MindMatters 'Anangu Way':
A Community led approach to Mental Health and Wellbeing

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this paper is to share the MindMatters approach to working in Anangu communities in the Far North-West corner of South Australia and the Southern region of the Northern Territory. (The term Anangu is a collective term that Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people use to refer to themselves.) Remote Indigenous communities experience significant levels of incidences and ongoing issues with young people and their mental health and wellbeing. Mainstream programs in this field remain bound to the coastal fringe of the nation, or do not reinvent in order to build community capacity for understanding, engagement and agency for change in their families, schools and communities. An innovative approach to these concerns has been taken in the implementation of MindMatters in Anangu schools in South Australia and the Northern Territory to enable community led mental health and wellbeing. This article describes the work that has occurred. It exemplifies the value of a respectful, strength-based paradigm that focuses on a community development approach. The outcomes of this work include local capacity building; ongoing development of quality resources in Pitjantjatjara language, and the emergence of agency for change. A flexible process and framework facilitated the implementation of this work. Reproducible principles include the value of respecting and privileging contextual knowledge and capacity. In doing so, Anangu educators have taken ownership of the program and a passion for bringing others along the MindMatters journey…Anangu way.

Acknowledgements

Background

Recently, the ABC's television program Four Corners (10/09/12) aired a program *There is No 3G in Heaven*, describing a region in the South-East of Melbourne experiencing the pain and trauma of suffering an epidemic of self-harm and suicide amongst young people in their community. The sense of loss, pain and urgency to act to prevent further loss of life was not lost on the viewing public, reminding Australians that there is a critical need to be proactive in promoting discussion, understanding and agency amongst our schools and communities to respond to these types of issues. MindMatters, implemented by Principals Australia Institute is a resource and professional development initiative supporting Australian secondary schools in promoting and protecting the mental health, and social and emotional wellbeing of members of school communities, preferring a proactive paradigm to the position of 'disaster response'.

The MindMatters approach offers a flexible framework and a wide range of tools that any school can use to adapt for their own context to plan, monitor and review strategic action and as a result, improve mental health and broader learning outcomes for students. Through this approach, schools and communities collaborate to co-designed actions to address mental health and wellbeing health (MHWB) for young people within the local school community. This is achieved by delivering activity based professional development to staff and school communities, developing resources and modelling ways teachers can engage their students and leaders can engage staff and community members. The framework provides an opportunity to plan, monitor and evaluate a holistic program that integrates across the broader curriculum and influences the school culture, values and commitment to promoting an ongoing and embedded approach to supporting the MHWB of young people.

Whilst their mainstream focus has continued, grown and become embedded across the nation since their beginning in 2000, MindMatters staff have also sought to establish localised and empowering approaches to MHWB promotion in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) communities. Statistically speaking, the incidences of mental health and wellbeing related concerns in these areas remain high and well in excess of mainstream occurrences.

Australian Indigenous Health*InfoNet* (2012) provides an alarming picture of ATSI 'disadvantage' across the country in comparison to the rest of the population. This disparity in the data between ATSI and other Australians is reflected repeatedly in national statistics relating to health, life expectancy, education outcomes, employment and financial status, youth suicide and so on (see HREOC 2008, Guenther 2012, Australian Indigenous Health*InfoNet* 2012 and Dusseldorp Skills Forum et al 2009). For example, Health*infoNet* (2012) states,

"The most recent estimates from the ABS show that an Indigenous male born in 2005-2007 was likely to live to 67.2 years, about 11.5 years less than a non-Indigenous male (who could expect to live to 78.7 years) [8]. An Indigenous female born in 2005-2007 was likely to live to 72.9 years, which is almost 10 years less than a non-Indigenous woman." (http://www.healthinfonet.ecu.edu.au/health-facts/summary)

In relation to MHWB, they highlight that ATSI report higher rates of experiencing "stressor(s)" (stressful events in a person's life) than the non-ATSI population (see figure 4)

Figure 4. Proportion (%) of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who experienced stressor(s), by type of stressor, 2008 and 2010
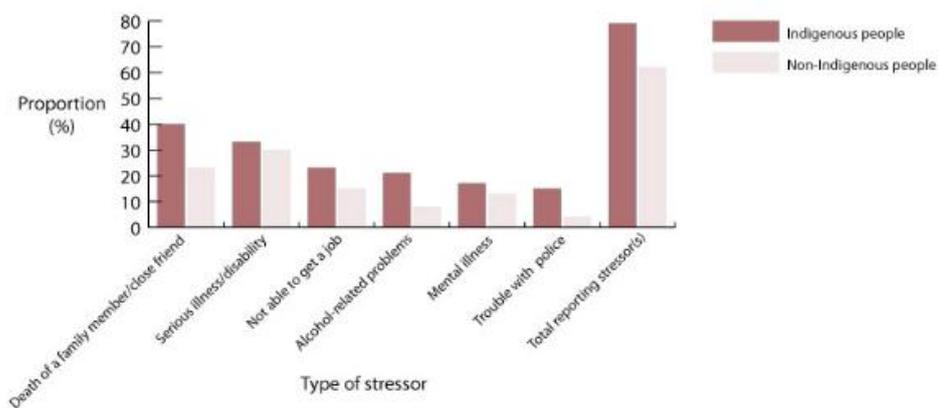
Source: AIHW, 2011 [13], ABS, 2011 [21]

Further, they go on to state that,

In 2008-09, Indigenous people were almost twice as likely to be hospitalised for 'mental and behavioural disorders' than were other Australians [22]. Indigenous people were twice as likely to die from these disorders as non-Indigenous people and, deaths from intentional self-harm are especially high for young Indigenous people. (http://www.healthinfonet.ecu.edu.au/health-facts/summary)

Many remote regions and communities lack a community based MHWB service. Many communities have access to a clinic and a trained nurse or doctor, for example, but remote clinics do not necessarily seek to provide MHWB supports outside of the point at which a medical or clinical intervention is required, leaving young people with limited access to ongoing supports in this regard.

Dusseldorp Skills Forum et al (2009) shows a similar disparity in terms of school retention, unemployment figures and school completion rates. In many of these figures, 'the gap' increases with remoteness. For example,

> *The full-time employment gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is generally smallest in the main cities, slightly greater in the regional areas and largest in the remote areas. (p.53)*

As the data confirms, in an unequal society, remote ATSI communities approach the 'level playing field' of uniform (for example, nationalised) approaches to education, health and service delivery from unequal positions, further exacerbating the power inequality through the lack of community engagement with, and understanding of the values, axioms and assumptions that inform these programs and policies. This inequality is reflected in data differentials between mainstream and marginalised communities in regards to the MHWB, educational outcomes and life opportunities. The data reveals increasing disparity as remoteness and concentration of Aboriginal populations increases (see Dusseldorp Skills Forum et al 2009, HREOC 2008, McCuaig & Nelson 2012, Guenther 2012, Vilegas [in press]).

Guenther (2012) points out that remoteness alone is not necessarily an indicator of 'disadvantage', where NAPLaN (National Assessment Program- Literacy and Numeracy) results in the Northern Territory, for example show no discernible difference between very remote and other non-ATSI Northern Territory students, but the degree of remoteness and concentration of ATSI enrolments in schools has a direct correlation to the increasing 'gap' in NAPLaN results when compared to the mainstream population, to the point that very remote schools with 100% ATSI enrolment essentially represent little or 'no' achievement in the benchmark indicators. This data underpins the notion that distance from urban centres may pose some logistical challenges for service delivery, but the distance in ideology, axioms, ontologies and epistemologies between mainstream Australia and remote ATSI Australians is indeed the 'gap' of significance that has yet to be bridged in order for remote ATSI young

people to reach an equality in terms of educational 'success', healthy lives, a strong sense of self-efficacy and a resilient mental health and wellbeing environment.

Taking the challenge on

Against this backdrop, MindMatters was approached to support MHWB education programs through supporting staff and community collaboration at Indulkana in 2004. Indulkana community is on the eastern fringe of the APY lands in the remote north-west corner of South Australia. It is important to note that the field of MHWB was a fairly new concept to remote schools prior to this, with clinical/medical approaches holding the single avenue for access to a community based service in the region.

From the MindMatters perspective, it was necessary to address the challenge of working closely and respectfully with ATSI communities far beyond a sense of mere symbolic justice or impulsive moral compulsion. Multiple generations of concerning issues for ATSI young people are not simply going to be 'fixed' by short term interventions, mainstream logic and approaches and externally imagined 'silver bullets'.

Whilst MindMatters may have found more effective ways to synergise language, shared values and purpose from within the various elements of mental health promotion and service delivery organisations, the reality is that Anangu values, language and sensibilities could not be assumed to mirror those of other Australian community contexts.

Contested Knowledge Spaces

Not everything that counts can be counted; and not everything that can be counted counts.
-- Albert Einstein.

This paper seeks to amplify the traditional and newly constructed knowledge that has underpinned the MindMatters work in Anangu communities. Anangu have their own distinct ways of knowing and understanding, but rarely is this expressed in the hard, quantitative terms that define them as 'disadvantaged', or 'behind' on the range of measures highlighted earlier. This work seeks to privilege the qualitative expression of Anangu voices from a (self-appointed) position of ability over disability and capacity over incapacity for educating young people and leading behavioural change that matters. Indeed, to frame this work from a perspective of 'disadvantage' simply cements the (false) logic that remote Australians exist only in the terms of reference as defined by urban Australia.

MindMatters has continually sought and included Aboriginal perspectives (including employing Aboriginal staff and the formation of a national committee). They have made significant commitments to 'walk the talk' of respecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures in their work at every level. Despite these commitments, the unique cultural, linguistic and geographic context of remote communities demands a new and innovative approach to the delivery of MHWB education in schools.

The cultural interface

Nakata (2007) describes the intersection between traditional and scientific (western) knowledge as the 'cultural interface'. Nakata argues that:

> *In their differences, Indigenous knowledge systems and Western scientific ones are considered so disparate as to be "incommensurable" (Verran 2005) or "irreconcilable" (Russel 2005). (p.8)*

As ATSI academics Arbon (2008), Ford (2010) and Nakata (2007) explain, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander axioms, epistemologies, cosmologies and ontologies vastly differ from the inherent values, knowledges and implicit understandings that underpin the dominant western neo-liberal society's 'norms'. Noel Pearson (2009) argues, in education terms, that ATSI young people need to pursue the 'serious' (powerful) aspects of western education, without being distracted by claims of 'cultural appropriateness' that leave people stranded in between 'powerful traditional knowledge' and 'powerful education'. On the contrary, Sarra (2011) argues that affirming young people's Indigenous identity and values builds a sense of control, affording communities a sense of agency in their own pursuit of a 'powerful' education. Munns & McFadden (2000) describe the resistance position taken by ATSI youth as their own implicit values and ontologies come into apparent conflict with the 'implicit codes' (Delpit 1993) and values that inform "whitestream" (Haraway 2004) schooling and education.

These dynamics highlight the complexities and tensions that exist in framing universal education and mental health and wellbeing programs for ATSI youth, laying a powerful argument for the flexible community development approach that MindMatters prefers, to the prescriptive paradigm of the more traditional health and education models.

Returning to Nakata's (2007) 'cultural interface', another layer of complexity exists where service providers inevitably arrive at the remote community context from 'somewhere else'. In order to gain an understanding of how to work effectively in an Anangu community

context, Piranpa (non-Anangu) first need to learn how to 'hear' what really matters for Anangu. Particularly in the field of MHWB, this is not only a critical skill for effective communication, but underpins the ability for service providers to position their work to be engaged with in meaningful ways. Resources such as *Wangka Wiru* (Eckert and Hudson 2010), *Whitefella Culture* (Hagan 2008) and *White Men are Liars* (Bain 2006) have been produced to assist Piranpa to better understand how to work in the Anangu context. An interesting sidenote here is that initially, *Whitefella Culture* (Hagan 2008) was written to allow Anangu to grasp a sense of the 'Secret English' (Bain 1979), or 'implicit codes of power' (Delpit 1993), but has been augmented in its use by Piranpa for informing themselves of the 'codes of power' in the Anangu sense.

As Osborne (2012) explains, the remote context is a complex space where moving from 'listening to understanding' can be easier said than done:

> *In the sense of the Pitjantjatjara term 'kulini' (listening), a deepening spiral exists as to the extent we can 'hear'. The Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara dictionary (Goddard, C. 1996) states the English meanings as: listening, hearing, thinking, deciding, knowing, understanding, feeling, premonition (sixth sense). In the sense of 'kulini', a dilemma exists for Piranpa educators in Anangu communities where an epistemological and ontological impasse exists (see for example Nakata 2007b, Ford 2010 and Arbon 2008, Bain 2006) and time pressures loom imminently on a constant basis raising the inevitable question, "How can we really hear?" (p.2)*

It can take many years to build an 'understanding' of Anangu values and ontologies meaning that Piranpa need to either spend a very long time simply 'being' with Anangu to gain deep understandings from which to position their work, or their work needs to be positioned in a manner that Anangu can come to the work from a position of 'knowers' in the cultural and contextual sense and develop a growing understanding of the broader imperatives of the work. In the case of MindMatters, the logic of empowering the 'knowers' through sharing knowledge, program construction and commitment to the work has been a feature of their approach spanning the last 8 years.

The process

In 2004, the invitation to work at Indulkana focussed on finding avenues for building relationships between school staff and community members. Immediately, it became clear that the MindMatters staff were required to build an understanding of the community in order to know where to begin in building a shared, developmental approach to the work. As Covey

(1989) describes as a habit of the 'character ethic', it is important to, 'Seek first to understand, then to be understood.' It is critical that Piṟanpa adopt this approach, engaging with the challenge of *kulini* (hearing) in order to enable more effective practice in their professional pursuits in Aṉangu communities.

The three key principles that underpin the MindMatters Community Partnership pedagogy and developmental approach are; a strength based approach, a distributed leadership focus and empowerment of local educators and community members as a priority. This necessarily requires a privileging of existing capacity in the community to build identity, ownership and engagement, but ultimately, allow communities to lead the MHWB agenda for young people at the local level. MindMatters activities and concepts are used as a basis to develop contextualised materials and local language resources to offer a wider range of options. Aṉangu educators then work with students, supported by colleagues and community members who have shared in the developmental process.

Three key educators in the APY lands, Katrina Tjitayi, Makinti Minutjukur and Sandra Ken were asked to reflect on what it is about MindMatters that enabled them to take the initiative and develop the process of MWHB education and promotion as 'their own'. Katrina made the following observations (recorded interview 13/09/12):

KT: When we saw the MindMatters program, we were thinking we could see some really good things emerging; important things. I saw the activities and thought, "It would be great to have this for our students. We should have this in our schools and also have the stories shared "Aṉangu way", from our people, our histories and culture. That's the reason Aṉangu have been learning to deliver the program, it's a shared story; Piṟanpa way and our way. When Aṉangu see that, they learn. When Aṉangu see just Piṟanpa talking or teaching, they can't really relate or engage, but when it involves Aṉangu and is spoken in our language, it opens our spirit to learning and being receptive to new things. That's something I've been reflecting on.

Children need to hear through Aṉangu way; life in the bush, the things we've done, throwing a spear, all of those things, straightening (the spear); how to care for the essential life force (kuuti) that Aṉangu hold. As we develop these stories and understandings, other stories begin to emerge. Like, 'better thinking', for example, we developed through a workshop which we designed from our own understandings and thinking. Our way.

This makes it easy for Aṉangu to do the teaching. That's why we see this program continuing to be strong. It also strengthens our own thinking and understanding of these things and children can engage with the concepts from a young age. I've been developing some new ideas about starting a wellbeing team. We develop the programs ourselves and send them out to other Aṉangu. They then bring the activities back and join with us, further developing the ideas and the activities. We link up with Aṉangu teachers, AEWs (Aṉangu Education Workers), Aṉangu Coordinators and we bring together everyone's experiences and it grows the program together. I can't do it on my own, it leaves me weak and vulnerable, but as we've come together over and over, it strengthens the work around the idea of 'better thinking'. I really like this collaborative

approach to the work and it strengthens us, growing our identity too, joining our own thinking to the Piṟanpa concepts. I look at these ideas through the things that are important to us, through our culture and history and ways of understanding.

It has been a wonderful experience to do this ourselves. New staff come and see the work and get a surprise when they realise how much we've already developed and achieved doing it our way. Seeing what we've already developed, they work out new ways to build on what we've already established. When we take this approach, we get the thinking right.

The building of confidence and capacity with Aṉangu educators is a critical element to the MindMatters approach. This is achieved through repetition and a pedagogy that involves the learners actively engaging in the work. 'Look, Listen, Learn' and the use of visual supports are all strategies that have proven to be successful in working with Aṉangu community members and Aṉangu educators. Tactile approaches build engagement and interest, unlocking new approaches for thinking about the concepts being presented. Reinforcing the collective through group activities builds confidence, rather than adopting more traditional approaches to teaching that are more strongly focussed on the individual. This reduces a sense of risk for the learner and builds confidence. The key element that threads all of this together is quality relationships. All of these processes can then be applied when working with young people both in school and in the community.

In reflecting on and sharing the process of learning together, MindMatters has produced short DVDs that highlight these shared processes (see *Iwantja Indulkana Aṉangu Story*, *Wiltja Story* - MindMatters website, *In our own words – Ernabella Aṉangu School DVD - 2010*). Aṉangu educators also play a crucial role in linking education, health organisations and communities together as various MHWB challenges emerge in young people's lives.

Learning to 'hear'

As suggested previously, in order to be effective as a Piṟanpa or 'outside' professional coming 'in', Piṟanpa need to make a strong commitment to learning to view, hear and 'be' from alternative paradigms to those they were raised in. Delpit (1993) eloquently describes the 'culture of power' that exists and how:

> *"....members of any culture transmit information implicitly to co-members. However, when implicit codes are attempted across cultures, communication frequently breaks down. Each cultural group is left saying, "Why don't those people say what they mean?" as well as, "What's wrong with them, why don't they understand? (p.123)"*

This presents a two-fold challenge for Piṟanpa professionals. They need to examine themselves and critically reflect on their own 'implicit codes' and social norms,

understandings and expectations that are often assumed as 'shared knowledge'. On the other side, they are suddenly immersed in a context where "other" (Anangu) 'implicit codes of power' exist. The Piṟanpa professional is immediately aware that their attempts at communication 'frequently break down' and that often, both Anangu and Piṟanpa stand looking blankly at each other, wondering, "Why don't they understand?" Some professionals approach this dilemma from the perspective that "they" need to understand and engage with what "we" (the dominant culture) have to offer "them". This is an adoption of a particular power paradigm that redistributes disadvantage, leads to disengagement and over the years, has resulted in the evolution of subtle yet complex strategies of resistance (see Munns & McFadden 2000, Osborne 2012, Minutjukur & Osborne 2012).

In order to address, in some way, the unequal power dynamics described here, the MindMatters process adopts a constructivist approach, building on the existing knowledge base and using a shared construction and design process in developing new work. In this way, MindMatters adapts to the context, rather than the context adapting to a pre-prepared kit of universally applied tools. This process requires the group to establish collective agreements on processes, goals and establishing a shared values base.

It is important to understand that the concepts of the MHWB profession do not necessarily exist in Pitjantjatjara language. Many of the accepted logic, language and practices make little or no sense in the Anangu context. This is, in part, why mainstream approaches, assumptions and language are of no use as they are. This is why so much effort has gone in to the process of developing MindMatters materials for Anangu communities. In some cases, the work lies in language development, where, for example, women who are themselves grandmothers, work with their mothers and aunties to discover and reclaim 'old' language that had a similar sensibility to new concepts, but has seldom been used and consequently forgotten. The concept of being 'organised', or *nyupurutjara* is such an example. In other cases, the work lies in the process of removing the logic of a Western, English language activity and re-positioning the entire discussion from an Anangu perspective so that the logic sits within an Anangu ontological framework and can be engaged with from a position of understanding. This aspect of the MindMatters process relies heavily on engaging with traditional knowledge, the power of existing language and Anangu ontology and identity.

Enabling a 'coming to voice' for Anangu educators

In reflecting on the experiences of engaging with MindMatters, Katrina Tjitayi, Makinti Minutjukur and Sandra Ken (unpublished interview 13/09/12) describe the leadership development process they have experienced through learning, sharing and now teaching the MindMatters process in a range of contexts:

> *KT: I was really pleased after presenting on my own with Makinti in Alice Springs. I have the confidence to do this now and have the skills to share without the supports we have had in the past.*

> *MM: The MindMatters team has also supported new work across the border into other Pitjantjatjara communities in the Northern Territory, drawing on the important ideas and resources we have developed in SA. We were asked if our resources and activities could be used in these communities and we felt valued and respected in being asked as part of the process. We were really happy to go to the NT to share the work with our relations in those communities. It was a great experience to go and share the work and the thinking we have developed.*

> *SK: One of the real strengths of the MindMatters process has been the shared approach to presenting the work and it's been happening this way for a long time. We've been invited to present at a range of forums and it builds leadership capacity for Katrina and privileges Anangu voices in sharing their own work.*

> *MM: Working together gives us confidence and strengthens each other. We have often shared our learning with complete strangers and they're able to learn from the things we've done.*

What have been the outcomes and how do we 'know'?

Anecdotally, the Anangu educators describe the MindMatters process as one that builds a sense of respect, 'two-way' sharing and learning, active engagement and confidence. New learnings and important ideas are shared at home. A regional police officer provided important feedback to the MindMatters team, writing that communities who have engaged in the MindMatters process tended to have a confidence, language and understanding of issues around wellbeing and the effects of violence, enabling a shared discussion to occur in addressing issues. They also demonstrated an openness to deal with serious MHWB concerns, whereas other communities were still more likely to lack the agency and confidence to even describe some of their experiences or request police assistance where required in responding to serious issues.

In 2004, the concept of wellbeing as part of a school's work in the APY lands was not yet established. By 2005, a range of Anangu educators presented to 200 colleagues at a regional conference, sharing their work and the impact on students. Since that time, activities in schools have grown from class based activities to activities such as intergenerational camps 'on country' where senior Anangu can join with professionals from the school, clinic

and other service providers to talk about MHWB with young people from an informed position.

Significant resources have been developed in Pitjantjatjara language and are adopted by Anangu educators (see DVD *In our own Words* 2010). This process has inspired exploration outside of the limitations of this context, where Katrina Tjitayi adopted the MindMatters process and produced seven stunning pieces of artwork on canvas, each representing a key element of the mandated Keeping Safe Curriculum. From these paintings, posters were produced and bilingual guides to teaching the correlating concepts were printed on the reverse. Rather than 'visitors' coming to talk to Anangu children about child protection issues, Anangu educators could now easily lead a conversation in classes with the stimulus and foregrounding for the discussion starting with Katrina's painting. For the first time, schools found a way to open discussions in a safe environment about issues that have always previously been taboo in Anangu communities. Using Katrina's resource, Anangu educators invite their elderly relations to come and provide support and guidance for the process. Through the MindMatters process, a language and a forum has been established for Anangu to explicitly teach young people about MHWB and to build support networks through school based activities that reach outside the four walls of the classroom and are available after the school bell rings.

Taking it to the Territory

In 2009, traditional owners representing Uluru/Kata Tjuta asked the Central Land Council (who auspice community development projects funded by 'rent money' pertaining to the 99 year lease of the Uluru/Kata Tjuta National Park) to support an investigation in to how royalty or 'rent' money might be used to support young people in communities. Initially, there was keen interest to send young people to boarding schools, but finally the group established that they wanted to find avenues where their 'own money' from their 'own land' would support young people and communities in a way that reflect Anangu identity and values. During this process, a number of traditional owners who live in the APY lands talked about the value of the MindMatters process they have been involved with in their home communities and its potential to build community employment, language skills and development and intergenerational, whole of family engagement. As a result, funds were allocated to support the Anangu communities in the Southern NT region to adopt the MindMatters initiative and process. As Makinti described, the SA Anangu educators came to

the Northern Territory communities to share their work, their resources and their knowledge and to encourage them along the same journey.

Again, the three educators share their sense of achievement through the MindMatters process (unpublished interview 13/09/12):

MM: An Aṉangu teacher has been teaching MindMatters in the school and I asked her to reflect on the achievements. She said that she has noticed a significant reduction in student violence. It's been an issue that children become involved in serious violence in the past but there have been positive developments coming out of the work. As the students have grown in their learning, violence has decreased. It's kind of synchronising in this way and the children are also learning to look after each other.

SK: The consistent relationship with the MindMatters staff means we've got a good relationship. It's a person you know and the way they work, building strengths in people, looking at what we have and building on what we've done that can be made into activities from their understanding of the MindMatters resources. We initially started to try things and thought of words and things that are important for students to know about MHWB, but we had no idea of how we could actually teach it in the schools. Then MindMatters came in and didn't just look at our ideas, they saw what we had and were then able to incorporate our thinking into the framework. Through this, we began to see how we could take more of an active role in the process as the lead educators and the MindMatters presenters then took a step back. We start with a planning meeting and are asked about the concerns we have and then we develop ideas for activities and we co-design resources and workshops.

MM: Katrina and I presented in Darwin and Alice Springs and Katrina made her own powerpoints now that she has the confidence. It was an empowering experience to know that we can do this independently.

As expressed by Katrina Tjitayi, there is more to be done in order to move the work from the tight knit regional team to a collection of embedded local teams. Of note is the positive and hopeful frame the Aṉangu educators prefer in discussing their engagement with MHWB education in Aṉangu schools, rather than the deficit and despairing paradigm of comparative data and reinforcing a sense of disadvantage. Instead, the womens' accounts highlight a sense of agency for change, hope and leadership in the field. Clearly, the value of respecting and privileging contextual knowledge and capacity cannot be overstated. In particular, the *process* is clearly the key to an approach that empowers and builds hope.

In conclusion, it is clear that the MindMatters 'Aṉangu Way' journey has both required and instilled a deep sense of learning, achievement and agency for change within both Piṟanpa and Aṉangu involved in the work. The deep sense of ownership expressed by the educators is a critical part of negotiating new knowledge into the contested knowledge space described earlier. The educators teach other educators, teach students, connect generations,

and listen as children have begun to confide in their teachers and families about concerns and experiences and seek support through the local networks that have been established. They learn 'better ways of thinking and acting' and develop a language for feelings and emotions, examining the choices and supports available to them as they experience MHWB challenges. Anangu educators are leading the way and are at the forefront of imagining the way things could be, not simply enduring a wave of external 'expert' voices and visitors 'telling' communities the way things 'are' and how it 'should' be.

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