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Effective Behaviour Management Strategies for Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Students: A Literature Review

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Abstract: This paper reports findings from a systematic literature review conducted to identify effective behaviour management strategies which create a positive learning environment for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. The search criteria employed resulted in 103 documents which were analysed in response to this focus. Results identified eight themes underpinning strategies for effective behaviour management. Despite the suggested actions, the review highlights that little empirical research has been conducted to validate effective classroom behaviour management strategies; strategies which may also be used to inform teacher education. Considering the high representation of Indigenous students in statistics related to behaviour infringements and other negative school outcomes, this review affirms the urgent need for research to investigate and establish empirically what constitutes effective behaviour management for Indigenous students.

Introduction

Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (Indigenous) students are perpetually overrepresented in every negative indicator associated with schooling such as discipline events (Perso, 2012), suspensions (Mills & McGregor, 2014; Partington, Waugh & Forrest, 2001; Stehbens, Anderson & Herbert, 1999), low attendance (Auditor General of Queensland, 2012; Keddie, Gowlett, Mills, Monk & Renshaw, 2013), exclusions (Partington et al., 2001; Perso, 2012), low retention (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011; Bain, 2011) and performance (Perso, Kenyon & Darrough, 2012; Stehbens et al., 1999). This overrepresentation persists despite a decade's focus on targeted interventions nationally on Indigenous education to reduce Indigenous disadvantage and increase educational outcomes (Auditor General of Queensland, 2012; Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs, 2008). These negative indicators and perpetuating inequities in Indigenous student performance are usually attributed in the public discourse to student qualities rather than school system features (Gillan, 2008; Griffiths, 2011).

In response, Campbell (2000) claims that national agendas and strategies are more likely to fail because they do not meet the diverse requirements and expectations of Indigenous students and their communities. Griffith (2011) states that "Indigenous education programs in Australia are overwhelmingly designed with good intentions and with laudable goals, but with little reference to the evidence base or to the 'big picture' of competing programs and the actual needs of Indigenous people" (p. 69). The Melbourne Declaration also asserts that any attempt to ameliorate these negative propensities in Indigenous students' education should be grounded in Indigenous students' cultural norms (Ministerial Council on

Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs, 2008). This implies that the reasons for the failure of education initiatives is thought to be attributed to the mismatch between classroom and home (Malin, 1990a) and the failure of educators to listen to Indigenous communities (Bond, 2010; Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Perso (2012) maintains that what is needed to address these issues is increased teacher awareness of Indigenous cultural norms that, accordingly, lead to adjusted classroom practice. Teacher education in culturally responsive strategies might lead to ameliorating this problem; otherwise, if left unaddressed, inequity and disadvantage will likely be perpetuated (Bazron, Osher & Fleischman, 2005).

Behaviour Management Resources Prominent in the Local Context

In North Queensland, where this multi-phase study is situated, initial teacher education places unquestioned emphasis on six behaviour management resources that have been implemented without rigorous evaluation of their efficacy for Indigenous students. The six resources are (1) Behaviour Management Skill Training Handbook, better known as the "Microskills" (Richmond, 1996), later re-packaged as (2) The Essential Skills for Classroom Management (Education Queensland, 2007); (3) numerous works by Bill Rogers (Rogers, 1990; 1994; 2001; 2008); (4) Classroom Profiling by Mark Davidson (Davidson & Goldman, 2004; Jackson, Simincini & Davidson, 2013), which records teacher and student behaviours, allowing teachers to reflect on their strategies; (5) the work of John Hattie (2009; 2012) and (6) the work of Robert Marzano (2003; 2007). Evident within this resource base is that only one of these resources explicitly gives any consideration to Indigeneity and the plight of Indigenous students (K. Ahmat, personal communication, June 1, 2015; M. Davidson, personal communication, November 13, 2014). Despite this single reference, any benefits of such assertions for Indigenous students are not supported by empirical evidence. Teacher education appropriately requires preservice teachers' exposure to evidence-based practices. The shortcoming of these suggested practices is the lack of empirical evidence with consideration of the influence of the socio-political context in informing responsive behaviour management practices. The dilemma in addressing this concern in teacher education is that it appears that there is little empirically-based research that provides any evidence of what works in positively influencing learning outcomes (Lewthwaite et al., 2015; Price & Hughes, 2009) and assists in positive behaviour management practice for Indigenous students. Many argue for empirically-based research to investigate culturally located behaviour management practices that contribute to Indigenous students' school success (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Griffiths, 2011; Perso, 2012). In response to this assertion, this literature review seeks to understand what is stated in the published literature on effective behaviour management strategies for Australian Indigenous students.

Literature Review Methodology

The literature review was conducted using Randolph's (2009) approach for conducting a systematic review of the literature. This involved a five-step process including: (1) problem formulation; (2) data collection; (3) data evaluation; (4) analysis and interpretation and, finally, (5) presentation.

Problem Identification

As detailed in the introductory section to this paper, the aim of this review was to identify in the literature specific teacher actions, or behaviours, that have been effective in supporting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander classroom behaviour due to them being overrepresented in negative school indicators related to behaviour.

Data Evaluation

Systematic protocols were used in conducting all stages of the review (Randolph, 2009). The following data bases were used in the search: One search, the university library search engine, Informit, the Indigenous database hosted by Informit, ProQuest, the Australasian Education Directory, AiATSIS Indigenous Studies bibliography, Education in video, EdiTLib Digital Library, Educational Research Abstracts online, Educational Resources Information Centre, and ScienceDirect. In response to the search term behaviour AND/OR classroom management in the Title/Abstract or Keywords, almost two million results were obtained. Filters were added to restrict the search to studies that mentioned Indigenous or marginalised context. The following keyword combinations were used: behavio(u)r support AND /OR Classroom management AND/OR behavio(u)r management AND/OR Indigenous AND/OR marginalised AND school. The terms 'classroom', 'behaviour', 'support' and 'management' were used in the search. For this review 'behaviour management' will be used, which encompasses behaviour support practices, similar to Richmond (2002a, 2002b) and others (Ministerial Advisory Committee for Educational Renewal, 2005; Papatheodorou, 1998). This excludes other classroom factors such as staff, furniture and resources, which may be included by authors using the term 'classroom management' (Emmer, Evertson, Clements & Worsham, 1997; Jackson et al., 2013; Marzano, 2003; Miranda & Eschenbrenner, 2013; Pinto, 2013). Data collection stopped when saturation point was reached; "a point where no new articles come to light" (Randolph, 2009, p. 7).

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The initial search identified 339 publications. Of these, 235 were excluded after reading the abstract on the basis of the criteria detailed above, or due to duplication. The remaining 104 were fully reviewed. Fifteen further publications, mainly books, were identified from internet searches or reference lists in other publications. Three articles or book sections were not available through these searches and were therefore not included. Figure 1 below illustrates the exclusion criteria and search process. The literature was classified into (1) international non-empirical publications, (2) international empirical studies, (3) Australian non-empirical publications, (4) Australian empirical studies on curriculum and/ or pedagogy, which covered behaviour management implicitly and (5) Australian empirical studies explicitly on behaviour management.
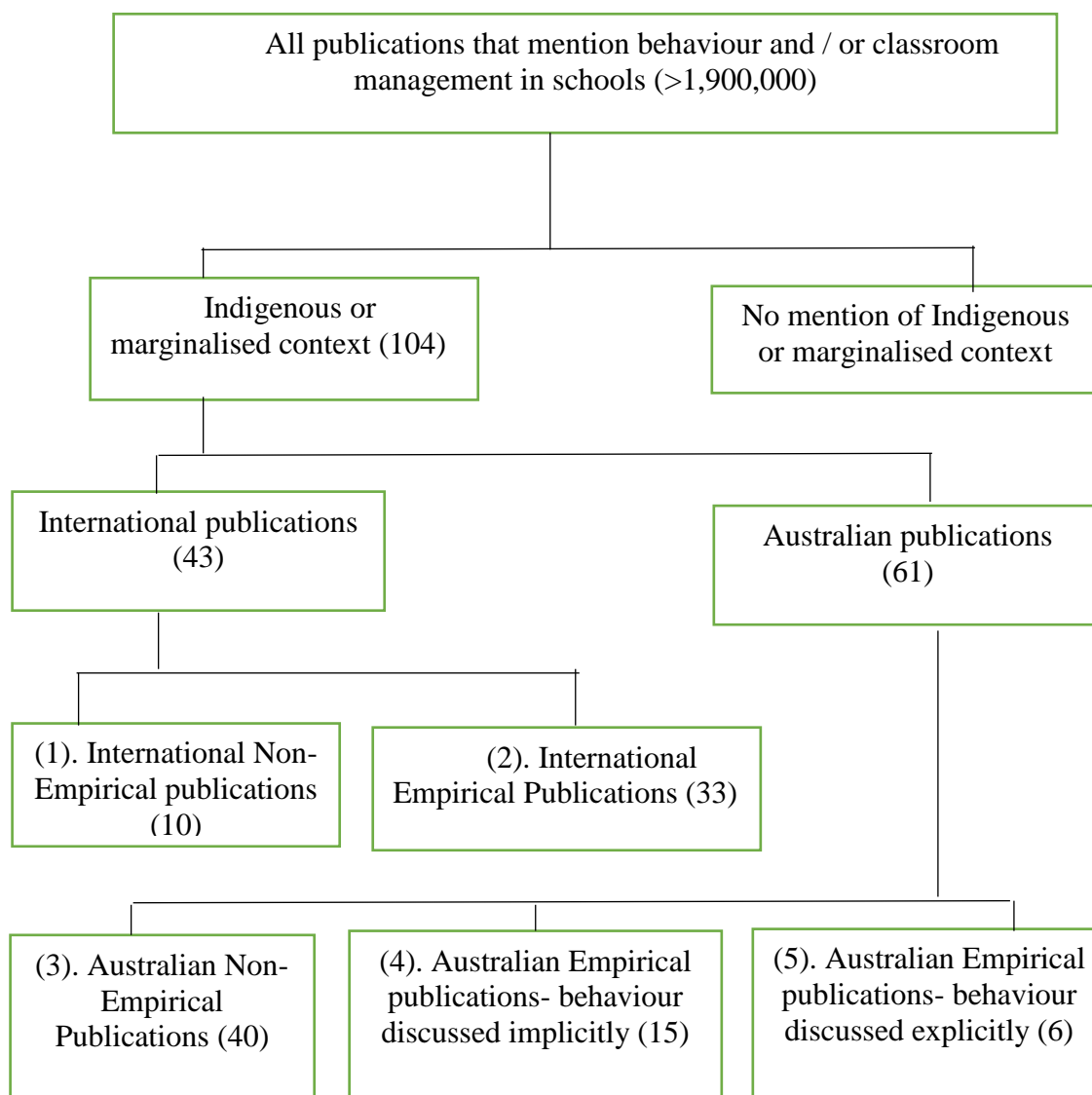
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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        All publications that mention behaviour and / or classroom        │
│              management in schools (>1,900,000)                          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

   ┌──────────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────────┐
   │      Indigenous or        │        │   No mention of Indigenous │
   │  marginalised context (104)│        │    or marginalised context │
   └──────────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────────┘

   ┌──────────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────────┐
   │  International publications │        │    Australian publications │
   │           (43)            │        │            (61)           │
   └──────────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────────┘

┌────────────────────┐  ┌────────────────────────┐
│ (1). International Non-│  │   (2). International     │
│ Empirical publications │  │ Empirical Publications (33)│
│        (10)          │  │                        │
└────────────────────┘  └────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐ ┌────────────────────────┐ ┌────────────────────────┐
│ (3). Australian Non-│ │ (4). Australian Empirical│ │ (5). Australian Empirical│
│    Empirical      │ │ publications- behaviour │ │ publications- behaviour │
│ Publications (40) │ │ discussed implicitly (15)│ │ discussed explicitly (6)│
└──────────────────┘ └────────────────────────┘ └────────────────────────┘
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Figure 1: Structure of the literature review

International Non-Empirical Publications

Practical suggestions for developing teacher understanding about the needs of Indigenous and marginalised students tended to dominate this category. Attention was directed to broader social and political contexts and teacher beliefs and understanding of these contexts. 'Culturally Responsive Classroom Management' (CRCM) (Weinstein, Curran & Tomlinson-Clarke, 2003; Weinstein, Tomlinson-Clarke & Curran, 2004), which has become a standard reference in this area, was widely cited within the literature (Gay, 2006; Milner & Tenore, 2010; Miranda & Eschenbrenner, 2013; Monroe, 2006; Perso, 2012; Pinto, 2013; Ullicci, 2009). These articles drew from previous empirically-based work of the authors and others (Bowers & Flinders, 1990; Delpit, 1995 ; Doyle, 1986; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Weinstein, 1998). Weinstein and colleagues developed five essential components of CRCM: recognition of one's own ethnocentrism; knowledge of students' cultural backgrounds; an understanding of the broader social, economic and political context; an ability and willingness to use culturally responsive management strategies and a commitment to building caring classrooms (Weinstein et al., 2004). Weinstein et al. also

listed classroom management techniques perceived to create a culturally responsive classroom. Laura Pinto's book, "From Discipline to Culturally Responsive Engagement" (Pinto, 2013) emphasised the need for consideration of context in classroom management practices and teacher examination of personal history and biases. She goes beyond these personal and epistemological issues and identified strategies based on her observations over long periods of time in culturally diverse classrooms. Although these practices have obvious merit in informing practice, her assertions are not empirically evaluated.

In other non-empirical publications, Miranda and Eschenbrenner (2013) included details of how marginalised students are disproportionally disciplined in American schools. They identify a racial gap where students of colour receive more suspensions and exclusions than white students for similar offences, which is a socially unjust practice. They suggested rethinking classroom management using socially just practices, because the problem is often seen to be the child without looking at the operative agenda and actions of the school. Drawing from this premise, Brantlinger and Danforth (2006) argued that by their unquestioned actions, teachers implicitly teach students about power and subordination. In the context of the American Native populations, the literature encouraged educators to understand the uniqueness of each native population. Specific practices for creating a positive learning environment are recommended including extended wait time, providing opportunities for group work and use of humour (Morgan, 2010). Bazron et al. (2005) listed several strategies that increased student cooperation such as group work, increased wait time and detailed social instruction. In brief, this body of literature introduced epistemological ideas of power differences due to cultural and political contexts, cultural differences between teachers and students and teacher ethnocentrism, which may impact on teacher behaviour management choices (Pinto, 2013; Weinstein et al., 2003). Also mentioned was teacher awareness of their shortcomings and willingness to learn (Pinto, 2013). However, research evidence to support these claims was missing, and thus draws into question the efficacy of these claims for pre-service and in-service teacher education.

International Empirical Studies

The identified international empirical literature was largely based in the United States, with research predominantly in urban schools. As well, remote Indigenous (Canadian First Peoples and American Indian) contexts featured occasionally. Some information came from discussions of pedagogy, but most of these studies examined Indigenous or marginalised student behaviour explicitly. Evidence showed that Indigenous and marginalised students are disproportionally represented in discipline events, punished more severely and more likely to be suspended from school (Sheets & Gay, 1996; Skiba, Michael, Nardo & Peterson, 2002). Recurrent themes identified by the researchers that detailed successful evidence-based behaviour management strategies working with Indigenous and marginalised students included:
a. knowledge of self and other and power relations in the socio-historical political context without a deficit notion of difference,
b. knowing students and their culture,
c. particular teacher qualities,
d. positive relationships,
e. culturally responsive pedagogy,
f. proactive behaviour management,
g. culturally appropriate reactive behaviour management and
h. connections with family and community.

Knowledge of Self and Other and Power Relations

Evident within the literature was that teachers need to be aware that schools exist in an historical and political climate that may influence the perceptions of student and teacher behaviour (Bondy, Ross, Gallingane & Hambacher, 2007). Therefore, there is a fundamental need for teachers to have an understanding of the 'Self and Other' and the power relations that either consciously or unconsciously operate in schools. Of particular importance was attention to whether teachers possess a deficit notion of difference; that is, when someone differs from the self, attributing those differences to a lack of understanding (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2007; Milner, 2008; Milner & Tenore, 2010; Monroe, 2009; Schlosser, 1992; Sheets & Gay, 1996). Successful teachers - whether or not the teachers were from the same culture as the children - understood their own cultural background and similarities and differences from the cultures of the children (Milner, 2008). Some teachers explained race, culture and power in discussion with students to help them understand how the dominant culture can replicate power imbalances in the classroom (Bliss, 2006; Milner, 2011; Ullicci, 2009).

Knowing Students and Their Culture

Successful teachers get to know their students and their backgrounds, which reduces behaviours inappropriate to the context (Schlosser, 1992). There are commonalities and differences among communities and students, and teachers must take the time to know each student and each community. For example, American Indian students in one community preferred to hear a story to the end before stopping to discuss it (Hammond, Dupoux & Ingalls, 2004). Inuit and American Indian students were comforted by touch under very different cultural expectations than urban mainstream students (Kleinfeld, 1975). Also, Latino and African American students reacted differently from middle class 'white' students when in confrontation situations with their teachers (Milner & Tenore, 2010; Sheets & Gay, 1996). In all, authors indicated that a cultural mismatch between the expectations of teachers and students could lead to misunderstanding of student behaviour; a "lack of cultural synchronization" (Monroe, 2006; Monroe & Obidah, 2004). Effective teachers understood that cultural context strongly mediates definitions of appropriate behaviour (Monroe & Obidah, 2004) and knew that they could not make one set of rules or strategies and assume everyone knew how to meet them (Milner, 2011). These teachers also understood that students were not 'bad'; they were learning behaviour in the new context (Monroe, 2006, 2009), or expressing a need (Milner, 2011).

Particular Teacher Qualities

A third theme identified was the personal qualities of the teacher in fostering positive behaviour management. The term 'warm demander', used by Kleinfeld (1975), is a "teacher stance that communicates both warmth and a nonnegotiable demand for student effort and mutual respect" (Bondy & Ross, 2008, p. 54; cf. Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010). An African American teacher used cultural humour and demonstrations of emotion and affect, with a tough and no-nonsense style (Monroe & Obidah, 2004). Successful teachers combined a sense of humour, with setting boundaries and following through, creating an atmosphere reflective of family, but using firm redirections (Milner, 2008; Ullicci, 2009). Such a teacher is a reflective practitioner, always committed to evaluating and re-evaluating practice (Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010). Related personal qualities included: not taking student behaviour personally; being agentic, that is, being able to solve problems that come his/ her

way (Bishop et al., 2007) or having an internal locus of control (Kennedy, 2011); and regulation of own teacher emotions (Sutton, Maudrey-Camino & Knight, 2009). The personal qualities recommended by these authors required teachers to accept responsibility for their behaviour and recognise the impact their behaviour has on students.

Positive Relationships

The literature indicated that students were more likely to behave well for teachers they liked (Milner, 2011; Sheets & Gay, 1996), so successful teachers possessed an ability to create effective relationships with and among students. Having less distance in relationships contributed to that situation. These teachers shared with students a few personal matters (Kennedy, 2011; Milner, 2008, 2011; Schlosser, 1992; Sheets & Gay, 1996); stressed that the class was their 'family' or 'community' at school, and expected students to respect and value others in a caring classroom (Bondy et al., 2007; Brown, 2003; Milner, 2011; Ullicci, 2009). Bondy et al. (2007) noted:

> *Teachers with a naive conception of care may create an ambiguous rather than a supportive psychological environment. That is they may believe they care about students and value a culture of respect but may lack the knowledge necessary to explicitly teach the skills of respectful behavior or to insist on respectful behavior in culturally appropriate ways (Bondy et al., 2007, p. 346).*

Table 1 details successful teacher strategies for creating a caring environment for students from Indigenous cultures identified through international empirical studies.

Strategies to create a caring environment	Sources
Giving culturally appropriate social instruction	(Baydala et al., 2009)
Using clear and consistent expectations	(Bondy & Ross, 2008)
Creating physical environment that welcomes and displays culture	(Brown, 2003; Ullicci, 2009)
Using humour	(Milner, 2008; Ullicci, 2009)
Treating students with respect, not shouting, threatening or demeaning	(Ullicci, 2009)
Not using punishment	(Noguera, 2003)
Using communication process that are understood by the student to communicate respect	(Bondy et al., 2007; Brown, 2003)
Communicating expectations of success	(Bishop et al., 2007; Bondy et al., 2007; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010)
Treating students fairly as they see it	(Milner, 2008)
Giving students a sense of control	(Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Milner, 2008)

Table 1: Successful teacher strategies for Indigenous students

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Culturally informed teaching strategies were commonly identified as means by which inappropriate behaviours were minimised and subsequently contributed to more settled classrooms. These strategies included increased wait time after asking questions or making requests (Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; Winterton, 1977); opportunities for group work (Hammond et al., 2004; McCarthy & Benally, 2003); scaffolded learning (Bondy & Ross, 2008); opportunities for movement (Boykin, 2001; Monroe, 2006); flexibility (Monroe, 2006); storytelling (Milner, 2008) and activity based learning (McCarthy & Benally, 2003).

Proactive Behaviour Management

Proactive behaviour management strategies were also identified to decrease disruption (Sanford & Evertson, 2006). These included, making behaviour expectations clear (Anderson, Evertson & Emmer,1980; Bondy & Ross, 2008; Bondy et al., 2007; Kennedy, 2011; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; McCarthy & Benally, 2003) and teaching students how to meet expectations (Anderson et al., 1980).

Reactive Behaviour Management

Reactive strategies were suggested to be implemented after inappropriate behaviour has occurred. Importantly, reactive interventions should be chosen and implemented in a way that suits the cultures of the students (Baydala et al., 2009; Bazron et al., 2005; Hammond et al., 2004; Monroe, 2006; Sheets & Gay, 1996). Table 2 lists further recommendations for reactive behaviour management.

Reactive strategies	Source
Not make every infraction a serious offense	(Ullicci, 2009)
Calmly deliver consequences	(Bondy et al., 2007).
Look for reasons behind the behaviour and find ways to meet student needs	(Kennedy, 2011)
Be consistent	(Milner, 2008)
Do not take student behaviour personally	(Kennedy, 2011)
Refrain from holding grudges	(Milner, 2008)

Table 2: Reactive strategies

While policies of zero tolerance may have been seen as a solution, they did not work to change student behaviour (Noguera, 2003; Nolan, 2007). Zero tolerance approaches came from a reaction to extreme violence in schools (Skiba & Peterson, 1999a). Nolan's findings were consistent with mainstream literature on this issue (Jeffers, 2008; Skiba & Peterson, 1999a, 1999b). Too often schools failed to address the reasons for behaviour and used suspension to address behaviour concerns and this led to the overrepresentation of marginalised and first peoples or American Indian students mentioned earlier (Noguera, 2003; Sheets & Gay, 1996; Skiba et al., 2002).

Connections with Families and Communities

Making connections with families and communities was deemed to be critical because teachers and families may have different standards and expectations about what is appropriate behaviour in schools (Cary, 2000). In two rural American Indian reservations, the typical classroom management style where teachers micro-managed the behaviour of individual students did not fit with cultural values of encouraging students to self-manage for the benefit of the group. In this case, listening to parents offered the researcher insights into more culturally appropriate behaviour management strategies for their students. (Hammond et al., 2004). Different cultures may see the role of parents in schools differently. Monroe (2009) found that all of the effective teachers made attempts to reach out to families and support them. Sometimes teachers felt that racial difference between families and teachers hindered these relationships, but that did not stop them trying.

One international study (Bishop et al., 2007), which used qualitative and quantitative methods, actually measured student outcomes in New Zealand as a result of the enactment of teaching practices, including those associated with behaviour. The practices implemented drew from conversations with Maori students as to what they saw as effective practice. An Effective Teaching Profile (ETP) was created, guided by the experiences of Maori students, families, their teachers and principals. Quantitative observations that counted teacher frequency of use of the strategies were used and student numeracy and literacy outcomes were measured. The outcomes showed statistical benefits for Maori students. Behaviours demonstrated by teachers who managed behaviour effectively included: caring and high expectations; classroom management that promotes learning; discursive learning; successful learning strategies and sharing learning outcomes and achievements with students to increase Maori student achievement. Essential to this ETP, was a need to reject deficit paradigms about differences, and a commitment to reflective practice. This study provides an effective framework for investigation, as it uses mixed methods and provides evidence of utility.

The eight categories summarised, although valuable, cannot be applied to an Australian context without consideration of Aboriginal and Torres-Strait Islander contexts and opinions.

Australian Non-Empirical Publications

Before describing the themes that emerged from this body of literature, two points must be made. First, there are two very distinct cultures in Australia. Most of this literature is written for an Aboriginal context and is often assumed to apply to the Torres Strait Islander culture as well. Little is written by Torres Strait Islander people, or from a Torres Strait Islander perspective (Nakata, 1995a, 1995b, 2007; Osborne, 1996). Also, within these two cultures each cultural or family group has its own practices (Bamblett, 1985), so students come from diverse backgrounds. Indigenous students cannot all be grouped together (Nakata, 2007); but they may share some common traits (Gollan & Malin, 2012; Harris & Malin, 1995).

Second, historical antecedents must be considered by a reader who negotiates information describing Indigenous cultures in Australia (Osborne, 1996). An attitude of deficit theorising ignores historical antecedents and places the problems with students and families rather than the systems or schools or teachers (Griffiths, 2011). "One must acknowledge also that Aboriginal attitudes, and often Aboriginal living conditions have been determined by two hundred years of white cultural and economic dominance of Aboriginal cultural values, which are alien to non-Aboriginal society" (Bamblett, 1985, p. 35). This has resulted in transgenerational trauma to Australian Indigenous peoples (Aitkinson, 2002; Ralph, Hamaguchi, & Cox, 2006), including children (Milroy, 2005). Accurate recounting of history (Bottoms, 2013; Christie, 1987b; Shaw, 2009) helps to situate information about education in communities.

Often the literature in this section was based on personal experience and in-depth understanding from Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors. Information in this section is consistent with the themes from international authors, so these same categories will be used in presenting the Australian literature.

Knowledge of Self and Other and Power Relations

In this context authors emphasised that teachers did not need to be from the same culture as their students to be culturally competent (Osborne, 1996), with a caveat that a teacher must get to know the culture, as it may differ from their own and cause cultural misunderstanding (Ionn, 1995; Osborne, 1996), which includes behaviour. Christie (1985) explained some difference between cultures: 'meaningful' experiences hold value for the Yolgnu people while 'purposeful' experiences hold value for Western culture. The difference is an approach to getting things done. A meaningful experience holds importance and significance for the individual, while a purposeful experience is about setting and achieving goals under an assumption that we are in control of the world (Christie, 1985). When we use our own standards to judge others, Yolgnu can see Westerners as greedy and Westerners can see Yolgnu as lazy (Christie, 1985). School is dependent on purposeful behaviour that comes from a Western view that the world can be controlled.

> *Meaningful behaviour is a different sort of activity altogether. It is not a watered down version or a pale imitation of purposeful behaviour. It is behaviour that is directed at developing and maintaining the meaningfulness of one's life and, in fact, personally controlled goal directed, purposeful activity will interfere with the practise of meaningful behaviour (Christie, 1985, p. 8).*

One way to value Indigenous cultures in Australia has been referred to as 'two way learning' (Purdie, Milgate & Bell, 2011; Rogers, 1994) or 'both ways education' (Harrison, 2005). Two-way learning recognises that Indigenous epistemologies must be included in education, whereas, both ways education is about "a two-way exchange or reciprocity between people" (Harrison, 2005, p. 874). For a Western teacher that means learning and accepting that Western ways do not always need to be paramount (Rogers, 1994).

Knowing Students and their Culture

Australian authors strongly emphasised the importance of having knowledge of the students and their cultural background and behaviours that may be different from those expected in classrooms. For example, and most importantly, Aboriginal children are raised with more autonomy than Western children (Bamblett, 1985; Berry & Hudson, 1997; Guider, 1991; Harris, 1987b; Harrison, 2008, 2011; Howard, 1995; Ionn, 1995; Ngarritjan-Kessaris, 1995) and this behaviour may be misunderstood by teachers. Because value is placed on giving, students may not use 'please' or 'thank you', but express needs directly. This is not a 'lack of manners', but an example of a different values system in operation (Berry & Hudson, 1997; Harrison, 2011; Howard, 1995; Ionn, 1995). Time may be perceived and used differently (Ngarritjan-Kessaris, 1995). Shared ownership of possessions is valued (Bamblett, 1985; Berry & Hudson, 1997) and cooperation between people is valued more than obedience to a particular person (Bamblett, 1985; Christie, 1987a). Importantly, students may be motivated to engage in school work by relationship and community rather than work ethic or authority (Bamblett, 1985; Berry & Hudson, 1997; Groome, 1995; Harrison, 2008, 2011; Howard, 1995; Linkson, 1999; Nichol & Robinson, 2010; Perso et al., 2012; Shaw, 2009).

Particular Teacher Qualities

It was suggested that successful teachers use reflective practice (Guider, 1991; Perso, 2012) and do not take student behaviour personally (Berry & Hudson, 1997). They teach about race, culture and power and school culture (Appo, 1994; Christie, 1987a; Groome,

1995; Harris, 1987b; Harrison, 2005; Linkson, 1999; Osborne, 1996; Sarra, 2011b). They are warm demanders (Fanshawe, 1976, 1999; Guider, 1991; Osborne, 1996) with expectations of success (Griffiths, 2011; Hones, 2005; Sarra, 2011b) and have a sense of humour (Gollan & Malin, 2012; Harrison, 2011; Ngarritjan-Kessaris, 1995).

Positive Relationships

Effective teachers understand that relationship comes before work (Christie, 1987a; Howard, 1995; Linkson, 1999), that respect is earned, not based on authority (Bamblett, 1985; Christie, 1987a) and give students a sense of control (West, 1995). They treat students with respect and communicate in culturally appropriate ways (Perso, 2012), and tell students a little about themselves (Berry & Hudson, 1997; Byrne & Munns, 2012). Importantly, they avoid 'spotlighting' or 'shaming' students, allowing them 'save face' (Bissett, 2012; Osborne, 1996; West, 1995). They also avoid bossing and sarcasm (Harrison, 2008; Howard, 1995) and confrontation (Harrison, 2008; Osborne, 1996). Effective teachers also recognise and use real-life strengths and skills of their students (Clarke & Dunlap, 2008; Dockett, Mason & Perry, 2006; Howard, 1995; Perso et al., 2012; Sarra, 2011b).

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

This construct is covered in detail in Australian non-empirical literature. Effective teachers prevent behaviour that is inappropriate to the context by understanding that students need the big picture context (Garvis, 2006; Harrison, 2008; Sarra, 2011a) and that students may not want to learn something new until they are confident in foundational understandings and skills (Berry & Hudson, 1997; Harrison, 2008, 2011; West, 1995). They employ group work (Garvis, 2006; Harris, 1987b); use persistence, repetition, rote learning and memory (Garvis, 2006; Harris, 1987b); relate tasks to real-life (Harris, 1987b) use concrete learning rather than abstract (Hughes, More & Williams, 2004) and use storytelling, observation and imitation rather than verbal instruction (Garvis, 2006; Harris, 1987b; Harrison, 2008; Sarra, 2011a; West, 1995) or exposition (Harrison, 2008). They also use learning support and scaffolding (West, 1995) and avoid over talking (Berry & Hudson, 1997; Christie, 1980; Harris, 1987b) and too many direct questions; particularly 'why' and 'how' questions (Berry & Hudson, 1997; Christie, 1980; Harris, 1987a, 1987b; Harrison, 2008; Ionn, 1995; Linkson, 1999; West, 1995).

Proactive Behaviour Management Strategies

Proactive behaviour management strategies are preventative measures that are put in place before behaviour inappropriate to the context happens. These include encouraging a strong sense of self in students (Appo, 1994; Garvis, 2006; Groome, 1995; Hones, 2005; Milgate & Giles-Brown, 2013; Sarra, 2011b; West, 1995) and giving clear expectations and how to achieve them (Harrison, 2011; Sarra, 2011b). Teachers must meet student needs in health (Dockett et al., 2006), belonging and attention (Harrison, 2011). Classrooms should cater for movement, noise and flexibility (Nichol & Robinson, 2010). Indigenous role models also help (Dockett et al., 2006; Hones, 2005).

Reactive Behaviour Management

Reactive strategies are measures taken after behaviour inappropriate for the context happens. There are many reactive strategies documented as valuable in working with Australian Indigenous students. These include using restrained power, not an 'I'm the boss' approach (Christie, 1987a; Groome, 1995; Harrison, 2008), also avoiding the Western way of gaining justice and punish to vindicate the wronged (Christie, 1987a; Groome, 1995; Harrison, 2008). Give rewards for appropriate behaviour rather than punishing hard (Christie, 1987a; Harrison, 2011). The rewards should be consistent and short-lived (Christie, 1987a) and group rewards rather than individual (Harrison, 2008, 2011). Defuse quickly and calmly and when calm, talk about responsibility to the group (Christie, 1987a). Above all, avoid escalating the conflict (Christie, 1987a; Groome, 1995; Nichol & Robinson, 2010). Harrison (2008) suggests avoiding suspensions because students may be seeking this.

Connections with Families and Communities

In this group of publications, links with family and community are emphasised to connect with families and create a team approach to teaching students behaviour appropriate for the context (Bamblett, 1985; Budby, 1994; Clarke, 2000; Dockett et al., 2006; Guider, 1991; Milgate & Giles-Brown, 2013; Osborne, 1996; Perso, 2012; Sims, O'Connor & Forrest, 2003, Shipp, 2013). Suggestions include making an environment where parents feel comfortable or meet away from school (Sims et al., 2003) and taking the long way around when talking with parents to make a connection first (Harrison, 2008). Also, while it may not always be possible Sims et al. (2003) advise staff to learn culturally appropriate communication and some language features of the community.

The suggestions that emerged from these Australian publications were grouped in the same themes as those used in international empirical literature. Many useful suggestions were made for teacher practice. Since these suggestions are not based in empirical evidence however, their capacity to inform teacher education is questionable.

Australian Empirical Literature
Behaviour Discussed Implicitly

The literature in this category comprised empirical studies from the Australian context. These studies contained implicit discussions about behaviour while examining pedagogy (Munns, O'Rourke & Bodkin-Andrews, 2013; Rahman, 2010; Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009), disadvantage (Keddie et al., 2013), curriculum (Munns et al., 2013; Simpson & Clancy, 2012), the hidden curriculum (Rahman, 2010), Indigenous voice (Bond, 2010; Colman-Dimon, 2000), teacher characteristics (Fanshawe, 1989), classroom discourse (Thwaite, 2007), student mobility (Nelson & Hay, 2010) and humour (Hudspith, 1995). As these studies investigated other pedagogical topics, conclusions were made that relate specifically to behaviour management. These findings, again, correspond to the themes that have been identified in the previous sections.

Understanding of Self and Other and Power Relations

Keddie et al. (2013) observed curricular and non-curricular activities and interviewed administration, teaching and ancillary staff in one school that catered well for the needs of Indigenous students. They highlighted the need for teachers to have an understanding of the

Self and Other, and power relations without a deficit notion of difference. This means that cultural differences between the teacher and student should not be taken as a lack on the part of the student. This comes with a warning against treating all Indigenous cultures as a homogeneous group against a dominant white norm (Keddie et al., 2013). Keddie called this 'cultural reductionism', and warned that cultural homogeneity can lead to "further 'othering' of non-dominant cultures" (Keddie et al., 2013, p. 94). What works at one time in one context may not work in another context or another time (Keddie et al., 2013). Hughes, More and Williams (2004) recommend that teachers focus on individuals and learning strengths, rather than making generalisations based upon students' cultural backgrounds. Rahman (2010) discussed the 'hidden curriculum' and how students who are comfortable negotiating the different context of schooling perform better than those who have not learned to play the 'game' of schooling.

Knowing Students and Their Culture

In order to avoid behaviours arising from cultural mismatch, authors identified that effective teachers get to know their students and their cultures (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Hughes et al. (2004) observed and interviewed effective teachers in four schools teaching prepared units and observed the students. They identified particular learning strengths of Indigenous students and compared Indigenous and Western cultures in their discussion (Hughes et al., 2004), some of these comparisons have been supported by others (Hudsmith, 1992; Malin, 1990a, 1990b; Simpson & Clancy, 2012; Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Indigenous students may respond better to indirect questioning rather than direct questions (Hughes et al., 2004; Thwaite, 2007,) which may be seen as rude (Simpson & Clancy, 2012). Students may make little eye contact; it is impolite (Hughes et al., 2004, p. 234) and they can be attentive without making eye contact (Thwaite, 2007). Kinship is important, children may be shared between homes (Hughes et al., 2004). They may engage in holistic thinking rather than empirical thinking and they may use symbolic language rather than literal (Hughes et al., 2004). 'Being' is more important than 'doing' and children may focus on immediate gratification rather than deferred gratification (Hughes et al., 2004). Time is circular and without boundaries rather than linear and quantified and students may have a spontaneous lifestyle rather than a structured lifestyle. Students may be group oriented rather than individualistic with ownership (Hughes et al., 2004). Pathways through school may be complex and multifaceted. Nelson and Hay (2010) recommended engaging and re-engaging with students in open flexible ways rather than making moral judgements about their reasons for diverse pathways (Nelson & Hay, 2010). Some schools did this better than others (Nelson & Hay, 2010).

Another cultural difference commonly identified is that Aboriginal children are self-reliant, self-regulated, observant, and practical (Malin, 1990b; Rahman, 2010). Malin (1990b) observed children in several Aboriginal and Western families and at school and reported that Aboriginal children seek help from peers as much as from adults, approach new tasks cautiously to avoid making mistakes and are emotionally and physically resilient. Aboriginal students are raised with more autonomy in the home (Malin, 1990a). In the classroom this autonomy may be mistaken by the teacher as slowness or disobedience (Malin, 1990b). When the teacher asks them to come, students think they have time to finish what they are currently doing and may exercise their autonomy to do so (Malin, 1990b). Malin (1990b) observed that students felt shame at their wrong being made public and reported that students perceived racist discrimination. Students would like time to reflect and think and see the whole before engaging in it (Malin, 1990b).

Particular Teacher Qualities.

Teacher qualities that reduced conflict in the classroom included expressions of caring, through the words and body language of the teacher, which are noticed, no matter how small (Hughes et al., 2004). Another characteristic that was noted through research that looked at teacher effectiveness was personal warmth rather than professional distance (Fanshawe, 1989). Teachers had to set aside their deficit notion of difference to embrace Aboriginal ways of knowing (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Effective teachers were willing to learn from cultural groups of the children in the class (Simpson & Clancy, 2012) and they had interest in the wider lives of the children (Bond, 2010).

Hudspith (1995) researched the use of humour in classes with predominantly Aboriginal students. It was found that unsuccessful or 'discordant' teachers used humour to "reinforc[e] social and political distance" (Hudspith, 1995, p. 21) from groups. Effective or 'positive' teachers had a positive 'tone' in the room (Hudspith, 1995). In one lesson, 71% of the humour was directed towards the whole class, not towards individual students (Hudspith, 1995), which is considered to be an effective teaching strategy with Aboriginal students who avoid being shamed. Effective teachers also directed humour towards themselves; relating stories of personal failings with humour (Hudspith, 1995). This delighted Aboriginal students (Hudspith, 1995). Aboriginal students liked teachers who were funny, had a good sense of humour and were easy to talk to (Hudspith, 1995). These teachers explained humour and did not use sarcasm (Hudspith, 1995).

Positive Teacher Relationships

Relationships with individual teachers were significant in student perceptions of schools and schooling (Nelson & Hay, 2010; Rahman, 2010), which impacts on student behaviour. Munns et al. (2013) researched sociological and psychological understanding of student motivation and engagement in eight exemplary schools in terms of Indigenous student performance, attendance and behavioural data and observations. Students with high self-concept were identified through quantitative data and interviewed, as were Administrators, liaison staff and teachers identified as having high empathy, association and success with Indigenous students. Interview data showed that relationships between teachers and students were paramount in schools that have success with Indigenous students (Munns et al., 2013). In these schools teachers saw students as important, responsible and able to achieve (Munns et al., 2013).

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Student behaviour and engagement were improved when staff worked in Indigenous ways (Rahman, 2010; Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Teachers did this by linking curriculum to local Indigenous pedagogies, lore, language and landscape and ways of thinking and problem solving in design and technology (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Students worked well in Indigenous learning circles, but also when working autonomously and creatively (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Other suggestions include detailed scaffolding, so students like to participate, even in direct questioning (Thwaite, 2007).

Proactive Behaviour Management

Recommendations for proactive behaviour management have emanated from research that used qualitative observation or action research methods. They include: that teachers avoid spotlighting students (Thwaite, 2007) and provide social support as the key pedagogy to shifting to self-direction (Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009). Teachers should learn how to frame requests in a way that will engage students (Simpson & Clancy, 2012). One example cited was an Aboriginal teacher aide who used cultural knowledge and student strengths to frame a request in a way that was successful. A teacher had requested that students sit in a particular place, but they refused. The teacher aide created a meaningful context for children by describing the seat as a car, and framed the request as an invitation to join her (Simpson & Clancy, 2012).

Reactive Behaviour Management

Reactive behaviour management (measures taken after inappropriate behaviour happens) was not mentioned in this category of literature.

Connections with Families and Communities

Munns et al. (2013) examined 52 schools, and using quantitative records, selected four that were successful in enhancing social and academic outcomes for Aboriginal students. Using case studies of these schools they identified that schools that were successful with Indigenous students had close links with communities. Hilary Bond (2004) listened to elders on Mornington Island. Her thesis titled "We're the mob you should be listening to" related information from elders in the community. The elders expressed that school gave them no voice in curriculum and they wanted to have input (Bond, 2004). According to Colman-Dimon (2000), who used qualitative methods students enjoyed their schooling and felt optimistic about their futures when parents and community members played an active and decision-making role in the school. "It is vital that education be improved through a process of attentive listening rather than an imposition of inappropriate pedagogy, curriculum and lack of meaningful personal relationships with the community" (Colman-Dimon, 2000, p. 43).

Behaviour Discussed Explicitly

Only five studies specifically focused on behaviour management for Indigenous students (Edwards-Groves & Murray, 2008; Gillan, 2008; Malin, 1990a; Partington et al., 2001; Stehbens et al., 1999). Merridy Malin (1990a) observed the children of two Aboriginal families and two 'Anglo' families at home and at school in a five-year ethnographic study in Adelaide. As a starting point for investigation into inequalities in the classroom, her work has been widely referenced by others (Howard, 1995; Ionn, 1995, Rahman, 2010). She observed that socialisation at home for Aboriginal children was very different from that of the Anglo children (Malin, 1990a), which is consistent with theme (b) knowing students and their culture. Aboriginal families monitored children indirectly, selectively attending to some behaviour without the "direct and overt verbal monitoring, directing and persuading" (Malin, 1990a, p. 314), which characterised the Anglo style of parenting. Aboriginal parents used less than half the number of controlling statements than Anglos and they did not expect

compliance immediately (Malin, 1990a). When observing the children at school Malin identified the ideology of the teacher as a source of concern. The teacher harboured lower expectations for Aboriginal students and when stressed, she also used disparaging descriptions of them. Malin also warned that "'treating all students the same' is a dangerous creed because it is not easy to carry out nor is it appropriate. Even when students are from the same cultural group, their different personalities, skills and life experiences demand different responses" (Malin, 1990a, p. 327). Reflecting findings mentioned previously (e.g. Hughes et al., 2004; Keddie et al., 2013), Malin recommended that teachers become aware of their own cultural orientations and uncover and challenge their unconscious ideology to be "sensitive to the students' respective personalities and propensities and respond accordingly" (Malin, 1990a, p. 327).

Sandra Hudsmith observed two teachers who were known to be successful in their classroom interactions with Aboriginal students using field notes, audio and video recordings and interviews. Previously there had been a wide range of behaviour problems with these children, but with these teachers, misbehaviours in the class were rare. These teachers incorporated an Aboriginal learning style in their teaching and pedagogy and had extensive knowledge of their students (Hudsmith, 1992). They highlighted and valued students' experiences and autonomy and used these in curriculum with an Aboriginal socio-linguistic etiquette, such as circle talking, where everyone sat on the floor to discuss an issue. Both teachers attempted to expose the hidden aspects of school culture that generate misunderstanding between teachers and students. They trained students to use mainstream language conventions and behaviours for other classrooms. Students were affirmed in their Aboriginality, and their individual needs were taken into account. Students could go to the library when they chose, which supported their autonomy. They just had to let the teacher know, not ask for permission. Older children were encouraged to tutor younger ones, which made use of the cultural value of helping others and reflected home norms. The teachers developed positive affirming relationships and through their personal qualities extended the boundaries of their role. Each class had visited the teacher's home as an excursion and the teachers regularly stepped out of their official role to share some aspect of themselves or used humour. These teachers exemplified "sensitivity, respect and allegiance to common goals…[by] catering for Aboriginal student differences and needs, while focusing student creativity and energy towards self-enhancing goals" (Hudsmith, 1992, p. 11). Parents were involved in their classrooms and teachers took an interest in the lives of students outside of school. Her work offers detailed, evidence-based insights into the personal characteristics, classsroom pedagogies and routines of two effective teachers. Unfortunately, it did not focus on reactive strategies.

Stehbens et al. (1999) examined factors that may contribute to high rates of suspension for Indigenous students in New South Wales by examining suspension data and speaking with Aboriginal students, staff, parents and non-Indigenous teachers. Echoing other authors (e.g. Keddie et al., 2013; Nelson & Hay, 2010) they were critical of schooling as a way to replicate the "dominant mainstream" (Stehbens et al., 1999, p. 11) where children who did not assimilate are treated to address the "personal deficit within the child or his or her family" (Stehbens et al., 1999, p. 11) and if children did not change, they were suspended or excluded from education. Stehbens et al., argued that behaviour management policies and programs helped to achieve this assimilation or exclusion process. We need to consider cultural differences in what is 'unacceptable' behaviour. They identified factors that contributed to the problem, but offered little in the way of solutions. A parent suggested that while some behaviour is extreme, staff should try to be more tolerant and accepting (Stehbens et al., 1999) and one staff member saw inflexibility as a problem (Stehbens et al., 1999).

Partington, Waugh and Forrest (2001) investigated the reasons for higher representation of Indigenous students in suspensions and exclusions in one Western Australian school. They examined policy and student and staff perceptions, highlighting student resistance to alienation (Partington et al., 2001). Their study uncovered reasons for inequalities in student referrals and suggested some ways to combat the inequality. School rules were few and not taught (Partington et al., 2001). Among the teachers, there was not a consistent approach to discipline. Some teachers ignored the underlying causes of behaviour and used the system to escalate students out of the classroom. Partington et al. (2001) suggested two explanations for Indigenous student misbehaviour from the literature. The first explanation was cultural misunderstanding, where teachers misinterpreted behaviour that was culturally acceptable. Cultural conflict occurred when Indigenous students, steeped in their home culture, were unfamiliar with the school culture (Partington et al., 2001). Partington et al., (2001) identified the historical relations of power and racism. Students had a perception of racist discrimination. A teacher who was not aware of history could exercise power in the belief that they expected obedience, and if they did not get this they took punitive action (Partington et al., 2001). Partington et al. offered some solutions based on getting to know students and relationship:

> *Culturally appropriate strategies for classroom management are not a bag of tricks that can be produced as needed. Rather, the relationships among the various components of culture must be understood and applied in appropriate contexts so they are seen by students to be relevant and meaningful (Partington et al., 2001, pp. 74-75).*

Each student must be considered in terms of his or her learning strengths, preferences and needs (Partington et al., 2001). Qualities of effective teachers in creating positive learning environments included: effective communication, creating good rapport with students, and demonstrating willingness to negotiate. They also suggested a "framework of collaboration and more egalitarian teacher-student relationships" (Partington et al., 2001, p. 78). They recommended using fewer worksheets, and in the use of reactive strategies they found that effective teachers examined the motivations, contexts and interactions when responding to an incident; they dealt with an incident in isolation from previous student incidents; used defusing strategies; looked for the antecedents of behaviour, not simply blaming students; and employed restrained use of power where procedures were set, but not followed blindly (Partington et al., 2001).

Edwards-Groves and Murray (2008) in a small study, interviewed boys who had previous negative school experiences and were situated in a short term residential centre. They used novel data collection methods that included informal discussions, participant observation, photo interviews, creating together and writing poetry. These methods allowed for connection between the boys and the researcher in culturally appropriate ways. The students perceived that teachers and other class members in mainstream schools lacked "cultural, social and political knowledge and understanding about Aboriginality" (Edwards-Groves & Murray, 2008, p. 175). In the alternative setting, student needs were met in a culturally appropriate way and the boys expressed their satisfaction (Edwards-Groves & Murray, 2008). The authors suggested "renewed scrutiny on classroom interactions and more importantly still offers teachers impetus for changing the perspectives of the 'racialized marginalised other' so that the ways of being an Aboriginal student in Australian classrooms can be perceived as relevant, just and balanced" (Edwards-Groves & Murray, 2008, p. 175).

Gillan (2008) examined the language and practice of behaviour management policy in a Western Australian primary school and discussed how it excluded Noongar students and families. Following interviews with Indigenous staff, students and families he recommended changes to school practice and policy development that reflect the themes used previously.

After thorough investigation, he recommended that teachers get to know Noongar child-rearing practices and culture (Gillan, 2008). Students preferred flexible teachers with a sense of humour who sought harmonious relationships with students (Gillan, 2008). He recommended group work, active learning and repetition as teaching strategies to make a more supportive learning environment (Gillan, 2008). He suggested allowing for movement (Gillan, 2008). Moreover, he suggested talking to a student one on one away from the class, and listening to the point of view of the Noongar student (Gillan, 2008). Further, he recommended early contact with families when students are in trouble and case by case negotiating with parents over suspension matters to seek a culturally appropriate solution (Gillan, 2008). He suggested seeking positive communication early on to create relationship with families (Gillan, 2008). These suggestions were not accompanied by evidence of their utility when implemented.

While the research in this section detailed a number of issues and suggested some specific strategies to positively influence Aboriginal and/ or Torres Strait Islander student behaviour, there was little evidence of the utility of the strategies in classrooms. It is evident that more research needs to be conducted to explore the effectiveness of these strategies in supporting Indigenous students and, in turn, for them to be incorporated into teacher training programs and professional development for classroom teachers.

Discussion and Summary

This review systematically summarised the published literature on behaviour management for Indigenous students. In so doing the literature was divided into empirical studies and others emanating from Australia and elsewhere. Specific teacher strategies that positively influence the behaviour of Indigenous students resulted in eight themes that emerged initially from international research but were reflected across all publications. These were: (a) knowledge of self and other and power relations in the socio-historical political context without a deficit notion of difference, (b) knowing students and their culture, (c) particular teacher qualities, (d) positive relationships, (e) culturally responsive pedagogy, (f) proactive behaviour management, (g) culturally appropriate reactive behaviour management and (h) connections with family and community.

At the start of this review emphasis was placed on the resources currently used in preservice teacher education and schools in North Queensland where this study is situated. Although there is widespread use of these resources and they are considered professionally to be of sound effect, they pale in comparison to what the international literature is saying about effective behaviour management practices for Indigenous students because they lack any consideration of students' cultural context. Evidence-based research into culturally appropriate behaviour management practices would enhance the efficacy of these claims and augment the worthiness of these current resources.

Further to this, most of the national and international studies were grounded in qualitative research methods. Of the international studies, three (Baydala et al., 2009; Bishop et al., 2007; Boykin, 2001) used quantitative methods which included the use of psychological tests (Baydala et al., 2009). Boykin (2001) used several survey instruments to measure the impact of movement on student achievement. Of all the studies identified, only six examined behaviour management explicitly in the context of Australian Indigenous students. While their findings reflected the propositions and themes endorsed in the non-empirical publications and the empirical studies from overseas, they provided little evidence of the efficacy of their strategies within the socio-cultural context. Empirical studies conducted in Australia have not been generalised because they have not been validated

quantitatively in the way that Bishop et al. (2007) determined the effectiveness of their Aotearoa New Zealand Effective Teaching Profile for Maori students.

Overall, the limited number of studies in this area supports the claim that "There is a need to empirically validate the generalisability of [Hattie's (2003)] findings to Aboriginal students to tease out facets of quality teaching that are salient to Aboriginal students, elucidate their perspectives of teacher quality and test the influence of specific facets of quality teaching on academic outcomes [for Aboriginal students] and the consequences of the findings for developing interventions for Aboriginal primary school students" (Craven, Bodkin-Andrews & Yeung, 2007, p. 4).

Conclusion

Behaviour management strategies suggested for Aboriginal students in Australia, and those commonly practiced in North Queensland where this study is centred, lack empirical evidence that validates what works and for whom (Craven et al., 2007; Griffiths, 2011). They also lack the inclusion of the voice of Torres Strait Islanders (Nakata, 2007; Osborne, 1996). Empirically based evidence is needed to inform policy and practice (Craven et al., 2007; Griffiths, 2011). In addition, there is no empirical data about how teacher beliefs and strategies support the behaviour of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. This is an important gap in the literature that needs to be addressed in order to provide teacher education in the most appropriate pedagogy for Indigenous students (Bishop et al., (2007)

This review suggests important ways to direct a multi-phase study to (1) identify from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and their families' behaviour management practices that positively influence classroom interactions, (2) develop a statistically validated instrument that can be used to evaluate and inform teacher's practice and (3) test the enactment of such strategies on students' behaviour and learning outcomes. In doing so, the study will provide empirical evidence for informing pre-service teachers as to what works for creating a positive learning environment for our region's Indigenous students.

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