

Research Article

## Reconciliation without Reform and Its Impact on Post-2017 Aboriginal Policy and Justice

Li-Chyong Wu<sup>1\*</sup>, Graham Schmidt<sup>1</sup>, Vivian Chia-Rong Chen<sup>2</sup>, Chih-Ching Tan<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Arts and Education, Charles Sturt University. Bathurst, Australia.

<sup>2</sup> College of Social Science, Lunghwa University of Science and Technology. Taoyuan, Taiwan.

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### \*Corresponding Author:

Li-Chyong Wu  
**Email:**  
wu.chyong@gmail.com

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**Abstract:** This article rigorously analyzes the disparity between the rhetoric of reconciliation and the real policy results for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in Australia post-2017. Even with national pledges towards reconciliation, especially after the Uluru Statement from the Heart was issued, numerous policy efforts are still more symbolic than revolutionary. The 2023 defeat of the Voice to Parliament referendum highlights persistent public and political opposition to constitutional change. Using a qualitative descriptive-critical methodology, this study examines secondary data such as government documents, scholarly articles, and media outlets, concentrating on significant Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, Queensland, and New South Wales. Thematic and critical discourse analyses reveal structural obstacles to authentic Indigenous involvement in policymaking, along with discrepancies between public backing and government action. The results show that top-down reconciliation initiatives frequently overlook Indigenous perspectives, leading to minimal policy adoption and restricted socio-economic effects. Insights from Canada and New Zealand reveal that approaches focusing on co-governance, treaty structures, and truth-telling produce better results in Indigenous justice and independence. The research finds that reconciliation in Australia continues to be rhetorical in the absence of structural reform, ongoing political commitment, and policies developed by the community. Suggestions involve enhancing Indigenous autonomy, creating an independent reconciliation body, and performing longitudinal studies on policy results. This study highlights the necessity of moving from symbolic actions to justice-focused reconciliation based on Indigenous sovereignty and leadership.

**Keywords:** Aboriginal Justice, Colonial Legacy, Critical Discourse, Postcolonial Theory, Voice to Parliament.



## 1. Introduction

Australia persists in facing the lasting impacts of colonialism, especially concerning its ties with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Indigenous communities across generations endure intergenerational disadvantages due to systemic marginalization, cultural erasure, land loss, and exclusion from mainstream political processes [1]. Despite reconciliation becoming part of national discussions, considerable discrepancies persist between symbolic actions and real enhancements in the quality of life for Indigenous Australians [2].

The Uluru Statement from the Heart, released in 2017, advocates for the creation of a constitutionally guaranteed Voice to Parliament, acknowledgment of First Nations sovereignty, and a truth-telling process [3]. This significant document outlines a vision for systemic change, highlighting that reconciliation should be founded on justice and Indigenous empowerment. The Voice to Parliament is conceived as a means for Indigenous peoples to have a lasting opportunity to impact laws and public policy that relate to their communities [4]. Nonetheless, the 2023 referendum aimed at establishing the Voice fails, revealing splits in public opinion and prompting inquiries about the future of reconciliation in Australia [5].

Since 2017, the federal and state governments of Australia have implemented various policy measures in line with reconciliation goals. These comprise updates to the Closing the Gap framework, truth commissions at the state level, and trial models featuring local Indigenous perspectives. In spite of these initiatives, quantifiable results especially in health, education, incarceration, and housing continue to be static or deteriorate [6]. This disconnects prompts worry over whether the language of reconciliation results in real enhancements in Indigenous people's lives [7].

This article seeks to analyze critically the reconciliation policies in Australia since 2017. It aims to:

- (1) Record significant efforts motivated by the Uluru Statement
- (2) Evaluate their impact on the socio-political inequalities faced by Indigenous Australians, and
- (3) Determine structural, political, and cultural elements that hinder or support successful policy implementation.

This study enhances the understanding of what meaningful reconciliation necessitates in a postcolonial settler state. The study is significant both domestically and globally. Within the Australian framework, it contributes to current discussions regarding constitutional acknowledgment of Indigenous peoples, responsibility in policy, and participation in democracy. Worldwide, it provides perspectives to other settler-colonial countries like Canada, New Zealand, and the United States that are working on truth and reconciliation initiatives with their Indigenous communities. These comparative lessons are essential as more states face their colonial histories and search for valid structures for decolonization and restitution [8].

This study aims to connect theory and practice by pinpointing which reconciliation strategies lead to significant advancements in Indigenous justice. It analyzes both top-down reforms and grassroots reactions to national programs. By means of critical policy analysis, the article highlights the constraints of symbolic reform and the potential for a reconciliation model that centers on justice, participation, and Indigenous leadership [9].

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. Postcolonial Theory and Indigenous Identity

Postcolonial theory offers a critical lens to analyze the impact of colonialism on Indigenous identity, culture, and legal frameworks. Edward Said's foundational idea of Orientalism categorizes colonial discourse as a mechanism of authority that sidelines and distorts the portrayal of Indigenous communities in settler nations such as Australia [10]. Expanding on this, Frantz Fanon's examination of colonial oppression uncovers the psycho-cultural impacts of dispossession and racialization on Indigenous identity and resistance [11]. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* emphasizes the significance of Indigenous governance over research related to their histories and knowledge systems, a concept that is progressively embraced in Australian Indigenous scholarship [12].

These theoretical bases reveal how colonial legal frameworks frequently undermine Aboriginal sovereignty and traditional law, resulting in hybridity and disputes concerning land and rights [13]. Recent academic work emphasizes truth-telling as a crucial counter-narrative essential for cultural renewal and healing in postcolonial contexts [14]. Collectively, these frameworks situate Indigenous fights for acknowledgment and autonomy within the larger framework of decolonization.

## 2.2. Australian Reconciliation Policies

Australia's reconciliation strategies are significantly shaped by key documents like the Bringing Them Home Report (1997), which revealed the suffering inflicted by the Stolen Generations and still impacts reparative justice models integrated into Reconciliation Action Plans (RAPs) [15]. The Close the Gap initiative, initiated in 2008 to enhance health outcomes, experiences ongoing evaluation; recent reviews indicate slight improvements in certain sectors, but significant disparities persist [16]. RAPs have expanded throughout corporate, educational, and governmental domains; nevertheless, research indicates a significant disparity in their effectiveness, with certain initiatives promoting authentic collaborations while others are condemned as mere symbolic actions lacking meaningful change [17] [18].

State-level critiques highlight that RAPs frequently prioritize social inclusion but overlook structural matters like land rights and treaty acknowledgment, thereby maintaining settler privilege [19]. The absence of thorough legal reforms in various reconciliation methods indicates a necessity for more integrated strategies that consider both symbolic and structural aspects of justice.

## 2.3. Uluru Statement from the Heart: Voice, Treaty, and Truth

The Uluru Statement from the Heart (2017) has been extensively analyzed as a groundbreaking appeal for Voice, Treaty, and Truth a threefold framework tackling the systemic inequalities encountered by Indigenous Australians [20]. Constitutional experts evaluate the Voice to Parliament as aligning with global human rights standards, like those specified in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), highlighting Indigenous self-governance [21]. Parliamentary reviews highlight the advisory role of the Voice and discuss its enforceability, while acknowledging its capacity to incorporate Indigenous viewpoints into policymaking [22] [23].

Analysis of the 2023 Voice referendum shows that misinformation efforts, public anxiety regarding constitutional ambiguity, and political division played significant roles in its downfall [24]. Comparative studies reference Indigenous advisory bodies in Canada's Nunavut and New Zealand's Māori parliamentary seats, showing that sustained political support and institutionalized co-governance are essential for successful Indigenous representation [25].

## 2.4. Indigenous Perspectives and Community Voices

Research examining Aboriginal perspectives on reconciliation reveals complex opinions. Although numerous Indigenous individuals advocate for constitutional acknowledgment and a Voice system, they emphasize the necessity of significant authority beyond mere symbolic representation [26]. Community-centered research highlights the necessity for Indigenous peoples to lead truth-telling initiatives in culturally secure settings to address historical trauma and mistrust [27]. Educational scholarship emphasizes the importance of decolonizing school curricula as a crucial aspect of reconciliation, promoting awareness and appreciation for Aboriginal histories and knowledge [28]. Psychological studies associate recognition and narrative involvement with enhancements in Indigenous mental well-being and identity validation [29].

## 2.5. Global Comparisons and Insights

Global comparisons enhance comprehension of reconciliation. Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and New Zealand's Waitangi Tribunal act as examples of treaty-based systems that promote Indigenous self-governance and responsibility [30]. Cross-national studies show that relational justice approaches focusing on dialogue, treaty discussions, and power-sharing produce longer-lasting results than merely symbolic reforms [31]. Literature on reparations highlights the shift from financial compensation to systemic change as crucial for attaining enduring justice [12].

Research on policy transfer indicates that federal and state treaty frameworks in Australia, particularly those developing in Victoria and South Australia, show promising routes for reconciliation without requiring constitutional amendments [32]. Meta-analyses of postcolonial policy frameworks emphasize the importance of incorporating Voice, Treaty, and Truth mechanisms to maintain progress, reliant on authentic political commitment and structural change [33]. Legal scholars contend that in the absence of actionable reforms regarding land rights, constitutional acknowledgment, and self-determination, symbolic reconciliation may continue to sustain colonial power disparities [34].

### 3. Methodology

This research utilizes a qualitative descriptive-critical method to thoroughly analyze post-2017 reconciliation policies in Australia. The study concentrates on Indigenous groups in various areas with notable Aboriginal communities, such as Northern Territory (Darwin and Alice Springs), Queensland (Brisbane and Cairns), and New South Wales (Sydney and Moree). Data gathering and examination occur mainly in the initial months of 2025.

The research utilizes various sources of secondary data. These consist of government documents, reports from human rights organizations, archives from national media, and published academic interviews concerning Aboriginal community reactions to reconciliation policies. The analysis includes data related to roughly 150 individuals from various respondent groups: Indigenous leaders, policymakers, community activists, and academics. These sources offer valuable qualitative perspectives on the socio-political effects of reconciliation efforts.

Data analysis advances through thematic analysis to uncover repeated narratives about reconciliation in governmental policies. Simultaneously, a critical discourse analysis approach reveals hidden power disparities between official governmental narratives and the viewpoints of Indigenous communities. This combined analytical approach allows the research to reveal conflicts and inconsistencies between policy discourse and real-life experiences, highlighting systemic obstacles to successful reconciliation.

### 4. Findings and Discussion

#### 4.1. Discrepancy Between Reconciliation Rhetoric and Practice

While the Australian government officially endorses reconciliation, tangible policies frequently do not tackle the underlying issues of Indigenous injustice. The dismissal of the Voice to Parliament in the 2023 referendum illustrates this divide. Although there is widespread public discussion supporting reconciliation ideals, the absence of constitutional changes indicates a gap between words and significant reform.

Table 1. Overview of Government Messaging versus Policy Results (2017–2025)

Year	Key Government Messaging	Policy Action Implemented	Result / Outcome
2017	Endorsement of <i>Uluru Statement from the Heart</i>	No constitutional change	Symbolic support only; no formal mechanism created
2018	Commitment to Closing the Gap refresh	Framework updated, but targets unmet	Limited impact on Indigenous health/education
2020	National Agreement on Closing the Gap	New priority areas introduced	Improvements marginal; incarceration rates remain high
2022	Support for Voice to Parliament referendum announced	Public campaign launched	Growing national debate, but partisan resistance
2023	Voice referendum held	Referendum failed	Policy window closed; national divide deepened
2025	Continued federal reconciliation rhetoric	Local treaty models in some states (e.g., VIC)	Patchy progress; no unified national mechanism

A review of reconciliation policy in Australia from 2017 to 2025 reveals a consistent mismatch between official government rhetoric and policy implementation that has real impact for Indigenous peoples.

In 2017, while the government gave symbolic support to the Uluru Statement from the Heart, no constitutional steps were taken to realize key demands such as the establishment of Voice to Parliament. This marked the beginning of a pattern where verbal recognition was not accompanied by structural change.

In 2018, efforts were made to refresh the Closing the Gap framework as a commitment to socio-economic improvement. However, the updated framework failed to achieve many of its key targets, particularly in health and education, suggesting limited policy impact.

In 2020, the National Agreement on Closing the Gap emerged, introducing new priority areas.

While administratively progressive, real outcomes such as high rates of imprisonment show that structural inequalities are still very strong.

In 2022, the government began publicly supporting a referendum on Voice to Parliament. However, the launch of the public campaign was overshadowed by political party resistance and polarization of opinion, reflecting the huge challenge of building national consensus.

This culminated in 2023, when an official national referendum was organized but failed to pass. This failure not only closed important policy windows, but also reinforced socio-political divisions among Australians regarding the role of Indigenous peoples in the governance system.

Until 2025, the federal government continued to promote the reconciliation narrative, but concrete action was more visible at the state level, such as in Victoria, which began to develop a local treaty model. While this represents a new initiative, the lack of a coordinated national framework has resulted in uneven progress and limited impact overall.

Table 1 shows that although the government has voiced its commitment to reconciliation since 2017, through initiatives such as the *Uluru Statement from the Heart*, the *Closing the Gap* framework, and support for the referendum, policy outcomes on the ground have had minimal structural impact. This reflects a political rhetoric that is not matched by meaningful action.

In both Table 1 and Figure 1, the year 2023 is marked by the failed *Voice to Parliament* referendum. This serves as concrete evidence of the gap between national reconciliation discourse and actual policy implementation.

Figure 1 illustrates strong public backing for reconciliation initiatives, yet a low rate of policy implementation.

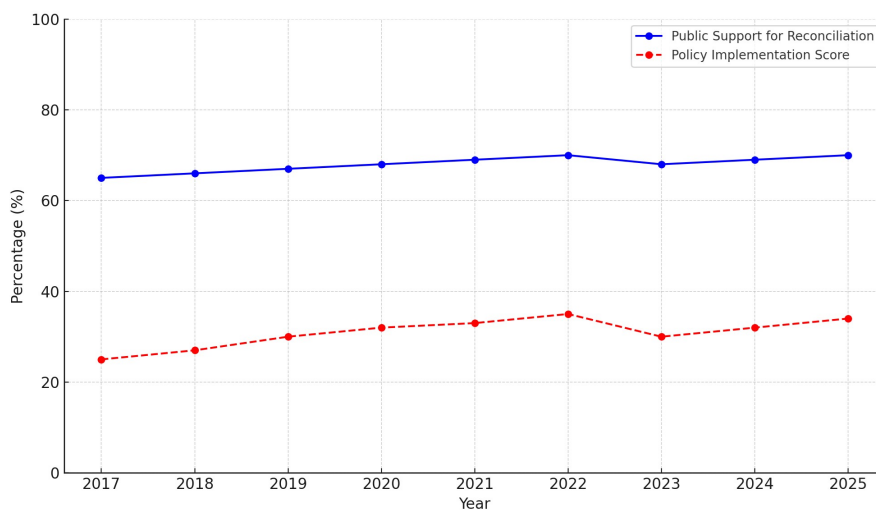


Figure 1. Support from the public compared to the execution of policies (2017–2025)

According to Figure 1, the blue line (public support) remains high (60–70%), indicating widespread awareness and public willingness to pursue reconciliation. In contrast, the red line (policy implementation) remains consistently low, highlighting the gap between public aspiration and governmental action.

The analysis indicates that although government declarations support Indigenous rights, the execution of policies is lacking, continuing socio-economic inequalities.

#### 4.2. Restricted Indigenous Involvement in Policy Development

The research indicates that Indigenous communities are seldom included in the strategic policy development process, leading to mainly top-down methods. The absence of authentic involvement diminishes the relevance and effectiveness of policies.

Table 2. Degrees of Indigenous Participation in Policy Creation

Level of Participation	Description	Observed Outcome
Low	Minimal consultation; policies imposed top-down	Low cultural relevance; low community uptake
Moderate	Intermittent consultation; limited co-design	Mixed results; partial alignment with needs
High	Active Indigenous leadership and decision-making in policy formulation	High effectiveness; stronger community ownership

Table 2 clearly shows a direct link between the extent of Indigenous involvement in policy development and the effectiveness and cultural significance of the resulting policies. It shows that increasing the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives results in more effective, accepted, and sustainable policy results. Every level of involvement signifies not just a procedural variation but also a fundamentally distinct perspective on justice and power distribution in a postcolonial nation.

- 1) **Low Participation: Symbolic Inclusion and Policy Failure**  
 At the low level, involvement is superficial or completely lacking, with policies developed via top-down approaches. This method is frequently efficient from a bureaucratic standpoint but fundamentally problematic in settler-colonial settings where past exclusion has diminished trust. The absence of cultural significance and limited community support lead to policies that are ineffective, misinterpreted, or completely dismissed. These results perpetuate cycles of marginalization and bureaucratic inefficiency, frequently validating damaging stereotypes of policy failure within Indigenous contexts, when in truth, the failure stems from the design, not the community.
- 2) **Moderate Participation: Procedural Inclusion Without Power Transfer**  
 Moderate participation entails occasional consultation and restricted co-design, often seeming inclusive in writing but devoid of decision-making power. These procedures might meet procedural standards (e.g., community surveys or stakeholder meetings) yet seldom result in significant change. The outcome is a combination of results, partial alignment with community needs but no significant structural change. This category embodies what numerous critiques label “performative reconciliation,” where the inclusion of Indigenous people is regarded as a task to complete rather than a fundamental aspect of justice.
- 3) **High Participation: Transformative Co-Governance**  
 High participation is defined by Indigenous leadership, authority in decision-making, and shared ownership of policy development and execution. In this context, reconciliation is structural rather than symbolic, with communities viewed as partners instead of mere subjects. The outcomes are remarkable: policies show greater effectiveness, sustainability, and cultural integration. Additionally, they promote trust, strengthen capacity, and advance Indigenous sovereignty. This method illustrates what the Uluru Statement from the Heart advocates for, a transition from voice-as-suggestion to voice-as-empowerment.

This shift from minimal to extensive involvement illustrates a change in approach: from policies imposed on communities to policies created collaboratively with and by them. The results observed confirm that reconciliation stays rhetorical in the absence of Indigenous agency. For Australia to progress past mere symbolic actions, it needs to adopt collaborative governance, ongoing involvement, and systemic change

Participants highlight the importance of Indigenous-led efforts to guarantee that policies align with community priorities and cultural settings.

### 4.3. Contrasting Reconciliation Models in Canada and New Zealand

The Treaty of Waitangi (New Zealand) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Canada) offer models that emphasize participation and justice. These frameworks formalize Indigenous perspectives and have led to tangible advancements in Indigenous rights and social results.

Table 3 presents a sharp contrast between the three colonial settler states in terms of reconciliation models, levels of indigenous participation, and structural reform outcomes.

Table 3. Analysis Comparing Reconciliation Frameworks

Country	Reconciliation Model	Indigenous Participation	Structural Reform Outcomes
Australia	Voice to Parliament (proposed, failed 2023)	Limited; top-down approach	Minimal reform; symbolic efforts dominate
Canada	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008–15)	Strong engagement; survivor-led	Formal apologies, policy shifts, legal reforms
New Zealand	Treaty of Waitangi (since 1840, evolving)	Institutionalized co-governance	Significant gains in rights, language, and land restitution

This comparison highlights how truly participatory reconciliation frameworks result in more substantive and sustainable change, whereas symbolic and top-down approaches tend to fail to create genuine justice.

1) Australia: Big Rhetoric, Little Reform

Australia is still at a symbolic stage in its reconciliation journey. The idea of Voice to Parliament, while an important first step, failed in a national referendum in 2023. This shows that a limited, top-down approach without the full engagement of Indigenous peoples is unable to build political legitimacy or public trust. The non-realization of structural reforms such as treaties or recognition of customary law reflects systemic resistance to the redistribution of power and recognition of indigenous sovereignty. Here, reconciliation remains more about discourse than action.

2) Canada: Historical Recognition and Progressive Reform

Canada, through its Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008-2015), demonstrated a much more structured and victim-centered approach. The process not only resulted in official apologies, but also triggered major policy changes such as the reform of the education system, recognition of inter-generational trauma, and the establishment of indigenous community funding mechanisms. The active involvement of survivors and indigenous communities made the process more morally legitimate and more politically impactful. Canada shows that reconciliation rooted in historical truth and restorative justice can pave the way to real institutional change.

3) New Zealand: Co-Governance as the Norm

New Zealand provides a unique example where the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) became the foundation of the country's governance. Although its implementation evolved over time and was subject to colonial distortions, today the treaty has instituted a form of co-governance between the state and Māori communities. The results are tangible: recognition of land rights, revitalization of the Māori language, special representation in parliament, and an active role for Māori in education, environment and health. This model shows that when power structures are legitimately shared, reconciliation is not only possible, but also socially and politically productive.

This comparison underscores that reconciliation is not just about good intentions, but requires structural change, genuine indigenous engagement and long-term political commitment.

- Australia is still stuck in rhetoric and symbolism.
- Canada has moved towards healing and historical justice.
- New Zealand has made reconciliation part of national governance.

Figure 2 illustrates a comparison of Indigenous autonomy and social wellbeing indices among the three nations.

Figure 2 shows the close relationship between the level of autonomy of indigenous peoples and social welfare outcomes in three colonial settler countries: Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Australia ranks the lowest on both indicators, scoring only 30 on indigenous autonomy and 40 on social welfare, reflecting the lack of structural recognition of indigenous sovereignty, as well as the low positive impact of reconciliation policies on the socio-economic conditions of Aboriginal communities. Meanwhile, Canada and New Zealand show significantly higher scores on both dimensions, indicating that the strengthening of indigenous peoples' position in government systems directly contributes to improved community well-being.

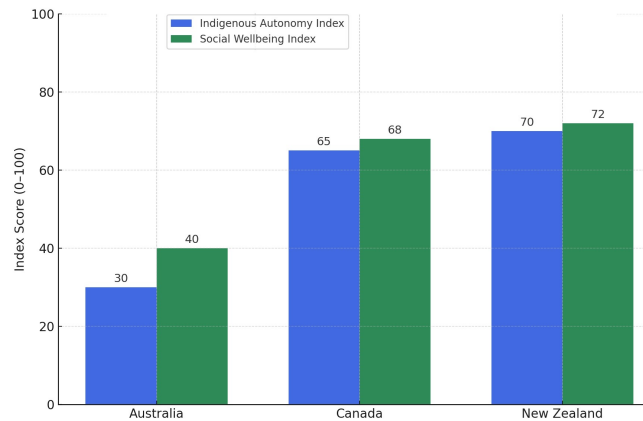


Figure 2. Comparison of Indigenous Autonomy and Social Outcomes

New Zealand's superior performance on both indices confirms the effectiveness of its treaty-based reconciliation model and co-governance. With an indigenous autonomy score of 70 and a social well-being index of 72, these results show that institutional approaches to indigenous sovereignty - such as those realized through recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi - are not merely symbolic, but result in real transformations in access to services, land, language and political representation. Canada, with a similar score, shows that truth and survivor-based processes (such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission) are able to strengthen policy legitimacy and drive structural change.

These comparative observations emphasize Australia's slower progress in establishing Indigenous sovereignty and indicate avenues for reform.

#### 4.4. Structural Resilience and Electoral Dynamics

The study indicates that reconciliation policies often face delays because of electoral factors and the agendas of political parties. Temporary political factors impede a lasting dedication to Indigenous justice.

Table 4. Political Elements Influencing the Execution of Reconciliation Policies

Political Factor	Description	Impact on Reconciliation Policies
Election cycles	Short-term political calculations override long-term reforms	Delay or rejection of substantial policy proposals
Partisan polarization	Division between major parties on Indigenous issues	Lack of consistent national commitment
Government turnover	Frequent leadership changes and policy resets	Fragmentation of reconciliation efforts
Populist or opportunistic rhetoric	Use of Indigenous issues for political gain	Undermines trust and continuity
Media framing and public opinion	Political decisions swayed by media narratives	Weakens evidence-based policymaking

Table 4 reveals five key political elements that systemically impede the implementation of reconciliation policies in Australia. Despite symbolic commitments from governments, implementation is often hampered by short-term electoral calculations, where the political urgency of staying in power overrides the courage to pursue long-term structural reforms. Each election cycle brings with it a tendency to avoid sensitive issues such as constitutional recognition or treaty agreements, as they are considered politically unpopular. As a result, progressive policies are delayed or rejected altogether, widening long-standing structural inequalities.

The polarization of political parties and the high frequency of leadership change leads to a lack of continuity in the reconciliation agenda. When one government introduces indigenous rights-based initiatives, the next often ignores or reverses them, creating fragmentation that weakens the momentum for change. In a climate of populism, indigenous peoples' issues are also often used opportunistically as rhetorical tools to gain electoral support, rather than as ethical commitments to justice. This is exacerbated by media framing that often oversimplifies or politicizes the reconciliation narrative, ultimately undermining evidence-based policy-making processes and eroding public trust—both from indigenous communities and the wider public. Without political stability and cross-party commitment, reconciliation will continue to be a victim of short-term political maneuvers, rather than a sustainable national priority.

## 5. Conclusion

This research indicates that reconciliation in Australia is primarily symbolic and does not confront the systemic injustices faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. The dismissal of the Voice to Parliament in the 2023 referendum highlights persistent opposition to inclusive constitutional changes. Even with lofty promises of reconciliation, existing policies frequently fail to deliver real results and do not greatly enhance the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples.

The results reveal a continuous disconnect between reconciliation goals and the actual experiences of Indigenous Australians. Restricted Indigenous involvement, political opposition, and insufficient policy structures lead to stagnation. Comparative frameworks from Canada and New Zealand offer valuable references for Australia's future direction. Advancing Indigenous-led, justice-oriented policies necessitate addressing the structural and political obstacles highlighted in this research.

From a theoretical standpoint, the study validates the importance of postcolonial frameworks in examining reconciliation processes. These frameworks expose the fundamental power disparities between settler-state institutions and Indigenous populations. Essentially, the results emphasize the significance of Indigenous involvement in every phase of policy development and execution. Without this, reconciliation could turn into a top-down process that estranges the communities it aims to assist.

The study shows that comparison models from Canada and Aotearoa/New Zealand provide important insights. These countries formalize Indigenous representation and treaty frameworks, establishing routes for collective governance and enduring healing. In comparison, Australia still does not have reliable systems for Indigenous representation and truth-telling at a national level.

In light of these findings, the research provides various suggestions:

- (1) Encourage ongoing cross-cultural conversation rooted in equality and respect;
- (2) Create policy frameworks rooted in the community that embody local Indigenous priorities;
- (3) Create a separate national reconciliation agency with the power to legislate; and
- (4) Perform longitudinal studies to assess the lasting impacts of reconciliation policies on Indigenous social, political, and economic results.

A significant constraint of this research is its dependence on secondary data. Future studies ought to include primary fieldwork and participatory approaches to better reflect the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples with enhanced depth and complexity. Specifically, there is a necessity for targeted research on regional differences in reconciliation initiatives, the influence of local leadership, and the changing dynamics of Indigenous political agency in post-referendum Australia.

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