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# The Birrarung Act: Between a Decolonial Nation-State and Settler-Colonialism

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### 6 Abstract

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The Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act 2017 (Vic) established a ?new 7 and independent? body as the ?voice of the river. The Victorian state government considers it to be at the legislative forefront in the emancipation of First Nations Australians. Whilst 9 attempting to replicate some of the languages behind other political settlements agreed 10 between settler- colonial states and First Peoples over rivers and their guardianship, the 11 Victorian Act grants no legal personhood to the Birrarung. It does not establish First Nation 12 Australians as the legal guardian of the river, either. Instead, the Act sets up a statutory 13 advisory body which mandates at least two Indigenous Traditional Owner representatives out 14 of twelve appointees (representing other stakeholders), as made by the Minister for Planning 15 (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act). Despite the limited 16 representation of Indigenous Peoples in the advisory body, the legislation does contain 17 substantive provisions, indicative of a minor ?decolonial moment? in the face of sustained 18 ?coloniality? by the nation-state. A philosophical analytical framework of ?coloniality? is 19 applied to the legislation to undrape exactly where the cutting edge of First Nations? 20 emancipatory legislation actually is. 21

23 Index terms— birrarung, yarra river protection act, decoloniality, legislative analysis, settler-colonialism

# 24 1 Introduction

25 he Yarra River Ministerial Advisory Committee was formulated in January 2016 to delve into issues impacting 26 the environmental, cultural, social and economic values of the Yarra river (hereinafter the 'Birrarung') (Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory ??ommittee et al., 2016, p.4). Between January to March 2016 a number 27 of workshops were held with key stakeholders to help frame what would become the through an Act of the 28 settler-colonial parliament, whilst the legislation is spruiked as decolonial. This paper recognises that despite the 29 decolonial logics adopted in the presentation of the Birrarung Act, the reality is it explicitly avoids challenging 30 the existence of the nationstate -in this way it reinforces the legitimacy of the existence of the settler-colonial 31 state (Sium, 2012). While it cannot be considered a truly decolonial moment, its creation reflects a growing trend 32 of collaborative engagement between First Peoples and the settler colonial nation-state when compared to prior 33 water management regimes of the Birrarung. 34

Based on the case of the Birrarung Act, it is argued that the reformed governance structures of the Birrarung 35 36 have adopted some decoloniality logics through the inclusion of the Birrarung Council (with its mandated inclusion 37 of two indigenous members). The attempt at management of the river as a 'living entity', the recognition of 38 past wrongs committed against First Nations Australians (and attempts to remedy these) reflect this. Similarly controls aimed at maintaining the biodiversity, and protecting inter-cultural values along the river are also 39 understood to be some of these decoloniality logics. Finally, the limited public participation and engagement 40 mechanisms, and the attempt at 'border' epistemologies bookend the analysis of the limited efforts towards 41 decoloniality. ii It is apparent however, that there are far more examples of the coloniality hegemon being 42 reinforced through this legislation. A number of further reforms could have furthered decoloniality without 43 delegitimising the legal basis of an entire settler-colonial society. 44

Analysis will be grouped around the objects and principles of the Birrarung Act (2017) and elements within the 45 Act constituted from the MAC Final Report (2016), the Action Plan (2017), and the Strategic Plan (2020). The 46 research paper itself will start by addressing the context of the Birrarung's governance: its history in settlement 47 and coloniality. The paper will then advance beyond, into how this legislation challenges the colonial ways of 48 managing lands, peoples, and waters in Australia. This section will also delve into how these approaches are 49 reflective of the broader 'development' processes in Australia. The final section will be addressing the failures of 50 the Act to highlight some of the precepts of decoloniality as advanced by leading academics in the field. This 51 paper's primary interest lies in its application of an epistemic lens of analysis to the newly created legislation 52 of a settler-colonial state. In adopting a law and development lens to deconstruct legislative technology in a 53 Global North nation-state, it is possible to compare the treatment of Indigenous Australians, with Indigenous 54 Peoples of Global South nations. The resonance between these two groups, and how they're 'developed' connects 55 to Australia's continued settlercolonial modernist agenda. Viewed through this lens, the continued mobilization 56 of legislative technology affirms that domestic legislation continues to colonize, and yet parts of the legislation 57 actually meet the standards argued for in the premise of decoloniality. In this respect, the legislative technology 58 is a doubleedged sword. 59

To analyse the case study, the framework of coloniality and decoloniality as it is conceived by Aníbal Quijano 60 61 and Walter D. Mignolo in their respective chapters in the theoretical work 'Globalization and the Decolonial 62 Option' (2013) will be used (Quijano, 2013; Mignolo, 2013). Their research is globally recognized for its radical 63 undraping of logics behind Western Imperialisms, and has led to the conceptualisation of the coloniality of power matrix (Hoffman, 2017). To understand the arguments of the colonial matrix of power, it must be 64 recognised that modern nation-states as they exist today are ordered according to the historic distribution of 65 power that colonisation and empire crafted (Pahuja, 2005). This modernist paradigm has come to ensconce the 66 law and development field (Pahuja, 2005), because empire so focused upon the subjugation of civilizations it 67 conquered. James Baldwin debated William F. Buckley in 1965, and argued that the Western system of reality 68 (as he termed it) had sought to subsume within it civilisations' it considered below itself (Debate Transcript: 69 James Baldwin Debates William F. ??uckley, 1965). He went onto to state the most private affect this violence 70 has on the individual, was to destroy their own sense of reality (Debate Transcript: James Baldwin Debates 71 William F. Buckley, 1965, p.1). Baldwin's critique is critical in understanding how the construction of reality, or 72 epistemology plays an intrinsic role in the creation of knowledge systems. The allencompassing nature of what 73 74 is termed 'empiricism', and the historical realities of where this method of knowing the world comes from, are 75 reason enough to query traditional tools of analysis that are founded in these methods. This is especially so, when observing ostensibly decolonial legislation, under the microscope. 76

Mignolo, and Quíjano argue that empire was key to the advances of Euro-America during the age of 77 enlightenment and the renaissance period, giving birth to the scientific method of enquiry (Mignolo, 2013; Quijano, 78 2000). The scientific method of enquiry is introduced here, because conceptualising this method, as a child of 79 the empire-colonial-modernism reveals that it cannot be unbiased in its interpretation of phenomenon (Quijano, 80 2013; Mignolo, 2013 Mignolo, 2011; Quijano, 2000; Mohr, 2019; Harding, 1997). These biases ensures that not 81 only are sciences to distorted along ideological beliefs, but that to this day the application of scientific truths 82 that fundamentally constitute reality are warped (Quijano, 2000). At worst, they are inaccurate and untrue. 83 Therefore modernism, and the history that lead to the construction of that epistemology cannot be trusted to 84 be without prejudice 85

The Birrarung Act: Between a Decolonial Nation-State and Settler-Colonialism lobal Journal of Researches 86 in Engineering () Volume Xx XI Is sue I Version I J (Armstrong, 2002; Quijano, 2000). This extends to 87 anthropological sciences, which have influenced successive law and development paradigms. For reasons of 88 internalised bias, the attempts at decolonising guided by anthropology remain epistemically at odds with 89 indigenous ontology. Whilst each new law and development paradigm has attempted to reshape the legal systems 90 of former colonial subjects, the underlying conflicts between modernist epistemology, and indigenous ontologies 91 ensures these reforms remains captive to modernist/post-modernist epistemology, and the agenda of 'development' 92 (Escobar, 2007). Quíjano argues that empirical sciences are trapped within the epistemology of universalities 93 and the 'ultimate scientific truth' (Quijano, 2013). This preconceived notion of abstract universals and scientific 94 truth, is part of the 'colonial matrix of power', iii as described by Quijano and Mignolo (Quijano, 2000). These are 95 deconstructed as empirical vestiges of coloniality, rather than being true representations of knowledge. To remedy 96 these incongruencies, Quijano and Mignolo advocate building inter-cultural understandings between modernity 97 and indigenous ontology ?? Mignolo, 2013, p.500). The law and development agenda continues to maintain a 98 steadfast belief in this universal truth, and struggles to balance this against indigenous epistemology (Mignolo, 99 2013). Mignolo states that decoloniality arose from the limits of the universality of coloniality. 100 Additionally, elimination and assimilation are adopted as tools of enquiry into the nature of this legislation.

Additionally, elimination and assimilation are adopted as tools of enquiry into the nature of this legislation. Patrick Wolfe adopts the terms elimination, and assimilation, of indigenous identity (hereinafter 'indigeneity') as lenses of analysis in their critical article 'Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native'. Wolfe argues that colonisation is a structure of a society, rather than a historic event. From this vantage, Wolfe suggests that the elimination of indigeneity (through assimilation into the dominant settler-colonial social order, or elimination through genocide) is a common feature of these settler-colonial societies (Wolfe, 2006). Paul Havemann in 'Denial, Modernity, and Exclusion: Indigenous Placelessness in Australia' further argues that colonisation has been the key feature of modernity and, it's imperative has been to conquer space for economic growth and state order building (Havemann, 2005). Havemann goes on to argue that First Peoples have been consistently excluded from modernisation processes in Australia, and that the violence in exclusion from modernisation, has been masked specifically through the use of legislative technologies (Havemann, 2005). So it is argued that law has been complicit in hiding not only the atrocities of colonisation, but also denying the advances which modernisation brings, to First Peoples (Havemann, 2005).

The above described analytics will be utilised to understand where modernisation and its mobilisation of the concept of 'development' originated. These concepts will be used to examine the Birrarung Act and some parts of the legislative and policy regimes. In making this analysis the paper will argue from a decolonial perspective that this 'moment' of decolonisation within a colonial society is exactly that -a moment. It is a critique of this instant.

# <sup>119</sup> 2 II. From Indigenous to Settler-Colonial

120 Paradigms Governing the Birrarung

121 The Birrarung (name translated as 'river of mists and shadows') has always been of central importance to the Wurundjeri-Willam people of the Kulin Nations who reside in close proximity to it (Wurundjeri Tribe Land 122 and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council, 2013). It has provided innumerable resources to these peoples 123 since time immemorial, and their relationship with it extends back tens of thousands of years to when their 124 spiritcreator Bunjil formed their people, the land, and all living things (Koori Trust, 2019; Wurundjeri Tribe 125 Land and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council, 2013). For First Peoples, it provided food as well as shelter. 126 Bluestone, carved out by the riverbanks, was heated and then rapidly cooled to create sharp chisels. From 127 these chisels, the blue gums along the Birrarung could be carved into, and this provided a sustainable source 128 of materials for shields and canoes ?? Koori Trust, 2019). The trees would continue to grow afterwards, being 129 unaffected by this process ??Koori Trust, 2019). Lerpscale (collected from Eucalypt leafs) was consumed as 130 131 breakfast, and Possum skins would be harvested and woven into elaborate cloaks detailed with the events of individuals lives' ??Koori Trust, 2019). Eel traps set in the Birrarung still stand today as a testament to the 132 agricultural traditions of these sophisticated nations (Koori Trust, 2019). All of these economic activities were 133 134 entirely dependent upon the Birrarung and were strictly governed by local custom and law.

Prior to European interventions into the Birrarung, there was a waterfall close to the present day location of the 135 Melbourne Aquarium ??Koori Trust, 2019). This divided the saltwater from the freshwater, and prevented larger 136 ships from travelling further up the Birrarung (Koori Trust, 2019). As Melbourne had yet to be proclaimed, much 137 138 of the environment remained in pristine condition; large marshes lay across what is now Southbank (Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council, 2013). Along the length of Elizabeth street was a large 139 140 creek which empties into the Birrarung (Koori Trust, 2019). These wet and productive marshes offered a near 141 constant supply of food to the Kulin Nations, and furthered the importance of the Birrarung to the traditional 142 owners.

<sup>143</sup> In these pre-colonial times, there was a strict adherence to local custom, and clan-based rules and laws <sup>144</sup> (Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Cultural

The Birrarung Act: Between a Decolonial Nation-State and Settler-Colonialism lobal Journal of Researches in 145 Engineering () Volume Xx XI Is sue I Version I J Heritage Council, 2013). The legal systems of the First People 146 was (and continues to be), underpinned by vastly different conceptions of country; rather than 'owning' the 147 land, instead they belonged to the land (Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council, 148 2013). In this sense, the Birrarung was centrally important as it acted as a wayfinding point, as well as a 149 150 marker, delineating different nation's land title ??Koori Trust, 2019). In those times, each clan was expected 151 to remain within the bounds of their title, and not to cross into adjacent nations' land (Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council, 2013). Exception was made in the cases of large natural disaster; 152 but even in such an instance agreement needed to be sought (and permission granted) before moving into the 153 land of another tribe ??Koori Trust, 2019). Consent to move onto the land of another group was signified by 154 Tanderrum, a message stick given by one tribe to another in those times of natural disaster; without this message 155 stick, taking food or other resources from the land would be considered trespass and an offence to the local elder 156 council ??Koori Trust, 2019). If conflict arose between nations or language clans, or if there were individuals who 157 had broken Aboriginal law, the ngurungaeta (head man) of tribes would meet at corroboree's to resolve these 158 disputes (Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Cultural Heritage Council, 2013). Even now, the traditional 159 legal systems and customs of these peoples continue to be practiced and respected by the First Peoples who call 160 this land their own. What is most apparent from these histories of the Birrarung is that it has consistently been 161 important to First Peoples. 162

Since the beginnings of colonisation in Melbourne in the 1820s, the Birrarung has undergone three periods of extended change in form: first during the Gold Rush years of the late 1800's; the post-war immigration and baby boom of the 1950's-1980's; and now, the recent and rapid expansion of Melbourne's population since the mid 2000's.

The most important of these settler-colonial governance tools over the Birrarung have been the 1989 Victorian Water Act, and the 2017 Birrarung Act. The Water Act is the current governing legislation for water in the Birrarung. This set up the numerous water management corporations which are now responsible for the

management of water resources along the Birrarung (The Water Act). The National Water Initiative introduced 170 as an intergovernmental agreement between the Commonwealth and the states/territories began the process 171 of 'unbundling' water licenses, from land ownership, and opening up 'water markets'; inevitably this has led to 172 further dispossession of First Peoples from water rights (Macpherson, 2017;Marshall and Kirby, 2017;Macpherson, 173 2019). Repetition of this has led to the term aqua nullius being coined by Virginia Marshall, to describe the 174 continued disenfranchisement of First Peoples from their sovereign assets (to be discussed further in proceeding 175 sections). It is argued the water markets have been another settler-colonial institution separating First Peoples 176 and their waters (Marshall and Kirby, 2017;O'Bryan, 2017). In 2007 the National Parks Act (passed in 1975) 177 was amended to turn over the governance of the Yarra Parklands (the source of waters which drain into the 178 Birrarung basin), retaining it as crown land (The National Park Act). This land is titled as a possession of the 179 crown, and its representatives (the state) in this instance. 180

In 2017 the Birrarung Act received royal assent. Stemming from the MAC Final Report, and the Action Plan, 181 the Birrarung Act mandates the creation of a community vision; a strategic plan from this vision to manage 182 the river and lands adjacent to it (the Strategic Plan); new management arrangements to make certain this 183 plan is implemented (the Birrarung Council); legislative backing of the plan (the Birrarung Act itself); and 184 auditing/reporting on the implementation of the plan (as achieved by the Birrarung Council). iv The Birrarung 185 186 Council, is a statutory advisory body formed with a mandated two First Nations Australians on the council 187 of twelve, and reports on the implementation of the plan as well as general submissions for change to the 188 Minister for Planning (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act). Most importantly though, the Birrarung Act is an example of mediating between competing interests by considering water planning and 189 land-use frameworks together. This is the first piece of Victorian legislation to expressly consider the water 190 resources and land management together, under the planning scheme. The Strategic Plan explicitly includes a 191 land-use framework in a water planning document (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 192 2017b, p.27). 193

# <sup>194</sup> 3 III. Asserting the Argument For a Law

and Development Lens of Analysis to be Applied to the Wilip-Gin Birrarung Murron Act

Centralised planning is a consistent feature of 'development' initiatives and, more broadly, of coloniality. 196 Speaking on the innate connections between law and development, coloniality, and modernity, Sundhya Pahuja 197 argues that the transformative logics of development have acted as both a proxy for global inequalities and 198 an implication that the only solution to such inequities is to mirror the West (Pahuja, 2005). They go on 199 to argue that the promotion of the 'rule of (Pahuja, 2005). Again a universality is apparent in these logics, 200 negating the pluri-versalities so advocated through coloniality/decoloniality. Urban planners have themselves 201 202 have advocated for the need to 'decolonise planning' (Porter, 2016;Porter and Barry, 2016;Jackson, Porter and 203 Johnson, 2017; Wensing and Porter, 2016). It has been suggested by many that academic urban planning needs to 204 not only better integrate and engage First Australians, but to also decolonise its institutions and recognise its role as an agent of colonisation (Wensing and Porter, 2016). Planning has worked alongside centralising authorities to 205 project ideologies of modernity onto the natural and built form; it is indivisibly tied to the continued domination 206 of First Australians. For that reason, the centralization of power (and its associated planning for control) is not 207 surprising in development initiatives. Intentionally done or not, these initiatives further such power dynamics. 208

This thesis is more thoroughly explored through the work of Peter Wolfe who propounds the following 209 three tenets: 1. "[Coloniality] presupposed a global chain of command linking remote colonial frontiers to 210 the metropolis" (Wolfe, 2006, p.394), therefore 2. "Agriculture was key to supporting a larger population than 211 212 non-sedentary modes of production; in settlercolonial terms" and "this enable[d] a population to be expanded 213 by continuing immigration at the expense of native titles and livelihoods" ??Wolfe, 2006, p.395). These were enforced by the centralized command chain, which led to '3. the settler-colonial nations' "ceaseless expansion" 214 and, '[its'] agriculture progressively eat[ing] into indigenous territory' ??Wolfe, 2006, p.395). The accumulation 215 of agricultural resources turned "native flora and fauna into a dwindling resource" and "curtail[ed]? indigenous 216 modes of production' ??Wolfe, 2006, p.395). Partha Chatterjee terms this as development planning and argues 217 that this approach was premised upon "one consciousness and will -that of the whole" and therefore particular 218 interests needed to be "subsumed within the whole" and made "consistent" with the "general interest" of settler-219 colonial society writ-large ??Chatterjee, 1995, p.204). 220

Undoubtedly the above described contours are similar enough to those in the Birrarung Act, in that it is a 221 categoric reinforcement of the 'development' narrative in action. That this legislation is under the urban planning 222 223 ministerial portfolio (not the Minister of Indigenous Affairs; not the Minister of State; not the Attorney-General; 224 not the Minister of Water; nor the Minister of Agriculture) reinforces this. It speaks to Chatterjee's statement that 225 all types of planning and development are intrinsically linked. It is also reflective of the importance of omnipotent 226 control of the river by the settler-colonial state; the river plays an important role in the functioning of the settlercolonial city. Despite the stated aim of protecting the river and celebrating indigenous values, the minister 227 for planning has the discretion to 'call-in' any planning permit application under section 97 of the Planning 228 and Environment Act 1987 (Vic) (hereinafter 'P&E Act'), and Section 58, Schedule 1 of the Victorian Civil 229 and Administrative Tribunal Act 1998 (Vic) (hereinafter 'VCAT Act') (The Victorian Civil and Administrative 230 Tribunal Act.; The Planning and Environment Act; Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 231

2017a). They may and approve or reject the project as they see fit without any regard to regular statutory process 232 (The Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal Act.; The Planning and Environment Act). In addition, the 233 decision to 'call-in' any planning application can be made if the matter is being heard by the Victorian Civil 234 235 and Administrative Tribunal and if the minister considers that the proceeding raises a major issue of policy (The Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal Act., p.1). Alternatively, if the ministers considers proceedings may 236 have a substantial effect on the achievement of planning objectives, they may also call-in the application for 237 approval or rejection (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017a, p.1). In the case of 238 the Planning & Environment Act 1987 (Vic) (hereinafter 'P&E Act'), the minister can call in a decision if the 239 same is considered above, or if the decision on the application has been 'unreasonably delayed', disadvantaging 240 the applicant (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017a, p.1). The minister may also 241 call-in a decision under the P&E Act if the 'use or development' that the application seeks to be approved is 242 required to be considered by the Minister' -such as a planning permit for a heavy industrial use (Department 243 of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017a, p.1.). This backdoor centralisation of power perhaps 244 elucidates a common thread throughout this legislation -that indigenous concerns are important, but a legitimate 245 escape clause is forever present. This opaque and unreserved power for development approval means in spite of 246 all the planning permit regulations; protection of environment clauses; or protections from development, these 247 248 protections can easily be overcome. In essence, these protections can be vetoed by the minister through approval 249 of planning permit. Furthermore, the decisions of the minister are only able to be reviewed by a planning panel -appointed by the minister for planning. Such reports can only be released at the discretion of the minister 250 (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017a; The Planning and Environment Act; The 251 Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal Act.). This has the effect of making decisions under made under 252 the aforementioned provisions quite opaque (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017a, 253 p.1). The Victorian planning minister has comparatively more 254

The Birrarung Act: Between a Decolonial Nation-State and Settler-Colonialism lobal Journal of Researches 255 in Engineering () Volume Xx XI Is sue I Version I J discretionary powers, than fellow counterparts in the 256 other jurisdictions of Australia (Environmental Justice Australia, 2014). This fact, coupled with the lack of 257 transparency of decision-making has been roundly criticized in the past, v and yet there is no indication of 258 reform on the horizon. Although it is arguable that ministerial discretion is a feature of most legislation, this 259 does not invalidate the fact that a backdoor 'escape' has been deliberately included within the Birrarung Act. 260 Additionally, broader questions about the role of democracy in urban planning decisions, as it relates to First 261 Peoples, need to be asked -as do questions about the Minister of Planning's discretionary powers (Department 262 of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017a). 263

Finally, it must be noted that centralised powers have an outsize role in shaping the development narrative (Chatterjee, 1995). This reflects the modernist paradigm which now sees planning as a tool to be wielded over First Peoples. Wide latitudes under which to make decisions over the management of the Birrarung have been granted through the passage of this legislation. Such powers were previously unavailable to the Minister for Planning. Such a change reflects a growing trend of consolidation of executive power, and is of particularly note due to the outsize role centralised powers have had in setting the development agenda.

Most important to the justification for the novel approach of adopting a law and development lens of analysis 270 in a Global North nation-state, is that the narrative of development being applied to those considered the 'other' 271 becomes apparent. Havemanns' arguments about the exclusion of First Nations Australians from modernisation 272 processes and this being hidden by the law, qualify that First Australians' are indeed considered the 'other' 273 (Havemann, 2005). By being ensconced within 'otherness', Indigenous Australians become the subjects to whom 274 the logics of modernity, coloniality and development can be applied. Then it follows that the logics of modernity/ 275 coloniality/development are not restricted to Global South economies, but are designed for those not yet ingested 276 in service of the nation-states expansive appetite for modernization and development. 277

'Coloniality, in other words, is constitutive of modernity -there is no modernity without coloniality' -Walter 278 D. ??ignolo (2011, p.1) Walter D. Mignolo, and Aníbal Quijano in the book 'Globalization and the Decolonial 279 Option' define coloniality as beginning with the formation of the modern nation-state. It is suggested that 280 the 'modern' nationstate that has emerged since the 1500's has come into being through colonisation; and 281 that power is distributed according to a global order that has since ensued. The 'colonial matrix of power' is 282 283 defined by Quijano as the four interrelated domains by which colonisers subjugated indigenous lands. These include the control of economy (land appropriation, exploitation of labor, control of natural resources); the 284 control of authority (institution, army); the control of gender and sexuality (family, education); and the control 285 of subjectivity and knowledge (epistemology, education and formation of subjectivity) (Quijano, 2013). It is 286 through these domains, that the modern nation-state and its logics continue to assert universalism in our global 287 modernist/post-modernist paradigm. 288

Most important to Quijano and Mignolo's analysis is the privileging of the 'ultimate truth' and how this is articulated through the 'rational' scientific method (itself a product of the enlightenment period). This was when the first 'modern' precepts of rigorous empirical testing, hypothesizing, and validating of data to explain phenomenon was conducted (Mignolo, 2013). These processes coincide with the beginnings of empire throughout Europe; first the Iberian Catholic faces of the Spanish and Portuguese empires; then the 'heart of Europe' empires in the form of England, France and Germany (This period was also characterized by the discovery and colonisation of the American mainland) and finally with US-American empire, led by the United States (Mignolo, 2011 (Mignolo, 2013 ??Mignolo, 2017, p.454), p.454).

Karen Armstong, in her book Islam: A Short Story, suggests that until the sixteenth century, Europe had 297 only truly achieved in two spheres: economy and epistemology (Armstrong, 2002;Mignolo, 2011). The economic 298 sphere spoke specifically to the transition from a feudalist society to a capitalist one (although this transformation 299 had not been completed by this point), and the epistemic refers to its understanding of art, science, and 300 knowledge (Armstrong, 2002). Armstrong makes reference to the new and evolving economics of the societies 301 of Europe (and its American colonies) during this period (Armstrong, 2002). This new economics sought to 302 reinvest surplus production into itself, which allowed for the first radical transformation in the West (Armstrong, 303 2002). This transformation allowed the West to reproduce its resources indefinitely (many of these resources 304 being abstracted from imperial colonies (Armstrong, 2002). The second transformation was epistemological, 305 and is largely associated with the Renaissance (and then the Enlightenment) (Armstrong, 2002; Mignolo, 2011). 306 Naturally the surpluses generated from these new economies that would come to fund the Renaissance and the 307 Enlightenment (and the burgeoning scientific method of enquiry) were extracted from the wealth of the colonies 308 (Armstrong, 2002; as per: Mignolo, 2011). Additionally, this transformation allowed the domain of knowledge to 309 be attained at unprecedented rates; it gave the empires a greater control over the environment than had ever been 310 311 achieved before (Mignolo, 2011). Suddenly, a new paradigm was possible for these empires, and a lens through 312 which the world came to be was born. This then led to Euro-American belief in how the rest of world would, and 313 should develop. It could be created within the fixed image of these modernist states (Mignolo, 2013). Arguments about coloniality assert the existence of a 'universality' in human 'development', inextricably tied to the modern 314 nation-state. 'Developing' nations are conceived to be on the same trajectory of western nation-states, merely 315 less 'developed. In this view the West conceives of itself as the future for the rest of humanity, and so implements 316 'development' policies accordingly ??Mignolo, 2011, p.458). It follows then, that decoloniality is constituted by a 317 rejection of universality, and instead is founded on a 'pluri-versality' of epistemologies and ontologies constructing 318 a knowledge of the world. vi It is important to recognise the nature of colonisation within Australia and how 319 it has come to define the legal and social order. Mary Williams argues that Australia has 'never desisted in 320 colonialism' and that colonialism will 'draw upon (and twist where necessary)' other discourses to 'facilitate its 321 ends of continually dispossessing and delegitimising' First Nation Peoples (Williams, 2018, p.1). Wolfe builds 322 upon such thinking by arguing that because of the settlercolonisers intent to stay (and dispossess), the invasion 323 was transformed into the undergirding for the presentday social structure (Wolfe, 2006). This is reflective of post-324 colonial societies that have emerged the world over; they are a social order that has been mobilised throughout 325 history, premised on the elimination of indigeneity ??Wolfe, 2006, p.390). Elimination of indigeneity did not 326 preclude genocide entirely, but focused instead on the destruction of permanent indigeneity (Wolfe, 2006); whilst 327 the mass murder of Indigenous Peoples was common, elimination was not predicated on mass murder ??Wolfe, 328 2006, p.390). Genocide was one 'tool', of a number of tools to be used in the process of eliminating indigeneity 329 ??Wolfe, 2006, p.396). Assimilation into the 'modern' and coloniality-driven society was just as acceptable an 330 approach, so long as it was predicated on the dispensation of indigeneity. ??Wolfe, 2006, p.397). 331

Assimilation and extinguishment of indigeneity continue to define these settler-colonial societies; the judiciary 332 keenly reinforce these in their rulings, which void claims of indigenous land tenure systems (under the common 333 law) due to the 'tide of history' having 'washed away' all remnants of these societies. vii Despite having 334 common law doctrines to rely upon in statutory interpretation, the High Court of Australia has often favored the 335 336 sovereignty of Parliament (Blackshield, 2007). Therefore, it is from this frame of racialization and assimilation of Indigenous Australians (coinciding with the 'closure' of the 'frontier' of settler-colonial societies) that analysis 337 of coloniality will be informed. This decisive point also happens to be when active warfare against indigenous 338 peoples was transmuted to subversive and destructive policies and laws, further highlighting why such tools of 339 analysis are of importance in understanding coloniality. 340

As such, questions over euro-centric representation of histories must be asked to understand the degree to which aboriginal-ism has been intrinsic to the formation of the Victorian state legal system of present. Transposing the assertions made in Mignolo, Quijano, and Wolfe's works will form the basis of the tools of analysis in proceeding chapters.

The terms 'Intercultural border epistemologies/intercultural understandings' refers to the construction of knowledge where two different cultures interface. In this instance, the tools of analysis are querying if intercultural' understandings of politics, economics and ethics are present in the Act ??Mignolo, 2011, p.453)? This draws into the broader concerns of coloniality/decoloniality, and whether one single vision of the future (a 'totality'), of the modern Australian nationstate (specifically the state of Victoria) are being implied. To operationalise the assertions made by Mignolo and Quijano through coloniality/decoloniality to be a lens of analysis, they were transposed into questions. This resulted in the following lines of thematic enquiry being developed:

? Are there links made between the analysis of coloniality and future strategies present in the Birrarung Act (and its instruments'), which are conveyed with a self-awareness of the continuity of coloniality? ? Are 'reason' or 'rationality' and 'nature' presented as two mutually exclusive entities ??Mignolo, ??Quijano, 2000, p.173). This should all indicate that it is possible for free production, criticism, changes and exchanges of culture and society to occur, as Mignolo and Quijano so vigorously advocate for ??Mignolo, 2011, p.497). These assertions are relevant because Australia is a settlercolonial state similar to those from which Mignolo, Quijano, and Wolfe write. As this context is legitimately comparable to Australia, the tools proposed to analyse are able to uncover structures of power behind the regulation of the Birrarung.

The primary focus of analysis is concerned with the intercultural understandings of politics, economics and ethics, as Mignolo argued that these are constituent of a singular common totality of the modern nationstate. Looking specifically at the 'Objects' of the Act, the 'Guiding Principles' will first be analysed; and then examination will move on to the 'Recommendations' made in the MAC Final Report. Strategies outlined within

both the Birrarung Act and the MAC Final Report are analysed in relation to the above described thematic questions.

In asking these questions of coloniality and decoloniality, it is possible to critically analyse the languages of the legislation, its delegated instruments, and the foundational advisory materials for governance reform. These questions are of particular significance because of the urban nature of this river; Mignolo observes that 'coloniality of power' is strongly associated with the emergence of urban, capitalist social relations ??Quijano, 2000, p.175). This Act is therefore constitutive not just of a decolonial moment in the settler-coloniality nation-state, but in the structure of coloniality because it intersects with urban, capitalist and social relations. Through this analysis of

intercultural understandings, along with conceptions of coloniality and looking to see if traditional and modern theories of knowledge have been brought together in the Act, insights can be gained into what structures of decoloniality are at work in a modern coloniality-driven nation-state -and how they may be mobilized through

375 legislation.

V. Deconstructing the Birrarung Act 2017 (vic): Challenging 'Coloniality' and 'Development'

'SO far as Indigenous People are concerned, where they are IS who they are, and not only by their own 377 reckoning' -Patrick ??olfe (2006, p.388) In Part 2 of the Birrarung Act, the 'Yarra Protection principles' are 378 set out. These entail subsections entitled 'General Principles', 'Environmental Principles', 'Social Principles', 379 'Recreational Principles', 'Cultural Principles', and 'Management Principles'. For the purposes of our analysis, 380 focus is directed towards the 'General Principles', 'Environmental Principles' and 'Social Principles'. Of the 381 General Principles, the first general principle states that (1) Proposed development and decisionmaking should 382 be based on the effective integration of environmental, social and cultural considerations in order to improve 383 public health and wellbeing and environmental benefit' (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) 384 Act, p.11). 385

The implicit statement in this guideline is that 'cultural' considerations (referring to Indigenous Australians 'dreaming'; but also, the values of diverse non-Indigenous cultures and heritage) is valued equally with environmental and social considerations. Although further within the Birrarung Act there is reference to cultural diversity and heritage (including post-European colonisation buildings), there is an evident desire to build intercultural knowledges and understanding. Arguably, including both pre-and post-colonial heritage and cultural diversity is itself an example of seeking to combine settler-colonial, and indigenous values as one and equal. In Principle (4) it is stated that:

(4) 'Each generation should ensure that the environmental, social and cultural benefits that have been acquired
 are maintained or enhanced for the benefit of future generations (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung
 murron) Act, p.11).

In this statement, longevity and intergenerational nature of intercultural understandings and values is referenced. While the adoption of 'should' suggests that these 'benefits' cannot be codified and protected under the Act, it also places the onus of responsibility of maintaining these 'benefits' on a future generation. By lengthening timescales out, this aligns with institutional expectations that these can, and will be, a part of the future of the Birrarung (and its' peoples). The links that are made, reflect an epistemic shift (even if tenuous) in the politics of how the Birrarung is perceived. The changing polity reflects a new notion of what is important to people, and what should therefore be protected under law. In Social Principle (1), it is stated that

(2) 'The existing amenity of Yarra River land, including its natural features, character and appearance, should
be protected and enhanced for the benefit of the whole community' (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung
murron) Act, p.12).

Amenity is described as the 'features' of the parkland that 'engage community connection with nature, culture, 406 heritage' in addition to 'enhanc[ing] community health'. ix There are elements of the modernist conception of 407 humans as above the natural world (implicit in the demarcation of 'human' and 'nature' as separate entities). 408 However, the definition of 'amenity' to include different values reflects the rejection of traditional notions of the 409 value of 'nature' ??Kanth, The Birrarung Act: Between a Decolonial Nation-State and Settler-Colonialism lobal 410 Journal of Researches in Engineering () Volume Xx XI Is sue I Version I J 2017). This is because of Euro-411 American modernisms' fundamental belief in the hierarchy of human above nature, and therefore the culture 412 and heritage (of humans) are valued more.x It also reflects a partial deconstruction of 'nature' in that previously 413 'nature' had been perceived as being completely separate from the functioning of modern society; now the intrinsic 414 values and health benefits that 'nature' provides to the wider community, are recognised in law. Although this 415 recognition continues the modernist trend of commodifying nature to achieve anthropogenic wants and needs, the 416 fact remains that nature is recognised to be of intrinsic value to humans.xi The inclusion of health is important 417 because already there is a copious amount of evidence linking human interaction with nature to improved health 418 outcomes for humans.xii The health benefits of public open space and 'natural' environments are clearly one of 419 420 the features being sought after through the inclusion of urban parklands along the Birrarung.

The languages adopted in the first and second Environmental Principles demonstrates the dualism of ideologies 421 at play within the Act. Both allude to the precautionary principle, a well-known (albeit, poorly defined) concept 422 in international environmental law (one which is also defined in domestic legislation) ?? The rhetoric presents 423 a dichotomous transmodernity, a merging of indigenous and modernist epistemologies. Both principles rely on 424 the mobilisation of the modernist scientific method (a product of coloniality), to 'protect' the cultural assets 425 of Indigenous Peoples (a moment of decoloniality). The Birrarung Act states that if there are 'serious threats' 426 of irreversible environmental damage to the river, then a 'lack of scientific certainty' in assessing this risk, is 427 an invalid excuse for proceeding. Here it appears the precepts of modernity (and its reliance on empiricism) 428 have been pressed into service for the defense of Indigenous assets. That the Indigenous values of this river 429 should have consequence and in-built protection mechanisms for these specified within the legislation, reflects a 430 growing awareness of these cultural values. It is difficult to justify this as decolonial in the nature that Quijano 431 or Mignolo might conceive, not least because it is technically assimilating indigenous values it into the Australian 432 legal system. Nevertheless, it reflects a desire to build an intercultural discourse which recognises, and protects 433 part of the broader Indigenous Estate. Furthermore, this is revolutionary within Australia because it is one of the 434 few instances in which indigenous holdings, so intrinsically important to these peoples, have been recognised in 435 statute in the middle of an Australian city (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017c). 436 437 To fulfill its legislative requirements in section 17(3) of the Birrarung Act, the Strategic Plan 'must' include 438 'active community participation and co-design' (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act, p.17). To establish this community vision Melbourne Water began a process in 2017 which culminated in 439 the randomised selection of 24 citizens (known as the 'Yarra Community Assembly), to write a fifty-year vision 440 (Imagine the Yarra, 2020, p.1). The Yarra Community Assembly disseminated information from traditional 441 owners, in addition to information discerned from other community engagement session (Imagine the Yarra, 442 2020, p.1). The Yarra Community Assembly then created the fifty-year vision, which has since been endorsed 443 by the Victorian Government and the Birrarung Council (Imagine the Yarra, 2020, p.1). According to the 444 legislation, the community vision is set to be reviewed each decade. This process is reflective of a broader 445 drive to the institutions of deliberative democracy, which stem from Western Liberal Democracy. They have 446 currency as an effective approach to allow public engagement, and are conceivably a trans-modernity, because 447 they bring together traditional knowledges and modernist processes of state. Importantly, this approach reflects 448 the principles of 'co-design'. 'Co-design' community engagement is defined in the Victorian Auditor General's 449 Report 'Public Participation in Government Decision-Making' (Greaves, 2017). It is described as 'sitting at the 450 more intensive level of the public participation spectrum, between Collaborate and Empower' (as depicted in 451 Figure 1 In this respect, the Birrarung Act performs well. Seeking the contributions of traditional owners into 452 the institutions of deliberative democracy is an important step towards trans-modernity. 453

Major overhauls of the Victorian Environmental Protection Act 1970 (Vic) have passed, in concert with 454 the Birrarung Act. Under the new Environmental Protection laws, community members directly affected by the 455 breach of environmental protection laws will be able to seek remedy through a court (Department of Environment 456 Land, Water and Planning, 2019, p.4). By extending the scope under which individuals who may take civil or 457 criminal action if affected by breaches of environmental protection laws, there is further impetus for polluters to 458 adopt the precautionary principle when interacting with the Indigenous Estate. This is a practical outlet through 459 which a degree of power-sharing can occur, in that First Nations are now able to seek to enforce protection of 460 their cultural assets through civil and criminal suits in court. 461

A similar agenda can be seen in the establishment of the Birrarung Council. Inclusion of First Nations members 462 on the council allows for the expression of decolonial logics by First Nations. The intangible value that such 463 voices are able to bring is recognized by their mandated appointment to the council. By making a space for 464 these voices to be heard, intercultural epistemology building and border epistemologies understanding can occur. 465 This reflects a broader change to societal values currently underway; prior to the Birrarung Act there was no 466 mention of indigenous values, assets, or of the central importance of the Birrarung to First Peoples in major 467 water management policy documentation.xiv of similar import, was the foreword to the Action Plan, written 468 by representatives of the Wurundjeri Council. They noted they were pleased to be 'sitting upstream, at the 469 table where decisions are made' rather than their usual position downstream 'learning about processes that had 470 occurred, and decisions made, 12 months' prior (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 471 2017b, p. iii ). 472

Importantly, these new discussions have been enabled in the context of a wider push towards substantive 473 engagement and inclusion of the Indigenous community in government processes. In spite of these decolonial 474 modalities, the clear direction of the Birrarung Act and its delegated authorities is to reinforce coloniality and 475 subsume elements of indigeneity into the common law, rather than. For one, the Birrarung Council is restricted 476 to advisory status on implementation of the Strategic Plan, and general recommendations on the Strategic Plan. 477 These are but the tip of the iceberg, and issues which fundamentally conflict with the precepts of decoloniality 478 shall be explored further in proceeding sections. In assessing the Objects (A) subsections (i) and (ii) of the 479 Act, a genuine push to re-envision the role the Birrarung appears in the desire to sustain the biodiversity and 480 indigenous 'cultural expression' (through cultural activities) along the Birrarung. xv In spite of these aspirations, 481 the languages of coloniality are already adopted in (A), which places the 'economic prosperity', at the centre 482 of the Objects of the Act, then proceeds to make mention of 'vitality' and 'liveability'. Immediately the value 483

of the river is commodified; whilst this may appear an innocuous at first, it's important to note that the Yarra 484 Protection Principles within the Birrarung Act do not conceive of any such economic principle which could be 485 mobilized by First Nations. This is a glaring omission as such principles could allow for Indigenous water rights 486 which could assist in economic advancement of First Nations.xvi Instead, their distinct exclusion ensures that 487 no basis for such a right to the use of water, could ever be made out from this legislation. This is especially 488 contentious because of the significant amount of work Indigenous Australians have put into try and realise such 489 Cultural Flows. What is apparent from the Objects in s 5(A) is a liberal conception of the landscape as something 490 to be dominated and exploited for economic gains, not to economically liberate First Nations (Vincent, 1998;de 491 Geus, 2001; Gleeson and Low, 2000; Quilley, 2011). If the intent was for the former, then such a provision could be 492 articulated within the Objects or Principles of the Act. Instead, there is no special dispensation to First Nations 493 to advance under such notions. 494

Similarly, the Discussion Paper referred to 'improved arrangements' to ensure 'efficient and effective' 495 accountabilities (Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee and Department of Environment Land, 496 Water and Planning, 2016). The adoption of these languages reflects a preference for technocracy in the 497 distribution of government power. Paradigmatic of coloniality, classical liberalism is inferred to be directing 498 action, apparent in the deployment of rhetoric of market logics. The assertion of liberal rationalities in the 499 500 genesis of the Birrarung Act conflicts with the tenets of traditional values and indigenous epistemologies that do 501 not conceive of 'ownership', 'property', and 'marketisation'. We can derive from this that the management of the 502 Birrarung under the new Act is more akin to a wheel in the machinery of capitalist coloniality, than an act of 503 decoloniality.

Section 5(B) of the Birrarung Act aligns with a First Nations conception of the Birrarung and its parklands as 504 'one living and integrated natural entity' (Hawker and Murray Lower Darling Rivers Indigenous Nations, 2010, 505 p.2). This follows directly behind s 5(A) of the Act, an alignment reflective of the implied order of importance 506 as determined by the settler-colonial state. Through this lens, the continued domination of the settler-colonial 507 state is obvious; but what is less prevalent is in these flagrant contradictions; there is a separation between the 508 'rational' (human) and 'nature'a hallmark of coloniality as Quijano argues (Quijano, 2013). The 'rational' is the 509 settler-colonial state and its order-building; the implied 'irrational' stems from the natural, the Indigenous. This 510 is obvious because of the way the familiar modernist and 'rational' rhetoric is listed as Objects 5(A), whereas 511 the Indigenous conception of one single integrated entity (as founded in Aboriginal episteme) is secondary to 512 this, instead finding itself as Objects 5(B). This silhouette outlines the contours of coloniality so clear within the 513 Birrarung Act. 514

Furthermore, the use of the term 'environmental significance' is commonly associated with empirical research, 515 and establishes a hierarchy defining that which is considered significant in the environment (and worthy of 516 protection) and that which is not significant. This commodification of values, whilst expedient is problematic 517 because it requires the assimilation of Indigenous values into a settler-colonial paradigm. Assimilation does not 518 equate with recognition of Indigenous epistemologies as equal, because there is no 'more' or 'less' significantly 519 valuable parts of the river systems in Indigenous Australian epistemologies. As Cooper and Jackson note, there 520 is only a 'whole' and singular living entity (Cooper and Jackson, 2008). This is contradictory to the recognition 521 of a single integrated living entity. 522

In Object s 5(B) of the Act, reference is made to the river being a 'whole entity'. However, this precedes 523 the primary definition of the river as being a 'public park'. Furthermore, no significant reference is made to the 524 Birrarung (and Parklands) being a 'sovereign asset' of the riparian First Nations'. xvii This inclusion subordinates 525 the indigenous conceptions of the Birrarung beneath the colonial constructions of the river, the parkland and 526 the fauna, according to the undergirding logics of coloniality. Indeed, the nationstate retains title over the bed, 527 soil, and banks of the Birrarung (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act, p.8). Interestingly 528 by identifying itself as the 'protector' of these abstractions, the nation-state implies that had such sovereignty 529 over the Birrarung been handed to First Nations Australians (either via a grant of title over all such land along 530 the banks, and bed of the Birrarung; or by giving legal guardianship of the Birrarung to First Peoples), First 531 Nations would not have been capable of governing the Birrarung appropriately. Would control of the Birrarung 532 by First Nations be in service of the modern nation-states' goals? The J assumption appears to be that it would 533 not, and therefore such a possibility was not considered. 534

Objects s 5(C) establishes an 'overarching policy and planning framework' to coordinate for the 'use 535 development, and protection' of the Birrarung. In instituting this, before creating the Birrarung Council in 536 Objects s 5(D), the importance of 'development' (presumably 'economic' development as mentioned in Objects 537 A) is reaffirmed. Despite the claims made in Objects s 5(D) of this act, claims which assert the continued 538 protection and preservation of the Birrarung, it is apparent that the ensuing protection of First Nations cultural 539 assets are subject to the continued whims of Objects s 5(C) and the colonial-settler society writ-large. The 540 continuing relevance of economic development in this Birrarung Act are reflective of the broader development 541 agenda inflicted upon First Peoples the world over. Modernist development projects have consistently been 542 mobilized in service of the logics of coloniality, and this should serve as a cautionary tale about the use of 543 seemingly nebulous and innocuous terms in centralised planning legislation. 544

<sup>545</sup> Unfortunately, paragons of coloniality were also present in the formative MAC Final Report. The MAC Final <sup>546</sup> Report developed the framing for the Birrarung Act as it now stands, and was co-authored by four individuals

appointed by the Victorian government (Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee et al., 2016, 547 p.2). All of the appointees came from a professional background working as either government bureaucrats, 548 lawyers, architects, or water managers (Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee et al., 2016, p.3). 549 As described earlier, the Wurundjeri Council was only invited to submit feedback for the MAC Final Report and 550 not the Discussion Paper. xviii The Wurundjeri Council was also not invited to stakeholder consultations as a key 551 stakeholder (Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee et al., 2016, p.4), nor was it engaged when 552 the Ministerial Advisory Committee was appointed (Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee 553 et al., 2016, p.4). This approach cannot build intercultural understanding or border epistemologies, primarily 554 because it does not align with the 'co-design' community engagement as above described (Greaves, 2017). As 555 co-design sits is a more intensive level of the public participation to form a border epistemology would require 556 high level engagement with First Nations to conceive of the issues right at the beginning. This would then be 557 broadened into a response which satisfies the concerns of First Australians. This was not the approach taken by 558 the in the MAC Final Report. Although this was remedied somewhat by later engagement of the Wurundjeri 559 Council in the MAC Final Report and then in the Action Plan. Wurundjeri Council representatives stated 560 in their foreword to the Action Plan that their invitation to participate was 'highly significant' and that they 561 hoped this would mark a 'genuine paradigm shift' to codesigning of decisions and policies (Department of the 562 563 Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017b, p. iii ). Nevertheless, without greater awareness of to co-design 564 as an approach to development planning, it will be difficult for this assimilative approach to break-free from its 565 roots in coloniality.

The statutory functions of the Birrarung Council, to only report and audit on the implementation of the 566 Strategic Plan, are another representation of assimilation as opposed to co-design. The Birrarung Council is 567 restricted to only make recommendation on the implementation of the Strategic Plan, reflecting its limited 568 role to make fundamental change. The mandated inclusion of only two indigenous members, out of the twelve 569 members do not equate to a majority of First Nations members on the council; the optics of this appear to show 570 egalitarian reform in the governance of the Birrarung in action. By presenting these progressive credentials, and 571 yet ensuring that the council membership is instead stacked with interest aligned with those of the settler-colonial 572 society the decisions made by the council will have a faux air of legitimacy about them.. Wolfe argues that as 573 similationist programs of the settler-colonial societies, whereby First Peoples are brought into the settler-colonial 574 legal systems are common (Wolfe, 2006). They suggest that by attempting to cite native advancement as the 575 reasons for this assimilation, a justification for the processes of coloniality are established (Wolfe, 2006). It 576 is important to recognise that the constitution of the council with two First Nations members represents this 577 assimilation of First Nations peoples into the broader legislative processes of 'development' and management of 578 the Birrarung. 579

Throughout the Act, the scientific research method is relied upon to mediate where specific management 580 practices should be implemented (Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017b), 581 attempting to further subsume Indigenous knowledges within Western empiricism. These methodologies are 582 derived from the age of enlightenment and as such, are premised on the 'abstract universality' of 'truth' in the 583 world: a binary through which it is inferred science can explain reality (Quijano, 2013). Throughout the Birrarung 584 Act references are made to the precautionary principle, implicit in these is the statements is the presumption that 585 empirical data will be relied upon for decisionmaking (Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee 586 et al., 2016; Department of the Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2017b). This data is often used to then 587 benchmark against the strategic implementation of key performance indicators. These methods for testing and 588 obtaining data are inextricably linked to coloniality (and abstractions of universal rationality), because of the 589 historical circumstances 590

The Birrarung Act: Between a Decolonial Nation-State and Settler-Colonialism lobal Journal of Researches in 591 Engineering () Volume Xx XI Is sue I Version I J under which empiricism came to be. As Quijano and Mignolo 592 note, it is irreconcilably biased because of its rooting in the epistemology of Western modernity. As indigenous 593 epistemologies do not have the same contours as empiricism (raw data sets, specific measurements, consistent 594 methodologies, and a lack of easy comparison), these knowledges are considered subsidiary to those which make 595 use of empirical methods. Wolfe's argues that the elimination of indigeneity was most prominently the goal of 596 settlercolonial societies (Wolfe, 2006). This included the erasure of indigenous identities, and indigenous ontology 597 (Wolfe, 2006). This subjugation of episteme by claiming one form of knowing the world as more superior than 598 the other, shows the same elimination Wolfe discusses, in action at this very moment (Wolfe, 2006). 599

Elimination can also be seen in Section 13: Management Principles. These are in the form of elimination of intercultural understanding. Principle (3) describes that:

It is curious that strong phrasing such as 'aim for continuous improvement' and 'extend beyond compliance' 602 would be used in conjunctions with the term 'natural resources'. This raises questions over the way in which 603 these natural resources will be managedare these resources to be expropriated for profit in the future? The 604 use of the term 'resources' is also problematic, because it falls into the lexicon of extractive colonial industries. 605 Without clear definition, the Birrarung Act leaves the onus of defining 'natural resources' up to future -most 606 likely in costly litigious battles. Taken together, Principle (3) implicitly suggests that further intensification of 607 development activities along the river are inevitable. Indeed, the existence of this very principle establishes a 608 specific threshold over which the settler colonial state inserts itself into the management and defacto control of 609

that resource. This principle protects not just the nation-state's existing rights to extract values from along the 610 river (as deemed necessary), but also extends this right even further. In extending this right further, it is possible 611 in the foreseeable future it could be legal basis to expand resource extraction. 612

The fact that the imported British common law is the chosen vehicle for instituting these legal reforms system, 613 and efforts to interface between traditional legal systems and the common law appear so limited raises concern 614 over how 'liberating' this legislative technology might be. The 'legislative backing' of the strategic planning 615 document reflects the translation, assimilation, and (by this fact) the subordination, of traditional legal systems 616 beneath the Australian common law. 617

Indigenous land tenure legislation exists in both the state, and Commonwealth jurisdictions, and yet it is 618 excluded as a possible avenue to mediate between the Australian legal systems, and indigenous legal systems. 619 Furthermore, in assimilating the Birrarung (First Nations 'sovereign asset') into the common law, the right 620 to refuse development of the Birrarung is brought under scrutiny. True thought it may be that this right for 621 First Nations peoples simply did not exist prior; however, by adopting the logics of coloniality, modernity, and 622 development into plans and legislation, the momentum justifying intervention into the Birrarung is formalized 623 under the pretense of 'advancing' Aboriginal peoples. 624

Although the Birrarung Act represents a 'lite' attempt at decoloniality, it is under the trajectory of coloniality 625 626 -in which the coloniser leads, by attempting to decolonise themselves. Mignolo's compares this to the notions 627 of 'emancipation' as opposed to 'liberation', explaining that Hegel's transcendent freedom of subjectivity and 628 critical self-reflexivity informed the concept of individualism ??Mignolo, 2013, p.467). This individualism then sought to 'emancipate the individual', allowing autonomy which later came to be associated with liberalism as 629 envisioned by Locke. xix To that end the concept of 'emancipation' cannot escape the epistemology of coloniality 630 because of its theological links with modernism ??Mignolo, 2013, p.467). Attempts by the coloniser to adjust 631 their own agency as a matter of self-deconstruction are tawdry, because without disestablishing basis of its' own 632 power and control, the colonizer cannot truly self-deconstruct. Rather than fundamentally seeking to reconceive 633 of reality, the veil is lifted to show the Birrarung Act is more akin to a 'feel good' project rather than addressing 634 the epistemic splits of coloniality. 635

#### VII. 4 636

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#### 5 **Concluding Remarks** 637

There is a great deal that can be improved within this act. It is difficult to conceive of how this legislation 638 639 can reach the theoretical standards of decoloniality as conceptualized from Wolfe, Mignolo and Quijano's work, without entirely unraveling the foundational hegemon of the settler-colonial society. Nevertheless, this does not 640 641 appear to be the objective of the analytical tools of Mignolo, Wolfe, or Quijano. The aspiration to endorse a 642 'pluri-versal' world of knowledges and understanding can begin from places such as border epistemologies, and 643 by developing a discourse of engagement between First Nations Australians and the settler-colonial nation-state. Despite the challenges to traditional settlersociety law and development logics manifested in the Act, it 644 645 continues to recognises Aboriginal sovereignty in a very limited capacity. It adopts a thoroughly western approach 646 to watercourse management, and it ensures that a minority of members on the Birrarung Council are indigenous. The advisory committee itself, only serves an advisory role to the minister. The Birrarung Act makes no reference 647 to the traditional legal systems of the First Nations of the Birrarung. Instead, the legislation offers predictability, 648 rationality and formality within the imported Australian legal system.

The thematic questions, developed from the coloniality/decoloniality writings of Quijano, Mignolo, and Wolfe 650 have been responded to in both the affirmative, and the negative. The strategies presented in the Birrarung Act 651 652 (and its instruments'), are both actively pursuing decoloniality, and furthering settlercolonial hegemon.

In certain circumstances science/rationality, and reason are as one; but in other instances they're separate. 653 Traditional knowledges are recognised to be of equal importance in certain statements, and in others there is 654 a very clear privileging of scientific empiricism, and no inclusion of traditional knowledges. The silhouette of 655 modernity and the development agenda can be clearly outlined, and yet the Birrarung Act does try to engage 656 with decoloniality, and intercultural border epistemologies. From these vantages the Birrarung Act does offer a 657 critique of the colonial matrix of power, but only in small actions and statements. 658

The Birrarung Act does bear the hallmarks vanity, in hawking its egalitarian and progressive qualifications, 659 whilst only promoting marginal change. Nevertheless, a small space is carved out for intercultural understanding, 660 reflecting the possibility of a pluri-versality in logics and reasoning. Small though it may be, there is space for 661 critical insights, and exchanges of cultures and societies. 662

663 Ideally the pathway forwards would've been mapped by First Nations taking the lead entirely, and the 664 legislative implemented in collaboration with government.

665 Current practice within specific departments of the Victorian government is to support self-determination and to co-design, and co-create policy with Traditional Owners and other Indigenous communities as evidenced in 666 numerous policy documents (Aboriginal Victoria, 2019a, p.1, b, p.1; Department of the Environment, Land, 667 Water and Planning, 2019b, p.1, a, p.1; Local Government Victoria, 2016). In this respect, whilst it is heartening 668 to see engagement of first peoples in this process, it would be ideal to see further steps towards decoloniality 669 going into the future (whatever these may be). 670

### 6 REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

This paper sought to investigate legislation and its role in shaping cultural norms and systems of knowledges. By applying an analytical lens drawn from the law and development field, specifically coloniality/decoloniality and elimination/assimilation episteme, the asymmetric power relations could be uncovered. The processes of exclusion of First Nations were shown to be more extreme than would otherwise have been exposed using modernist tools of analysis.

The unusual approach of looking at law and development in a first world country (in relation to its First 676 Peoples) shows that the pitfalls of modernism and development continue, if however Janus-faced. They are 677 not restricted to Global South economies, but seem to be applied to the 'other' -most often those not directly 678 engaging with the modernist development agenda. and Luis Eslava who both contributed to the development 679 and writing of this paper. Acknowledgement is made of Marcus Lancaster who contributed useful knowledge 680 in the commencement of writing of this paper. Similarly, acknowledgement of Jane Bloomfield's' insights which 681 contributed to the writing of this paper, are also made. I pay my respects to First Nations elders past, present, 682 and emerging. 683

Both Indigenous Standpoint Theory, and Feminist Standpoint Theory expect a researched to address their 684 privilege in relation to those they research (Ardill, 2013). At this juncture, the author acknowledges their own 685 biases, which are likely to distort their standpoint, and understanding of phenomena. The author of this paper 686 687 draws upon Paul Hagemann's standpoint analysis as described in their text 'Denial, Modernity and Exclusion: 688 Indigenous Placelessness in Australia', to inform their own standpoint analysis (Havemann, 2005). As a matter of respect for the First Peoples of Australia, the author identifies themselves as a white, upper-class, male, who 689 has been afforded the opportunity to do this research, due to the many privileges they enjoy. In respecting the 690 traditions of First Australians, and being someone who comes from privilege, entering onto the epistemic 'lands' 691 of these peoples, the author is expected to declare who they are, and what purpose they have. So then, the 692 author makes note that they are writing from a point of privilege, and that they're writing about settler-colonial 693 legislation, and trying to unpick its contents. Again, the author states they're an outsider who does not live 694 through this experience every day. The author also makes note that their education has been formed through a 695 process developed as part of the colonial matrix of power, and this will also likely affect the authors judgements. 696

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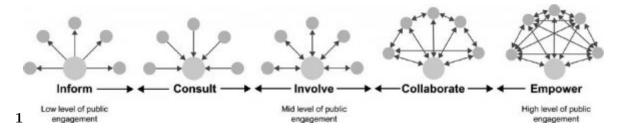


Figure 1: Figure 1:

Year 2021 ( ) Volume Xx XI Is sue I Version I J lobal Journal of Researches in Engineering

IV. Development Lens, to 'Coloniality/ Orienting from a Law and Decoloniality' and 'Elimination/ Assimilation' as a Framework for Analysing the Wilip-Gin Birrarung Murron Act

Figure 2:

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2013,
p.172);
? Are there are clear examples of how many traditional theories of knowledge (as drawn from indigenous cultures) and 'modern processes' are bought together inside the Act; viii
? Within the Act, does the 'rhetoric' of modernity appear (Mignolo, 2011, p.462);
? Does the Birrarung Act offer some kind of critique of the 'colonial matrix of power' (Mignolo, 2011);
? And finally, are specific epistemologies being privileged above others (Quijano, 2013)?

Figure 3:

1. Aboriginal commitment to self-determination. [Statutory Body -Victoria, 2019a. Government's Information] The

Figure 4:

### 699 .1 Acknowledgements

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The Birrarung Act: Between a Decolonial Nation-State and Settler-Colonialism lobal Journal of Researches in Engineering () Volume Xx XI Is sue I Version I J i The term 'coloniality' is defined further in proceeding paragraphs.

ii 'Inter-cultural' refers to the meeting points of Indigenous and 'modern' societies and cultures, and in this 704 instance refers to areas valued by both the Indigenous and 'modern' societies. 'Border epistemologies', like 'inter-705 cultural' is knowledge created at the point at which two cultures meet (it doesn't necessarily involve modern 706 and Indigenous societies') (Mignolo, 2013). iii This term is elaborated further upon in proceeding sections. iv 707 Funding for infrastructure arrangement as dictated by the plan is also included as part of these arrangements. See 708 generally: Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee and Department of Environment Land, Water 709 and Planning (n 4). v Due to call-in powers enjoyed by the minister for planning, a number of controversy's have 710 arisen. There are wide latitudes for third parties and individuals to appeal these decisions as they relate to the 711 Victorian Planning Scheme, which are not afforded in the Birrarung Act. Further examples in which controversy 712 has arisen, and the requisite action of community groups in response can be found in Cook et al (2012). 713

vi 'Being' and 'understanding' referring to the acts of building intercultural knowledge between Indigenous 714 and non-Indigenous peoples; and the mobilisation of this 'intercultural' dialogue into every day practices of living 715 ??Mignolo, 2011, p.453). vii The case which Wolfe refers to in his writing is the Members of the Yorta Yorta 716 Aboriginal Community v. the State of Victoria & Ors (2002) case, which narrowed the scope for interpretation 717 and therefore recognition of Indigenous land tenure in Australia hugely in 2002 (Case, 1999; as per: Wolfe, 718 2006, p.393). viii 'Processes' refers to agricultural, industrial, engineering, and other such processes which are 719 considered to be the foundations of 'modern' society, this includes areas such as medicine and health ??Mignolo, 720 2011, p.462). ix It is assumed that 'nature' is all the biological, and ecological values within the landscape 721 722 and other nonhuman produced entities -even this definition is somewhat of a fallacy (Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act, p.4). 723

724 x This is a very brief summary of an extremely complicated argument, and further reading can be found in 725 Kanth (2017). xi It is not within the scope of this essay to debate philosophical arguments over anthropocentrism and deep-ecology -nevertheless -further analysis of the history of separation between man and 'nature' beginning 726 in Judaeo-Christian religions can be found in seen generally in Kanth (2017). xii Faster recovery times; improved 727 long-term mental health have been associated with access to greenery. There is readings on articles which have 728 established empirical data reflecting these health benefits (Park and Mattson, 2009a;Ulrich, 1984). xiii (Greaves, 729 2017, p.1 [5]. Source: VAGO based on IAP2. This diagram is produced subject to the Copyright Act (1968). 730 Acknowledgement is made to the original copyright owner (the VAGO). No official connection is claimed between 731 this article and the VAGO. The material is made available without charge or any cost, and the material is not 732 subject to inaccurate, misleading or derogatory treatment.) xiv Under the Water Act (1989) and the National 733 Water Initiative (2004) provisions were made for indigenous submissions to water plans, overarching documents 734 which manage the way in which water resources are used in water systems, but these were the only spaces in which 735 indigenous voices could be expressed in relation to the management of water. Macpherson writes specifically on 736 this topic (2017). xv 'Cultural expression' along the Birrarung is defined by Keryn Hawker as being achieved 737 through the maintenance of the health of the riparian corridor and associated ecologies along the river. Part of 738 this expression is found in the health of these environments. Hawker et al. write on this generally (2010). 739

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