



Barriers to Help-Seeking Behavior by Indigenous Women Experiencing Domestic and Family Violence: Colonialism and White Feminism

Wang Yao^(✉)

The University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia
2293841320@qq.com

Abstract. Indigenous women in Australia are currently disproportionately victims of Domestic and Family Violence (DFV), and there are many barriers to them seeking reasonable and legitimate help. There are many reasons why they have difficulty accessing appropriate help, and this paper will focus on shame, tight-knit communities, and inappropriate service providers. Behind these phenomena, there is a deeper cause, namely the separation of law and ideology. Discrimination stemming from racism and colonialism is the main reason why Indigenous women have difficulty accessing aid. At the same time, mainstream white feminism, born based on white patriarchal hegemony, can hardly play an efficient role in addressing the plight of indigenous women. Therefore, the justice system should take into account the real challenges faced by Indigenous people and work to decolonize the legal system.

Keywords: Indigenous Women · Domestic and Family Violence · Colonialism · White Feminism

1 Introduction

Around the world, women are significantly more inclined than men to be victims of domestic and family violence (DFV) everywhere. Roughly one-third of adult women will be physically or emotionally abused by their intimate partners at some point in their lives [1]. Intimate partner abuse is a major cause of illness, disability and possible premature death among Australian women aged 18 to 44 [2]. Indigenous women are more susceptible to becoming victims of violence. At the same time, indigenous women are less likely than non-Indigenous women to seek help for DFV. This disparity exists regardless of socioeconomic status. As a consequence, there are still significant legal and ideological divides in today's society, which are rooted in the legacy of historical events such as genocide, colonialism and racism [3]. This essay argues that colonialism and racism are the primary factors that make it difficult for indigenous women to obtain appropriate DFV treatment. The direct consequence of this is that white feminism, based on white patriarchal sovereignty and colonialism, is greatly limited in its ability to

address the suffering of indigenous women, even without taking into account the actual challenges faced by indigenous people. These factors created colonial laws that allowed for discrimination and unfair treatment of indigenous people in the justice system.

2 Domestic and Family Violence

2.1 Feminist Perspective on Domestic and Family Violence

Domestic and family violence (DFV) refers to the fact that a family member causes actual harm or threatens to take action against another family member, so that the person is in fear or oppression, and violates the person's security or other personal interests [4]. Such injuries include different types, such as physical and psychological injuries, sexual violence, emotional abuse or cultural abuse [5]. According to the dominant argument of radical feminist theory, patriarchy is responsible for DFV as it creates an environment where women are more dependent on men [6]. Hence, they are more vulnerable to violence. From this standpoint, most of victims of DFV are women. Data show that one third of adult women have experienced DFV, and violence from an intimate partner is the leading cause of death and injury among Australian women aged 18–44 [2]. In Australia, almost every week a woman is murdered by her intimate partner [7]. Research has demonstrated that males and females have fundamentally different understandings of DFV, and males often underestimate violence and play down their roles [8]. Intimacy affects a woman's tolerance for the perpetrator who was her lover, while men use trust and love for the victim [9]. Because of this gender gap, women are far more likely to be victims of DFV, and they are also more likely to suffer catastrophic injuries as a consequence of these assaults.

2.2 Indigenous Women Suffer More Severe Domestic and Family Violence

Indigenous Women in Australia are generally considered to be Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women [5]. Indigenous people only account for 2.2% of the population of Australia, but Indigenous mothers are 17 times more likely to become victims of murder than non-Indigenous mothers, and Indigenous women exposed to high-risk environments are more likely to suffer from DFV [10]. According to the data from 2016 to 2017, on average, 2.8 out of every 1000 indigenous adult women were hospitalized for DFV, and 26.6 out of every 100 people in remote areas suffered from DFV [11]. Fifteen per cent of indigenous women living in economically developed areas experienced intimate partner violence, compared with 23 percent in remote villages [12]. Clearly, the number of indigenous women experiencing DFV is disproportionate. Indigenous women have a far lower probability of having access to legal help, and it is extremely difficult for them to get equitable remedies [1]. The life experience of Australian indigenous women is much more subtle, and the DFV that these women often encounter is formed by a broader complex and subtle environment [1]. As an illustration, colonialism, poverty, substance misuse, alcoholism, and economic marginalization are some examples [13]. Meyer and Stambe interviewed indigenous women who were victims of DFV and did not disclose information about the victims in order to protect their privacy [1]. According to their

research, low incomes make it impossible for many victims to afford living expenses by their own, thus they still living with the abusers despite the physical and psychological damage they have suffered, and thus continue to be subjected to violence [1].

In the context of domestic and family violence (DFV), colonialism had a profound impact on the victimization of Indigenous women. According to the comparison between pre-colonial and post-colonial data, Indigenous women are 32 times more likely to be hospitalized and 6 times more likely to be killed, of which 70–90% of homicides are from DFV [14]. However, before the arrival of Europeans, the indigenous tribes put the safety of children and women first, and those who were found to have suffered physical or mental abuse at home would be promptly punished [11]. This would imply that women's and children's rights were safeguarded to some degree inside indigenous societies and that they acknowledged the sovereignty of women and children. However, due to colonialism, women and children lost their previous protection, which led to a significant decline in the status of women. According to these findings, indigenous women are treated unfairly. Compared with non-indigenous women, they have a much higher risk of DFV and therefore death. This demonstrates that, compared with the past, colonialism is a turning point, making the lives of indigenous women more challenging.

3 Barriers to Help-Seeking Behavior by Indigenous Women Experiencing Domestic and Family Violence

Indigenous women are unable to obtain appropriate restitution models or awareness when DFV is a pressing issue. Many Indigenous women are reluctant to seek assistance because they have difficulty obtaining fair restitution when they need it [16]. After experiencing DFV, some Indigenous women do not take any action to obtain assistance [17, 18]. The following summarizes some common reasons why indigenous women are less likely to seek help.

3.1 Shame

Shame is a common and pervasive barrier. Victims usually choose to remain silent or delay seeking help to avoid shame and embarrassment. Shame is closely related to Indigenous loyalty to social relationships and social collectives, and they care about their ties with their families or communities [19]. People who have experienced DFV are afraid of being rejected by intimate relationships or groups, and feel ashamed to expose their experiences [19]. In Indigenous cultures, they care about communities and families, and have a strong sense of community. This cultural foundation makes Indigenous women more likely to feel ashamed of community awareness when they are victims [20].

3.2 Tight-knit communities

In Tight-knit communities, each community member is familiar with others, and intimate knowledge of others' lives is a factor that prevents Indigenous women from seeking help [21]. This factor involves privacy and confidentiality. When Indigenous women receive help from Indigenous organizations, they gain cultural understanding and reduce

discrimination and criticism. However, their privacy is also exposed to the community while accessing these services [22]. Indigenous communities are tightly knit. When victims seek help and tell their stories, they are likely to tell their secrets to people they know, and even face the dilemma of asking the abuser for help [22]. Disclosing their privacy to trusted acquaintances and abusers is undoubtedly a secondary injury to victims. Moreover, these complex factors enable indigenous women to choose between non-indigenous organizations that may be misunderstood and discriminated against and indigenous projects that are vulnerable to privacy violations [16]. This dilemma has led Indigenous women to avoid seeking help.

3.3 Inappropriate Service Provider

A lack of competent service providers can cause mistrust and fear of the victims, while inappropriate help may prevent the indigenous women victims from defending their rights. As Burnett described, when indigenous women seek help from the formal support system but are punished, multiple victimization may occur [21]. According to his research, when indigenous people turn to the perpetrators for help, the judicial system is frustrated by the lenient sentences of the perpetrators [21]. Similarly, discrimination accompanied by racism makes it difficult to establish stable trust between service providers and indigenous victims, making them unwilling to seek help because they are afraid of becoming victims, which is considered an inherent obstacle [21]. For example, the former child removal policies caused considerable fear and mistrust among Indigenous communities. These discriminatory policies were the link between Indigenous people and legal support, making indigenous women reluctant to resort to formal procedures when experiencing DFV [21].

The concept of “borrowed trust” was developed to encourage Indigenous women to seek help by giving them a sense of cultural safety [18]. The borrowed trust relies on Indigenous culture and kinship networks within the community to encourage indigenous women to seek help from each other to gain the trust of victims, provide them with non-racist services and build a sense of security [18]. This also demonstrates that Indigenous women do not feel safe and trusting enough in the formal redress process, so the establishment of cultural security has become one of the foundations of practice.

3.4 Turning to Informal Support

Multiple barriers affect indigenous women’s recourse to informal support rather than formal services, such as their friends, elders, family members and traditional indigenous organizations [17]. These informal supports tend to give victims a sense of safety and trust, and get support from relatives, including listening, assisting in reporting to the police, and even retaliating [17]. However, in practice, this sense of security and trust is not successfully obtained from these informal supports. Hoeata mentioned a conversation in her research on indigenous women, in which the victim woman said that her family did not trust her, not only unwilling to provide support, but also questioned her behavior [23]. A similar finding was found in Oneha’s study that indigenous women were forced to assume the responsibility of maintaining family unity to ensure family cohesion [24]. They must avoid creating conflicts within the family because of their problems. This

kind of pressure makes them feel ashamed to expose their experiences in DFV, and worry that the alarm or alarm will lead to family breakdown, which will lead to their inability to perform their duties. This is closely related to Tight-knit communities, where personal matters are always known to people in this circle because the circle of people's relationships is so narrow, and everyone in the community is so connected. This also means that when it comes to DFV, community members will share the experience of DFV, thus generating fear of condemnation and failure to maintain family relations [25]. In this way, Indigenous women are reluctant to seek formal support and are difficult to obtain appropriate services through informal support, thus making DFV persecution a vicious circle. This essay argues that such a barrier to seeking help is caused by the oppression of indigenous women by colonialism and white feminism.

4 White Feminism and Colonialism

The high percentage of Indigenous women suffering from DFV is inherently a result of colonization. White feminists believe that DFV is the product of patriarchy and that indigenous women have suffered the same [26]. However, the fact is that Indigenous women suffer DFV for different reasons than white women. Before being colonized, Indigenous women played an important role in their culture and had important social rights in their traditional culture [27]. After being colonized, everything in the Indigenous society was forced to blend with the colonial culture, and the patriarchal society forced the Indigenous people to accept it, which led to the sharp decline in the status of indigenous women [28]. Therefore, most of the reasons for gender violence against indigenous women stem from colonialism. The support of white feminists did not solve the fundamental problem, but further placed them as victims of colonialism. Hence, the current formal support available to Indigenous women is influenced by colonialism, which is the fundamental reason mentioned earlier to prevent indigenous women from seeking help.

4.1 Colonization has Changed the Status of Indigenous Women

Simone de Beauvoir asked, "Why don't women question male sovereignty?" From the perspective of indigenous women, the answer to this question seems completely different [28]. Furthermore, the serious persecution of indigenous women was due to the violation of their culture by patriarchal white sovereignty [28].

Before colonization, indigenous women were in a respected position in their culture, and the grandmother law in indigenous culture was the representative of this. As Langton defined, Grandmother's law is a view of older women on how people should behave in the social environment. Consequently, it is emblematic of a gendered and female worldview [29]. The tradition of the Grandmother's Law often begins with the mother and continues to the grandchildren. This information is transmitted through female ancestry, because it contains all aspects of gender exclusion, depending on different social backgrounds and other manifestations related to the female life cycle [30]. Similarly, in Māori society, women often hold positions of great power, such as female chief (Wāhine Rangatira), expert advisor (Tohunga) and high priest (Ariki) [27]. Māori theory of cosmic evolution

places women in a position of importance, claiming that women are all-inclusive and are the basis for creating future life, maintaining family stability, and reproducing offspring [31]. In non-colonized indigenous societies, the rangatiratanga law requires families to work together to defend women's rights and to recognize appropriate compensation for women who have suffered violence [27]. Because of the recognition of women's sovereign status, women rarely suffered intimate violence in the past in indigenous societies [27].

After the colonization, the colonial culture based on Christianity and patriarchy violated the gender status of indigenous people [32]. Along with the colonists' rewriting of Māori lore theory and the great change of women's status [31]. In addition to the deconstruction of indigenous cultures, colonial policies deprived indigenous peoples of their lands, languages and resources [33]. The colonizer's nuclear family model replaced Indigenous ways of communal life. After the Second World War, immigrants were forced to live in remote areas [27]. According to a series of laws aimed at exploiting rights and interests, the traditional culture and social structure of indigenous people were colonized, and the gender balance within the family was destroyed [27]. High rates of DFV among Indigenous women can be traced back to the complete reversal of their pre-colonial status as a result of the destruction and invasion of all areas of society, history, and culture, as well as economic subjugation.

4.2 White Feminism and the Criminal Justice System under White Patriarchal Sovereignty

The misunderstanding of the current formal and informal support for the judicial system based on white feminism and patriarchy is that the voice of indigenous feminism has been ignored. Contemporary white feminism often presupposes that Indigenous women need their help and salvation, but Indigenous feminism and white feminism have very different purposes [28]. Concerns of Indigenous women center on genocide, land rights, citizenship, and high imprisonment rates; the Australian nation-state is the target of their resistance [26]. White feminism, on the other hand, is more concerned with competing with white men for equal rights as citizens of a white nation [26]. Therefore, when designing a variety of remedies for DFV, these remedy models are also influenced by the system of this ideology.

At present, people have a lot of critical thinking about the problem of white feminism ignoring indigenous women. This is considered by many people in the # MeToo movement to be a feminist movement centered on the experience of western white women [34]. Van Rijswijk claims that Australian gender violence against Indigenous women is a direct result of gendered colonial violence [35]. Therefore, we should recognize the nature of sexual violence in the colonial process and emphasize the impact of colonial violence on feminist movement.

Under the effect of colonial violence, indigenous women have even been known to die from injuries inflicted by DFV. Ms. Dhu, a 22-year old Yamatji, was detained after DFV for failing to pay a fine. She died at the police station while in detention for curable bodily harm [36]. Ms. Dhu was severely beaten by her intimate partner, resulting in two broken ribs. She also suffered from pneumonia and sepsis. When she was detained for not paying the fine, the police ignored her physical and psychological injuries and

humiliated her [36]. As her health deteriorated, the cops placed her in the same room as her violent partner and handcuffed her [36]. Each time the police took her to the hospital, the doctors failed to properly treat her injury and even ignored her pain. She eventually went into cardiac arrest once just after arriving at the hospital and being put in a wheelchair, and was later declared dead [36]. The police, in this case, exhibited serious racial discrimination, almost ignoring the partner violence suffered by Ms. Dhu, and let her die of these injuries. Furthermore, in feminist campaigns such as #Me Too, for example, colonial violence suffered by indigenous women is rarely reported. As her health deteriorated, the cops placed her in the same room as her violent partner and handcuffed her.

Institutional racism has been a persistent and widespread problem in the provision of services to indigenous peoples by institutions across Australia [37]. For a long time, violence against indigenous women has been unfairly dealt with in court decisions, which means that it is difficult for them to obtain the same protection standards as non-indigenous women [35]. Violence against indigenous women has been normalized and their suffering has been forcibly linked to “culture” [36]. This demonization of indigenous cultures diverted attention from colonialism and aggravated the persecution of indigenous women [36]. As a result, Indigenous women are unable to trust the justice system and could not obtain support from organizations that relied on the construction of white feminism. After suffering from DFV, they are no longer willing to turn to formal institutions, but to informal projects they trust. However, the lack of professional and private informal support often causes secondary harm to them. DFV faced by Indigenous women in Australia is a severe form of colonial violence trapped in a vicious circle.

5 Conclusion

In summary, after the DFV caused by colonialism, there are many obstacles on the way for indigenous women to seek help. The DFV faced by indigenous women is essentially colonial sexual violence. Furthermore, the goals of white feminism born of this patriarchal colonial culture are different from those of indigenous feminism. As a result, the relief programs originated from white feminist ideology is invalid for indigenous women to some extent.

The most important thing to deal with these problems is decolonization. From a cultural and legal point of view, the damaged and distorted indigenous laws and cultures should be returned to indigenous communities, and the use of language should be respected as the main force in managing daily life [38]. In matters involving DFV, two sets of laws (Indigenous law and Settler law) can be applied to indigenous people, giving priority to the Indigenous law [38]. For indigenous groups with a higher degree of urbanization, traditional laws can be exempted, but they can still be encouraged to abide by the obligation of reciprocity between family members in traditional indigenous culture [38]. It is imperative to stop the exploitation of indigenous peoples, including the plundering of property and the abduction of children. The surviving cultures should be used to limit the occurrence of DFV by taking advantage of these traditional customs that attach importance to the status of women [38]. From a feminist perspective, sexual violence against indigenous women should be defined as a matter of Indigenous sovereignty

and recognized as the essence of colonial violence [27]. As mentioned above, shame and crime are hard to detect and requires more proactive involvement of service providers. It is worth trying an approach that relies more on working with indigenous communities, gaining the trust of indigenous women through indigenous people so that they dare to tell their privacy and secrets to staff and ask for help. On this basis, Indigenous women who receive help will also refer services to each other and to others who are having difficulties. In order to encourage Indigenous women to overcome barriers and have the courage to contact institutions after experiencing DFV, they should commit to decolonization of social service institutions. Efforts should be made to eliminate institutional racism in statutory agencies and make formal support now more equitable. In addition, the training of the staff of the institution should be strengthened to improve the cultural security awareness.

In conclusion, the ultimate goal should be the decolonization of the law, which is the goal and motivation of current joint efforts. However, this system is hard to shake. In practice, this policy will contradict the social reality. Implementing indigenous laws in parallel with settler laws and returning indigenous cultures to their communities means that indigenous communities will follow their traditions most of the time. However, in the contemporary era, some studies have proved that this measure will conflict with the neo liberal economy and have a negative impact on the economic structure [27]. In addition, I personally consider that today's Indigenous societies have been assimilated into patriarchy, making it possible for indigenous communities to revert to their original matriarchal-tinged systems, which is hindered by men. In the larger context of patriarchy, this has become the topic of minority de-patriarchy. From an Indigenous feminist perspective, this is a difficult process, whether it is the decolonization of the law or the struggle against women's original rights. DFV is a complex topic where colonial oppression and gender coexist. Separating Indigenous culture from white patriarchal culture requires solving these two problems. Therefore, DFV, which originated from colonial violence, may still be a persistent problem for a long time, but it is still impossible to give up removing the obstacles on the way to seeking help for indigenous women victims.

Reference

1. Meyer, Silke and Rose-Marie Stambe, Mothering in the Context of Violence: Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Mothers' Experiences in Regional Settings in Australia (2022) *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(9-10), NP7958–NP7983. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520975818>.
2. Ayre, Julie, et al. Examination of the burden of disease of intimate partner violence against women in 2011 (2016) Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety.
3. O'Neill, L., Fraser, T., Kitchenham, A., & McDonald, V. (2016). Hidden burdens: A review of Intergenerational, historical and complex trauma, implications for Indigenous families. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma*, 11(2), 173–186. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-016-0117-9>.
4. Commission. (2010). Family violence—A national legal response: Final report (ALRC Report 114; NSWLRC Report 128). Sydney, Australia: Australian Law Reform Commission.
5. Douglas, Heather and Kate Chapple, 'The National Domestic and Family Violence Bench Book 2019' (2019) 44(4) *Alternative law journal* 314.

6. Nancarrow, Heather, 'In Search of Justice for Domestic and Family Violence' (2006) 10(1) *Theoretical criminology* 87.
7. Bryant, Willow, and Tracy Cussen, *Homicide in Australia: 2010-11 to 2011-12: National homicide monitoring program report* (2015) Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
8. Dobash, Russell P et al, 'Separate and Intersecting Realities' (1998) 4(4) *Violence against women* 382.
9. Stubbs, Julie, 'Beyond Apology? Domestic Violence and Critical Questions for Restorative Justice' (2007) 7(2) *Criminology & criminal justice* 169.
10. Fairthorne, Jenny et al, 'Early Mortality from External Causes in Indigenous Mothers: A Retrospective Cohort Study' (2016) 16(1) *BMC public health* 461
11. Lucashenko, Melissa, 'Violence Against Indigenous Women' (1996) 2(4) *Violence against women* 378.
12. Meyer, Silke and Rose-Marie Stambe, 'Indigenous Women's Experiences of Domestic and Family Violence, Help-seeking and Recovery in Regional Queensland' (2021) 56(3) *The Australian journal of social issues* 443.
13. Cripps, Kyllie, 'Indigenous Family Violence' (2007) 11(2) *Australian Indigenous law review* 6.
14. Department of the Prime Minister & Cabinet (2017) *Closing the gap prime minister's report 2017*, Canberra, Australian Government.
15. Bryant, Willow, *Homicide in Australia 2015-16* (2019) Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
16. Fiolet, Renee et al, 'Indigenous Peoples' Help-Seeking Behaviors for Family Violence: A Scoping Review' (2021) 22(2) *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 370.
17. Gauthier, G Robin et al, 'Social Integration and Domestic Violence Support in an Indigenous Community: Women's Recommendations of Formal Versus Informal Sources of Support' (2021) 36(7-8) *Journal of interpersonal violence* 3117.
18. Spangaro, Jo et al, "They Aren't Really Black Fellas but They Are Easy to Talk to': Factors Which Influence Australian Indigenous Women's Decision to Disclose Intimate Partner Violence During Pregnancy' (2016) 41 *Midwifery* 79.
19. Bates, Lucy, Lynne Hancock and Danna Peterkin, "'A Little Encouragement': Health Services and Domestic Violence' (2001) 14(2) *International journal of health care quality assurance* 49.
20. Prentice, Kathy, Barbara Blair and Cathy O'Mullan, 'Sexual and Family Violence: Overcoming Barriers to Service Access for Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander Clients' (2017) 70(2) *Australian social work* 241.
21. Burnette, Catherine E, 'From the Ground Up: Indigenous Women's after Violence Experiences with the Formal Service System in the United States' (2015) 45(5) *The British journal of social work* 1526.
22. Jones, Loring, 'The Distinctive Characteristics and Needs of Domestic Violence Victims in a Native American Community' (2008) 23(2) *Journal of family violence* 113.
23. Hoeata, Chloe, et al. "Māori women and intimate partner violence: Some sociocultural influences." (2011) 1-12.
24. Oneha, Mary F., Lois Magnussen, and Jan Shoultz. "The voices of Native Hawaiian women: Perceptions, responses and needs regarding intimate partner violence." (2010) *Californian journal of health promotion* 8.1 72.
25. Carlson, Bronwyn, and Terri Farrelly. "Family violence, help-seeking & the close-knit Indigenous community: Lessons for mainstream service provision." (2009) *Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse*.
26. Trask, HK, 'Talkin' Up to the White Woman: Indigenous Women and Feminism' (2003) 15(2) *Contemporary Pacific* 474.

27. Dhunna, Simran, Beverley Lawton and Fiona Cram, 'An Affront to Her Mana: Young Māori Mothers' Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence' (2021) 36(13-14) *Journal of interpersonal violence* 6191.
28. Watson, Irene, 'Indigenous Women's Laws and Lives: How Might We Keep Growing The Law?' (2007) 26(1) *The Australian feminist law journal* 95.
29. Langton, Marcia L, "Grandmothers' law, company business and succession in changing Aboriginal land tenure systems." *Our Land is Our Life: Land rights-past, present and future* (1997) The University of Queensland Press, 84-117.
30. Dudgeon, Patricia and Abigail Bray, 'Indigenous Relationality: Women, Kinship and the Law' (2019) 3(2) *Genealogy* (Basel) 23.
31. Mikaere, Ani, *The balance destroyed: Consequences for Maori women of the colonisation of tikanga Maori* (2003) University of Auckland. International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education.
32. Mikaere, Ani, "Colonisation and the imposition of patriarchy." (2019) *A Collection of Writings 1999-2019 Volume II* 114.
33. Jackson, Moana, "The treaty and the word: the colonization of Māori philosophy." (1992) In Oddie G., Perrett R. (Eds.), *Justice, Ethics and New Zealand Society* (p. 1-10). Auckland: Oxford University Press.
34. Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics." (2013) *Feminist legal theories*. Routledge, 23-51.
35. Van Rijswijk, Honni, 'Re-Defining Gendered Harm and Institutions Under Colonialism: #MeToo in Australia' (2020) 35(105) *Australian feminist studies* 244
36. Klippmark, Pauline and Karen Crawley, 'Justice for Ms Dhu' (2018) 27(6) *Social & legal studies* 695.
37. Henry, Barbara R, Shane Houston and Gavin H Mooney, 'Institutional Racism in Australian Healthcare: a Plea for Decency. [Fairness and Compassion Are the Bases for Improving Aboriginal Health]' (2004) 180(10) *Medical journal of Australia* 517.
38. Blagg, Harry et al, 'Law, Culture and Decolonisation: The Perspectives of Indigenous Elders on Family Violence in Australia' (2022) 31(4) *Social & legal studies* 535.

Open Access This chapter is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits any noncommercial use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license and indicate if changes were made.

The images or other third party material in this chapter are included in the chapter's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the chapter's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder.

