9 Excluding by design

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Abstract: Western Design education and Design practice discourse is beginning to express a need for greater diversity and inclusion. However, this desire to engage by merely including alternative voices or those pushed to the margins, potentially deflects from the critical examination and reset required of Designs epistemic foundations. For design to be inclusive, this must also beg the questions: Who has been excluded from Design, what are these practices of exclusion and what is revealed of Designs privilege to assume the position of host and includer? Modern iterations of what design has created; the centralised human is not sustainable or conscionable, which is evident by its own admission, through the desire to be more humane by including people of diverse backgrounds. However, when approached through Designs problem, solution mindset diversity and inclusion is at risk of being an answer motivated by offering a more broadly transactional reach and 'usefulness'. It is important to recognise that the shift to Inclusion as a policy emphasis does not erase past exclusions. Instead, the desire for diversity and inclusion can lead to Design positioning itself as benefactor, in a state of white virtue, rather than recognising itself as dominant discipline and system which politely adapts and consumes the invited other. The author writes this on unceded Indigenous lands on the continent also known as Australia. In Australian design contexts, there is an enthusiastic desire to engage with and include Indigenous peoples and knowledges within Western design education institutions. However, I contend that the inability to recognise and be in relation to Indigenous sovereignty, as the basis of the Australian state, has resulted in Design being ill-equipped and perhaps incapable of practicing in relation to Indigenous knowledge systems (sovereignty). In Designs for the Pluriverse, Columbian Design and anthropology scholar Arturo Escobar eloquently critiques neoliberal modernity, patriarchy, individualism and colonialism. In this important work, Escobar hopes to move towards designs for a 'pluriverse of sociocultural configurations'. This chapter explores this proposition while contending that it is necessary to identify and disrupt (white) racialised logics within design lest it consume pluriversal thinking as a 'value add'. I argue that the white racialised logics in design are illusive, adaptive and an exclusive disciplining practice. I draw upon critical race whiteness and indigeneity theory along with the seminal work of the Decolonising Design Group to explore a critical reset of the design episteme in relation to Indigenous sovereignty by knowing its ontological and epistemic boundedness.

Keywords: Design pluriverse, sovereignty, critical race, decolonising

Guilt by omission

Amongst those practising Western Design and within Western education institutions, there is a growing enthusiasm for including people of diverse backgrounds in the realm of Design. This is often underpinned by university policies of diversity and inclusion, which encourage and measure the presence and participation of people of diverse backgrounds. Many would argue—and I am one of those to do so, that this is long overdue. However, my impatience aside, I believe this emphasis can deflect the necessary critical examination of the power base from which diversity and inclusion are called for. For Design to be inclusive, this must also beg the following questions: Who has been excluded? What are these practices of exclusion? What is revealed of Designs epistemic foundations as it now assumes the position of host and includer? For the author, such questions arise from a trajectory of industrialisation and modernity as inscribed through the colonial project and further propelled by the racialising practices of whiteness. This is the foundation that we (non-Indigenous) operate from and respond to 'other' peoples and knowledges. From this discipline power base, the 'solution' is to absorb more rather than fundamentally reposition Design in recognition of its epistemic boundedness, in the Australian context, this boundedness is set by Indigenous sovereignties. As decolonising Design scholars Ansari and Kiem state, 'Universities have never been places that favour structural decolonisation' (2021, p. 155). Ansari and Kiem are clear in stating that effective decolonisation can only occur through radical change, recognising the university as a site of 'established networks of colonial power' (p. 156).

Throughout this chapter, I have capitalised Design as a Pronoun; as being its own 'thing' with structures, behaviours and practices. In doing so, I am critically highlighting Design as a Western discipline, *sui generis*—of its own. I do this to provoke a practice of critically looking at and understanding the basis of the 'thing' itself. As a pronoun, Design requires adherence to its own (Western) principles, which must include the way the 'thing' ontologically reproduces. I will use the lower case 'design' when referring to design as a reductive practice of production.

Modern iterations of what Design has created; the anthropocentrism of the consumptive centralised human is not working and Design now seeks to account for its role in excessive consumption, defuturing and unsustainability (Fry, 2017; Escobar, 2018; Fry, 2013). This mea culpa is evident in Design by its own admission, through the desire to be more humane by including knowledges and experiences of peoples that have been previously excluded. As a result, diversity and inclusion as a policy and mindset is at risk of merely looking for an answer, being that with diversity, there is a richer offering for Design with a wider transactional 'usefulness'. I also argue that this shift in emphasis does not erase past exclusions and instead burdens those who are included with the assumption of resetting the exclusionary thinking embedded within Design. The expectation is that those who are now deemed worthy of inclusion should offer their knowledges and experiences as solutions. I argue that this form of inclusion is a subtle adaption of colonisation under the guise of well-meaning good intentions. The desire for diversity and inclusion can seem like a noble pursuit, which positions design as a benefactor and in a state of what critical race whiteness and indigeneity scholar Nicoll terms as 'white virtue' (Nicoll, 2014). Feminist, queer and critical race scholar Sara Ahmed (2007) argues that diversity as a term is used strategically by practitioners as a solution to what has been called 'equity fatigue'; it is a term that more easily supports existing organisational ideals or even organisational

pride (p. 235). Ahmed (2007) further contends that, 'what makes diversity useful also makes it limited: it can become detached from histories of struggle for equality' (p. 235). I argue that diversity and inclusion policies have been interpreted by Design as an enthusiasm for 'the other' as a project and growth based benefit. It is this enthusiasm for 'the other' as an approach to the pluriverse that I will examine in this chapter.

In the continent now also known as Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have never ceded their land, rights or identity. Australia comprises over 350 Indigenous (First Nations) sovereign nations with distinct languages, laws, cultures, knowledges and governing systems (Behrendt, 2003). Throughout this chapter, I will use the term 'Indigenous sovereignty' as a universal, as used by Aboriginal activists to speak back to the Australian state and of that which was never ceded by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. I activate the term *Indigenous sovereignty* as the counter to Western knowledge systems and governance to emphasise that these systems continually deny their obligation to Indigenous sovereignty. I use the term Indigenous sovereignties (plural) to challenge the universalising thought and activity of Western Design (and non-Indigenous peoples) as there are and have always been many Indigenous sovereignties. By specifying sovereignties, I am addressing my concern that Design will centre itself as the designer of the pluriverse and pluriversality will only be engaged with through current diversity thinking and enthusiasm for 'the other'. I argue that what should be centred is Design's obligation to critically recognise itself as a dominant knowledge system epistemically bounded by being in relation to Indigenous sovereignties, that have always existed as pluriversal. To be in the conduct of the pluriverse and to Decolonise is to be obligated to Indigenous sovereignty (Tuck & Yang, 2012). It is common to hear terms such as 'Indigenous knowledges' or 'Indigenous cultural practices'; Indigenous sovereignties encapsulates these.

In this chapter, I refer to images I presented as discussion prompts when facilitating a series of workshops at RMIT University, titled the Early Enabling Academic (EEA) workshops. These workshops were overseen by Indigenous academics and thought leaders and comprised non-Indigenous academics as workshop participants from six different disciplines in which we explored how Western knowledge systems could be contoured and practiced through the lawful obligation of Indigenous sovereignties.

The ideas and arguments presented in this chapter have emerged through continual reflection on the EEA project. This reflects the embodied, emplaced nature of this research. The multiple cycles of action-orientated research methodologies support this ongoing exploration (Mao et al., 2016; Kemmis et al., 2013). Furthermore, the methodology I adopt is a narrative in response to Indigenous research methodologies. Decolonising research methodologies, or Indigenous research methodologies, shifts the 'ownership' or interrupts the coloniser by removing the emphasis of research 'about', 'with' or 'for' Indigenous people. Therefore, the methodology I apply is a parallel-methodology; propelled by being in response to Indigenous sovereignty, dependant on a critical situatedness and focus on my conduct of non-Indigeneity reflected by the lawful obligation of Indigenous sovereignty.

Walking in two worlds

Scholars such as Akama (2017), Haraway (2003), Law (2011) and Ingold (2010) have comprehensively exposed Design's modern condition of universalising, dominance and consumption and, therefore, its limited ability to be in relation to other beings and knowledge systems. Alongside this important discourse, Escobar positions pluriversal thinking in response to the capitalist, neoliberal and patriarchal logics within Western Design, seeing this as a modern pervasive colonialism (Escobar, 2018). Much like how Escobar proposes a 'pluriverse of sociocultural configurations' (p. 19), I bring to this the possibility of Western Design responding to Indigenous sovereignties as a foundation of and for pluriversaility. These are not separate concepts; Indigenous sovereignties are and have always been pluriversal, and non-Indigenous peoples and knowledge systems have always been obligated to be in relation to them. Indigenous sovereignties are the ways of pluriversality that (should) guide non-Indigenous ways of being and designing; as the foundation of non-Indigenous pluriversality.

The image in Figure 9.1 was presented in the EEA workshops in order to provoke discussion on the relationship between knowledge systems. While the image presents a relationship of two or many, through discussion prompts attention was directed towards developing critical situatedness within Western knowledge systems, rather than defaulting to requests for information about the 'other' surrounding knowledge systems. Furthermore, the purpose in conversations was to challenge what I are suggest are more typical responses when discussing Indigenous knowledges; how we might bring the two together, through a lens of equality or inclusion, but rather to discuss what obscures the foundational reset required of the Western disciplines and non-Indigeneity in order to be in a sovereign relationship.

On many occasions, I have heard Indigenous people speak of their ability to 'walk in two worlds' which is to navigate the demands and effects of colonisation and remain as sovereign beings (Paton, 2018). This navigating of worlds is something

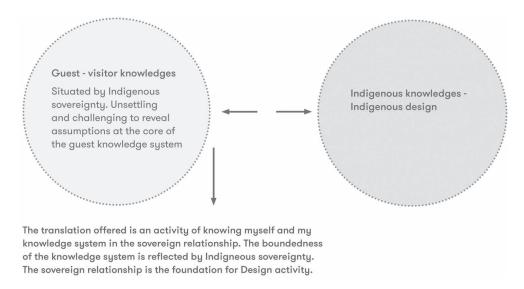


Figure 9.1 This image was presented in the EEA workshops as an initial, relatable example of Indigenous sovereignties as a foundation and the colonial designed response.

that Western Design has never had to do. To recognise that the continent, now also known as Australia, comprises over 350 Indigenous nations or sovereignties, we must also recognise that Indigenous ways of being have always been designing the pluriverse. Yet the Design episteme was not formed to recognise and act in response to this particular pluriversality; it was formed from thinking that obscured and denied the validity of other knowledge systems.

By placing myself here

In the following paragraphs, I briefly describe who I am in relation to Indigenous knowledges and peoples with as much brevity as possible. I am also conscious that my critique does not allow distance from my whiteness and avoid accountability and examinations of my privilege by supposedly being the good critical academic (Macoun, 2016). My intention is to move beyond positioning a description of who I am into a situated critical practice in response to Indigenous sovereignties. I use the terms 'obligation' and 'lawful obligation' deliberately and repetitively throughout this chapter in order to counter the possibility that engagement with Indigenous knowledges and Indigenous 'issues' would be positioned as 'good' social justice work and subsumed into institutional policies of 'diversity and inclusion'. Within these policy environments, social justice approaches tend to be centralised for marginalised groups, supposedly offering equality as a concession, while inadvertently reiterating the fact that these inequalities were created and continue to be recreated by the powerful. To focus on Indigenous sovereignty centres on the lawful relationship between peoples and knowledge systems.

I live, practise Design, research and teach on the unceded lands of the Woi Worrung and Boon Wurrung language groups of the Eastern Kulin Nations. Womin Djeka is the sovereign practice of Welcoming for the Kulin Nations. Womin Djeka is translated into English to mean; Come? And, what is your business or intention? I see this as not merely a request to the visitor to introduce or explain themselves; it is a statement of the sovereign's authority and the basis for the non-Indigenous visitors continual, situated, ontologically placed, lawful relationship. In a sense, the sovereign host is stating, 'I come from here, where do you come from?' The sovereign host emerges from this country and is inextricably one with country itself. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are not from anywhere else. My being, and my design can only be grounded 'here', in an ontological way through my obligation to the sovereignty of the host while also understood as being from elsewhere. Recognising and reconnecting this 'elsewhereness' is particularly challenging for design. It disrupts the assumption that possession, property and the designed narratives of Australian-ness are an ontology of being 'home'. Throughout the text 'Indigenous Sovereignty and the Being of the Occupier', non-Indigenous philosophy scholars Toula Nicolacopoulos and George Vassilacopoulos (2014) describe the persistent presence of Indigenous sovereignty as unsettling non-Indigenous people and rendering them (us) as 'the occupier'. Design emerged elsewhere through Industrialisation and a zeal for growth as progress (Fry, 2017; Giard & Schneiderman, 2013). Reason and capitalist logics of possession are the claim to be here, by taking up space and occupying (Moreton-Robinson, 2017). Whereas Indigenous sovereignty emerges from an ontological connection to country and spiritual beings, as practiced since time immemorial (Moreton-Robinson, 2003). The immovable, ontological design of Indigenous sovereignty is a constant reminder of Western Design's epistemic distance. Design distances itself from its obligation to Indigenous sovereignty by deploying practices of surface-level inclusion as a relief from the persistent challenge posed by Indigenous sovereignty.

I was born on Barapa Barapa country in the settlement town of Kerang, in Victoria, Australia. It was not until my young adulthood that I began to know my home as being on Barapa Barapa and Yorta Yorta countries. Further into my adulthood, I have had to reconceive of my home as being founded through the legal fiction of terra nullius; on stolen Indigenous lands (Behrendt, 2003; West, 2020). I am a non-Indigenous, white cisgendered gay man trained in Western Design and Western education practices. My husband, Mark, is a Wiradjuri man. Wiradjuri is an Indigenous Nation in New South Wales. Mark and I are at home in Melbourne/Naarm and are guests or visitors in relation to Kulin sovereignty. I use the terms guest or visitor as offered to non-Indigenous people and non-Kulin (Aboriginal) people from the Kulin elders in Welcoming ceremonies (McKenna, 2014). Mark, being Wiradjuri, responds to Woi Worrung and Boon Worrung sovereignty as an ontological way of being (McMillan, 2020). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have always been in sovereign relations with each other. This is the pluriversal foundation I am obligated to know myself in relation to. However, I have been taught to deny and obscure Indigenous sovereignties, and this practice of exclusion is designed and of Design. As Willis rightly states, 'We are designed by our designing and by that which we have designed' (Willis, 2006, p. 80). Geonpul, Quandamoka scholar Moreton-Robinson describes the non-Indigenous capitalist connection to place as a surface world (2017), and for non-Indigenous people, its illusive equilibrium depends on the denial of Indigenous sovereignties.

I am beginning to see myself in a practice of witnessing, being positioned and influenced by the conduct of Indigenous sovereignties; however, I am not a passive, objective, removed observer and designer. As Suchman argues, we do not design in a neutral space or hold an apolitical view, nor are designers invisible or removed from design situations (2007). Suchman is clear that designers need to take accountability for their vision of the world and emphasises the importance of locating the basis of Design, including bias and intentions. By divulging who I am, I am not neutralising accountability for the designs I am embed in. I am a non-Indigenous white cisgendered man accepting the obligations of Designing on unceded Indigenous lands.

Excluded by design

I am a gay man of a particular age. My early formative years as a teenager and as a young adult living in Melbourne were experienced within the 1980s to mid-1990s AIDS/HIV crisis. To be gay was already criminal and presented as morally deviant; however, from this period on, we were also positioned as a contagious, lethal threat to the heteronormative family unit. To be a gay man was to be a spectre of a deviant death, which needed to be distanced and, at best pitied (Stylianou, 2010; Vitellone, 2001). This was the design of my emergence into homosexuality. Initially, silence, denial and excluding myself from the gay community meant survival. The stigma and the resulting exclusion by governments, health officials, medical research and social care was designed, not accidental. To bring further context to the times, homosexuality was criminalised in Australia up until 1992; therefore up to that point, my

existence was criminal. From this period, I have vivid memories of attending funerals, candlelight vigils, fundraising events and ACTUP marches. However, I am fortunate to be one of the beneficiaries of Australia's world-leading responses to AIDS/HIV. That, too, was designed from within the LGBTQI+ community as a reaction to being marginalised. I place this sense of myself here with as much brevity to avoid suggesting character depth or inspiring empathy but rather to make clear the living memory of exclusion that drives me to ask the following; What am I now being included in, at what cost (or whose exclusion) and for whose larger purpose? I also acknowledge the ways in which many people feel and are excluded from dominant paradigms. I know I am not alone or exceptional in this.

My experiences as a gay man are not positioned here to suggest equivalence through marginalisation to Aboriginal people, people of colour and, in particular, Aboriginal gay men. Aboriginal gay men, Aboriginal people and people of colour are far more affected by AIDS and HIV than their white counterparts. My experiences are as a white gay man. The privilege of my access to health care, health messaging for which I was the intended audience and my activism comes with the assurance and the security of being a white gay man. As a white gay man, I was ultimately deemed worthy of being included and saved.

I also benefit from being able to comply to and gain access to (white) heterosexuality, if I accept the many conditions that this demands. White gay men can instigate positive change because of their access to power and political influence. In Australia, this can be seen in the achievements of Don Dunstan as State Premier leading South Australia as the first state to decriminalise male homosexuality in 1975 and Tasmanian activist Rodney Croome's actions in the high court of Australia leading to Tasmania being the final jurisdiction to decriminalise homosexuality in 1997 (Riseman, 2019; Reynolds, 2002). Aboriginal LGBTQI+ people are racialised by and from white heteronormativity in ways that I am not. Therefore, the conditions of entry for Aboriginal gay men, including from white gay men, demands far more personal editing and code switching energy than I have ever had to exert. However, such is the pervasiveness of heteronormativity that I frequently catch myself prosecuting the standards of the heterosexual male to my own detriment, against myself and other gay men. An awareness of what my privilege allows is an important critical view of the designs in which I am embedded in and benefit from.

A queer critical perspective is deployed by communications theorist Matthew Cox who refers to the workplace as the 'working closet' (2019) in order to bring forward the queer or 'unorthodox space' which includes queer rhetorics, queer peoples and their 'life contacts' (p. 3). Cox goes on to describe the need for disruption to heteronormativity by including queer alternative perspectives which can improve productivity. However, I position my queer unorthodoxy as contextualised by my racialised orthodoxy (power and privilege) as a critical practice as 'productive' only in service to my obligation to Indigenous sovereignty. This is not just about critical race theory as applied to social hierarchies, but goes to a sovereign relationship not recognised and continually deflected. The governance of Australia was designed to be exclusive; to not govern in relation to Indigenous sovereignty. Consequently Western disciplines and education institutions were not designed to be in relation to Indigenous sovereignty (knowledge systems). A description of my otherness and my situatedness within otherness should be seen primarily as an organising practice amongst non-Indigenous peoples. Whereas, Indigenous sovereignty is not the other; it is fact; it is not at the margin; it is the foundation from which Design needs to situate. My experiences inform my ability to see problems with the design narratives of Australian-ness and the governance of Australia. However, I cannot use the existence of being an identified other as a deflection from my obligations to Indigenous sovereignty.

Enthusiasm and the 'race to innocence'

Inclusivity in Design as a desire and as a named priority tends to manifest as including non-designers and end users as valuable in so far as providing information and ultimately 'improving' an end design outcome (Bichard & Gheerawo, 2013). However, I argue that while Design invites others in, it remains politely dominant, as a hegemonic practice by refreshing itself with the latest, expansive 'business as usual'. Design has been adapted and expanded under the guise of democratising the design process for greater 'usefulness' by inviting in (non-designer) community members. In a similar vein Service Design translates and assimilates multiple, layered experiences and presents these as readable 'displayable' human narratives. This can be an energetic, dynamic design process; when you step back, there appears to be a web of inclusion. However what must also be recognised is the Designed effortlessness of these methods in which human experiences become a source of information through and for capitalist logics (West, 2020).

Recently, in keeping with institutional policies, there has been an increased interest—and I argue a hyper-alertness—towards Indigenous peoples and their knowledges. Alongside this there is increased recognition of the impacts of colonisation and greater valuing of Indigenous knowledges by non-Indigenous people and Western education institutions. This is an important development in non-Indigenous and Indigenous relationships. Some of the dominant thinking has been challenged, in which Indigenous people were seen as primitive, phenotypically black and existing only in faraway remote locations, not present in urban centres and to be celebrated only when presenting a palatable 'traditional' form of cultural activity or when acquiescing to (white) modernity (Behrendt, 1998; Gorrie, 2017). I am careful in saying that 'some' of these attitudes have shifted. I firmly believe that much of this thinking persists but now the 'traditional' or successful Aboriginal is romanticised or designed as part of an Australian pride, tourism narrative. Institutional policies that direct staff to cultural awareness training as 'one-off' isolated compliance sessions have accelerated this. Non-Indigenous people generally approach these sessions with the expectation of 'learning about' Aboriginal people and thus well-meaning cultural curiosity becomes the central relationship gesture. This gesture of 'learning about', as an activity of inclusion has accelerated a non-Indigenous 'race to innocence'. I use the term 'race to innocence' as coined by feminist scholars Fellows and Razack to describe the problem of 'competing marginalities' (1997, p. 335). Fellows and Razack direct this specifically to the experiences of conflict and immobility in feminist political discourse. Innocence emerges as a form of deflection as each woman comes to believe that her own claim of subordination is the most urgent and that she is unimplicated in the subordination of other women hence the 'race to innocence' (p. 335). In the 'race to innocence', that I refer to, it is not that Design is saying 'I'm oppressed, too; therefore, I don't need to critically examine myself', although I have heard designers say similar things to this. I believe that Design, through its inclusive methods, is saying 'I'm carefully listening to you, being more accommodating of you, and referencing you. And that is enough'. I believe that challenging an assumed innocence in Design is particularly valuable as ground-work towards developing layered, situated pluriversality, which emerges through a consciousness of obligation to Indigenous sovereignties.

The design of you

Design has participated in the creation of the centralised human and its pinnacle as cisgendered male, heteronormative, white and able-bodied. The centralised human is designed to be the dominant knowledge holder, and to maintain this, other epistemes must be excluded, sometimes through overt racist policies and actions (Nakata, 2007) and other times through seemingly passive, 'well-meaning' assimilations. In particular, it is the practices of whiteness as being within and of Design that propels its innocent dominance. I use the term 'whiteness' to refer to racialised behaviours, practices, values and systems that constitute the social ecologies around us and are embodied within or navigated by to varying degrees all non-Indigenous people. More broadly, this is embedded in the cultural, historical and sociological aspects of white dominant social systems. The racialised logic of whiteness operates to remain out of the ordering of race categories while defining and managing the category itself (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). This creates and maintains invisible race structures that shape a society so that colonial practices become fundamental and 'common sense' (Rigney, 1999, p. 114). This then leads to a logic that propagates the construction of whiteness as an ideology tied to social hierarchies. These often remain hidden from view, particularly from the non-Indigenous white person. This being said, the invisibility of whiteness is harder to achieve now that the voices and presences of people of colour and Indigenous peoples have been elevated. However, as we realise that these experiences are worth listening to, we need to be backward looking, not future looking, to chip away at Design's exclusionary knowledge base. Drawing from my experiences in heteronormative spaces, my choice to be included is to acquiesce and play on 'your' terms, to edit and comply. In this setting, this is to be or feel continually examined and conscious of maintaining my worth to be included and to be careful that I am not a problem or conscious that I might merely be an information source. LGBTQI+ people have always been in design and have always been negotiating what is an acceptable engagement, or what is palatable and consumable, navigating an acceptable level of difference within the frame of inclusion. You can be different but not too different. I bring this consciousness to my engagement with Indigenous Design practitioners. Indigenous architects, industrial, fashion, communication and games designers design through their ontological connection to country as their epistemic base. When I am offered Indigenous knowledge translated into Western Design, my response is not to treat this as an addition to my Design practice but to acknowledge the translation as a sovereign practice, which situates my responsibility to the sovereign relationship. I remind myself; I'm not interested in you as information source, I am placed by sovereign conduct within the pluriverse, through recognition of my Designs surface, ontological 'elsewhereness'. The offering or invitation of Indigenous knowledges needs to be understood as a practice of Indigenous sovereignties that states: We design from country, we are designed by country. Who are you and, where do you design from?

Conclusion

Indigenous sovereignty (and sovereignties) is the foundation from which non-Indigenous people can be in sovereign relationship, therefore Indigenous sovereignty cannot be othered, marginalised or included. I am surrounded by the pluriversality of Indigenous sovereignties not as something I can know through Western ways of knowing or that attempting to replicate is knowing, but what I need to know is how to live and Design in a sovereign relationship. What is most likely to disrupt my relationship to Indigenous sovereignty is non-Indigeneity reorganising itself as it designs the gravitational pull of Western standards of what can be included, empathised with and what creates a palatable form of diversity.

At the formation of knowledge, at the knowledge base itself, being in relation to Indigenous sovereignties as pluriversality was not valued as integral to the foundation of design. Now, diversity and inclusion risks being an activity of designing ways of overcoming gaps in design and avoiding the admission that the knowledge base itself is the problem.

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