A Framework for Decolonization Interventions: Broadening the Focus for Improving the Health and Wellbeing of Indigenous Communities[1]

Bernard Guerin
University of South Australia

Abstract

Colonization has spread around the world and inexorably affected millions of people over the last few centuries. There have been many scattered intervention strategies to overcome some of the long-term effects of colonization, especially for health, education, and employment. With respect to the inequalities and discriminations that have remained after centuries, however, it is less clear what might make a difference on such a large scale. I reviewed ten broad interventions that have been tried, including: indigenous people's movements, cross cultural awareness training, antiracism and antidiscrimination training, decolonization workshops, liberation theology and psychology, and truth and reconciliation interventions. Some common

and dissimilar themes are discussed, as well as ways forward. While provisional, it is hoped that an integrated and interdisciplinary framework might help to coordinate the efforts in local community contexts throughout the world.

Keywords: decolonization, interventions, cultural awareness, antiracism, indigenous, liberation psychology

INTRODUCTION

Colonization around the world was commonly both brutal and subtle. While many, but not all, of the brutalities have been stopped, most of the subtle effects remain and greatly affect Indigenous communities to this day (Blackstock, 2000; Guerin, 2004; Perry, 1996; Strang, 1990; Trudgen, 2000). There are various people and groups working to stop the subtle effects, and reduce the disparities between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples. However, decolonization was such a massive and widespread phenomenon that in order to deal with it we need to get a view of the larger problems that were created and use them in community development work.

Three of the key intervention areas have involved working to improve health, education, and employment. These are key areas but many of the more subtle effects that affect relationships between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples have been tackled in multiple and uncoordinated ways, and research on such intervention strategies have not been integrated.

INTERVENTIONS TO COUNTER THE SUBTLE EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION

This paper is an attempt to look at the bigger picture of decolonization strategies and give some suggestions to change the effects that remain. The colonial histories, and the transgenerational transmission of disparity, has meant that contemporary groups are faced with two intervention processes: changing the way some descendents of colonizers think about and act towards indigenous peoples; and changing the way that some indigenous peoples think and act about themselves.

Any interventions are therefore faced with difficult goals — they must be much broader in scope than typical interventions found in the social sciences and health promotion, but they must also make local changes happen if they are to be supported locally. Such interventions align with some of the founders of decolonization and how they envisaged change might take place — Fanon, Deloria, Freire, Memmi, and Trask — but they are done

in different ways (Deloria, 1999; Fanon, 1963, 1967; Freire, 1972; Memmi, 1965; Trask, 1993).

This review, however, was not broached to further any particular viewpoint, theory, or assumptions. The results of the review can be meshed into various theoretical frameworks, and interpreted as such, if that is considered important. What was considered important for this paper, however, was to locate those different intervention efforts and find a preliminary but non-committal way of organizing them. As mentioned, it is hoped that readers use this and adapt in ways that make sense to them.

To begin this broadening of focus, I have categorized the interventions into ten types. All the literature on indigenous issues, research, and change processes was searched, and any intervention was found and eventually put into ten broad themes. These are not meant to be final nor exhaustive. In fact, they cannot be exhaustive or final because there is so much variation in what is tried, and new pathways are constantly being found. Their purpose is to be utilized and adapted, not set in stone. The ten broad interventions were:

1. Indigenous movements: Action orientation
2. Indigenous movements: "Popular" books and media
3. "Cross-cultural" awareness training
4. Anti-racism and anti-discrimination training
5. Decolonization workshops
6. Liberation theology and liberation psychology
7. Historical evaluations and sociopolitical analysis
8. Integrated education programs
9. Truth and reconciliation interventions
10. Treaty settlements and legal interventions

The importance of the review and its outcomes (Table 1 and Figure 1) is to see these varied interventions as ways of trying to combat the broad effects of colonization. I will go through them only briefly with examples and sources. They are meant to stimulate readers to think about the changes needed for decolonization and to help them see how the local effects that are successful might also contribute to a bigger effort.

The intervention categories are meant, therefore, to be starting points for asking: *How might we change long-term, ingrained patterns such as the effects of colonization through a series of smaller change processes?* In my life-

time we have seen a number of broad changes to social issues with long-term, ingrained patterns: women's rights, smoking, racial discrimination, Indigenous rights. While the changes have not gone as far as most people wish, and do not yet achieve all that we think is necessary, the changes that have occurred have been piecemeal, brought about by numerous smaller changes, and have had no single cause (Guerin, 2005a; Weick, 1984).

Three Issues with Interventions

Before outlining the interventions and analyzing their social contexts, there are three issues to discuss. These arise both from the broad scope of the problem in this case, and from issues related to any form of intervention.

Difficulties with evaluation. First, like most real-life interventions, it is very difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of broad decolonization interventions. It is likely that a few had a strong immediate impact, some had no real impact, and a large number had some impact and possibly a cumulative effect in conjunction with other interventions. With women's rights, for example, the women's movement strategy during the 1960s of burning bras in public might have had little immediate impact except to galvanize public opinion, but the impression probably had a cumulative effect combined with all the other interventions for women's rights going on at that time. It at least seems clear that *without* any of these radical protests, the broader attitude towards women's rights would hardly have changed at all, even though we cannot measure the effectiveness of any one of them.

Interventions have necessary context. A second issue about interventions that will be further elaborated in examples below is that interventions work within a range of contexts. For example, the 1972 Aboriginal Australian Tent Embassy in front of Parliament House in Canberra was a radical protest that gained media attention and probably had some effect. But for this to work and be successful required some conditions. To understand this one only has to imagine whether such a radical protest would have been possible ten years earlier — probably not. There were conditions in 1972 that would not have made it feasible in 1962.

This point about context raises two problems and challenges for interventions (Guerin, 2005a). First, many of the conditions necessary for an intervention to work recede into the background and so it seems that the most salient condition — having a Tent Embassy — was the "cause" of any effects. However, we have to be cautious because that was not possible without those less salient background conditions.

Second, it could always be the case that those less salient but necessary conditions were really the "cause" of any effect rather than the more salient features which the media and public seized on. So in the present example, one background condition in 1972 was that the police did not immediately dismantle the Tent Embassy, as they likely would have done in 1962. So, whatever caused *this latter* context, whether a new Police Commissioner, a change in public attitude that infiltrated the police system, or something else, any of those could be the cause of any positive outcomes following from the Tent Embassy radical protest rather than the tent *per se.* In reality, of course, it is likely that several effects were going on and there is unlikely to be a single "cause" in any case.

Replication depends upon the hidden context. Finally, the other issue is that, as we have seen, many interventions seem to work successfully with an assumed salient cause, and the broader context for change taking place is not examined closely. This creates a further issue because it is often assumed that if just those salient features are replicated then the same effects will occur. In the case above, this would be an assumption that indigenous Brazilians putting up a Tent Embassy in Rio de Janeiro in 2008 would be likely to have the same effects as the 1972 Tent Embassy in Canberra. It is clear that this would not be guaranteed success even though the Australian example had a powerful impact.

Ten Interventions that have Tried to Counter the Effects of Colonization

With these three issues about interventions in mind, the interventions that have tackled the effects of colonization in some way will be briefly presented. They are not meant to be inclusive of all interventions but should be considered as a beginning point to commence multi-method and longer-term interventions for changing the effects of colonization. Many but not all of the examples are from Australia, but readers should be able to substitute examples relevant to their part of the colonized world. There is also not the space to do justice to the richness of these interventions as well.

1. Indigenous Movements: Action Orientation

The first category consists of a wide range of community and populist groupings that broadcast and disseminate information as well as take action to change people's views and behaviours. In an intervention framework, these would include: political agitation, social marketing, active social

networking, forceful information dissemination, protest and radical solutions, and everyday resistance (Alinsky, 1971; Bobiwash, 1999; Gable, 1995; Lashley, 2000; Niezen, 2000; Scott, 1985; Sharp, 1973; Watts et al., 2003; Wishart, 2001).

Many forms of radical protest have been tried, including the obtrusive (Alinsky, 1971), the peaceful (Sharp, 1973), and the passive aggressive or resistant (Scott, 1985). This category can also include lobbying, especially when this is active rather than merely presenting information to influential figures. The 1972 Aboriginal Australian Tent Embassy in front of Parliament House in Canberra is a good Australian example that by all media and lay accounts had an impact in changing relations between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and other Australians.

2. Indigenous Movements: "Popular" Books and Media

Another common decolonization intervention strategy is the production of books, movies, and other material aimed at a popular market rather than a radical or academic market, to reach many people and change the middle ground of public opinion (Deloria, 1969; Hill, 2009; Mander, 1991). Some of these are created by nonindigenous people but they are still attempts to change people's thoughts and behaviour. Again, we know little about the effectiveness of these strategies and, as discussed earlier, this would be very difficult to measure. Also in line with the comments earlier, there are contexts necessary for the interventions to work, including, importantly, that publishers are willing to publish the books and think there is a market for them. Initially in struggles it is likely that such material will be published on the fringe by independent publishers and only later will more established publishers join in.

Such interventions can also include poetry, music, art, etc., although books and movies would appear to be those that gain the biggest audiences. Examples of these in Australia include *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* by Doris Pilkington Garimara, *Maybe Tomorrow* by Boori (Monty) Pryor, and music of the popular group Yothu Yundi. The movie of *Rabbit-Proof Fence* later spread to a different and wider audience.

Other examples can be found on the television and in bookshops (Australian Broadcasting Commission [ABC], 1990; Deboo, 1970; Deloria, 1969; Gilbert, 1977; Heiss, 2006 ; Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 1999; Mattingley, 1998; Mudrooroo, 1995; Pilkington, 1996; Pryor, 1998; Toyne and Vachon, 1984; Walker, 1996).

3. "Cross-cultural" Awareness Training

A broad range of interventions aim to increase people's knowledge of other groups and "cultures" and through this make their attitudes more positive, and through experiential and verbal training make them more aware of what indigenous people have been through and why they do what they do (Aboriginal Resource and Development Services [ARDS], 1994). This could include more structured cultural awareness training sessions as well as "popular" cultural displays and museum exhibits, since the aim is the same.

There is still a question of whether such training works. The better question, given what is outlined above, is in what contexts are they successful or not. There are as many clear cases in which just letting people know more about other cultures does not help decolonization and may even make things worse, as there are for the reverse (Cropley, 2002), so there is no one answer. A better contextual knowledge from more intensive research would help improve such interventions (e. g., Taylor and Guerin, 2010).

4. Antiracism and Antidiscrimination Training

One major factor usually invoked in decolonization is the removal of racism and discrimination. There are many interventions solely for this, although not usually aimed at a broader decolonization goal, and these are sometimes subsumed into cultural awareness training or vice versa. Once again, there are some doubts about their effectiveness and some evidence that they do not always work, at least as short-term goals (Guerin, 2003, 2005b; Hill and Augoustinos, 2001; Kiselica et al., 1999; Lindsley, 1998; Mellor, 2003; Reid and Holland, 1996). This means that we must concentrate instead on the research questions of describing the contexts in which these are successful or not, and look at longer-term effects of such interventions. Two common findings across such intervention studies in general are: (1) that only the already converted people pay attention and report that such training has a good effect; and (2) that there is a small positive effect which disappears after a week or two (Hill and Augoustinos, 2001).

5. Decolonization Workshops

Decolonization workshops consist of various materials that differ across proponents and examples. They usually involve more intensive, experiential and specific training than the two previous types, often over a weekend or an intensive week rather than a short session of a few hours. They usually include training in history, systems analysis, and political analysis,

in addition to many of the cultural awareness and antiracism components discussed above. The course or workshop is more focused on reversing colonization and its effects than just increasing cultural awareness or decreasing discrimination in general (Moeke-Pickering, 1998; Wilson and Yellow Bird, 2005).

Again there is very little to tell us whether these are effective or not. Some self-report data suggest that those undergoing the training report big changes in thinking and behaviour, but we lack good evidence either for or against, or for longer term effectiveness and trickle-down effects (Moeke-Pickering, 1998).

6. Liberation Theology and Liberation Psychology

There are groups with specific programs to "liberate" or change people with respect to colonization, usually run by indigenous and oppressed minority groups. Some are based in community psychology, some in theology by theologians who want to do more practical work, sometimes called "contextual theology" (Lykes et al., 2003; Moane, 2003; Trout et al., 2003; Watts and Serrano-García, 2003). Some have included feminist activism (Grant et al., 2003)

Most of these include some aspects of action, historical and sociopolitical analysis, and cultural awareness and antiracism. Despite the overlap with other interventions mentioned here, there is perhaps a stronger focus on social conditions, oppression, social transformation, and community empowerment rather than just on individuals and change — probably given the large impact of Freire (1972). They also emphasize resistance rather than more intrusive activisms, and focus on the descendents of the colonized learning about themselves and their situations and opportunities rather than just focusing on changing the descendents of the colonizers (Watts and Serrano-García, 2003).

Many come out of Central and South America and the specific conditions of colonization and oppression there, but much of the material is not in English and hence not widely read around the world (ironically, another effect of colonization). Such liberation strategies are commonly about local struggles and local conditions so they might not be applicable elsewhere (Lykes et al., 2003). Most do not even try to make a case that they are working with an abstract or generalizable set of change tools.

It can be argued, however, that this may be the best thing and those who attempt generalizable interventions are losing the context and hence

depriving their interventions of any real power. The local embeddedness of some interventions can therefore be seen as either a problem (they do not work elsewhere) or as the way forward (they work well in their own context and help people and we should not expect generalizable intervention "packages" anyway). It is worthwhile learning about representative programs, even if local, to analyze contexts for change and to gain new ideas for another local struggle such as those in the liberation literatures, even if they need major adaptations.

7. Historical Evaluations and Sociopolitical Analysis

There is another series of books, papers, and some workshops, centred around more critical presentations of history and sociopolitical analysis, as ways of changing people, rather than those outlined above. In general, many of these are complex and aimed at academic or more "intellectual" (or at least literate) audiences, but within that, they might have an impact. Some of the specific decolonization examples form the background reading for modern decolonization studies (Fanon, 1963, 1967; Freire, 1972; Memmi, 1965).

A good recent example is the sociopolitical development model of Watts and colleagues, setting out an academic model for change. The authors have also developed practical workshops to achieve these stages but without requiring participants to understand the academic background (Watts and Abdul-Adil, 1994; Watts et al., 1999; Watts et al., 2003). The workshops are aimed at developing "critical consciousness," and the stage model goes from an "acritical stage" to a "liberation stage." Another common example is that of historical and critical analyses of indigenous research, the colonizing influences of nonindigenous research, and how to decolonize these (e.g., Mihesuah, 1998; Smith, 1999; Thaman, 2003; Wilson, 2008).

8. Integrated Education Programs

Universities are now commonly introducing courses on indigenous studies to work towards better education and decolonization. These occur not only in psychology but across many other disciplines (Bourkeet al., 1994; Byars-Winston et al., 2005; Taylor and Guerin, 2010; Taylor and Wright, 2003; Thaman, 2003; but see Partington, 1995). Some are integrated into already existing courses whereas others are specifically designed around local indigenous content and issues, such as the call for a *Red Pedagogy* that includes critical social theory and Native American content and worldviews (Grande, 2004).

Such courses work in very different ways but usually contain components of the interventions already seen. Most have some aspects of popular books and films, exercises in "cross-cultural" awareness and antiracism training, and historical and sociopolitical analysis depending upon the level and background of the class. Very few seem to have an action orientation to actually achieve outcomes, the intensity of decolonization workshops, nor examples from liberation movements or truth and reconciliation programs. Treaty and legal aspects might be taught but as part of historical analysis rather than actively pursuing Treaty implications in reality (although some good activist examples exist in courses in New Zealand and elsewhere).

One newer addition to university courses is the study of "whiteness" or white privilege (Green and Sonn, 2006; Hartman, 2004; Hatchell, 2004). There has been controversy around this approach and some useful debate (Ahmed, 2004; Green et al., 2007; Manglitz, 2003; Taylor and Guerin, 2010; Williams, 2000). One criticism of such studies mirrors a point that can be seen for all the components listed in the previous paragraph — there is little usually involved that is highly practical or experiential. A lot of it consists of more talking, in this case about whiteness instead of indigenous issues, and not much done in the way of actually listening to indigenous peoples or integrating with them, or even working towards making real changes.

9. Truth and Reconciliation Interventions

In a number of countries, with South Africa being the most reported in the media, interventions of truth and reconciliation have been implemented. These vary greatly in how they are conducted but some details are available of several versions (Allan and Allan, 2000; Ensalaco, 1994; Gibson and Gouws, 1999; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003; Graybill, 2001; Hayner, 1994; Humphrey, 2000; Nagy, 2002; Wilson, 2000). Some allow perpetrators to come forward and confess publicly, especially to the victims or their families, and in some cases they are then exempt from prosecution or pardoned. In other cases the victims or their families can respond directly to the perpetrators with the idea that they will forgive if the truth is spelt out.

Part of the idea is that people on both sides of conflicts can be guilty of violence, and for our purposes this includes colonization, and that within the larger colonization efforts things get out of hand so that individuals may commit violent acts without necessarily "wanting" to carry them out. Truth and reconciliation forums allow the conflict to be spelt out where there is contrition, and for families and others to at least find out what happened to their loved ones.

There is a small amount of research, especially from Central and South America, but it mostly amounts to discussion rather than an evidence base (Ensalaco, 1994; Hayner, 1994). Moreover, there are a great number of problems noted both formally and informally about how these interventions work. In some cases it has been reported that perpetrators "confess" publicly to get the pardon but are not really sorry for what they did; in other cases victims and their families do not want merely truth and reconciliation but actually want the person to be punished for heinous crimes and they therefore resist allowing pardons.

In another example of a problem, a Truth and Reconciliation website set up in South Africa was scrapped after extremely hostile comments and even death threats were posted. Clearly it was not functioning in the way intended. Once again the contexts in which interventions are wrought become all important and a successful intervention in one context will not necessarily work elsewhere unless a careful study is made of all the events and contexts that were present and influential, not just those most obvious or verbalized.

10. Treaty Settlements and Legal Interventions

Legal interventions can make long-term changes and can usually be enforced, but they are difficult to bring about (Cant et al., 1993). What I have written above about conditions being in place for interventions to work is especially pertinent for legal interventions. Sometimes the necessary conditions produce weak legislation and little real change can be made. Sometimes the immediate effects are small but the cumulative effects might be helpful. So while the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand was lost for decades and not treated seriously by *pakeha* (those of European origin), once it became part of the legal system (through many conditions being put in place using radical protests and other methods), it could be used by Māori and others in powerful ways.

Legal and legislative changes are always worth pursuing but there are immense difficulties, and probably many other interventions described here need to be enacted first in order to change the contexts that allow the legislation to be approved.

Analyses

There are several messages that can be gained from this loose look at interventions which sometimes seem to achieve decolonization or a reversal of some effects of colonization. For this review, I will first put some of the

common elements into perspective, and second, suggest a time-based progression of interventions based purely upon the idea promulgated in this paper that certain interventions require preconditions before they are likely to get off the ground or to succeed.

Table 1 attempts to analyse some of the points that have been made across all ten intervention groupings. While there are certainly exceptions, these interventions can be usefully categorized in terms of whether they are initiated or aimed at either the descendents of colonizers or the colonized; whether they require an education in order to participate or understand the intervention; whether they are embedded in local struggles or aimed at more generalizable outcomes; and whether they are aimed at small, large, short-term, or long-term changes.

In general, Table 1 shows that, put together, the interventions display a broad range of targets and effects, even though any one category might be limited in scope. More of the intervention categories are aimed at descendents of the colonizers rather than the colonized, and many of the interventions, especially the easier to run ones, are typically carried out by nonindigenous people. While it is encouraging, in some ways, that nonindigenous people wish to help, and is probably a reflection on the discrepancy in population size and resources available to the two groups, it is unfortunate that indigenous peoples do not have more control since that would likely give more meaning and more reality to any outcomes, as well as employment opportunities.

A number of other points appear in this array of categories when looking at Table 1. First, no single intervention can be a magic bullet to right the wrongs that have been inflicted; we must think in terms of multiple interventions across multiple sites over time. All interventions, however, can play a useful role in a broad, slow process that will take time to cause changes on a large scale. But the idea of a *generic* decolonization program, workshop or package that would change everything is probably misguided. Any one of the intervention types in Table 1 might miss something out but together they form a strong front.

Second, a few of the discussion points also suggested that whatever the time-scale intended, all interventions need to have some immediate effect for local change. If this does not occur, then funding can be cut or popular support for changes can diminish. This can cause problems in interventions such as cross-cultural awareness and antiracism workshops, since the immediate effects are probably minimal for any one intervention even

Table 1. Ten Forms of Decolonization Interventions and their Typical Properties

	Initiated by Descendents of Colonizers or Colonized	Aimed at Descendents of Colonizers or Colonized	Requires a Good Education	Done for Small Scale Changes	Done for Large Scale Changes	Done for Short Term Changes	Done for Long Term Changes	Embedded in Contexts of Local Struggles
Indigenous movements: Action orientation	Colonized Colonizers	Colonizers		√	√	√		√
Indigenous movements: "Popular" books and media	Colonized Colonizers	Colonizers			√	√	√	√
"Cross-cultural" awareness training	Colonizers	Colonizers	√	√			√	
Antiracism and antidiscrimination training	Colonizers	Colonizers	√	√	√		√	
Decolonization workshops	Colonized	Colonized Colonizers		√		√	√	√
Liberation theology and liberation psychology	Colonized	Colonized Colonizers	√	√	√		√	√
Historical evaluations and sociopolitical analysis	Colonizers	Colonizers	√	√			√	√
Integrated education programs	Colonizers	Colonizers	√	√		√	√	
Truth and reconciliation interventions	Colonizers	Colonized Colonizers		√	√		√	√
Treaty settlements and legal interventions	Colonized Colonizers	Colonizers	√		√		√	√

though the long-term cumulative effect is likely to be real. This means that such programs can be cut if local or immediate changes cannot be demonstrated. While people might be happy to be part of generic interventions, unless there are some local and personal outcomes of benefit, the interventions are not likely to continue.

Third, we need to think contextually rather than causally about the interventions. This is partly because there are many components to any intervention, just as there are many diverse effects of colonization, and no single one of these components would bring about a change. In addition, any intervention success is due to many background or hidden contextual conditions and not just those that appear most obvious. To improve our knowledge of interventions, and how they work, research is needed to observe, systematically describe, and attempt to replicate all those conditions for successful interventions and not just report the most salient aspects. Often, crucial conditions are not obvious to either observers or the intervention agents themselves. We also need to document the contexts for interventions that do not work. Finally, context is also important in mounting an intervention in the first place; it is not just that the intervention fails because certain conditions are not in place, the intervention might not get off the ground for the same reason. Some historical or contemporary case studies would be useful for all these points.

Fourth, there are two main categories of interventions, aimed at either the "descendents of colonizers" or "descendents of the colonized." What was interesting to discover was that the majority of the interventions are aimed at one or the other of these but not both. Only two intervention categories are aimed at both but these usually are conducted separately, mostly for the cultural safety of the indigenous peoples. For instance, decolonization workshops are mounted for both indigenous and nonindigenous peoples but usually *not both in the same workshop.* Only truth and reconciliation interventions tend to involve both at the same time but we saw that there was varying success from the accounts we have at present.

The Way Forward: Guiding Principles and New Developments

The outcomes of gaining a broader framework for interventions for decolonization can also point the way towards the future. We need to:

- Provide more detail of the context when describing interventions and their steps.

- Provide more detail of the context when researching both successful and unsuccessful interventions.

- Attempt to gain immediate, local outcomes for all interventions so that they maintain.

- Develop both small and large scale interventions.

- Develop both short- and long-term interventions and be tolerant of long-term interventions if they do not show immediate outcomes.

- Involve indigenous peoples more at all stages and levels of interventions or else support their own endeavours without becoming directly involved.

- Develop new interventions that can incorporate descendents of both colonizers and colonized and at the same time be safe for the latter.

There are two other developments that can be suggested. First, in some areas of interventions, most notably family planning (Guerin, 2005a), a broad perspective called *program effort* is attempted (Guerin, 2005a, Chapter 8; Ross and Frankenberg, 1993; Ross and Maudlin, 1996). This refers to getting an indication of how much, how hard, and to what extent the programs have been working in a specified region. In the present case, this could involve the ten categories of interventions listed in Table 1 and ask the question of any country or region: "How many of these sorts of interventions are taking place?" So for example, in all of Australia, or perhaps one state of Australia, we can ask how many programs are there in each type of intervention category. Are there any decolonization programs going on? How many and what sorts of cultural awareness or antiracism programs are being run and who is doing this. In essence, *what is the total broad effort being made to do something about decolonization in this region?* It is hoped that the tentative categorization presented here can be a starting point for conducting program effort audits in local contexts.

Finally, from the review of materials we might also tentatively describe a progression of interventions, based on the idea given here that interventions require conditions to be in place. For example, before legal interventions such as treaties can be passed as legislation they must already have a strong popular appeal and have advocates and lobbyists. This means that other interventions will need to be carried out before the thinking about legislating for a treaty can even begin.

Figure 1 shows one suggestion towards this, although very tentative. Four of the interventions can probably come first because even a small

## Figure 1. Possible Temporal Pattern of Interventions for Large, Long-Term Changes in Decolonization

Early Period (needs only a small group to initiate, with few conditions)
        Indigenous movements: Action orientation
        Indigenous movements: 'Popular' books and media
        "Cross-cultural" awareness training
        Anti-racism and anti-discrimination training
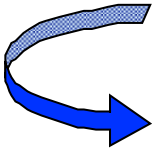
Middle Period (needs some conditions first)

        Decolonization workshops
        Liberation theology and liberation psychology
        Historical evaluations and sociopolitical analysis
        Integrated education programs
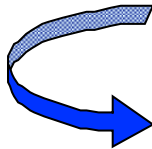
Later Period (needs many conditions, including popular support)

        Treaty settlements and legal interventions
        Truth and reconciliation interventions

group of committed sympathizers can commence such interventions on a local scale, although how these people become committed is in need of research (Who are they? Are they usually indigenous? Are they involved in other activist movements?). Once again, some case studies would help.

Once there is some basis for change, Figure 1 shows another four of the interventions that can probably get off the ground and have some effect, which would have been unlikely without the groundwork in the first period. Finally, two of the interventions seemed to need a lot of conditions and popular support before they could be mounted and before they might have a chance of being successful — treaties and truth and reconciliation interventions.

While this progression is open to exceptions, special circumstances, and error, it does provide a platform to begin thinking about the conditions for decolonization interventions and what each relies upon, in any particular

region. It also opens the door for research to study who is doing decolonization interventions, when they started, what conditions were in place, etc. Some research case studies in how decolonization interventions are mounted and run would be extremely informative for those who are developing new interventions, and they could also give guidance on how we might try and structure the broader picture in any region, after a "program effort" audit is conducted (Ross and Maudlin, 1996).

While we might not be able to easily measure the immediate effect of any one decolonization intervention, knowing more about the conditions under which each type will be successful in the long term will give us courage to continue this work, often in the face of strong opposition. It can also encourage those conducting small and local interventions by letting them see how what they are doing is supporting a much larger change process that will help millions.

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Bernard Guerin is Professor in the School of Psychology, Social Work and Social Policy at the University of South Australia. He has worked in New Zealand and Australia on a variety of projects, mostly working with Indigenous and refugee communities. Currently he is working on reviewing and re-thinking mental health in remote Aboriginal Australian communities, chronic health care for Indigenous and refugee communities, elucidating what attachment to Country means for Indigenous Australians, and the sustainability of small, remote Aboriginal Australian communities.