sovereignty dominates. This change in focus is warranted since non-Indigenous people have caused much of the racism and inequity experienced by Indigenous Peoples in historic and contemporary contexts, but often remain unnamed and unexamined (Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

From a positional standpoint, this paper is a collaboration between a non-Indigenous early career settler researcher, with a professional and research background in public health and dietetics, and an Aboriginal Professor and a non-Indigenous settler Associate Professor, both with extensive experiences in Indigenous health research. All researchers are located in Australia. As a research team, we recognise that research in Indigenous contexts is inextricably linked to European imperialism and settler colonialism (Smith, 2012). Due to the aforementioned conflicts that settler researchers bring to Indigenous contexts, and the dominance of non-Indigenous researchers in the health and social research fields, we are interested in exploring analytic techniques that may be more appropriate for non-Indigenous researchers to use. We were particularly interested in methodologies that enable those from settler backgrounds to examine colonial perspectives, paradigms and systems that underpin policies, services and healthcare that affect Indigenous Peoples. We also recognise that the Westernised academy can serve to damage and disrupt Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing, so we have therefore taken a position to intentionally cite Indigenous critical scholars and critique settler colonial ideologies throughout our study (Burgess, 2021).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) allows for systematic examination of institutions and structures that inform the production and

interpretation of language and identification of power imbalances within a socio-cultural context (van Dijk, 2014). Compared to discourse analysis which examines the structure and function of language in use as well as underlying assumptions behind language (Johnstone, 2007; Schegloff, 1997), CDA emphasises the role of language as a power resource and seeks to examine and explain the ways that discourses maintain, legitimise or ignore social inequalities and injustice (van Dijk, 1993). CDA's focus on power is also intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory, which requires analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities and the ways in which dominant groups maintain continued oppression of Māori People (Smith, 2012). CDA scholarship recognises that all knowledge is socially and historically constructed and therefore the researcher should not adopt a neutral or objective stance (Lazar, 2007). The term 'critical' signifies more than descriptive scholarship, requiring examination of the role of discourse in (re)producing power and control of one group over another (van Dijk, 1993). In addition to problematizing the status quo, CDA requires researchers to advocate for potential alternatives and action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018). As language expresses political, social, racial, and cultural values (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), CDA offers an approach for exposing unexamined colonial language and ideologies applied to Indigenous Peoples. For example, CDA can reveal deficit focused media rhetoric about Aboriginal Peoples that shape public worldviews and patterned ways of thinking (Due & Riggs, 2011). CDA allows examination of settler colonial contexts, historical events, political decisions and policymaking that give rise to inequities (Hogarth, 2017) and has emancipatory concern with injustice, domination and discrimination (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Critical discourse studies have a series of theoretical and methodological frameworks (Krzyżanowski & Forchtner, 2016) and no single method exists for how CDA should be carried out (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). A component of critical Indigenous scholarship, however, is the role of the researcher's position and culture in shaping analytical processes and interpreting meaning from research findings (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008). In Australia, Hogarth (2017) designed a theoretical and methodological approach called Indigenous Critical Discourse Analysis for use by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples to address and 'speak back' to deficit discourses of Indigenous Peoples. Here, Indigenist Research Principles (Rigney, 1999) and Indigenous Standpoint Theory (Nakata, 2007) are aligned with Critical Discourse Theory (Fairclough, 1989). In Aotearoa New Zealand, Jackson (2015) has combined Kaupapa Māori theory (research theory and methodology that is uniquely Māori) and critical discourse analysis to conduct Māori-led research focused on actualising social change. Both of these papers articulate the importance of aligning researcher standpoint, theory and methodology when conducting CDA. To the authors' knowledge there are no existing studies which review and critique the use of CDA by non-Indigenous researchers. Therefore, the first aim of this study is to investigate how CDA has been applied by non-Indigenous researchers as a methodology and method to investigate the dominance of settler society. Secondly, we seek to examine how non-Indigenous people have engaged in critical reflexivity when conducting CDA research in Indigenous contexts. This paper ends by articulating what options may exist for non-Indigenous researchers operating in Indigenous contexts.

2. Methods

2.1. Methodology

This study sought to examine, via a scoping review, non-Indigenous researcher CDA application when analysing discourse relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. The five scoping review stages included 1) identifying the research question, 2) identifying relevant studies, 3) study selection, 4) charting the data, and 5) collating, summarising and reporting the results (Colquhoun et al., 2014). The methodology was informed by theory necessitating critique

of the universality and dominance of settler societies (Mor-ton-Robinson, 2015). A focus on non-Indigenous peoples' positioning and reflexivity was informed by the scholarship of postcolonial theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and her emphasis on the importance of 'homework', i.e. critique of one's own position before earning the right to criticise (Spivak, 1990). In addition, Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb (2012) illustrate the importance of non-Indigenous researchers critically reflecting on their own practices in an attempt to not repeat colonial legacies of unethical Indigenous research. The Australian settler colonial context was chosen for this study as it is the context most familiar to the authors and it also provided a mechanism for testing the application and utility of CDA in one unique political context. As such the research question was *how has CDA been applied by non-Indigenous scholars as an analytic technique in academic studies of discourse relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia?* Of particular interest was the positioning, standpoint and critical self-reflection of those applying CDA, through what theoretical lens, whether they were analysing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander or non-Indigenous discourses, and whether authors examined structural settler colonial power.

2.2. Identifying relevant studies

Criteria for including articles were studies which examined the Australian context, studies that applied CDA as an analysis method, studies which investigated issues relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, communities or contexts, and peer-reviewed articles. In keeping with the research question, authors who declared themselves non-Indigenous were included. During literature selection it became apparent that many authors did not declare whether they were Indigenous or non-Indigenous, and these ambiguous articles were included in the review. As this review was concerned with the application of methodology and method, included articles were not limited to a particular disciplinary context. CDA's potential in examining the institutions, historical events, political decisions, and policies that affect the health and social wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples was also recognised. The Scopus search strategy (adapted for other databases) included the following search terms: (Aborigin* OR Indigen* OR "Torres Strait Island*" OR "First Australia*" OR "First People*" OR "First Nation*") AND ((critical PRE/3 "discourse analysis") OR ("critical analysis" PRE/4 discourse)). Databases searched in July 2019 included: Ovid Medline, PsychINFO, Sociological Abstracts, Scopus and Informit. No additional filters (for example date parameters) were applied.

2.3. Study selection

Articles were uploaded to Covidence, duplicates removed and titles and abstracts scanned for eligibility against the inclusion criteria by the first author. Full text versions of the remaining articles were obtained and read by the first author. Articles which did not meet the inclusion criteria were rejected. Reference lists of eligible articles were screened for additional articles not found in the database search.

2.4. Charting the data

Framework synthesis informed data extraction utilising an *a priori* framework to synthesise findings (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009). The following framework categories were chosen to understand the general application of CDA: disciplines undertaking CDA, topics investigated, discourse formats and CDA procedures. The remaining framework categories considered non-Indigenous positionality in terms of methodology and methods chosen. These categories were authors' standpoint, authorship reflexivity, chosen theoretical frameworks and whether authors considered structural power and settler colonialism in their analysis. All authors extracted data for one study, which prompted the inclusion of additional framework categories; the use of Indigenous

theory and citation of critical Indigenous scholarship, and presence/absence of a call to action. The first author continued to extract data deductively. The application of an additional quality assessment framework was unnecessary as this review focused on analysis of CDA methodology and method application rather than assessing the quality of study findings.

2.5. Collating, summarising, and reporting the results

The framework categories were organised into nodes in NVivo software version 12. Each PDF article was uploaded to NVivo, read in full and coded deductively into the nodes by the first author. For each article, a separate memo was created to capture the first author's thoughts and insights. Extracted data were organised and summarised according to each framework synthesis category. All authors discussed patterns across nodes and memos and recommendations were formulated. Data relating to authorship reflexivity were analysed according to criteria adapted from Rogers (2017): no reflexivity: no information provided about the author/s or any analysis of influence on interpretive stance (i.e., unexamined); low reflexivity: little information provided about the author/s or contributors and their influence on interpretive stance; medium reflexivity: description of positioning provided but not clearly related to its influence on data analysis or findings; and, high reflexivity: author/s position themselves at all stages of research from data collection, analysis and generation of findings.

3. Results

Of the 198 papers identified during the database searches, 18 studies were included spanning 1997 to 2019, as per Fig. 1 [Fig. 1 near here].

3.1. Application of CDA

3.1.1. Disciplines

Authors applied CDA to a broad range of fields. The most common field was health, including disciplines of public health/health promotion (3 articles), psychology (2) and social work (2). This was followed by education (4), journalism/media studies (3), sociology (2), law (1) and urban planning (1).

3.1.2. Topics investigated

The most common topics investigated were: Reconciliation (5); Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education and curriculum (4 articles); health and wellbeing (4, including breast cancer, perceptions of health and risk, family violence, and political frames of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health); historical events in the Australian context (3); Australian law and Indigenous land rights (2); and corporate social responsibility in the mining sector (1).

3.1.3. Discourse formats

Formats of discourse included survey/interview/focus group data (6 articles), newspaper articles (5), political speeches (4), policy/framework documents (2) and websites (2). Some authors analysed multiple discourse formats, for example, school documents and interviews (Duffy, 2006) and political speeches and associated newspaper coverage (Kramer, 2016). Ten studies analysed previously documented text only, five analysed research participant spoken/written text and three a combination of both. The discourse timeframes ranged from one month to coincide with a specified historical event (Carden, 2017) to political speeches spanning three decades (Aldrich, Zwi, & Short, 2007).

3.1.4. CDA procedures

The most common CDA scholar cited to inform analysis procedures was Norman Fairclough (12 articles), followed by Teun van Dijk (6) and Ruth Wodak (6). Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA, which incorporates description, interpretation and explanation of text,

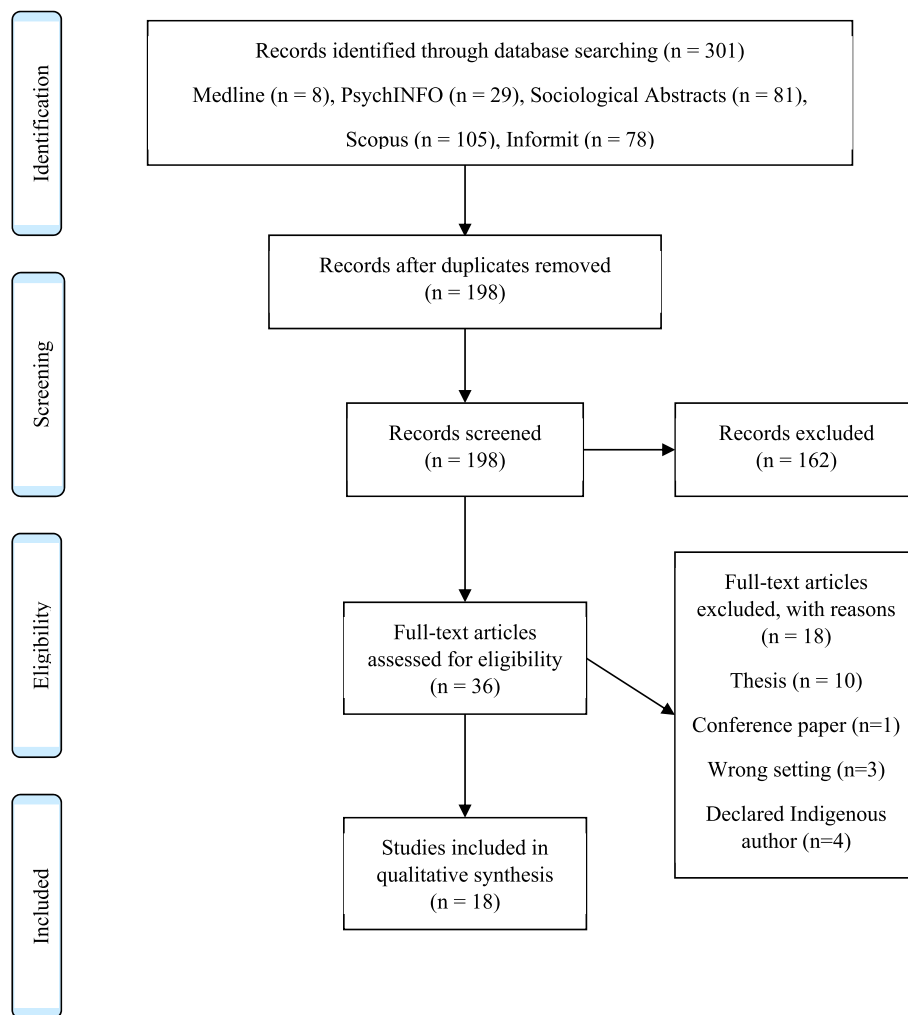


Fig. 1. PRISMA flowchart.

discourse practice and sociocultural context, was the most common analytic procedure, applied in six studies. Two studies did not explicitly outline CDA analytic procedures. Multimodal CDA, which combines analysis of both written text and images, was applied in two articles. Gibson, Lee, and Crabb (2016) analysed websites containing pictures and Kramer (2016) analysed both written text and cartoons in newspaper articles. Authors in seven articles did not take an explicit stance in calling for social, political or emancipatory action. Of those that did, some authors outlined clear actions and improvements within their respective disciplines, for example, the welfare and social work sector (Galloway, 2005), health promotion (Nelson, Macdonald, & Abbott, 2012), land-use planning (Porter & Barry, 2014) and psychology (Quayle & Sonn, 2013).

3.2. Authors' standpoint and reflexivity

Twenty nine of 34 authors had unexamined positioning. Five authors positioned their standpoint as non-Indigenous within three articles (Carden, 2017; Nelson et al., 2012; Parkinson & Jones, 2019). As described in Table 1, seven articles rated no reflexivity, eight articles low reflexivity and three articles medium reflexivity [Table 1 near here].

3.3. Theoretical orientation

Critical theorists incorporated into the methodological design included Michael Foucault (11 articles), Jurgen Habermas (5), Pierre

Bourdieu (2) and Antonio Gramsci (2). Postcolonial theory was identified in three articles as a lens to examine colonial hegemony and power relations between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples (Duffy, 2006; Nelson et al., 2012; Porter & Barry, 2014). Proudfoot and Habibis (2013) and Quayle and Sonn (2013) intentionally incorporated Whiteness theory into their methodological design to bring into question racial hegemony of the dominant societal group. Seven articles incorporated the scholarship of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Indigenous theorists into their methodological design. For example, Distinguished Professor Aileen Moreton-Robinson's critical Indigenous scholarship on the omnipresence and normalisation of white sovereignty within settler colonial Australia (Moreton-Robinson, 2004a; 2004b, 2009) was referred to in five articles (Clark, de Costa, & Maddison, 2017; Kramer, 2016; Nelson et al., 2012; Proudfoot & Habibis, 2013; Quayle & Sonn, 2013). Distinguished Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith's scholarship on critical Indigenous theory, the othering of Indigenous Peoples and the West's determination of legitimate knowledge was referenced in three articles (Aldrich et al., 2007; Parkinson & Jones, 2019; Quayle & Sonn, 2013). Nelson et al. (2012) adapted and incorporated Indigenous research methodologies into their research design and analysis. Included was the following explanation: 'we have followed the aspects of Hermes (1999) description of a First Nations' methodology. This included situating ourselves within the research and then gathering stories through ongoing relationships with participants' (Nelson et al., 2012, p. 328). The authors also referred to Professor Martin Nakata's Cultural Interface Theory (Nakata, 2002) to explain their methodological approach.

Table 1
Findings.

Author(s) Date	Authors' standpoint	Authorship reflexivity: none, low, medium, high (Rogers, 2017)	Discipline	Topic/issue analysed	Discourse format	Critical discourse analysis procedures	Examination of power
Aldrich et al. (2007)	Unclear	Low: 'The research described in this paper was developed in consultation with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Maori health managers, clinicians and researchers from Australia and Zealand' p.128	Public health/ Political science	Australian politicians' framing of Aboriginal health.	Press releases, speeches or authored statements made by a Prime Minister, Federal Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs or Federal Minister for Health (81 documents).	Framework of questions to analyse words, sentences, structures and content to identify explicit and implicit values, beliefs and frames communicated by politicians. Fairclough's three-dimensional model to examine text, talk and context.	Political power: How values and beliefs communicated by Australian politicians shape health policy intended to influence health outcomes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.
Augoustinos et al. (2002)	Unclear	Low: Limited to statements about authors' research interests	Psychology/ Political science	Argumentative strategies deployed to define the direction of Australian Government policy relating to reconciliation in Australia.	Australian Prime Minister John Howard's official opening speech to the Reconciliation Convention 1997 (2427 words in length).	Identification and examination of argumentative and discursive strategies deployed to define direction of Government reconciliation policy.	Political power: The powerful position of political elites in shaping the parameters of public discourse. Aboriginal Peoples are primarily 'objects of power' – passive recipients of government policies and practical programmes.
Bell (2015)	Unclear	None	Social work	Child and family support practitioners' perceptions of a family violence intervention for culturally diverse and Indigenous families.	Survey of 335 practitioners to record impressions of intervention (training and resource kit created by a non-government agency). Response sheet contained 11 items – qualitative open-ended questions and 5-point satisfaction ratings.	'Orders of discourse'. Identification of dominant to less dominant discourses about cultural translation of the intervention (particularly the two concepts 'cultural' and 'Indigenous') in the language of practitioners. Fairclough's three-dimensional model: texts examined at lexical and sentence level, noting evidence of discursive practices, sociocultural context examined to illuminate what was observed in the text.	Structural power is not examined in relation to violence occurring in Aboriginal families
Dunne Breen (2015)	Unclear	None	Journalism/ Media studies	How oppositions to the Australian Government's Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) policy was mediated by the Australian press.	Newspaper articles (opinion pieces, editorials and news stories) in Sydney's The Daily Telegraph and Melbourne's The Age (a couple of dozen).	Coding focused on language used to justify or undermine existing power structures. Results focused on interplay between two sets of codes – groups/stakeholders mentioned in articles and key themes identified.	Media power: Journalistic discursive practices that shape public understanding of news – for example the silencing, exclusion and misrepresentation and Aboriginal Peoples' voices
Carden (2017)	Non-Indigenous	Medium: Author positions as a white Australian of British heritage 'without personal experience of life as an Indigenous person' p.593	Media studies	Newspaper reporting of unrest in Aurukun Queensland and evacuation of teachers.	Articles from Queensland newspapers The Courier Mail, Cairns Post and Townsville Bulletin from May 2016 (70 articles).	Coding focused on language used to justify or undermine existing power structures. Results focused on interplay between two sets of codes – groups/stakeholders mentioned in articles and key themes identified.	Media power: racism in media discourse which positions Aboriginal Peoples as disadvantaged, passive and dysfunctional.
Clark et al. (2017)	Unclear	None	Sociology	Non-Indigenous Australians' views about reconciliation with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.	Focus group data with non-Indigenous Australians – half were born in Australia and half overseas (2 focus groups in each of Bega, Gladstone, Perth and Sydney, each with at least 8 participants).	'Poetics rich' approach to CDA –analytic procedures not explicitly outlined. Focus group data discussed according to two tropes 'Non-Indigenous views of Indigeneity' and 'Delegation and Embodiment in the Australian Discourse'. Discursive assumptions and use of personal pronouns examined.	Non-Indigenous people's normative power and choice to equivocate on reconciliation.
	Unclear	Low: Limited to	Sociology	Corporate Social Responsibility in the	BHP Billiton and Rio Tinto webpages +	'Critical hypertext analysis'. Analysis of	Commercial power: contrasting power (continued on next page)

Table 1 (continued)

Author(s) Date	Authors' standpoint	Authorship reflexivity: none, low, medium, high (Rogers, 2017)	Discipline	Topic/issue analysed	Discourse format	Critical discourse analysis procedures	Examination of power
Coronado and Fallon (2010)		statements about authors' research interests and experience		context of mining companies and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.	websites of media sources, government bodies, NGOs and Aboriginal groups.	intertextuality – explicit and implicit connections between web-based texts and scrutiny of meanings and hidden agendas of different stakeholders.	positions between mining companies and Aboriginal stakeholders.
Duffy (2006)	Unclear	Low: Limited to a statement about the authors' role as a Catholic primary school principal and their research interests	Education	Christianity, colonialism and Indigeneity in a primary school in the Torres Strait.	Case study data – interview data with the deputy school principal and an Elder in the community (both Torres Strait Islander) and school vision statement.	Fairclough's three-dimensional model: describing the visual and textual features, explaining author's interpretation of text and context and the broader institutional and societal discourses.	Political and religious power: State and Federal Government control of schooling and the imposition of Christianity on Torres Strait Islander Peoples.
Galloway (2005)	Unclear	Low: Author calls for critically reflexive practice in the social work and welfare fields but only alludes to their social work background: 'what we in social work might call.' p. 260	Social work	How welfare and social workers' in Cairns discursively equivocate in response to reconciliation.	Self-administered questionnaire data from 45 respondents comprising 133 questions (drew directly on material within a Reconciliation Study Circle Kit).	Critical theoretical orientation (Habermas, Gramsci and Foucault) to understand hegemony of the state and analyse how the welfare sector discursively engaged reconciliation. Results discussed according to two typologies: colonialism and multiculturalism.	Non-Indigenous welfare and social worker's power to equivocate on reconciliation.
Gibson et al. (2016)	Unclear	None	Public health/ Psychology	Breast Cancer	Websites of prominent Australian breast cancer organisations (91 screenshots).	Multimodal CDA of text, images, colour and layout of websites. Recurring and linked patterns of meaning across websites coded and grouped into discursive themes. Discourses operating across websites identified (e.g. individual responsibility, diversity). Analysed ways themes and discourses shaped and constrained meanings of breast cancer and constructed women from minority groups.	Medical power: unequal power relations between Aboriginal women and health care providers.
Kramer (2016)	Unclear	None	Law/ Political science	The ways in which John Howard set out to amend the Native Title Act 1993 and reduce native title holders' right to negotiate.	John Howard's 'The Role of Government' speech (June 1995) Report on Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission, Howard's 'Wik Address to the Nation', 1998 newspaper cartoons and images (Weekend Australian) and coverage (Australian Business Monthly, Adelaide Advertiser), Howard's 'A Reflection on the National Identity Debate'.	CDA procedures not explicitly outlined. Theoretical orientation to interpret texts and sociocultural context of colonialism: Moreton-Robinson (2004a) notion of the possessive logic of patriarchal white sovereignty and Pugliese (2007) conception of event-trauma.	Political regulatory power: examining the ways in which the Prime Minister of Australia extinguished Aboriginal Peoples' Native Title rights.
Luke (1997)	Unclear	Low: Whilst author didn't clearly position themselves within the education field, the article focused on turning back on the education profession	Education/ Political science	'Identity politics' in the discussion of the status and future of reconciliation in Australia.	John Howard's speech to the Australian Reconciliation Convention (May 26, 1997).	Critical theory orientation (Foucault). Analysis of speech (how 'speech acts', narrative structure of text and sentence-level transitivity represent	Political power: Setting public policy that positions Aboriginal Peoples as passive objects that lack agency in the reconciliation process, which disregards Aboriginal

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Table 1 (continued)

Author(s) Date	Authors' standpoint	Authorship reflexivity: none, low, medium, high (Rogers, 2017)	Discipline	Topic/issue analysed	Discourse format	Critical discourse analysis procedures	Examination of power
Nelson et al. (2012)	Non-Indigenous	and the need for critical approaches Medium: Authors dedicated several paragraphs to situate themselves within the research, providing reflective accounts and acknowledging their power as non-Indigenous public health academics. Some attempts made to translate this to data analysis processes – e.g. not extending interpretations too far beyond the raw data.	Public Health/Health Promotion	Aboriginal young Peoples' perceptions of health and risk (eating well and physical activity).	Interview data from 14 Aboriginal young Peoples (each person interviewed 6-8 times over 2.5 years from transition from primary to secondary school).	historical and contemporary identity) Postcolonial theoretical lens to analyse data thematically and through CDA. Analysis focused on how young people 'adopt, disrupt, interrupt, challenge and unsettle current discourses about Indigenous health and physical activity and in particular, issues of self-regulation consistent with a governmentality approach to risk.' p. 329	political, economic and cultural power. Medical/health power that pathologises young Aboriginal Peoples. Research power: unequal power relations between non-Indigenous researchers and Aboriginal Peoples being researched (and interpretation of their narratives).
Parkinson and Jones (2019)	Non-Indigenous lead author	Medium: Lead author positions self from an Anglo middle-class background and acknowledges colonising potential. Stated that a 'Community reference group guided the research' with no additional detail about how this group informed the methodology and methods.	Education	The positioning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges, histories and cultures in the Australian curriculum	Australian Curriculum documents (7 - English, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Student Diversity, Cross-Curriculum Priorities) + informant interviews with Aboriginal Peoples.	Fairclough's three-dimensional model: description linguistic features of text (vocab, grammatical and textual structures – Fairclough's 10 CDA questions), interpretation (discourse practice – relationship between text and interactions involved in its production) and explanation of relationship between interaction and context (sociocultural practice)	Political (education) power: Relations of power and inequality as manifested in education and curriculum design. Research power: unequal power relations between non-Indigenous researchers and Aboriginal Peoples being researched (and interpretation of their narratives).
Porter and Barry (2014)	Unclear	Low: Limited to statements about both authors' research interests and experience.	Geography and Urban Planning	The postcolonial 'contact zone' between urban planning activity and Indigenous land recognition in urban settings.	120 documents relating to land-use planning and all relevant legislation and case law relating to recognition of Indigenous rights and title in Victoria Australia and BC Canada.	Foucault provided the theoretical orientation. Texts recognised as both active and cultural objects which activate social fields. Fairclough's orders of discourse: 'looked for the ways that planning texts emerge from existing orders of discourse. Such orders of discourse are the ways of representing, acting and being that control, exclude and define particular areas of social life' p.28	Political regulatory power: Asymmetrical relations of power between Indigenous peoples and state-based urban planners which have jurisdictional authority and property rights over place
Proudfoot and Habibis (2013)	Unclear	None	Media studies	Comparing reportage of the Northern Territory Emergency Response in mainstream and Aboriginal media.	Articles from the Herald Sun, Daily Telegraph and Koori Mail (82 articles) in June (announcement), July (11 emergency measure) and August (passing of legislation) 2007.	Whiteness theory provided the theoretical orientation. Fairclough's approach to textual analysis: intertextuality, assumptions, co-locations of words, absences and silences + foregrounding existential, propositional and value assumptions. Findings described according to five major groups of discourses: 'homogenising', 'justifying', 'blaming', 'distrusting' and 'contesting'.	Media power: Negative portrayal of Aboriginal Peoples influences public acceptance of discriminatory public policies.
	Unclear		Psychology				

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Table 1 (continued)

Author(s) Date	Authors' standpoint	Authorship reflexivity: none, low, medium, high (Rogers, 2017)	Discipline	Topic/issue analysed	Discourse format	Critical discourse analysis procedures	Examination of power
Quayle and Sonn (2013)		Low: Only statement is that the article is the product of ongoing reflective work with members of the Community Arts Network Western Australia		Reconciliation: Comparing how the Noongar community and local government stakeholders in Western Australia explain a history of poor relations and how it hinders possibilities for working together.	Semi-structured and conversational interview data with non-Indigenous local government representatives (7) and Noongar Elders (3) + focus group data with 6 Noongar community members,	Critical, Whiteness and racism theoretical orientation. Data transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Seven criteria and three auxiliary criteria (Parker, 1992) to identify, question and explore discourses as work: 'disregard', 'dispossession', 'being misunderstood', 'cultural mistrust' (Aboriginal participants) and 'abstract liberalism', 'culture blame' and 'silencing and not acknowledging the past' (Local-government participants)	Non-Indigenous people's normative power in reproducing relations of domination and subordination.
Wall and Baker (2012)	Unclear	None	Education	Newspaper reportage of Aboriginal student academic standards.	Newspaper articles from The Australian Oct–Nov 2011 (4 articles).	'New racism' theoretical orientation in accordance to hegemonic structures and 'othering'. Fairclough's direct discourse, indirect discourse, direct discourse slipping, quotation patterns and over-lexicalisation to locate the ideological intent of each article and analyse the distinction between the writer's and their subject's voice.	Media power in shaping racist ideologies about Aboriginal student achievement.

3.4. Power

All articles stated research aims largely congruent with exposing how discourse can enact unequal power structures as mechanisms for domination and exclusion. Examples include: *'In this paper we seek to ask: How can we understand the discursive power of planning texts, and the work they do in shaping the possibilities for relations with Indigenous peoples?'* (Porter & Barry, 2014, p. 23) and *'The aim of this paper is to locate ideological constructions of racism in relation to the Australian education system that are imbricated within the structure of newspaper reporting'* (Wall & Baker, 2012, p. 54). The various ways in which power imbalances were examined through CDA are described in Table 1. Seven articles were concerned with political power in shaping regulatory, health and education policy as well as shaping public opinion on reconciliation; four articles focused on media power in shaping the public's deficit view of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples; three articles focused on the normative power of non-Indigenous people, particularly relating to attempts at reconciliation by Australian governments and institutions; two articles focused on medical/health power and its pathologising of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples; two articles reflexively examined unequal power relations between non-Indigenous researchers and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples; one article focused on commercial power and another focused on religious power over Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. All but one article (Bell, 2015) explicitly named settler colonialism, imperialism, white supremacy and/or structural racism when examining oppressive power structures that affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. Four articles specifically identified and named racism in their CDA analysis

(Augoustinos, LeCouteur, & Soyland, 2002; Carden, 2017; Quayle & Sonn, 2013; Wall & Baker, 2012).

Nine articles included analysis of non-Indigenous spoken or written text (predominantly political speeches and newspaper reportage in mainstream media) and seven articles included analysis of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' spoken/written text. Within these seven articles, two focused exclusively on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' spoken/written text and five analysed a combination of both non-Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' spoken/written text. In two additional articles, the Indigenous-status of survey respondents was either not reported (Bell, 2015) or survey responses from non-Indigenous people and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples were not distinguished from one another once analysed (Galloway, 2005).

4. Discussion

The use of CDA to examine power imbalances in the Australian settler colonial context is gaining momentum, with more than half of the 18 included studies (published between 1997 and 2019) conducted within the last five years. As evidenced in this review, an eclectic range of disciplines are engaging in CDA across different discourse formats, which reflects its interdisciplinary appeal (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). To our knowledge, this is the first study to critique non-Indigenous researchers' application of methodology and methods when applying CDA to Indigenous contexts. Due to the tensions that exist with non-Indigenous people's role and responsibility in the contested and colonised space of Indigenous research, the review findings and the

potential of CDA are discussed in light of two recent articles that offer guidance for non-Indigenous people involved in Indigenous research. The actions recommended by McGuire-Adams (2021), an Anishinaabe First Nations health and wellbeing scholar from Canada, and Came and Griffith (2018), a Pākehā (non-Indigenous) scholar from Aotearoa New Zealand working in Māori health and a black scholar from the USA working in men's health and health equity, dovetail across three core elements: reflexivity, context and action.

4.1. Critical self-reflection and reflexive relational practice

Both McGuire-Adams (2021) and Came and Griffith (2018) recognise that critical self-reflection is a first step for anyone attempting to challenge privilege, disrupt anti-Indigenous racism and hold those in power to account. Reflexivity is paramount in critical approaches, whereby authors examine how their standpoint, biases, backgrounds and ideologies intersect with all stages of the research process (Swaminathan & Mulvihill, 2017). A researcher's declared standpoint is a written reflection of their socio-cultural, epistemological, axiological and ontological position (Walter, 2019). A key finding in this review is the high number of authors with unexamined sociocultural position, particularly a declaration of whether authors were Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander or not. Given the goal of CDA is to critique structural power, it is vital for analysts to self-reflect on how their sociocultural roles influence interpretation (Hodges, Kuper, & Reeves, 2008), as unexamined positioning poses further reinforcement of power imbalances (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This study confirms other research demonstrating low degree of researcher reflexivity with the use of CDA by educational researchers (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2005).

To fulfil Indigenous research ethical requirements, it is recommended that non-Indigenous researchers reflexively examine their standpoint and biases as a non-Indigenous researcher (National Health & Medical Research Council, 2018; Russell-Mundine, 2012). Authors in just three of 18 articles declared their standpoint as non-Indigenous. To some extent, these authors engaged in critical self-reflection to explain and rationalise their presence in the Indigenous research context. All turned the analytic frame back on themselves and identified the colonising potential of their research and practice as non-Indigenous people, for example: *'My Whiteness impacted upon my beliefs and assumptions, my day-to-day practices and ultimately the students in front of me. I became aware that the role I undertook made me complicit in the continued colonisation of Indigenous Peoples through education. This experience impacted how I positioned myself within the research'* (Parkinson & Jones, 2019, p. 78). There were instances however where authors attempted to reconcile their non-Indigenous status by adapting parts of Indigenous research methodologies to interpret CDA findings. This may be problematic as such Indigenous research methodologies have been created by and for Indigenous researchers and are used as a form of resistance to colonial research frameworks and ideologies (Martin & Mirraoopa, 2003). Indigenous research methodologies operate within Indigenous paradigms with distinct ontologies, epistemologies and axiologies and are therefore very different from Eurocentric approaches to research (Battiste, 2011; Kovach, 2009; Rigney, 1999; Wilson, 2008). Their use by non-Indigenous researchers therefore poses a potential cultural appropriation risk, whereby people adopt or adapt elements of a minority culture experiencing oppression, essentially continuing the cycle of oppression (Han, 2019). The use and adaption of Indigenous research methodologies by non-Indigenous researchers raises questions about power imbalances, axiological tensions and perhaps a lack of methodological guidance and critique available to researchers with a non-Indigenous standpoint. Best-practice is for researchers to carefully reflect on the standpoint they bring to research, including analysis of their socio-cultural, ontological, epistemological and axiological position (Walter, 2019). This reflection can strengthen researcher understanding of the biases and limitations they bring to research. However,

this does require researchers to be cognisant of how their standpoint can impact others. Therefore, questions Indigenous scholars have raised as crucial pre-considerations for research may assist in this regard (Smith, 2012). These include reflecting on who defined the research problem, who said the study was worthy or relevant, what knowledge or outcomes the researcher or Indigenous communities will gain, and to whom is the researcher accountable (Smith, 2012). The research methodology should be re-evaluated if the answers to these questions do not privilege Indigenous sovereignty.

It is also questionable whether non-Indigenous researchers or those with undeclared standpoints can interpret meaning derived from analysis of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' discourse and critique the impact that institutional and hegemonic structures have on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. An example from this review was non-Indigenous researchers attempting to empathise with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' lived experience: *'This reflection gave us a momentary glimpse of how Indigenous people might feel under similar circumstances'* (Nelson et al., 2012, p. 331). Non-Indigenous people cannot understand or interpret the complexities of Indigenous Peoples' culture in the same way that an Indigenous researcher can achieve (Foley, 2003). This review also found several examples of those with unexamined standpoints analysing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' talk and text, without discussing the power imbalances in doing this. Without turning the CDA framework back on themselves and analysing how participation in research can contribute to the reproduction of inequitable power relations, non-Indigenous and undeclared CDA researchers can perpetuate unethical research practices.

4.2. Socio-political education, structural power analysis and confronting white supremacy

The field of settler colonial studies emphasises responsibility of settler scholars to disrupt settler consciousness and relearn their history through socio-political education (Davis et al., 2017). According to Came and Griffith (2018), non-Indigenous people's voices can be important when translating and challenging privilege, and examining how power operates in settings and contexts. Settler colonial practices, policies and their consequences are often ignored or omitted from health discourses or research relevant to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Sherwood, 2013; Strakosch, 2016). Critical methodologies, such as CDA, can facilitate the critique of ideologies, assumptions and values which perpetuate negative stereotypes about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Hogarth, 2017). All but one article in this review explicitly named and examined discursive forms of settler colonialism, imperialism, white supremacy and/or structural racism. CDA was used to examine power structures imposed on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in political, media, medical, research, commercial and religious arenas. This is promising in light of Indigenous critique of health and social policies that focus on Indigenous disparities but neglect structures of oppression such as institutional racism (Watego, 2020).

This review identified the application of critical theory to reveal imbalances in hegemony, power and political ideology. Less than half of the studies cited critical Indigenous theorists to critique racist and settler colonial systems, however, the citation of critical Indigenous theorists was more apparent in recent studies, which coincides with increasing scholarship in this arena. Non-Indigenous scholars face a risk of perpetuating colonialism by not recognising Indigenous scholars who do formative work in settler colonial and critical race studies (McGuire-Adams, 2021). As a form of socio-political education, CDA use by non-Indigenous researchers could more consciously draw upon the scholarship of critical Indigenous theorists when examining contexts and ideologies that affect Indigenous Peoples. This is important since CDA's theoretical and analytic frameworks were originally devised by European linguists from Euro-Western epistemological traditions (Rogers et al., 2005).

This review also highlights CDA's potential in confronting settler supremacy. For example, several articles focused on discourses that reinforce the beliefs and values of Euro-Australians as the cultural norm. Critical Indigenous theorists have emphasised the importance of examining how power is exercised by members of racially dominant groups (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). CDA allows non-Indigenous researchers to flip the narrative onto the power imbalances that are perpetuated by settler institutions and non-Indigenous people.

4.3. Creating systemic change and implementing demonstrably anti-racist acts

Both McGuire-Adams (2021) and Came and Griffith (2018) highlight the importance of non-Indigenous researchers challenging their own complicity with and taking action against racism. A proposed example of a demonstrably anti-racist act is scholars critically engaging in and disrupting hegemonic forms of knowledge and behaviour. This review identified several examples of CDA's use in examining structural power, for example exposing politicians' and the non-Indigenous general public's paralysis in engaging in reconciliation action with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. CDA has a critical impetus towards changing society in contrast to traditional theory that is oriented to understanding or explaining it (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA's use by non-Indigenous researchers can be limited however if attention is focused on how power is reproduced rather than how it can be changed and transformed (Luke, 2004). Indigenous scholars have questioned the emancipatory potential of critical approaches which assume that oppression has universal characteristics (Smith, 2012). Simply describing discourses of marginalisation can overlook the agency of those assigned to the 'oppressed' and reinforce power asymmetries (Browne, Smye, & Varcoe, 2005). However, the potential for systematic change is limited by institutional constraints and inflexible bureaucratic systems that exist both within and external to the academic sector. For example, colonial influences on scholarship shape preferences for objective and biomedical scientific approaches which can limit a researcher's ability to write from a reflexive standpoint or present 'calls to action'. Additionally academics who engage in activism may face obstacles such as disciplinary expectations and threats to job security and advancement (Flood, Martin, & Dreher, 2013). Such institutional pressures can play a larger factor in constraining institutional change, compared with personal failings of researchers (Brisbois et al., 2021).

Critical scholarship by non-Indigenous people can serve to inform the agenda for Indigenous Peoples' genuine self-determination (Rigney, 1999). Power relations within academia can be challenged and reconstructed when non-Indigenous scholars cede research control to Indigenous Peoples, especially when research involves the examination of Indigenous Peoples' lives and discourses (Nicholls, 2009). The Indigenous research space needs far more Indigenous researchers, but also, more non-Indigenous researchers (and practitioners) that are willing to contest the colonial foundations of and structural racism occurring within settler institutions and societies. Whilst changes in research conduct by non-Indigenous people are warranted, systemic change cannot be achieved through research alone. Knowledge translation is an important concept to connect research evidence to changes in institutional policy and practices (Williams, 2021). Any knowledge translation processes should be conducted in partnership with Indigenous Peoples who set their own political agendas for liberation (Rigney, 1999). Other forms of social change activism include speaking to the media and engaging in political advocacy through action groups (Flood et al., 2013). This review also highlighted some examples of disciplines looking inwards, where CDA was used to highlight racist discourses (for example in the social work, psychology, maternity care and health promotion sectors) which led researchers to propose policy changes and anti-racist actions required in their respective sectors.

5. Implications and conclusions

The role and place of non-Indigenous people in Indigenous research spaces is being rightly challenged. This is an area that warrants more understanding as it is a contested space with methodological and axiological tensions that have not been fully resolved. This review has examined the potential of CDA in challenging settler colonial power structures and racist discourses imposed on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia and may have relevance for settler colonial contexts worldwide. In this regard, non-Indigenous researchers can turn the analytic frame inwards and examine ways in which settler privilege is reproduced rather than problematise Indigenous Peoples. The 'critical' element of CDA is crucial to interrogate hegemonic structures and power asymmetries that give rise to health and social inequities experienced by Indigenous Peoples. Outlining theoretical choices is important, particularly prioritising the expertise and scholarship of critical Indigenous theorists. To meet its critical intent, CDA research should specify anti-racist actions to challenge and improve policymaking and practical outcomes for Indigenous Peoples. Other practical recommendations for non-Indigenous researchers include: engaging in critical self-reflection to understand biases and limitations brought to research; ceding researcher control to Indigenous Peoples and supporting Indigenous-led research; engaging in political advocacy and activism; and translating critical research findings into institutional policy and practice change.

Funding

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors; however, this work is part of the first author's doctoral studies, which are supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program (RTP) Scholarship.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Julia McCartan: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Julie Brimblecombe:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Writing – review & editing, Supervision. **Karen Adams:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Writing – review & editing, Supervision.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to acknowledge Monash University librarian Anne Young's contribution to the design of the literature search strategy.

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