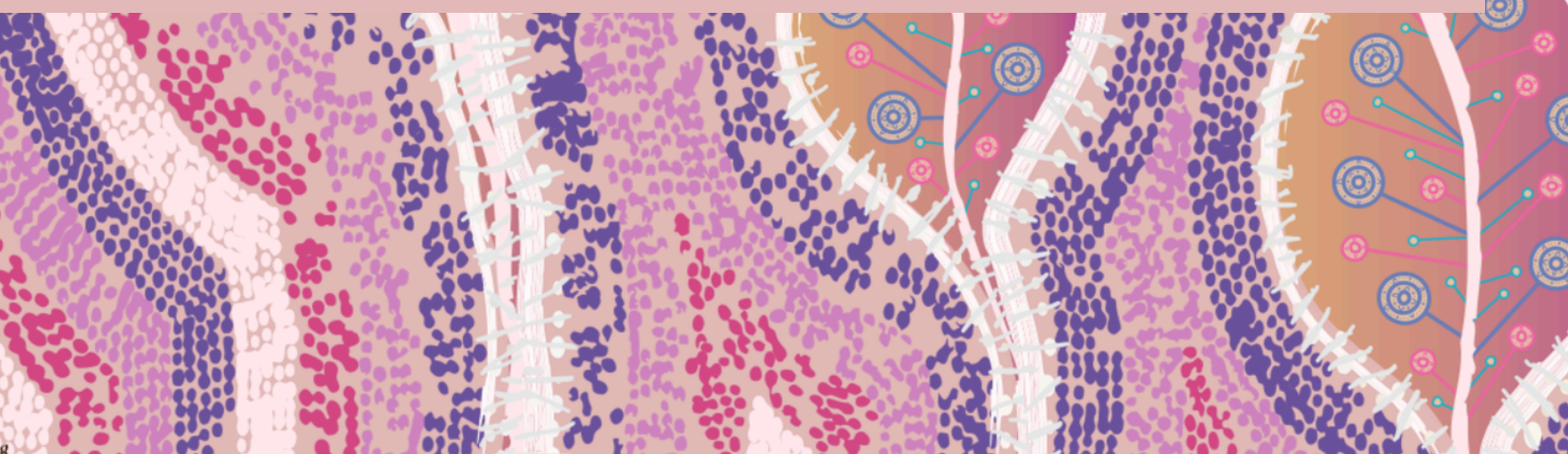
Relational Futures: Indigenous Sovereignty and the Governance of Artificial Intelligence (AI)

Bronwyn Carlson and Tamika Worrell



DOI: 10.25949/D8DH-H034
PDF version

E: cgif@mq.edu.au
W: https://www.globalindigenousfutures.com/relational-futures-1

Suggested citation

Carlson, B., & Worrell, T. (2026). *Relational futures: Indigenous sovereignty and the governance of artificial intelligence (AI)*. Macquarie University. https://doi.org/10.25949/D8DH-H034

Report Design by Tamika Worrell

Artwork & Relational Futures Logo

Created by Wiradjuri artist Dylan Barnes @dylan.barnes.art

Relational Futures artwork shows that culture and technology are not separate but deeply intertwined within Indigenous relational life. Cultural knowledges and connections to Country are carried into all technological engagements, including online spaces. Rather than being external or neutral, digital systems are encountered through ongoing responsibilities to community, culture, and place.

Global Indigenous Futures Research Centre

MACQUARIE University

Contents

08 Executive Summary

11 Introduction

12 A Snapshot of the Literature

16 Methodology

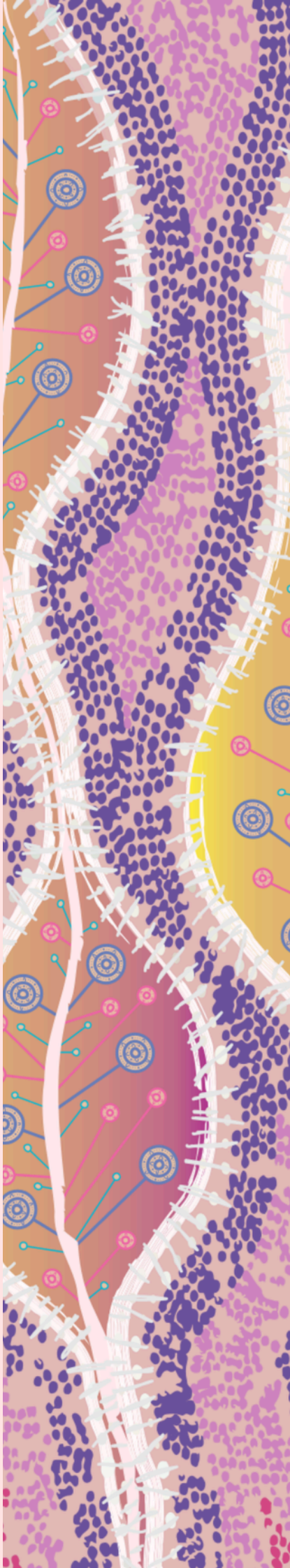
18 Findings

24 Discussion

25 Conclusion: Relational Futures

28 Priority Actions

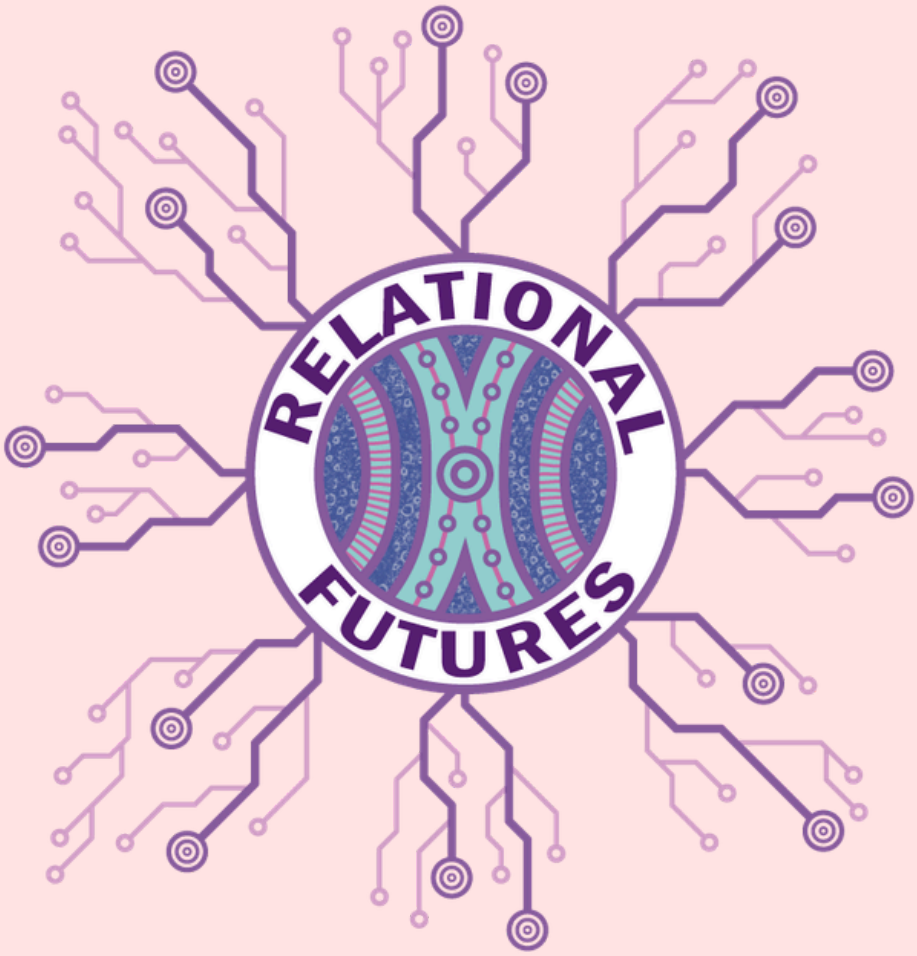
30 References



Acknowledgements

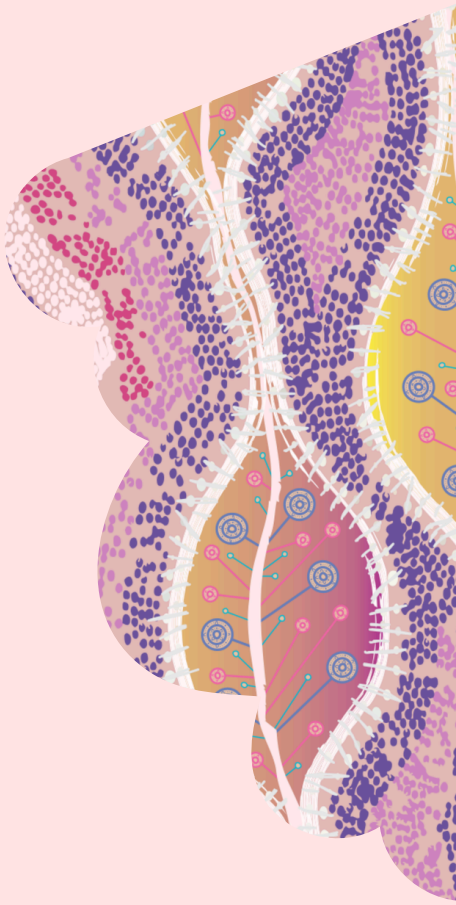
We acknowledge Dharug and Dharawal Country where this research was conducted and written, and where knowledge continues to be held, practiced, and shared. We pay our respects to Elders past and present, and to the Ancestors whose presence endures in Country. We recognise that sovereignty has never been ceded. This always was, and always will be, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lands.

We acknowledge and thank the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants and respondents who generously shared their time, experiences, and insights in this study and their respective homelands. Your contributions have been invaluable in shaping this research and advancing understanding of Indigenous perspectives on artificial intelligence.



About the Researchers

We are Indigenous scholars in Critical Indigenous Studies at Macquarie University, working within the ongoing conditions of settler colonialism where digital technologies increasingly shape how Indigenous lives, knowledges, and futures are governed.



While AI has not historically been the central focus of our research, its rapid expansion across everyday life makes critical engagement necessary. We approach AI as an infrastructure that must be examined through Indigenous standpoints grounded in sovereignty, relational accountability, and refusal. AI is experienced not as a discrete tool, but as an underlying infrastructure shaping everyday life.

Bronwyn's research focuses on Indigenous digital life, examining how platforms shape connection, harm, visibility, and resistance. From this perspective, AI represents an intensification of existing forms of algorithmic governance.

Tamika's work examines Indigenous representation and inclusion within education, highlighting how institutional systems reproduce colonial authority. From this perspective, AI is another form of silence and violence where Indigenous peoples are excluded, and our knowledges misappropriated and stolen.

Our research frames AI as a continuation of longstanding struggles over voice, control, and legitimacy within data driven systems.

We approach AI as embedded within broader colonial processes of surveillance, categorisation, and extraction. Our work is guided by accountability to Indigenous communities and a commitment to self-determination in digital futures. This research centres Indigenous voices and lived experience, emphasising that care, kinship, and cultural knowledge cannot be separated from responsibility, presence, and community authority.

Terminology

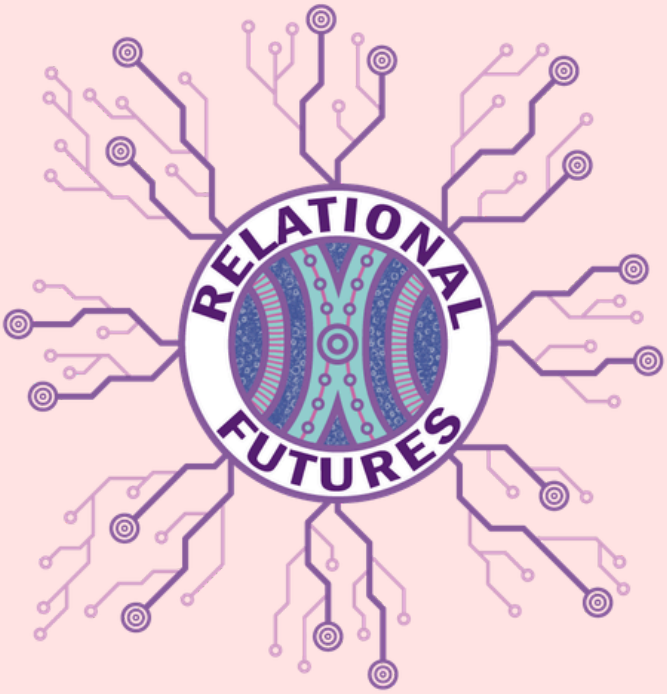
This report uses the term artificial intelligence (AI) to refer to a range of systems, including generative AI tools such as text and image generators, algorithmic systems embedded in platforms and services, and emerging AI companions designed to simulate interaction, care, and connection. While these technologies differ in function, they share data driven architectures and governance challenges that shape how decisions, relationships, and knowledge are organised.

The report uses the terms Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to refer to the First Peoples of Australia, recognising the distinct histories, cultures, and identities of these communities. Where appropriate, the term Indigenous is also used in line with national policy and research contexts. The authors acknowledge that no single term can capture the diversity of Nations and communities across the continent, and that, wherever possible, specific community or Nation names should be used in preference to broader collective terms.

Relational Futures Framing

Our research is guided by a Relational Futures framework. Relational futures understands artificial intelligence not as a standalone technical system, but as part of a broader network of relationships connecting people, data, institutions, and Country (Worrell & Carlson, 2025). From this perspective, technology is not neutral. It reflects and reproduces the social, cultural, and political conditions in which it operates.

Relational Futures centres Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing, being, and doing, where relationships are grounded in kinship, responsibility, and accountability to community and Country. Care, knowledge, and connection are collective and ongoing, rather than individual or transactional, and cannot be separated from the responsibilities that sustain them.



Applied to artificial intelligence, this framework shifts the focus from technical performance to questions of governance, authority, and impact. It asks who designs and controls these systems, whose knowledge is included or excluded, and how relationships are transformed through their use.

It also recognises that AI systems are materially embedded, relying on land, energy, and data infrastructures that have direct implications for Indigenous sovereignty and environmental responsibilities (Duarte, 2017).

Rather than positioning Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as users of technology, Relational Futures asserts Indigenous authority in shaping the conditions under which technologies are developed, governed, and used. It foregrounds Indigenous Data Sovereignty (Maiam nayri Wingara, 2018), community control, and relational accountability, and affirms the right to refuse technologies that undermine cultural integrity or community wellbeing.

Refusal, expanding on the work of Audra Simpson (2017), refers to the assertion of Indigenous limits over how technologies engage with knowledge, relationships, and communities. Relational Futures therefore provides a foundation for engaging with artificial intelligence in ways that prioritise responsibility, respect, and sovereignty, and for imagining technological futures that support, rather than disrupt, Indigenous relationships, knowledge systems, and ways of life.

Executive Summary

Artificial intelligence is increasingly embedded in everyday life in Australia, shaping communication, services, and relationships. This report presents findings from the Relational Futures project, an Indigenous led study examining how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are encountering and responding to AI, including generative systems, automated decision-making tools, and AI companions. The research draws on a mixed methods approach combining an online survey with 36 respondents and yarning circles with 22 participants, providing both broad and in-depth insight into Indigenous experiences of AI across community and professional contexts. This report presents the initial findings as the project continues.

The findings show that AI is already embedded across daily life, operating through social media, workplaces, government services, banking systems, and surveillance technologies. Participants described AI not as a future technology, but as an existing infrastructure shaping interactions, decisions, and access to services. However, this integration is occurring alongside uneven levels of understanding, with many participants & respondents expressing concern about the lack of transparency in how AI systems collect, process, and use data.

AI was understood as part of broader systems of extraction, surveillance, and control. Participants identified how algorithmic systems draw on biased data, reproduce inequality, and extend existing forms of governance into digital environments. These concerns were particularly acute in decision making systems used in health, policing, child protection, and family violence, where errors or bias can have serious consequences.

Artificial intelligence is shaping communication, services, and cultural knowledge is a key site where these dynamics became visible.

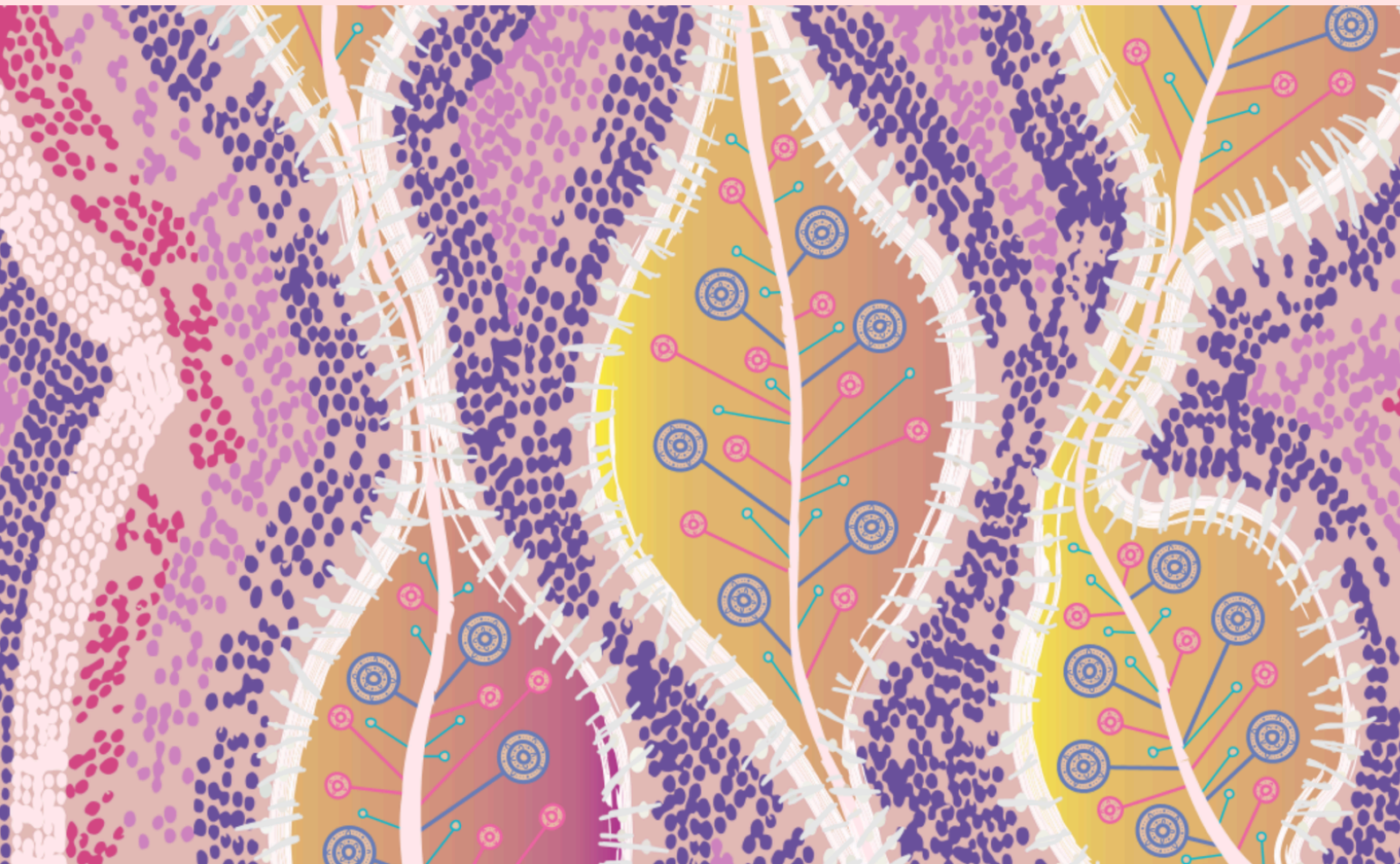
Participants expressed concern that Indigenous knowledges, languages, and cultural materials may be appropriated, misrepresented, or commercialised once incorporated into AI systems. These risks are closely linked to Indigenous Data Sovereignty and the need for community control over how data are collected, used, and governed.

The most significant concerns related to AI systems designed to simulate relationships, including AI companions and emotional support technologies. Participants & respondents emphasised that these systems conflict with Indigenous relational values grounded in kinship, responsibility, and accountability. AI was described as capable of simulating care without responsibility, raising concerns about emotional dependency and harm, particularly for vulnerable groups. The concept of an “AI Elder” was widely rejected, with participants stressing that cultural authority cannot be replicated through automated systems.

Despite these concerns, participants & respondents did not reject technology outright. Instead, they articulated a position grounded in Indigenous sovereignty and refusal, setting clear limits on how AI engages with Indigenous knowledges, relationships, and communities, and asserting the need for Indigenous authority in how technologies are designed and governed. Participants & respondents also identified opportunities for AI to support community wellbeing, cultural preservation, and access to services, but only where systems are developed under conditions of Indigenous control, accountability, and benefit.

This research demonstrates that artificial intelligence is not only a technical issue, but a relational, cultural, and political one. The findings highlight the need for action across government, industry, and research sectors, including strengthening Indigenous governance, implementing Indigenous Data Sovereignty, regulating high risk uses of AI, protecting cultural knowledges, and setting limits on the use of AI in care contexts.

Ensuring that AI supports rather than undermines Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities requires a shift from inclusion to authority. Indigenous peoples must be recognised as rights holders with the capacity to determine how AI systems operate within their lives and communities. Without this shift, existing inequalities risk being embedded into the foundations of emerging digital systems.



Key Recomendations

- Establish Indigenous leadership in AI governance through formal decision-making roles and regulatory participation.
- Embed Indigenous Data Sovereignty in all AI systems, including consent, control, and community governance of data.
- Strengthen regulation of high-risk AI, particularly in health, policing, and social services.
- Protect Indigenous cultural knowledge from extraction, misuse, and unauthorised inclusion in AI systems.
- Set clear limits on the use of AI in care and relational contexts, ensuring human accountability remains central.

Introduction

Artificial intelligence is rapidly reshaping how people communicate, access information, and relate to one another. Across health, education, employment, and everyday life, AI systems are increasingly embedded in interactions that were once exclusively human. A growing part of this shift is the rise of AI companions, technologies designed to simulate conversation, support, and connection. These systems now operate across digital environments where people learn, seek care, manage wellbeing, and form relationships. In this report, artificial intelligence refers to generative tools, automated decision systems, and AI companions.

Despite this rapid expansion, research has largely focused on technical performance and patterns of use, with limited attention to the cultural, political, and relational implications for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. AI does not operate in neutral contexts. It is embedded within existing structures of power, inequality, and governance shaped by ongoing settler colonialism and uneven access to digital infrastructure. As a result, AI has the potential to reproduce and intensify existing harms, while also creating new opportunities.

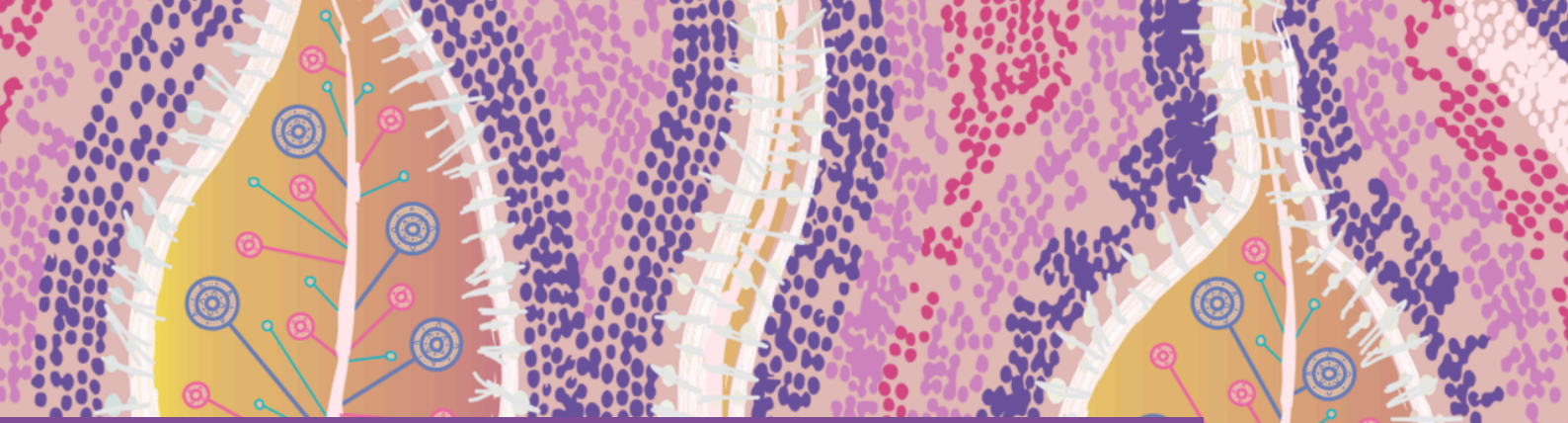
If digital systems are designed in ways that are beneficial for Indigenous peoples, who are often subject to intensified forms of marginalisation, then they are more likely to be effective, equitable, and safe for broader populations.

This report presents initial findings from the Relational Futures project, an Indigenous led study examining how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are encountering, using, and responding to artificial intelligence and AI companions in their everyday lives. The research responds to a clear gap. While governments, industry, and research institutions are investing heavily in AI, Indigenous perspectives have rarely been centred in how these systems are understood, designed, or governed. Indigenous peoples are often among the first to identify the risks embedded in new technologies, particularly where these systems reproduce existing forms of surveillance, exclusion, and harm.

The study examines how AI is experienced in practice, what people understand about these systems, and how broader conditions such as digital access and literacy shape engagement. It also considers the wider implications of AI for cultural authority, kinship, wellbeing, and Indigenous sovereignty.

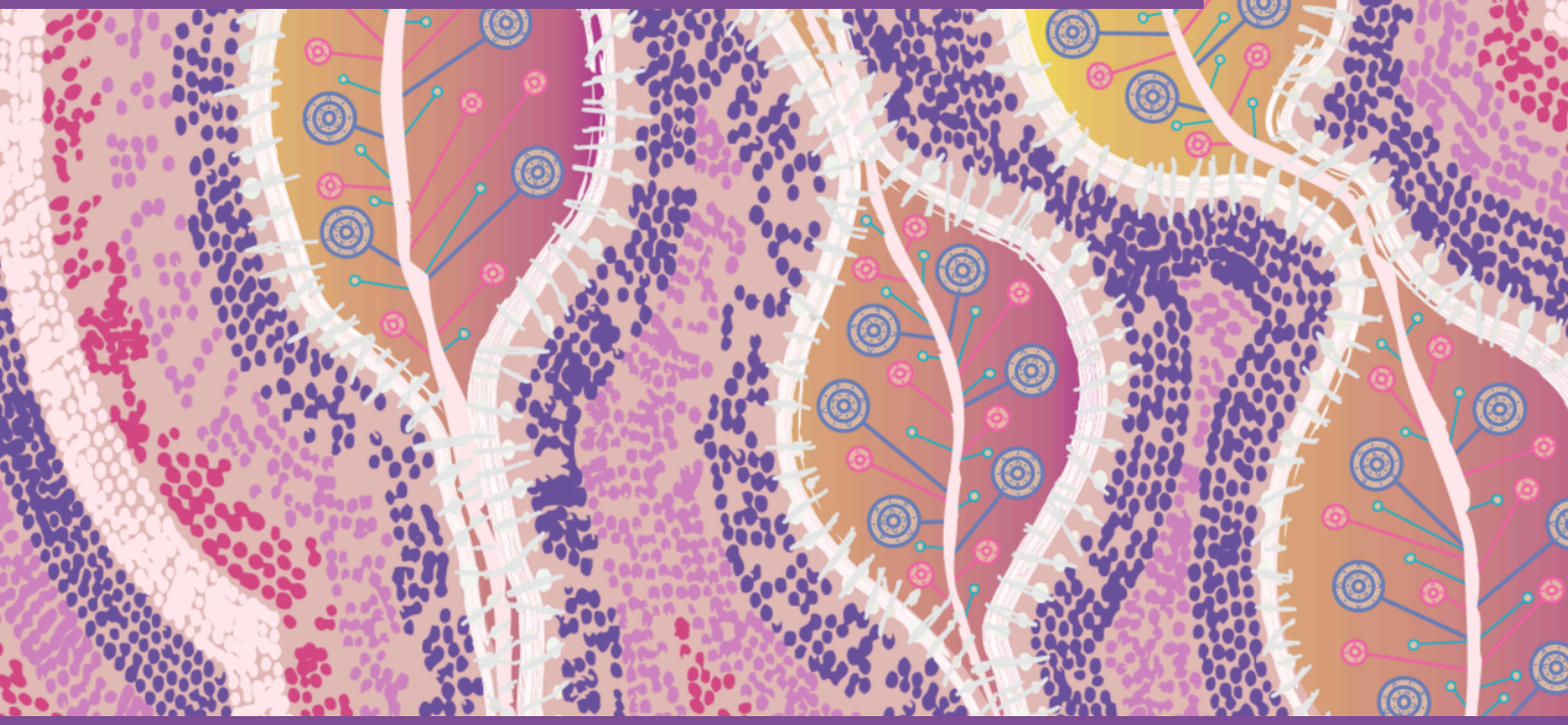
Artificial intelligence matters for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples because digital systems are increasingly embedded in decisions that affect everyday life. AI influences access to services, shapes online environments, and structures participation in social and institutional systems. It also raises critical questions about data governance, cultural knowledge, and the authority of Indigenous communities over how their knowledge and relationships are mediated. Without Indigenous leadership, there is a significant risk that AI will reproduce patterns of exclusion, misrepresentation, and surveillance that have characterised earlier digital technologies.

Indigenous knowledge systems emphasise relationships between people, Country, kin, and more than human worlds. These frameworks provide important insight into how emerging technologies should be understood and governed. At the same time, the expansion of AI is occurring alongside persistent digital inequalities.



Access to technology, digital literacy, and exposure to online harms remain uneven. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are often disproportionately affected by racism, misrepresentation, and surveillance in digital environments. AI systems risk intensifying these dynamics through biased data, automated decision making, and the reproduction of harmful representations.

By centring Indigenous perspectives, this research provides new evidence on how AI is shaping contemporary Indigenous digital life. It highlights both the risks and possibilities of these technologies and identifies the need for governance approaches grounded in Indigenous sovereignty, relational accountability, and community authority. This report highlights a Relational Futures approach to understand these dynamics.



A Snapshot of the Literature

Artificial intelligence is not simply a technical development. It is a social, cultural, political, and material force that is reshaping how relationships, knowledge, care, authority, and land are organised. As AI systems and AI companions become embedded in everyday life across health, education, and communication, they are also reconfiguring how sovereignty, kinship, and cultural continuity are negotiated, particularly for Indigenous peoples living within ongoing settler colonial contexts. This material dimension of AI is critical for understanding its impacts on Indigenous lands, resources, and sovereignty.

Over the past decade, research on AI and Indigenous peoples has expanded rapidly, with significant growth in the last five years (Perera et al., 2025). This reflects the increasing presence of AI in everyday life. For example, a UK study found that 53 percent of teenagers reported trusting information provided by AI companions (Bangor University, 2026), while in Australia, 45.6 percent of people report recent use of generative AI tools (Australian Digital Inclusion Index, 2025). However, disparities remain. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are less likely to actively and consciously use AI and more likely to report limited understanding of these systems (Notley et al., 2024).

These patterns of uneven access and literacy intersect with growing concerns about cultural appropriation and misrepresentation (Carlson, 2024). AI generated Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander imagery and cultural content have already been used in public and political contexts, including during the 2023 Voice Referendum (Carlson and Richards, 2023; Worrell, 2024a). This highlights the urgency of Indigenous led governance in shaping AI futures.

Early research in this field largely focused on the potential benefits of AI, particularly in healthcare, education, and language revitalisation (Worrell, 2024b; Carlson & Richards, 2023). Studies have explored how AI can improve diagnostic tools, support language learning, and increase access to services (Perera et al., 2025; Mohanty et al., 2024). However, this work often prioritises technical performance and innovation while paying limited attention to governance, cultural authority, and the broader social conditions shaping Indigenous lives.

More recent scholarship has shifted toward critical analysis of AI systems. Research has demonstrated how algorithmic decision making can reproduce structural inequality, particularly when based on biased datasets (Carlson, 2026; Worrell & Carlson, 2025; Obermeyer et al., 2019; Yogarajan et al., 2022). In areas such as healthcare and child protection, AI systems have been shown to produce disproportionately harmful outcomes for Indigenous peoples (Wilson et al., 2015; Krakouer et al., 2020). These findings highlight that technical fixes alone are insufficient to address deeper colonial and institutional dynamics.

Alongside this, a growing body of work has focused on Indigenous Data Sovereignty. Frameworks such as the CARE Principles (Carroll et al., 2020) and First Nations data governance models emphasise Indigenous control over data, decision making, and benefit (Walter & Suina, 2023; Walter et al., 2021; MnW, 2018). Scholars argue that AI systems must be governed through Indigenous authority, rather than relying on external institutions (Prehn et al., 2026; Lewis et al., 2025).

A Snapshot of the Literature

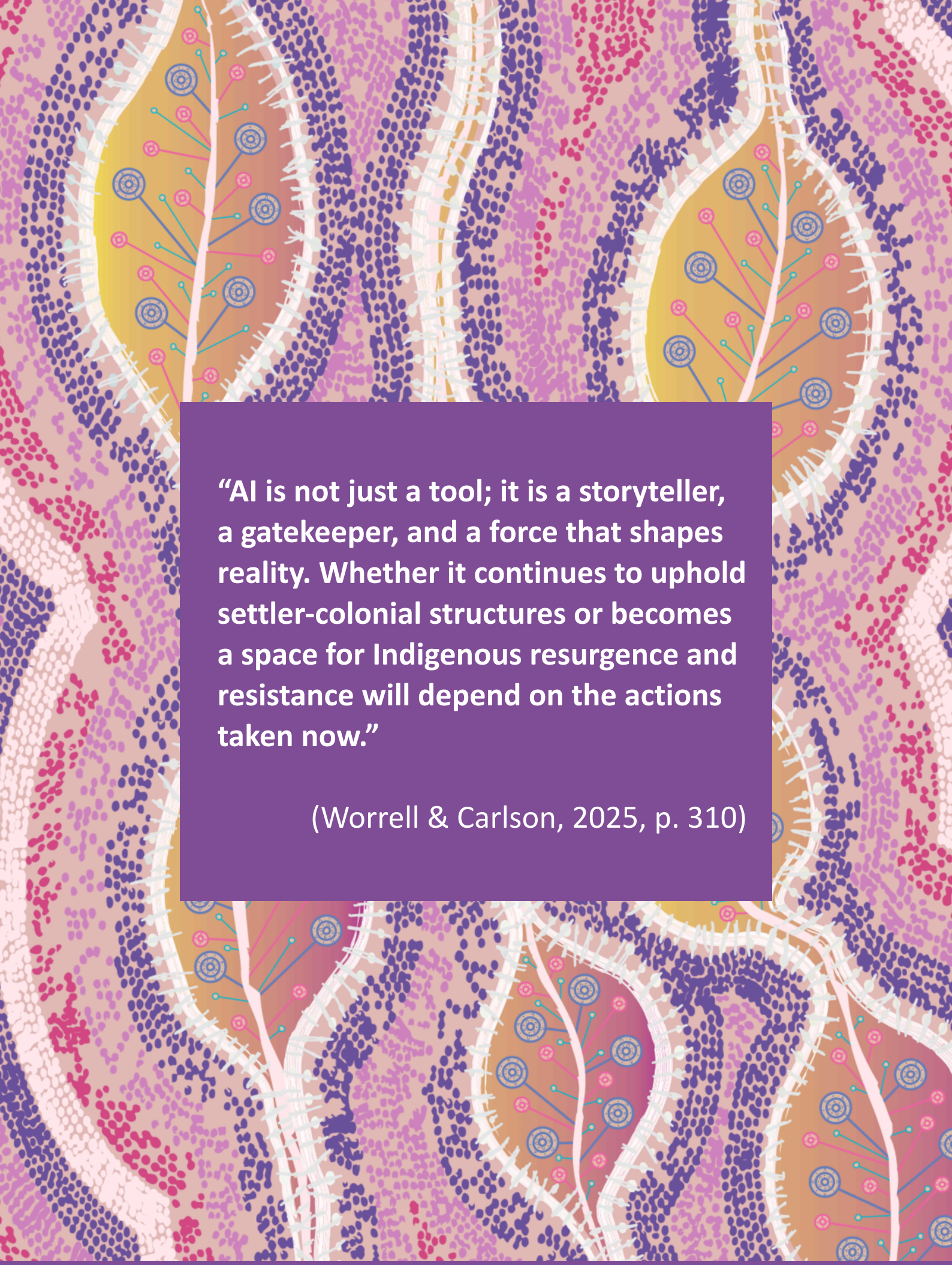
Recent scholarship also foregrounds the importance of Indigenous-led and collaborative approaches to AI that move beyond critique toward alternative models of governance and design. Empirical studies demonstrate that when AI systems are developed through Indigenous governance frameworks, they can operate in ways that support, rather than displace, cultural authority and relationships to Country. For example, co-designed environmental monitoring projects in Kakadu National Park show how AI tools can be embedded within Indigenous knowledge systems, with Traditional Owners directing data interpretation, decision making, and stewardship practices (Robinson et al., 2022). In these contexts, AI-generated data is not treated as authoritative in itself but is interpreted through Indigenous frameworks of knowledge and responsibility, reinforcing arguments that AI systems are not neutral or self-sufficient. Related work on Indigenous Data Sovereignty further emphasises that governance, control, and community authority must be central to the design and deployment of AI systems (Carroll et al., 2020; Lewis et al., 2025; Hurst et al., 2026). This body of literature highlights that the critical issue is not simply whether AI systems are accurate or efficient, but who governs them, how knowledge is produced and interpreted, and whether they reinforce or challenge existing relations of power.

At the same time, critical scholarship highlights the risks of AI systems reproducing colonial logics. Studies of generative AI show that these systems can produce stereotypical, inaccurate, and sometimes fabricated representations of Indigenous peoples and cultures (Alterator et al., 2025; Spennemann and Rosser, 2025). These outputs reflect the colonial histories embedded within training data and computational systems, rather than neutral or objective knowledge. Despite these advances, significant gaps remain in the literature.

Much of the research continues to focus on improving or correcting AI systems, rather than questioning the broader structures within which they operate. In particular, there has been limited attention to the material dimensions of AI, including land (mis)use, mineral extraction, energy consumption, and environmental impact.

AI systems depend on physical infrastructures such as data centres, mining, and water resources, often located on or near Indigenous homelands. These processes raise important questions about sovereignty, environmental impact, and the distribution of benefits and harms. As Carlson and Worrell (2025) argue, AI must be understood as a material and ecological system deeply entangled with Country, not simply as a digital technology. The literature shows a field in transition. Early work positioned AI as a tool for efficiency and innovation. More recent scholarship has highlighted issues of bias, governance, and inequality. Emerging Indigenous centred approaches are beginning to reframe AI through relational, cultural, and sovereignty-based frameworks.

This research builds on these developments by adopting a relational futures approach. Rather than asking how Indigenous peoples can be included within AI systems, it asks how AI itself must be reshaped through Indigenous authority, relational accountability, and connection to Country. This shift moves beyond technical solutions toward a broader reconsideration of how AI systems are designed, governed, and embedded within social and ecological systems.



“AI is not just a tool; it is a storyteller, a gatekeeper, and a force that shapes reality. Whether it continues to uphold settler-colonial structures or becomes a space for Indigenous resurgence and resistance will depend on the actions taken now.”

(Worrell & Carlson, 2025, p. 310)

Methodology

The Relational Futures project employed an Indigenous led research design (Rigney, 1999) grounded in relational and community centred methodologies (Moreton-Robinson, 2017). The research focused on understanding how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples encounter artificial intelligence within the contexts of their everyday lives. Rather than approaching AI as a purely technical system, the project examines how these technologies intersect with relationships, responsibilities, cultural knowledge, and social environments.

The study uses a mixed methods approach combining an online survey (*respondents*) and yarning circles (*participants*) (Bessarab & Ng'Andu, 2010). This design enabled the research team to capture both broad patterns of engagement and detailed, lived accounts of how AI technologies are experienced in practice. The survey provided insight into patterns of use, levels of awareness, and key areas of concern, while the yarning circles created space for collective discussion of relational, cultural, and ethical dimensions of AI, including its impacts on care, community, self-determination and sovereignty.

A total of 58 participants have taken part in the study thus far, including 36 survey respondents and 22 yarning circle participants. Participants & respondents ages ranged between 18 - 65 years old. The survey sample was overwhelmingly Aboriginal, with some Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander participants. Participants were primarily located in New South Wales and living in urban and regional areas. Participants & respondents represented a wide age range, including young adults, mid-career professionals, and older people and Elders. Education levels were high, with more than half of respondents holding postgraduate qualifications.

Most respondents were employed in professional or community focused sectors such as education, health, research, and social services. This demographic profile indicates that participants are actively engaged in sectors where AI is increasingly being introduced. Their responses provide insight into how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples working across policy, service delivery, and community contexts are encountering and critically assessing artificial intelligence. Yarning circles participants were drawn from similar community and professional contexts with 22 individuals participating. The Yarning circles were facilitated on Dharug Ngurra on Wallumattagal campus of Macquarie University.

The group-based format enabled participants to build on each other's experiences, reflect collectively, and articulate shared concerns and insights. This approach was particularly important given that AI was not experienced as an individual tool but as part of broader social and institutional systems shaping everyday life.

The research prioritised Indigenous perspectives and knowledges, recognising Indigenous people as experts in their own experiences of digital life. The aim is not only to document patterns of technology use, but to identify the social, cultural, and structural conditions shaping those interactions. In line with principles of reciprocity, participants in the yarning circles were offered a $100 voucher in recognition of the time, care, and knowledge they shared. Survey respondents were invited to enter a draw for one of five $100 gift cards as a small acknowledgement of their contribution to the research.

The project is conducted in accordance with ethical principles for research involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The research is guided by principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, and relational accountability. Participants are informed about the aims of the study and provided consent prior to participation. Ethical considerations are central to the design and conduct of the research. Particular attention is given to cultural safety, participant wellbeing, and the responsible use and storage of data. The project recognises that research involving Indigenous peoples carries obligations beyond standard institutional ethics processes. It requires ongoing accountability to communities and a commitment to ensuring that research outcomes provide meaningful benefit.

By centring Indigenous voices and experiences, the Relational Futures project contributes new evidence on how artificial intelligence is shaping contemporary Indigenous digital life. The findings presented in this report provide an important foundation for understanding how emerging technologies affect relationships, wellbeing, and sovereignty, and for developing more responsible and relational approaches to digital futures.

This research received ethics approval from the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (ID: 520251975864772).

Limitations

This study provides important insight into how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are engaging with artificial intelligence. However, several limitations should be noted.

The sample is relatively small and includes a high proportion of participants working in professional and community sectors, many with postgraduate qualifications. As such, the findings reflect informed and critically engaged perspectives rather than the full diversity of experiences across all communities. Participants were primarily located in New South Wales and in urban and regional settings, which may not reflect experiences in remote or other geographic contexts.

Participation in both the survey and yarning circles was voluntary, meaning that participants may have had a pre-existing interest in digital technologies or related issues. In addition, artificial intelligence is a rapidly evolving field. The findings presented here reflect experiences at a particular point in time and may shift as technologies develop and become more widely adopted.

These limitations situate the findings and highlight the need for further Indigenous led research across diverse communities and contexts.

Findings

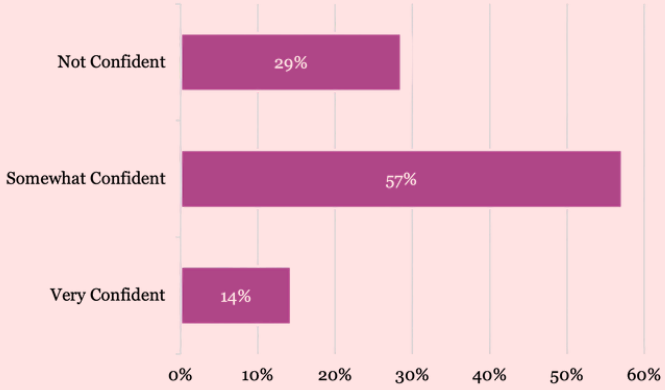
Findings from the survey and yarning circles demonstrate that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people do not encounter AI as an emerging or speculative technology. AI is already embedded across everyday life, shaping communication, education, work, services, and decision making. Responses described using AI in practical and often routine ways, particularly for writing, information seeking, and administrative tasks. However, this uptake did not translate into trust.

Across both datasets, responses consistently framed AI as culturally unsafe, politically unaccountable, and embedded within broader systems of extraction, surveillance, and colonial power. The most significant concerns were not limited to technical accuracy. Rather, participants identified risks to cultural authority, the appropriation and misuse of Indigenous knowledge, the erosion of relational forms of care, and the expansion of automated systems into domains that profoundly affect Indigenous lives. At the same time, participants articulated clear conditions for engagement, grounded in Indigenous governance, sovereignty, and accountability.

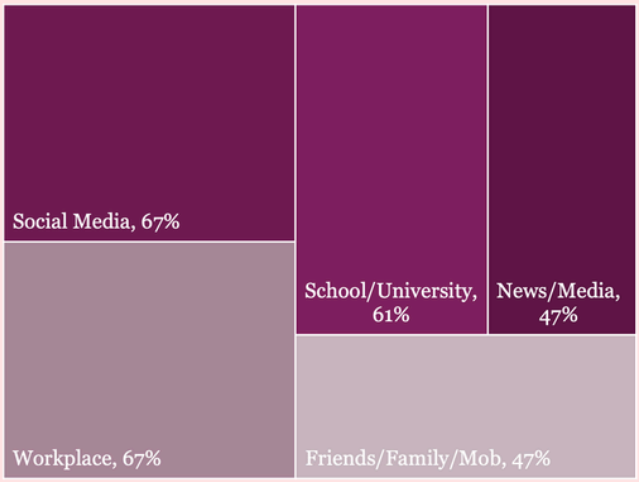
Participant profile and patterns of engagement

Survey respondents represented all states and territories except Tasmania, with the majority located in New South Wales. Respondents were distributed across urban (60%), regional (29%), rural (8%), and remote (3%) contexts. All respondents reported using AI in some capacity, indicating that engagement with AI is already widespread rather than marginal. Use was frequent, with most respondents engaging with AI on a weekly (50%) or daily (33%) basis. However, confidence levels were uneven.

While a small proportion reported high confidence, the majority described themselves as only somewhat confident, and a substantial group expressed low confidence (see below graph).



Respondents most commonly encountered AI through social media and workplace environments, reflecting the integration of AI into both personal and professional domains (see below graph).



These patterns indicate that AI is already normalised in everyday practice. However, familiarity does not equate to understanding or control. Respondents engage with AI regularly, but often without clarity about how these systems operate, how data are used, or how outputs are produced.

AI as embedded infrastructure and governance

Participants & respondents consistently described AI not as a discrete tool, but as an embedded and often invisible infrastructure shaping everyday life. AI was identified across social media platforms, banking systems, health services, education, and workplace technologies. Respondents also recognised less visible forms of AI, including automated moderation systems, recommendation algorithms, and surveillance technologies such as facial recognition.

"sometimes you don't even realise it, but you are talking to an AI"

"AI is making decisions about all sorts of things in our lives already"

"apparently some AI decided I didn't qualify for support"

These accounts position AI as a governing layer within existing institutions. AI does not simply assist decision making. It actively structures it, influencing how information is filtered, how decisions are made, and how access to services is organised. This occurs frequently without transparency, consent, or meaningful avenues for accountability.

Participants' & respondents descriptions suggest that AI redistributes authority and responsibility across institutional systems. Decisions that were previously made through relational and accountable processes are increasingly mediated by automated systems. At the same time, responsibility for navigating these systems is often shifted onto individuals, who are expected to interpret, manage, and respond to outputs without adequate knowledge or control.

Usefulness does not equal trust

Respondents acknowledged that AI can be useful, particularly in reducing time spent on repetitive or administratively demanding tasks. Survey responses highlighted its role in supporting writing, planning, and communication:

"Using ChatGPT to help refine drafts of writing, compose complex email responses, plan large documents, analyse briefs, draft quotes and estimates for clients"

"ChatGPT can be incredibly helpful for me when trying to commence written tasks. It helps me stop procrastinating by giving me a starting point that makes the task feel less daunting"

"no accountability, no checks and balances, no responsibility"

These accounts position AI as a tool that can support productivity and reduce barriers to participation in systems that privilege particular forms of communication. However, this recognition was consistently accompanied by caution.

Participants & respondents described AI as fast moving, opaque, and difficult to interpret. This produces a gap between use and understanding, where individuals rely on systems they do not fully comprehend. This dynamic reflects a form of dependency without control. AI may be helpful, but it is not experienced as trustworthy.

AI reproduces extraction, misrepresentation, and colonial power

Participants & respondents expressed deep concern about AI outputs, particularly where these reproduced cultural misrepresentation, appropriated Indigenous knowledge, or collapsed distinct Indigenous peoples into a single undifferentiated category.

Across both datasets, it was identified that AI systems draw heavily on existing online content, which is already shaped by racism, sexism, and dominant white perspectives:

> **"Much of what is found on AI is quite poor. It draws information from what is already out there, meaning much of the content is racist, sexist, white"**

Respondents emphasised that the issue is not only inaccuracy, but the ongoing reproduction of colonial dynamics through digital systems:

> **"The problem is not just the inaccuracy, but the continuous colonisation of our knowledges and that this does not matter."**

Examples of generated content reinforced these concerns:

> **"we prompted Microsoft Copilot to generate 'an image of Indigenous Australia' the image that was produced was largely an amalgamation of imagery relevant to First Nations people of Turtle Island"**

These accounts demonstrate that AI does not operate outside existing power relations. It intensifies them. Systems trained on biased and incomplete datasets reproduce and scale these conditions, embedding them within everyday technologies.

Epistemic harm and cultural authority

Resepondents' concerns extend beyond misrepresentation to questions of epistemic authority. AI systems were described as producing information with confidence, even where that information lacked cultural grounding or accuracy.

> **"There are times when AI doesn't quite grasp the depth of First Nations experiences, cultural nuance, or community dynamics. It can miss the emotional weight or the context, which reminds me that cultural authority must always sit with mob, not technology."**

Participants & respondents recognise quickly that AI is often a bad faith actor, sharing that AI "can alter your perception of reality" and may produce "hallucinations of reality" and "tells lies".

Further, describing AI as an "infiltrated mechanism posed as helpful".

This highlights a key tension. AI systems are positioned as sources of knowledge, yet they lack the relational, cultural, and contextual authority required to produce or interpret Indigenous knowledge.

This creates a form of epistemic harm, where authority is displaced and knowledge is dis-embedded from the relationships that give it meaning.

Cultural knowledge, data, and Indigenous sovereignty

Concerns about data were immediate and unresolved. Respondents repeatedly questioned where their data were going, who controls it, and how it is being used:

> **"Where is my data going? Who's to say"**

These concerns were linked to a broader understanding that AI systems are built on large scale datasets that are predominantly US centric and largely non-Indigenous. Participants & respondents identified that their knowledges, ideas, and forms of expression can be taken up, repurposed, and redistributed without consent or accountability.

Participants & respondents described AI as collapsing distinctions between knowledge, data, and context, treating all inputs as extractable and re-combinable. This was understood as fundamentally incompatible with Indigenous knowledge systems, which are grounded in relational authority, responsibility, and context specific protocols.

AI is "a collection of information from a variety of sources" and as a "knowledge generator or regurgitator" that may draw on "racist and misogynistic" material.

Environmental concerns further extended this analysis, with participants & respondents recognising that AI systems rely on extractive infrastructures that have material impacts on land, resources, and communities. These concerns reflect an understanding of AI as embedded within global systems of power, rather than as a neutral technological development.

As one respondent shared:

> **"I am very concerned with the environmental impacts of AI and the ways that this is impacting Indigenous communities around the world… IP is obviously a huge issue too, it stealing our ideas."**

Relational limits: care, companionship, and community

Participants & respondents expressed a cautious and often critical orientation toward AI systems designed to simulate care, connection, or intimacy. While some responses recognised limited utility in moments of stress or isolation, the majority rejected the use of AI companions.

> **"No, I would choose not to… I feel it impedes my ability to seek real companionship"**
>
> **"No. It is not a real person with thoughts, feelings and emotions."**
>
> **"cannot recreate Indigenous relations, collectivism and diversity."**
>
> **"No, I'm concerned about how AI companions are increasing human isolation… people are learning to a robot rather than a human for co-regulation."**

Across these responses, refusals were more detailed and more forcefully articulated than expressions of willingness. This reflects a clear prioritisation of human connection, relational accountability, and emotional authenticity.

> **"I think an AI companion can be useful for grounding myself, working through hard moments, and finding language when I'm overwhelmed. It gives structure when my mind feels chaotic. But I'm very aware it's not a person, and that distinction matters."**

Participants & respondents emphasised that relationships are grounded in kinship, responsibility, and collective care. AI systems may simulate interaction, but they cannot participate in reciprocal and culturally grounded relationships. The concept of an "AI Elder" was explicitly rejected, reinforcing that authority cannot be reproduced through technological systems.

Risks in institutional decision making and labour

Participants & respondents raised significant concerns about the use of AI in institutional decision-making, particularly in areas such as education, health, policing, and community services. These concerns were grounded in lived experiences of surveillance, intervention, and administrative control.

In workplace contexts, respondents described increasing demands associated with AI use. Educators, in particular, identified additional labour required to assess AI generated work, which was often described as disengaged or lacking substance.

> **"I hate receiving something at work that means so much to me and the community, but is clearly written by AI… it's insulting."**

Respondents also described instances where AI use undermined accountability and relational responsibility:

> **"…it became clear she had used AI to generate her presentation… she doubled down… using AI to generate her email reply… deflecting any concerns back onto us."**

These accounts demonstrate that AI is reshaping not only outputs, but expectations around effort, accountability, and engagement. Responsibility is increasingly shifted onto individuals and frontline workers, who are required to manage the risks and consequences of AI use without adequate institutional support.

More broadly, participants & respondents expressed concern that **AI driven decision-making systems may intensify existing patterns of inequality**. In systems such as policing, child protection, and welfare, AI has the potential to formalise and extend existing forms of surveillance and intervention under the guise of efficiency and objectivity.

Indigenous governance, refusal, and conditions for the future

Participants & respondents did not reject technology outright. Instead, they articulated positions grounded in sovereignty, refusal, and conditional engagement. Concerns about governance were central, including the absence of safeguards, regulation, and accountability:

> **"we don't know where this data is stored, shared, where it goes and how it's used"**

“no safeguards, no mandates”

Participants & respondents strongly advocated for Indigenous led governance, including community-controlled data systems, Indigenous oversight bodies, and regulatory approaches grounded in Indigenous Data Sovereignty.

“My biggest concern is that we get left behind. It’s easy to frame AI negatively, seeing it as a threat. It is just as easy to see the benefits it stands to offer. Clearly we need to be involved positively (*we risk being left out otherwise*) on how AI systems are designed, trained, and used, otherwise there is a risk that existing power imbalances will be reproduced through technology.”

The articulation that AI should be **“for mob, by mob, with mob”** signals not only inclusion, but authority. It asserts that decisions about how AI is designed, deployed, and governed must sit with Indigenous communities. Participants & respondents also identified potential benefits, including supporting access to services, cultural revitalisation, and community wellbeing. However, these possibilities were consistently framed as contingent on structural change rather than technical improvement.

As one respondent stated:

“Some things shouldn’t be put into machines”

This statement reflects not a rejection of technology, but a boundary setting practice grounded in Indigenous authority.

Discussion

These findings position AI not as a neutral or standalone technology, but as an extension and intensification of existing institutional and colonial systems. Participants & respondents do not encounter AI as new. Rather, they recognise it as part of a longer trajectory in which authority, decision-making, and knowledge production are reorganised through technological systems. A central contribution of these findings is the identification of AI as a form of governance.

Respondents consistently describe AI as shaping how decisions are made, how information is produced, and how individuals interact with institutions. **This shifts attention away from questions of technical performance toward questions of authority, responsibility, and accountability.** AI redistributes decision making power into opaque systems, while simultaneously shifting responsibility onto users and frontline workers. This dynamic reflects broader patterns of responsibilisation, where individuals are expected to manage risk and navigate complex systems without adequate control or oversight.

The findings also highlight the production of epistemic harm. AI systems do not simply generate inaccurate information. They reshape who is recognised as a legitimate knower. By producing authoritative outputs without cultural grounding, AI displaces Indigenous knowledge systems and undermines cultural authority. This is particularly significant in contexts where knowledge is relational, contextual, and governed through specific protocols. The flattening and recombination of Indigenous knowledge within AI systems constitutes a form of ongoing colonial extraction.

Participants' accounts further demonstrate that AI intensifies existing inequalities. Automated systems are layered onto institutional environments that already disproportionately affect Indigenous communities, including welfare, policing, and child protection. In this context, AI does not operate evenly. It amplifies patterns of surveillance, intervention, and control, often under the guise of efficiency and objectivity. At the same time, the findings challenge deficit framings of Indigenous engagement with technology. Participants are not passive users or resistant subjects. They demonstrate sophisticated understandings of AI, including its technical limitations, its political implications, and its environmental impacts.

Concerns about data, infrastructure, and global power relations indicate a multi-scalar analysis that extends beyond immediate use. The articulation of refusal is particularly significant. Refusal is not framed as rejection or disengagement, but as an assertion of authority. Indigenous people set clear boundaries around where AI is inappropriate, particularly in relation to cultural knowledge, care, and relational life. At the same time, they articulate conditions under which AI may be acceptable, grounded in Indigenous governance, accountability, and relational responsibility.

These findings suggest that the future of AI cannot be addressed through technical refinement alone. The issues identified are structural. They require a reorientation of how AI is designed, governed, and regulated. Indigenous Data Sovereignty and Indigenous led governance are not supplementary considerations. They are foundational to ensuring that AI systems do not reproduce and extend existing forms of harm.

These findings therefore contribute to broader debates on digital governance by foregrounding Indigenous perspectives as a critical analytical vantage point. In doing so, they demonstrate that the question is not whether AI will be used, but under what conditions, by whom, and with what forms of accountability.

Conclusion: Relational Futures

At the end of the yarning circles, participants were asked to consider a simple but profound question: **What kind of world do we want to live in?**

This study has shown that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are not encountering AI as a neutral innovation or distant possibility. AI is already embedded within the institutional, social, and cultural conditions of everyday life.

Participants & respondents recognise its utility, but they do not mistake usefulness for safety, nor access for control. Instead, **they locate AI within longer histories of extraction, misrepresentation, and governance,** where new technologies reorganise, rather than disrupt, existing relations of power.

In responding to this question of the future, participants did not offer abstract or speculative visions. Their responses were grounded in lived experience and shaped by an acute awareness of how power operates through systems. Many anticipated that, without intervention, AI will intensify existing harms. As one respondent noted,

"our culture, data, knowledges have always been extracted for value but I am concerned that this will be intensified under AI."

This concern reflects a broader understanding that AI extends, rather than interrupts, ongoing processes of dispossession.

At the same time, participants & respondents consistently describe the future of AI as mixed and contingent. There is recognition that AI "could be both useful to spread our culture… but also bad by homogenising our cultures," capturing a central tension between visibility and control. This tension is further shaped by the political conditions in which AI is emerging.

As one respondent observed, in a post-referendum context, AI can operate as "another tool of the colony to simulate inclusion and empowerment while revealing… that our worldviews aren't worth the time or energy of real-world effort." Here, AI is understood not simply as a technical system, but as part of a broader structure that can reproduce symbolic inclusion without material change.

Responses also situate AI within global systems of power and inequality. The impacts of AI are understood as contingent on existing economic and political conditions, with one respondent noting that if current systems remain unchanged, Indigenous peoples will be "further entrenched in their current material conditions." This reflects a clear awareness that technological change alone does not produce equity.

Concerns about knowledge production and authority are particularly pronounced. Participants & respondents describe how widely used AI systems are trained on data that is not grounded in Indigenous cultures or languages, raising the risk that people seeking knowledge may instead encounter biased, outdated, or harmful representations. As one respondent explained, individuals seeking to reconnect with culture may receive information derived from "19th and early 20th century anthropologists, with all of the problems that go with that."

At the same time, **AI is recognised as potentially useful for navigating complex systems and accessing information, reinforcing the conditional nature of its value.** Participants & respondents also identify the risk that AI outputs will become normalised as authoritative, making it increasingly difficult to challenge misinformation. As one respondents noted, "info that is reused and generally accepted will then be forced onto us all," highlighting the institutionalisation of inaccurate or superficial knowledge.

Conclusion: Relational Futures

This is compounded by concerns about AI as a driver of dominant ideologies, including those that "question and oppose Indigeneity and Indigenous peoples' right to digital sovereignty," as well as the proliferation of images and content that misrepresent Indigenous peoples globally.

Cultural integrity remains a central concern. Participants & respondents describe the risk that AI will "muck our culture up by reproducing fake artwork… cultural trading… education," alongside the growing difficulty of distinguishing between what is real and what is generated. These concerns are not limited to representation. They speak to deeper questions of authority, authenticity, and the conditions under which culture is produced and circulated. As another respondent noted, "our knowledges and data are already mistreated. AI will accelerate that especially if mob are kept out of designing these tools."

These risks extend beyond culture to encompass broader social and environmental concerns. Responses highlight the potential impacts of AI on climate, labour, and governance, alongside more acute concerns about surveillance and militarisation, with one respondentsuggesting that AI may **"one day… be used as a tool of warfare against us."** While expressed differently, these concerns reflect a shared understanding of AI as embedded within systems of power that shape both present and future conditions.

At the same time, responses articulate a clear and grounded vision for what AI could support under different conditions. These futures are centred on access, equity, and self-determination. AI is imagined as a tool that could reduce barriers created by Western institutional systems, particularly those that privilege specific forms of language and communication. As one respondent explained, AI offers the possibility of supporting those who "feel shut out of opportunities… because they can't write Western," enabling participation without requiring conformity to dominant norms.

Participants emphasise that this kind of support could make it easier to navigate systems, access information, and reduce the administrative burdens that many people carry. As one noted, **"if technology can remove barriers instead of creating them, that's a real win for community,"** particularly where it enables people to focus on family, culture, and connection rather than bureaucratic demands.

Language revitalisation and cultural continuity are central to these imagined futures. Participants & respondents describe the potential for AI to support language learning, including the development of tools that can communicate in language and support fluency where access to speakers is limited. As one respondent noted, the ability to interact with a tool in Noongar (Aboriginal people south West of Western Australia) "would be hugely valuable for increasing the level of fluency," particularly given the geographic and social constraints that shape language use. Others emphasised the potential for AI to support "language revitalisation and learning" more broadly, alongside its use in archiving and organising stories and cultural knowledge.

Health, education, and community wellbeing are also identified as areas of potential benefit. Participants & respondents describe opportunities for culturally appropriate health promotion, improved access to services, and support for people with disability. AI is also seen as having the potential to "streamline complex processes" and improve engagement with systems that are often difficult to navigate, including government services and legal frameworks. Crucially, these possibilities are inseparable from questions of authority and control.

Participants & respondents consistently emphasise that Indigenous communities must lead the development and governance of AI systems. This includes control over data, recognition and compensation for community expertise, and the ability to determine how knowledge is used and represented. As one respondent noted, there is a need for systems that draw on community expertise and "pay them appropriately" if Indigenous peoples are to "hold the reins of the narrative."

Participants & respondents also articulate a strategic orientation toward engagement. AI is not only seen as something to resist, but as something that can be reshaped. As one respondent stated, there is hope that AI might provide opportunities "to get into systems so they are able to dismantle them." This reflects a clear awareness that technological systems are also sites of intervention and transformation.

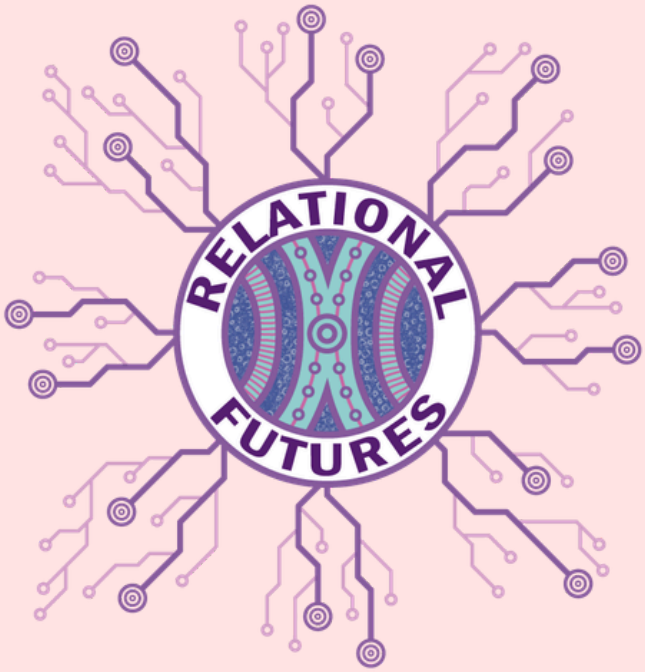
At the same time, this engagement remains cautious and conditional. Some participants & respondents express a lack of trust in AI as a source of knowledge, with one stating, "I do not have hope using AI as I do not trust this source of 'learning'." This tension is central. It reflects a position that holds both the potential and the risk of AI simultaneously, grounded in lived experience rather than abstraction.

Relational Futures therefore do not reject technology.

They refuse the terms on which it is currently being developed and deployed. They call for a reorganisation of authority, where Indigenous peoples are not positioned as users, subjects, or data sources, but as decision makers, designers, and governors.

Across these findings, AI emerges not simply as a tool, but as a site where questions of power, knowledge, and responsibility are actively negotiated. Participants & respondents demonstrate that these negotiations are already underway. They are identifying risks, setting limits, and articulating conditions for how AI should operate.

Relational Futures, then, are not about adapting Indigenous peoples to AI. They are about insisting that AI be accountable to Indigenous relations, knowledges, and authority.



Priority Actions

Artificial intelligence is already shaping the everyday lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This report shows that AI systems are being adopted across services, platforms, and decision-making environments without adequate governance, accountability, or Indigenous involvement.

AI is not neutral. It operates within existing systems of power, shaping access to services, cultural knowledge, and community wellbeing. Without intervention, these systems risk reproducing and intensifying existing inequalities.

The following actions are proposed to ensure AI supports, rather than undermines, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

1. Establish Indigenous leadership in AI governance

Embed Indigenous authority in national AI policy, regulatory bodies, and ethics frameworks. Require Indigenous involvement in all publicly funded AI initiatives and recognise the right to refuse harmful technologies.

2. Implement Indigenous Data Sovereignty

Ensure Indigenous control over data through enforceable standards. Require consent for the use of Indigenous data, including cultural knowledge and language, and support Indigenous-controlled data systems.

3. Regulate high-risk AI systems

Introduce mandatory impact assessments and oversight for AI used in health, policing, child protection, and social services. Ensure clear accountability for decisions and prohibit fully automated decision making in high-risk contexts.

4. Protect Indigenous cultural knowledge

Strengthen legal protections to prevent the unauthorised use of Indigenous knowledges in AI systems. Require consent, attribution, and community governance of cultural materials and prohibit harmful or misleading representations.

5. Set limits on AI in care contexts

Restrict the use of AI as a substitute for human care in areas such as mental health and community services. Prohibit systems that simulate culturally specific roles, including Elders, and ensure human accountability remains central.

6. Invest in AI literacy and access

Fund community-led AI education and improve access to digital infrastructure. Support educators, frontline workers, and communities to understand and respond to AI risks.

7. Support Indigenous-led innovation

Increase investment in Indigenous-led AI research and development. Require co-design and ensure projects deliver clear benefits to communities.

8. Address environmental and land impacts

Require environmental and cultural impact assessments for AI infrastructure. Ensure Indigenous communities are involved in decisions affecting land and resources.

9. Incorporate relational impact assessment

Evaluate AI systems based on their effects on relationships, care, and community wellbeing, not just efficiency or performance.

10. Align AI policy with Indigenous sovereignty

Recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as rights holders in digital governance. Support self-determination and shift decision-making power toward Indigenous communities.

Key Message

Artificial intelligence must be governed as a relational and institutional force, not simply a technical system. Effective policy requires Indigenous leadership, enforceable standards, and a commitment to sovereignty, accountability, and community wellbeing. Failure to act risks embedding inequality into the foundations of Australia's digital future.

References

Alterator, S., Maddox, A., Southerton, C., & Schutt, S. (2025). Re-authorising colonialism or re-authorising Indigenous perspectives: The risks of generative AI in Indigenous education contexts. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2025.2586732

Australian Digital Inclusion Index. (2025). Case study: The AI divide in Australia. https://digitalinclusionindex.org.au/case-study-the-ai-divide-in-australia/

Bangor University. (2026). New report shines a light on how teenagers are using AI companions. https://www.bangor.ac.uk/news/2026-01-30-new-report-shines-a-light-on-how-teenagers-are-using-ai-companions

Bessarab, D., & Ng'Andu, B. (2010). Yarning about yarning as a legitimate method in Indigenous research. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies, 3*(1), 37-50.

Carlson, B. (2024). The government has a target for Indigenous digital inclusion. It's got little hope of meeting it. *The Conversation*. https://doi.org/10.64628/AA.smqkpk3nc

Carlson, B. (2026). We Are the Data, but Never the Researchers: Epistemic Violence in the Study of Technology-Facilitated Abuse. *Journal of Sociology.* https://doi.org/10.1177/14407833261423228

Carlson, B., & Richards, P. (2023). Indigenous knowledges informing 'machine learning' could prevent stolen art and other culturally unsafe practices. *The Conversation.* https://doi.org/10.64628/AA.ndhfpfnkv

Carroll, S. R., Garba, I., Figueroa-Rodríguez, O., et al. (2020). The CARE principles for Indigenous data governance. *Data Science Journal, 19*(43), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.5334/dsj-2020-043

Duarte, M. E. (2017). *Network sovereignty: Building the internet across Indian country.* University of Washington Press.

Krakouer, J., Tan, W. W., & Parolini, A. (2021). Who is analysing what? The opportunities, risks and implications of using predictive risk modelling with Indigenous Australians in child protection: A scoping review. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 56*(2), 173–197. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajs4.155

Lewis, J. E., Whaanga, H., & Yolgörmez, C. (2025). Abundant intelligences: Placing AI within Indigenous knowledge framework. *AI & Society, 40,* 2141–2157. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00146-024-02099-4

Maiam nayri Wingara [MnW] (2018). *Indigenous Data Sovereignty Communique*. Available at: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b3043afb40b9d20411f3512/t/63ed934fe861fa061ebb9202/1676514134724/Communique-Indigenous-Data-Sovereignty-Summit.pdf

Mohanty, S., Dash, S., & Parida, S. (Eds.). (2024). *Applying AI-based tools and technologies towards revitalization of Indigenous and endangered languages*. Springer.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2017). Relationality: A key presupposition of an Indigenous social research paradigm. In C. Andersen & J. M. O'Brien (Eds.), *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies* (pp. 69–77). Routledge.

Notley, T., Chambers, S., Park, S., & Dezuanni, M. (2024). Adult media literacy in 2024: Australian attitudes, experiences and needs. *Australian Policy Online*. https://doi.org/10.60836/n1a2-dv63

Obermeyer, Z., Powers, B., Vogeli, C., & Mullainathan, S. (2019). Dissecting racial bias in an algorithm used to manage the health of populations. *Science, 366*(6464), 447–453. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aax2342

Perera, M., Chandrashekeran, S., Kennedy, M., Kennedy, B., Halgamuge, S., Perera, M., & Vidanaarachchi, R. (2025). Indigenous peoples and artificial intelligence: A systematic review and future directions. *Big Data & Society, 12*(2), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/20539517251349170

Prehn, J., Carlson, B., Walter, M., Lovett, R., & Maher, B. (2026 forthcoming). Indigenous Data Sovereignty and Artificial Intelligence: The Latest Frontier in Settler Colonial Epistemic Control. *Journal of Sociology.*

Rigney, L. I. (1999). Internationalization of an Indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies: A guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles. *Wicazo sa review, 14*(2), 109-121. https://doi.org/10.2307/1409555

Robinson, C., et al. (2022). Coproduction mechanisms to weave Indigenous knowledge, artificial intelligence, and technical data to enable Indigenous-led adaptive decision making: Lessons from Australia's joint managed Kakadu National Park. *Ecology and Society, 27*(4), Article 36. https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-13747-270436

Simpson, A. (2017). The ruse of consent and the anatomy of 'refusal': Cases from indigenous North America and Australia. *Postcolonial Studies, 20*(1), 18-33. https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2017.1334283

Walter, M., & Suina, M. (2023). Indigenous data, Indigenous methodologies and Indigenous data sovereignty. In *Educational research practice in southern contexts* (pp. 207-220). Routledge.

Walter, M., Lovett, R., Maher, B., Williamson, B., Prehn, J., Bodkin-Andrews, G., & Lee, V. (2021). Indigenous data sovereignty in the era of big data and open data. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 56*(2), 143-156. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajs4.141

Worrell, T. (2024a). AI affects everyone – including Indigenous people. It's time we have a say in how it's built. *The Conversation.* https://doi.org/10.64628/AA.pemj4uprt

Worrell, T. (2024b). Generative AI in the classroom risk further threatening Indigenous inclusion in schools. *The Conversation.* https://doi.org/10.64628/AA.p66sekmcp

Worrell, T. & Carlson, B. (2025). Indigenous AI futures: Uncle Chatty Gee, Aunty Lexi, and algorithmic settler colonialism. *Somatechnics, 15*(3), 296-314. https://doi.org/10.3366/soma.2025.0468

Yogarajan, V., Dobbie, G., Leitch, S., Keegan, T., Bensemann, J., Witbrock, M., Asrani, V., & Reith, D. (2022). Data and model bias in artificial intelligence for healthcare applications in New Zealand. *Frontiers in Computer Science, 4*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomp.2022.1070493

Global
Indigenous Futures
Research Centre

MACQUARIE
University