

# MOONDANI YULENJ



**An examination of Aboriginal  
culture, identity and education**

**Artefact and Exegesis**

Andrew Peters

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Doctor of

Philosophy

Swinburne University of Technology

February 2017

Artwork: 'Gathering Knowledge' by Ardup Ash Peters (2014)

Moondani Yulenj translates as 'Embracing Knowledge' in Woiwurrung language

## **ABSTRACT**

For too long in Australia we have focused on a very narrow view of ourselves and our history. Our education system has remained fixed in its colonial roots, resulting in the production of education for our young people that has focused almost exclusively on the colonial perspective of Australia and its history. This thesis examines this issue from a critical perspective and endeavours to take students on a journey to understand how Indigenous cultures have been and remain a vital part of Australia's culture and history. It is written as a semi-biographical autoethnography that accompanies the reader through my own cultural learning journey in contemporary Melbourne.

The artefact is presented as an undergraduate textbook and a resource to assist students to begin their own journey of learning about contemporary Indigenous culture. It moves from a starting point of fundamental knowledge of both Aboriginal and colonial culture and history to a more critical position in the closing chapters that challenges students to identify their own ways to expand knowledge.

The exegesis takes a critical look at the key areas of theory and methodologies and how they each have shaped our historical and contemporary understandings. In particular, the exegesis introduces to the students alternative paradigms of research and knowledge that are based on 'traditional' Indigenous knowledges, and invites students to identify their own ways to engage with them.

It is hoped that this thesis can provide students with a worldview that may challenge and accompany their own extant positions, introducing them to methods of learning and knowledge they may not have previously considered.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would firstly like to acknowledge my ancestors and Elders of the Wurundjeri, Yorta Yorta and Taungerong peoples. It is their fight that enabled them to survive and their spirit that fills me with the pride to go on this journey.

I gratefully, respectfully and lovingly acknowledge the support of my supervisors, Professor Jason Bainbridge and Professor Josie Arnold. Your guidance, advice, support and 'prodding' has not only gotten me to this point, but encouraged me to keep going on this learning journey. In addition, your respect for culture is greatly appreciated. I would also like to acknowledge the early support of Dr. Christine Sinclair who helped me begin this journey.

I cannot forget to acknowledge two people who have been with me for almost my entire academic journey and without whom I could not love the job the way I do. Dr. Tony Nankervis and Nicola Fish have been colleagues, supporters, and most importantly loving friends during my entire PhD journey, and your support in all facets of my career is unwavering and very much loved and appreciated. Tony, I simply wouldn't be here without you, mate. Love you, brother.

And to my two families. Firstly, the Peters clan. This book has contributions from two beautiful cousins, Arbup Ash Peters and his sister Carolyn (Dawe), my simply wonderful cousin Lea who I'm blessed to now work with, and all my other brilliant cousins, Uncles and Aunties - thank you for keeping our family spirit so bright and powerful. And a massive ngon ngodgin (thank you) to my wonderful Aboriginal community in Healesville for your ongoing love and support, in particular Bill Nicholson, Mandy Nicholson, and Aunty Joy Murphy-Wandin for your language advice.

To my wonderful Ma, Aunty Dot Peters. Your life has rarely been easy, Ma, but you continue on with the same fighting spirit that was passed on to you. Your love for your family is not only honourable and admirable, but is something that I will forever be grateful for, as you've now passed this on to me. I never got to physically meet Nanna Pete, but you always said that would have loved me – I know she's with us all. Thank you for all you have done for me Ma, and I hope I've done you proud.

Finally, to my beautiful loving wife Alissa, and our gorgeous boys Jackson and Max. Lissy, you have been a wonderful support to me during these sometimes crazy hours, and your belief and faith in me is what keeps me going. I could not be prouder of the family we've created, and I simply love your support for our Aboriginal heritage. I am grateful that you join me in instilling pride in the Aboriginal heritage of our boys, and I look forward to them taking their own cultural journeys when they are ready.

I hope I can make you all proud of me, and I love you with all my heart.

This is for you and the boys, Ma, and Nanna Pete

Andrew Peters  
June 2016

## **DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE**

I declare that the content of this PhD by artefact and exegesis:

- Contain no material which has been accepted for the award to the candidate of any other degree or diploma, except where due reference is made in the text of the examinable outcome;
- To the best of my knowledge contains no material previously published or written by any other person except where due reference is made in the text of the examinable outcome;
- Where the work is based on joint research or publications, discloses the relative contributions of the respective workers or authors.

Signed:

Date: June 6, 2016

# ARTEFACT TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Declaration by Candidate .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Womin Je Ka .....	1
Aboriginal people of Melbourne .....	2
About me.....	3
Terminology and Clarifications.....	6
The role and purpose of the book .....	9
Structure of the book .....	10
Happy reading.....	11
<b>CHAPTER 1 – OUR ENTANGLED HISTORIES .....</b>	<b>12</b>
Introduction: Australia’s Two Histories; Invasion or Settlement?.....	12
Colonial Australia .....	14
Colonialism and Imperialism.....	15
Terra Nullius.....	19
Challenges to terra nullius .....	21
The Effects of Terra Nullius .....	22
Indigenous Australia .....	25
‘Pre-Contact’ Australia.....	27
The Dreaming .....	31
Aboriginal customs and traditions .....	31
Aboriginal culture today .....	32
The Australia we know today .....	32
Conclusion .....	33
Discussion Questions .....	35
Other Resources .....	35
<b>CHAPTER 2 – POSTCOLONIAL AUSTRALIA.....</b>	<b>37</b>
Introduction .....	37
National identity: what is ‘Australia’ today?.....	37
Australian Identity.....	37
British Colonialism – how did we get here?.....	41
Early encounters and responses.....	45
What is ‘Postcolonial Australia’? .....	51
Introduction to Indigenous knowledges and worldviews .....	54
Conclusion .....	54
Discussion Questions .....	56
Other Resources .....	56
<b>Chapter 3 – RACE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY .....</b>	<b>58</b>
Introduction - What is Identity? .....	58
The intersection of race, culture and identity.....	60
Contemporary cultural identity .....	64

Cultural Hybridity .....	70
Contemporary issues for Indigenous people .....	72
Identity .....	73
Effects of Identity Politics.....	76
Racism in contemporary society .....	77
Conclusion .....	80
Discussion Questions .....	81
Other Resources .....	81
<b>CHAPTER 4 – COLONIAL DOCTRINES AND REPRESENTATIONS .....</b>	<b>83</b>
Introduction – colonial influence.....	83
Colonial doctrines.....	84
Treaties.....	89
The concept of Aboriginalism.....	91
Australian Government.....	93
Australia’s Cultural Policies.....	94
Missions and Reserves .....	98
Conclusion .....	105
Discussion Questions .....	106
Other Resources .....	106
<b>CHAPTER 5 – COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE &amp; REPRESENTATIONS.....</b>	<b>108</b>
Introduction –Aboriginalism in Australia .....	108
The role of Science .....	108
Anthropology in Australia.....	110
The Turning Point.....	114
Education – The discipline of Indigenous Studies .....	114
Critiques of Indigenous Studies .....	118
The Global Future .....	119
Museums .....	121
Museums and postcolonialism.....	123
Museums in Australia .....	123
Aboriginal culture and museums today .....	124
Conclusion .....	125
Discussion Questions .....	126
Other Resources .....	126
<b>CHAPTER 6 – POPULAR CULTURE: REPRESENTATIONS.....</b>	<b>128</b>
Introduction: Aboriginalism in contemporary society.....	128
Popular culture .....	128
Film and media.....	132
Australian film.....	135
Indigenous Culture in Australian Film.....	137
Representation in Australian media .....	138
21 <sup>st</sup> Century Media .....	145
Conclusion .....	146
Discussion Questions .....	148
Other Resources .....	148

<b>CHAPTER 7 – SPORT, CULTURE AND AUSTRALIA .....</b>	<b>150</b>
Introduction: Sport, Representation and Identity.....	150
History of Sport in Australia .....	151
‘Australianising’ sport.....	152
Sport and Culture .....	153
Indigenous peoples in sports .....	156
The colonialism and imperialism of sport .....	157
Australian Rules football.....	159
Colonialism/imperialism of football.....	161
Race and Culture in Football .....	162
Aboriginal people and postcolonial sport.....	164
Women in sport.....	167
Conclusion .....	168
Discussion Questions .....	169
Other Resources .....	169
<b>CHAPTER 8 – RESISTANCE AND DECOLONISATION.....</b>	<b>171</b>
Introduction: resisting historical colonisation and representation.....	171
The postcolonial push - resisting colonialism .....	172
Resistance writing, literature and research.....	174
Decolonisation and Indigenous research methods.....	178
Indigenous knowledge.....	181
Indigenous Knowledge and Western Knowledge .....	184
Is Indigenous Knowledge important today?.....	186
Conclusion .....	187
Discussion Questions .....	188
Other Resources .....	188
<b>CHAPTER 9 – INDIGENOUS CULTURE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY .....</b>	<b>190</b>
Introduction: The survival of Indigenous cultures.....	190
Aboriginal Culture Today .....	191
Indigenous Enterprise and Entrepreneurship .....	192
Indigenous Tourism.....	200
Indigenous Cultures in ‘Your’ World.....	205
Spirituality today.....	208
Conclusion .....	209
Discussion Questions .....	211
Other Resources .....	211
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>212</b>
The role of history.....	212
The narrative of the book.....	214
The missing discussion .....	214
The future – what can you do? .....	218
Other Resources .....	219
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>220</b>

## TABLE OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1:</b> Kulin Nation Language Groups .....	3
<b>Figure 2:</b> Andrew Peters at Richmond Football Club, Punt Road Oval.....	5
<b>Figure 3:</b> 19th-century engraving showing natives of the Gweagal people opposing the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1770.....	13
<b>Figure 4:</b> Eddie ‘Koiki’ Mabo .....	23
<b>Figure 5:</b> Aboriginal Studies text, circa 1974 .....	26
<b>Figure 6:</b> Aboriginal Australia Map .....	28
<b>Figure 7:</b> Sydney Daily Mirror Story .....	47
<b>Figure 8:</b> 1965 NSW Freedom Rides .....	47
<b>Figure 9:</b> The British Empire in the 1920s .....	83
<b>Figure 10:</b> List of former British colonies .....	84
<b>Figure 11:</b> Copy of Batman’s Treaty .....	90
<b>Figure 12:</b> ABS Performance Indicators .....	93
<b>Figure 13:</b> Map of Australian missions and reserves. ....	99
<b>Figure 14:</b> Coranderrk Hop Kilns .....	101
<b>Figure 15:</b> Coranderrk Cemetery (Barak’s headstone centre right) – circa 2013 .....	102
<b>Figure 16:</b> Crowd at Coranderrk Festival 2012.....	103
<b>Figure 17:</b> Opening of Coranderrk Festival, 2014 – Andrew Peters, Jacqui Wandin, Brooke Collins.....	103
<b>Figure 18:</b> Map of Victorian Missions and Reserves.....	104
<b>Figure 19:</b> The ‘mediasphere’ .....	134
<b>Figure 20:</b> Movie poster for ‘The Battle of Elderbush Gulch (1914).....	143
<b>Figure 21:</b> Movie poster for ‘Yellowstone Kelly’ (1959) – taken at Warner Brothers Movie World, Gold Coast.....	143
<b>Figure 22:</b> Aboriginal Cricket Team with Tom Wills, circa 1866 .....	156
<b>Figure 23:</b> The Iconic image of Nicky Winmar in 1993.....	165
<b>Figure 24:</b> Adam Goodes in action.....	166
<b>Figure 25:</b> Gunditjmara stone structures .....	200



# INTRODUCTION

## **Womin Je Ka.**

'Womin Je Ka' means welcome in traditional Woiwurrung language. Woiwurrung, from the Melbourne area of Victoria, is one example of the hundreds of native language groups across Australia that not only survived the cultural onslaught of colonisation, but thrived to develop very culturally strong, proud communities in the contemporary world. For some groups, the struggle with the impacts of colonisation remains difficult as increasing globalisation sees so much of the world become 'the same' and culture becomes less visible. Understanding the role of colonisation in Australia (as we discuss in detail in Chapter 2) and other associated issues is vital to us gaining a better understanding of contemporary issues that affect Aboriginal people.

This book takes a look at some of these impacts and at the ways that Aboriginal people in Australia today have found ways to reclaim, reaffirm and strengthen their own cultural identities. The book also considers how contemporary Australia was shaped, and what it has become. In essence, this book provides an opportunity for you to see the world around you in a way that perhaps you may not have done before.

The book is designed to lead you on a journey as a learner. It begins with broad examinations of culture and identity for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians, as well as some of the historical factors that shape them, then progressively moves through a deeper analysis of some of the key social and cultural issues that face society today.

Today, everything we do in Australia is taking place on Aboriginal land. We live, work and play on lands with a deep, rich history that predates any colonial history that has dominated our education so far. We all therefore have a connection to this older, lesser-known history. This book looks at ways that we, as contemporary Australians, can all identify and understand this connection, and understand its role in society today.

While the book will address issues of a national scale, many of the examples used pertain specifically to the experiences of Aboriginal people in Victoria. This is done deliberately for two reasons:

1. The book is a reflection of my experiences as a lecturer and teacher of Indigenous issues over the past 14 years. As a proud Wurundjeri/Yorta

Yorta/Taungerong man, I am able to share some of my own lived experiences with my students, enabling them access to insights and perspectives that move beyond the parameters of the classroom or textbook

2. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures are, like all Indigenous cultures, diverse, dynamic and strong. As such, the experiences of one group may not necessarily be the same as another. It would be inappropriate to create assumptions among students that our experiences are the same in different parts of the country. We have different languages, different customs, and different traditions. Our experiences of colonisation, and the ways we have confronted them, are separate and distinct.

In addition, a focus on local culture allows a deeper understanding of the issues studied, and also borrows from aspects of Indigenous Knowledge which we discuss in Chapter 9. In this sense, you are encouraged to identify and define your own ways to connect with culture and the issues discussed as we move through this journey of knowledge together.

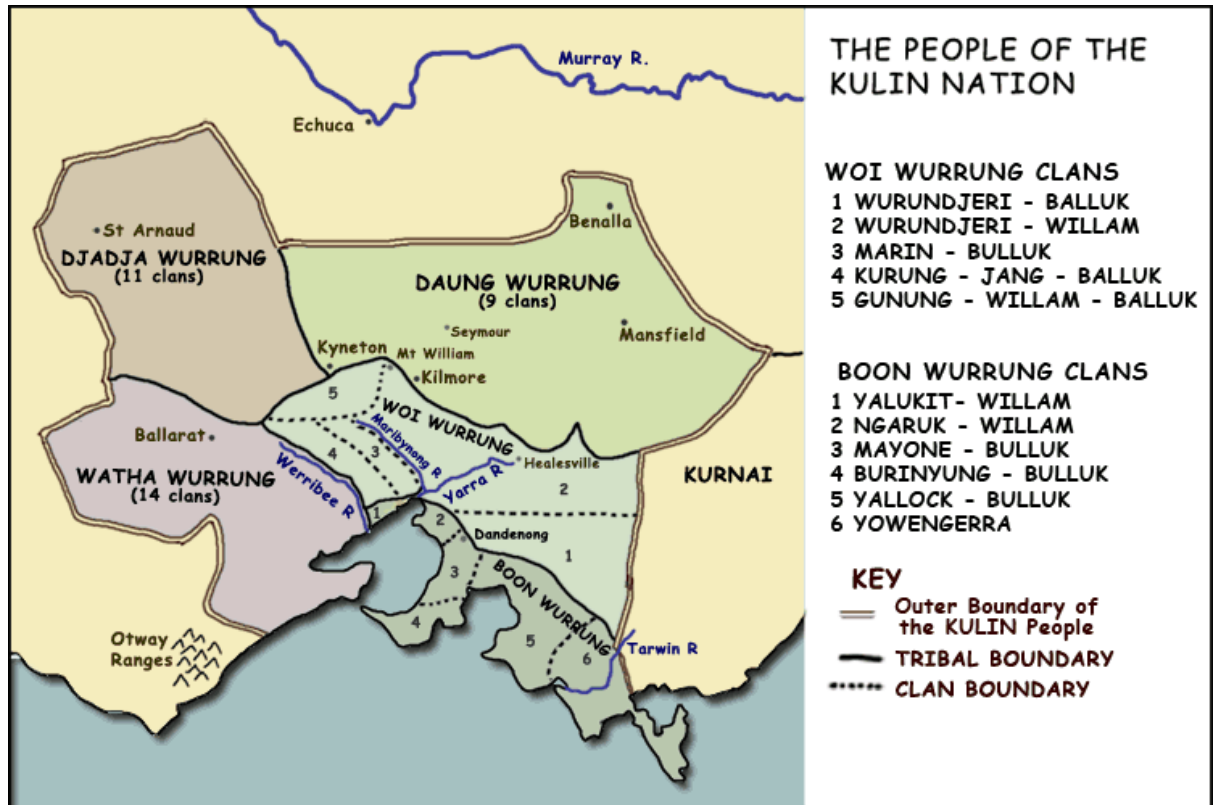
## **Aboriginal people of Melbourne**

There are five prominent Aboriginal groups who belong to the country surrounding what we now call Melbourne. These five language groups, collectively known as the Kulin nations (sometimes referred to as Eastern Kulin), represent the history of the city and its surrounding areas, each with a proud, distinct history. The five groups of the Kulin nations are:

- Woiwurrung – parts of the greater Melbourne city area, the Yarra Valley regions to the Great Dividing Range, Dandenong Ranges, and to Mt. Baw Baw in the north and the Werribee River to the west. Most people from this group identify as Wurundjeri.
- Boonwurrung – parts of the south of Melbourne city area, the northern, eastern and southern shorelines of Port Phillip Bay (Nerm) including the Mornington Peninsula, Western Port Bay and further south-east down to Wilsons Promontory
- Taungerong – north of the Great Dividing Range (and Woiwurrung country), including the drainage basins of the Goulbourn, Campaspe and Broken rivers, north to the Murray River
- Wathaurong – western shorelines of Port Phillip Bay and the Bellarine Peninsula, stretching to Ballarat and Cressy in the west

- Dja Dja Wrung – to the north of Wathaurong country, including the catchments of the Loddon and Avoca Rivers of central/western Victoria, including Bendigo. People from this language group often identify as Jaara.

Sources: (Presland 2010; VACL 2016)



**Figure 1:** Kulin Nation Language Groups (Presland 2001 p. 37)

The Woiwurrung people consisted of five clans; Wurundjeri Balluk, Wurundjeri Willam, Marin Balluk, Kurung Jang Balluk, and Gunung Willam Bulluk. Each of these groups identified with a specific parcel of land within the Woiwurrung area. Today, notwithstanding the distinctive cultures and histories of each group, the Kulin nation(s) are often referred to as the original owners of the area of Melbourne and its suburbs.

## About me

As an Aboriginal man in 21<sup>st</sup> century Australia, working in the Indigenous space within a tertiary institution places me in a relatively privileged position. I am fully aware of how lucky I am to not only be employed full-time, but to love the career that I have.

I grew up in Healesville, about an hour east of Melbourne, a member of a family that has very strong, very deep connections to the area. My great grandmother and great grandfather, Albert and Lizzie Davis, were long-time residents of Coranderrk Reserve,

just outside of Healesville (see Chapter 5). My mother, Aunty Dot Peters, is a very well respected Elder of the local community, and it gives me immense pride to be able to work in this area as well. Like most parts of Australia where former missions and reserves exist, the Aboriginal community in Healesville is a strong, proud and vibrant one, and it's an honour and a privilege to be involved.

I have been a lecturer at Swinburne University for over 15 years, and only now do I feel that this journey has provided me with the knowledge and tools to do justice in teaching Indigenous Studies. My career has taken me to many parts of the world, and established friendships with Native Canadian, American, and Maori colleagues that continue to help me understand my own culture, and become a better educator. This book is the culmination of 14 years of teaching Indigenous Studies, over 20 years of experience as a student and lecturer, and a lifetime of experiences as an Aboriginal man from the east of Melbourne.

I have included aspects of my life that have helped shape and affirm my culture for me, including Australian society and history, education, popular culture and sport. For me, sport has probably had the greatest influence, and this is discussed in Chapter 8. I feel blessed that I now have a career that can involve sport – and in particular football. In fact, at the time of writing this book, I have had a supporter profile placed on the website of my beloved Richmond Football Club to commemorate the 2016 Sir Doug Nicholls Indigenous Round of the AFL, and in particular the 'Dreamtime at the G' game between Richmond and Essendon on Saturday May 28. This week of AFL games recognises and celebrates the Indigenous players and cultures. And for me, being a small part of this emphasises the connection between work, sport and culture:

*Now on the cusp of completing a PhD, with an abiding interest in the role sport can play for young Aboriginal people, Andrew is developing research partnerships with the Korin Gamadji Institute at Punt Road Oval. 'It's a fantastic model of how a football club can engage with Indigenous communities,' he says. 'I could not be happier to support a club like this that's so connected with Aboriginal culture' (Jellie 2016).*



**Figure 2:** Andrew Peters at Richmond Football Club, Punt Road Oval; Source (Jellie 2016)

Recognising and exploring these connections is a central element of this book, and of learning about Aboriginal culture and history.

Each of the influences in my life that have shaped both my career as an academic and my culture and cultural knowledge is discussed in this book. Here they are brought together to provide an example of the issues that face Indigenous people in the world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and how we cope with them. It gives me great pride to draw on the knowledge and strength of my family, my ancestors, and my culture and history to produce a book that I hope will enlighten, entertain and educate you. It is, however, only the beginning of the next part of my own journey as I learn more about my culture, and how I can use this knowledge to help inform my teaching, as I aim to improve the collective knowledge that Australians have about their own culture and history.

For me, this book is part of an ever-continuing, reflexive process through which I am constantly engaged in the learning and teaching cycle. Each experience I have, both in the classroom and in the community, allows me an opportunity to explore new topics and viewpoints. Through the process of writing this book, each chapter has drawn on existing materials, and will inform future ones, enabling me to continue the learning and teaching cycle, a concept that I draw from Indigenous Knowledge and methodologies (see Chapter 9).

Although this book does include a number of Indigenous voices throughout its journey, these may be perceived by the reader as somewhat peripheral, and indeed may not seem very loud. This is a deliberate attempt to sympathise and analogise with such voices in contemporary society. The dominant colonial culture in Australia has

historically silences the Aboriginal voice of resistance and survival, and the result has been that any such voices seem loud and abrasive to the dominant culture. This book, as an introductory tool in 'cultural collusion', attempts to 'soften' the voice of resistance within contemporary historical understandings so that it may be heard and considered by all students, and not perceived as an antagonistic challenge like so many Indigenous voices in our contemporary world.

## **Terminology and Clarifications**

An important aspect of understanding Indigenous cultures today is coming to terms with the at times confusing terminology. Globally today there are numerous words in use to describe the original inhabitants and owners of the world's lands. Such words include Indigenous, Native, First Nations, Aboriginal, and in other countries Maori and Indian. The following glossary of terms will help you understand how such words are used both in this book and in the wider community.

Indigenous – an overarching term that entered the popular discourse in Australia in the late 1990s and early 2000s and became the 'preferred' term for a number of years. It is also now increasingly used in North America and other regions. However, many Indigenous Australians have long preferred the phrase 'Aboriginal' and 'Torres Strait Islander' to refer to themselves, as they view the term 'Indigenous' as a 'blanket' term that disregards our cultural diversity. Essentially, 'Indigenous' refers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and this latter term is preferred by many as 'Indigenous' is seen as a rather generic, government-imposed term that denies the diversity of people and culture.

Aboriginal – another 'English' term adopted for use to refer to Australia's native populations. Derived from the Latin 'ab origine', meaning 'from the beginning', Aborigine was one of the first words used by colonisers to refer to the native groups they had encountered, but developed negative connotations over time. Today, some people find the word offensive as it relates to a time of distinctive racism and racist behaviour in Australia. Most people prefer the term 'Aboriginal', as in Aboriginal Australians. Use of the term Aboriginal (as opposed to Indigenous) has gained increasing preference in recent years in Victoria.

Torres Strait Islander – Hailing from the islands in the Torres Strait, north of the Gulf of Carpentaria in Queensland, the native inhabitants of this area are recognised for their uniqueness of culture and ties to their homelands. Adopting their own flag in 1992, Torres Strait Islander people and culture have many similarities to, but are certainly

distinct from, 'mainland' Aboriginal culture and peoples. As such, it is culturally appropriate and respectful to recognise them as a distinct cultural group.

The collective terms of Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander also have an official 'Commonwealth working definition':

- *a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent,*
- *who identifies as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin and*
- *who is accepted as such by the community with which the person associates.*

References to either are considered acceptable in Australia today, although as mentioned most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people prefer to use the longer term. In addition, most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people will refer to each other by clan name – eg. Wurundjeri, Boonwurrung, Yorta Yorta, Pitjantjatjara – as this most accurately reflects identity.

Throughout this book, I most often use the term Aboriginal when referring to the native inhabitants of mainland Australia (eg. Victorian clans), and Indigenous when speaking in a more global context; although there may be some references to Indigenous Australians. This is reflective of the slippage between the two terms that exists in Australia today. Generally speaking, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are moving away from the term Indigenous due to its propensity to disregard the diversity of our many cultures. However, both terms also remain in general use in broader society.

Traditional – often in modern society we use the word 'traditional' to refer to aspects of Indigenous culture that pre-date European arrival (often called 'settlement'). For me, the phrase 'traditional' can conjure up stereotypical images of a culture that remain fixed in history. In reality, traditional can refer to any cultural practice that reflects key elements of the culture. As such, in my teaching I prefer to use the term 'pre-contact' to refer to such cultural aspects.

Group/Clan/Mob – For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people today, using collective nouns to refer to ourselves will usually come down to three choices – clan, group, or mob. For us, this is the way we describe what in other parts of the world are called 'tribes'. Tribe is not a word that is widely used here, and is not a word that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have used to refer to ourselves. Of the three, mob is probably most commonly used.

Owners – often issues of Indigenous culture deal with land rights in the contemporary world. In many cases, words such as ‘custodians’ are often used in place of ‘owners’ (eg ‘traditional custodians’ instead of ‘traditional owners’) as contemporary understandings and definitions of land ownership are very different to pre-contact (‘traditional’) ones. In my view, however, using the phrase ‘traditional owners’ indicates an Indigenous definition of ownership that has never involved monetary payments, title, or exclusive rights, but rather the recognition of thousands of years of respect, rights and responsibilities shared among many.

Mainstream – this is a contested term in many respects as it remains a representation of ‘cultural othering’ (see page 66) and its concomitant hegemonic ‘drift’ that causes contemporary society to marginalise these other cultures. It also reinforces the power of the English language to classify and demean. However, in the context of this book it is used to refer to the dominant colonial culture of Australia, although not necessarily referring exclusively to British heritage, and its use, while far from ideal, seeks to maintain a level of clarity for the reader. As such, the term will appear in singular quotation marks throughout this book. It is hoped that this book may also contribute to ongoing discussions about culture, whiteness and ‘normal’ in contemporary society.

Throughout this book, and in all of my teaching, I use (and strongly encourage my students to use) a capital ‘I’ in all uses of the term ‘Indigenous’ when referring to people or culture. This is for two main reasons:

1. When used in these contexts, the word refers to a distinct, recognisable group or nation of people, and thus capitalisation is consistent with current global practices;
2. Capitalising the words emphasises the clear distinction between Aboriginal or Indigenous peoples and culture, and flora and fauna that is native (or indigenous) to a specific area.

Although seen by some people as a mere grammatical issue, for me it remains an important way to separate ourselves in the contemporary world from the racist, exclusionary views of Australia’s early colonists whose assumptions of cultural and racial superiority saw them label Aboriginal people as less than human (see Chapters 2 and 3). For this reason, I strongly encourage everyone to use capital letters when using these words.

Finally, throughout the book I make references to Aboriginal people and culture in the third person (ie they etc.), while in other cases I use the first person (eg. me, I, we etc.).



In the aforementioned cases I refer to issues and events on a broad (eg. national) scale, while in the latter I suggest that these are personal experiences and feelings that I have had, or get, as an Aboriginal person in contemporary society or experiences I have seen in our communities.

## **The role and purpose of the book**

Indigenous Studies has emerged in the past couple of decades as a legitimate area of education. An increase in broader awareness of Indigenous cultures and histories, and a growing commitment from governments has seen the field assume an increasingly important role in almost all levels of education. Although there is still a long way to go, the signs are positive that we are growing as a nation, and that recognition of the discipline of Indigenous Studies is coupled with the recognition of the importance of this part of our past, present and future.

However despite growth in almost all fields of academic endeavour and disciplines, there is an apparent lack of appropriate learning materials for undergraduate tertiary students wanting to learn about Indigenous cultures. Although there are a number of well written, informative texts, virtually all of them are written for the more educated, enlightened students (eg postgraduate) and/or are focused on specific areas of study such as health, psychology and education. Apart from the seminal 1996 book *Aboriginal Australia* edited by Colin and Eleanor Bourke and Bill Edwards (see Bourke, Bourke & Edwards 1998) and the work of people such as Rhonda Craven, there is a massive gap in the literature for textbooks broadly appropriate enough for undergraduate level studies.

This book has been written as an introductory text for any undergraduate student wishing to investigate Indigenous issues. It is not written as a prescriptive book on how to act or think in terms of Aboriginal culture in Australia, but rather, as a supplementary guide to whatever studies you are undertaking. In addition, it will appeal to anyone wanting to learn more about Aboriginal culture and history – and by extension, themselves as Australian citizens.

It will also hopefully provide Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people a chance to reflect on their own cultural experiences, and to see how my culture is reaffirmed and reclaimed through my experiences of education, sport and family.

Opinions are provided to allow you to reflect on your own views – I never try to impose MY point of view, but rather to get people to think of a point of view perhaps different to

their own. We are all products of Australia's colonial/postcolonial nature, and it has become so ingrained that we tend to forget the influence this has from time to time.

## **Structure of the book**

The book is structured to engage the student in a journey of learning. Utilising concepts of connectedness that underpin Indigenous Knowledges, each chapter invites the reader to engage themselves in the issues and identify their own connections to them. Throughout my teaching career I have drawn on my own experiences to help shape the information I teach, and the methods I use to teach them. Each chapter in the book therefore draws on some of these experiences, and encourages students to do the same for themselves by using the discussion questions at the end of each chapter.

Textbooks represent the imperialist, prescriptive nature of academia and Western knowledge, so devising a text that challenges yet embraces this is not easy. This book attempts to synthesise aspects of a traditional textbook with contemporary practices of Indigenous Education, including introducing alternative learning paradigms that are discussed in Chapter 9. In my own teaching practice, implementing specific ways of incorporating some of these practices will be the next challenge.

This whole learning and teaching experience is about learning to recognise alternative viewpoints of the world we all live in. Such a practice has been variously labelled as decolonisation, resistance, anti-colonisation, and postcolonialism (among others), but essentially remains about finding ways to move away from dominant paradigms that shape and control our lives and toward accepting that alternative methods may have value in the modern world.

The book moves progressively through the student's learning journey, so early chapters are written for new students and 'beginners', and focus on historical issues and their role today, while later chapters build upon the earlier work and are aimed at third or fourth year students, and perhaps those with postgraduate aspirations. While this is an unusual structure for an undergraduate textbook, this structure was chosen to reflect the current lack of not only appropriate textbooks of this nature, but any range of such books that would satisfy the undergraduate journey of students of this area. Included are discussions on topics such as popular culture and sport, emphasising the links between past and present culture.

Each chapter contains a chapter summary, discussion questions to further explore key issues, and a list of suggested sources for further reading. In addition, each chapter contains 'break-outs' that serve the purpose of:

- providing examples, illustrations or additional information of key issues to help give you a better understanding; AND/OR
- giving you some additional information on the topic or issue, and in some cases how to learn more about it.

*In this copy, these break-outs appear in blue text and are bordered at the top and bottom.*

## **Happy reading**

It is my hope that by reading through this book you will not only learn something new about Aboriginal culture and history, but also find ways to connect with that culture and history for yourselves. Aboriginal culture in Australia is the oldest surviving culture on the planet. It has survived the multiple layers of colonisation that were essentially designed to destroy it, and has thrived to exist in a contemporary way. It is hoped that this book will not only illuminate the ways the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture does exist today, but also assist all Australians find their own way to connect with it.

# CHAPTER 1 – OUR ENTANGLED HISTORIES

## Introduction: Australia's Two Histories; Invasion or Settlement?

History is an interesting concept. We are all generally aware of what history is, and accept that it is part of our 'past'. However, the study of history produces a number of questions that are not always asked or answered. In Australia, many of our historians have become engaged in what has been termed our 'History Wars'. These have centred on the growing debate in academic and literary circles about alternative views of Australian history. On the one hand, we have the long-accepted view of the 'Settlement' of Australia; on the other, the emerging, alternative view that this was in 'Invasion'. This debate, labelled our 'History Wars' has polarised opinion on what is the 'true' history of Australia and how we should remember elements of our past. However, there is always more than one way to remember history.

---

### AUSTRALIA'S HISTORY WARS

The phrase 'History Wars' in Australia refers to the debate over views of Australian history. Much like many other post-colonised societies, historians, academics and politicians have entered a debate on how we should view our nation's history. At one extreme we have the view that Australia has a proud, positive colonial history, and as then Prime Minister John Howard stated in 1996, "it is a history which has its flaws-certainly-but which broadly constitutes a scale of heroic and unique achievement against great odds" (in McKenna 1997). This view has been supported by historians and authors such as Geoffrey Blainey and Keith Windschuttle.

At the other end, Australian history is seen as one of hidden injustices, wrongs, and events that should engender shame among us all. This view, labelled in 1993 by Geoffrey Blainey as the 'black armband view' of history, urges us to recognise the diversity of our history, including the poor treatment of Aboriginal people, migrants, and women, among others. This view has been supported by people such as Manning Clark and Henry Reynolds, among others.

The debate around our history wars centres on these two extremes and has raised the issue of perspectives of history. Is it possible to have one Australian history?

---

On the world stage, Australia is perceived as a 'young' nation. With Cook's arrival in 1770 and our subsequent British 'settlement' we developed into a nation following Federation in 1901. But the history of the land we now call Australia stretches way

beyond this view. In fact, the history of our land goes back further than any other living culture in the world today.

Australian history has, for the most part, been presented to us through what is often referred to as our 'colonial lens', meaning that we have viewed our history from only one historical viewpoint – our colonial one. Many school history books categorise Australia's past in a temporal sense – that is, it is examined in categories of time. For example, the Gold Rush era of the 1850s; the War Years of 1914 – 1919 and 1939 to 1945; the era of Federation in 1880s to 1900s; the Great Depression of the 1920s. In all of these examinations, our national identity and consciousness is a prime focus, and students study how we came to be the nation we are through such historical periods. Such histories encompass the recorded events, people, and influences, and how we have perceived them over time. They have perpetually been presented to us as the 'settlement' of Australia. This view presents history to us as a collection of 'historical facts' that explain our past.

However, as we shall see, any complete education about our past must begin with the acknowledgment of the multi-dimensional nature of it. Australia, like all colonised countries in the world today, has multiple histories that are entangled and woven into the fabric of our contemporary society. Our education of our past has traditionally only focussed on one of these histories, on one thread of our societal fabric; through the colonial lens. However, in the past 30 years or so we have begun to recognise the multiplicity of our history, and what it means for all of us today. This is at the core of the 'History Wars' debate in this country.



**Figure 3:** 19th-century engraving showing natives of the Gweagal people opposing the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1770.

The debate challenges the view that the arrival of the Europeans meant the 'settlement' of Australia. The original inhabitants, those who were standing here to witness the arrival of Cook's Endeavour, and the ships of the First Fleet, saw their land invaded. Still today, for many Aboriginal people, 'settlement' is viewed as an 'invasion'.

We'll now look a little further at these two views of history, and how they are intertwined.

## **Colonial Australia**

Almost all Australians have experienced at least a *little* Australian history in their formal education. For those who can remember there are certain accepted historical 'facts' that underline our understandings of Australian history:

- 1770 – Captain James Cook 'discovered' Australia during his 4-month exploration of the east coast, claiming the land for King George III of England on August 22.
- Cook and his chief botanist, Joseph Banks, declared Australia to be 'Terra Nullius' on the basis of their observations of the mostly uninhabited land – this allowed the British to assume international ownership rights over the lands that Cook and Banks had 'discovered'.
- 1776 – America's War of Independence saw them gain independence from British rule, thus necessitating an alternative venue for exiled British convicts
- 1788 – Captain Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet landed near Sydney on January 26, heralding the beginning of Australia as we know it with the introduction of British colonisation.

Each of these events is a product of British actions during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, leading to the creation of the British Empire, the largest empire in world history.

## **The British Empire**

The expansion of Britain, as one of the recognised European powers of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, has been analysed as a cornerstone of the world's modern history (Bayly 1999; Ferguson 2004; Marshall 1999). British expansion was motivated by a number of factors, including the threat of overpopulation (particularly in the British prison system), an expanding economy and competition.

Many of our own history books allude to the sending of British convicts here with the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788. This effort to remove the more 'undesirable' elements of British society was in direct response to the gaining of independence by the United States in 1776, which effectively prohibited British convicts being sent there. As such, the British government needed a new solution to the problem of an overcrowded convict system, and the new land of the south provided that solution. Following the

expedition of James Cook and Joseph Banks in 1770, Australia was designated as the location for the new British penal colony:

*in 1779 Sir Joseph Banks, a wealthy botanist how had accompanied Captain Cook on his first voyage to Australia...told a committee of the British House of Commons that the government should found a convict settlement near Botany Bay in New South Wales. ....in 1786, Lord Sydney announced that convicts would be sent to Australia.*

(Franklin 1976 p. 21)

In addition, the Industrial Revolution that began in Britain in the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw the emergence of such modern day staples as mass production of goods, the working class, manufacturing, agriculture and the finance sector. This expansion began a cycle of economic growth that not only saw the introduction of our capitalist markets (including the notion of monetary exchange for goods, and prices), but an ever-growing need for resources required for production - including land and labour. Again, the massive new land of the south provided the solution. As Ward (1994) suggests, Britain became the “workshop of the world” (p 45) and the resources of new lands were used to cover the costs of expanding their control over them.

Perhaps more importantly in terms of what motivated the British, the creation of the British Empire was also a direct response to the colonial power created by countries such as France, Portugal, the Dutch Republic and Spain between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Ward 1994). The Enlightenment which preceded the Industrial Revolution in Europe was also a catalyst for a change in thinking of European powers during this time, and played a crucial role in the establishment and expansion of the British Empire. Chapters 5 and 6 include a deeper discussion of the British imperialism and colonialism and their associated issues in Australia.

## **Colonialism and Imperialism**

Examination of this British expansion generally focuses on the concepts of colonialism and imperialism, which become the theoretical underpinnings about how we understand our history and its associated events. These closely related, but distinct, concepts have shaped virtually every aspect of our contemporary society, and indeed most of what we now call ‘Western civilisation’.

Imperialism is the advocating and operationalising of an empire. In European history, empires have been created, dismantled, rebuilt, challenged, and changed. Historical

empires have included (in no particular order) the Romans, Ottoman (Turks), German, Russian, French and Spanish. Contemporary examples of empire would include the United States, China and Japan. Our focus in Australia, of course, is on history's largest, the British Empire. As mentioned above, empires are driven by a variety of forces, coupled with a constant search for expansion and control.

Discussing issues such as this as part of our history involves introducing some concepts and terms that may be new to you, but an understanding of them is vital. In the example of Australia, and for purposes of clarity, I like to develop working definitions of such terms to help us to put them into context. Such a definition also takes into account the specific economic impact of British imperialism.

---

## **IMPERIALISM**

Defining a term such as 'imperialism' while vitally important for understanding issues such as these, is not necessarily simple. Dictionary definitions often provide a variety of elements that can both help and hinder. The following provides three examples of dictionary definitions of imperialism:

- An imperial rule or system; the policy of acquiring dependent territories and extending a nation's authority by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over other nations (Imperialism 2009)
- A policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means (Imperialism 2015)
- advocacy of imperial or sovereign interests over the interests of the dependent states; the policy of so uniting the separate parts of an empire with separate governments as to secure for certain purposes a single state (Imperialism 2016)

---

Therefore our working definition of imperialism is:

The policy of extending a nation's authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony (domination) over other nations;

The expansion of capitalism and its subsequent appropriation of local economies, including associated resources



The control of one or a number of countries by a dominant nation

Our definition clearly demonstrates both the relevance and impact of imperialism on Australian society, and thus by extension its relevance and impact upon Aboriginal Australian society too: the extension of British political and economic control of land in Australia, and the domination of the political and economic systems (in this case, capitalism) over the existing structures of the local economies. Indeed, imperial history is littered with such examples where a dominant power has completely changed the societal landscapes of the local communities – we just need to look at our modern Western cities and towns compared to how they looked before imperial expansion.

However it is also worth noting that imperialism is defended on a number of levels (some of which have been discussed above), including the justified struggle for human survival, the quest for national security, and the hegemonic assumption of cultural and/or racial superiority.

---

### **THEORISING: IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM**

The study and analysis of imperialism has addressed a number of intertwined areas. Although not recognised for using the term ‘Imperialism’, Karl Marx and Freiderich Engels are often credited with the emergence of modern imperialism ((Brewer 1990). Early theorists, such as John Hobson, Vladimir Lenin, and later Rudolf Hilferding focused on the political and economic aspects and the subsequent creation of social classes (Germain 1955; Wolfe 2003). Hobson also discussed imperialism in relation to nationalism (Hobson 1965).

Edward Said identified the cultural aspects of imperialism and its role in the hegemony and subjugation of primarily native cultural groups (Said 1993). It is important that you understand both the distinctions and the connections between these theories.

The academic discourse on colonialism similarly addresses both economic and cultural factors. Discussion of its origins include its racial connotations (Césaire 1972; Gandhi 1998), and its economic rationale (Loomba 2005), while some suggest we cannot remove its links to the control imperative of imperialism (Torgovnich 1990; Williams & Chrisman 1994).

For the purposes of clarity, I tend to see them as distinct entities

---

Imperialism and colonialism are two closely related concepts that are embedded in Australia’s history. As with imperialism, colonialism has a number of dimensions,

including cultural and economic. Discussions of the two often see them as one and the same where they two terms are used interchangeably. Both involve the control of other land and its people, and both have historically involved the subjugation of local populations. In addition, there is the imposition of the dominant power's societal structures.

However, in discussing the Australian example I always distinguish between the two. In this context, colonialism looks much more closely at the visible impacts and lived experiences of those in Australia, as opposed to the controlling British. Defining colonialism, therefore, looks more at the distinction between coloniser and colonised peoples, and at the methods of control used over the colonised peoples.

---

## COLONIALISM

As with imperialism, defining and understanding colonialism is a crucial part of understanding Australia's history, but also brings a number of aspects when dictionary definitions are examined:

- The policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically (*Imperialism* 2015)
- The policy of acquiring and maintaining colonies
- The control or governing influence of a nation over a dependent country, territory, or people; the system or policy by which a nation maintains or advocates such control or influence. (Dictionary.com *Imperialism* 2009)

---

Our working definition of colonialism sees it as a 'subset' of imperialism. It is the conquest and direct control of other people's land and the system or policy by which a nation maintains or advocates such control or influence.

We can clearly see that control is an important element of colonialism. For us, as Australians, this has meant the almost complete control of this land by the British government, from the moment the First Fleet landed in 1788. The colonisation of this country by the British – historically referred to as 'settlement' – saw control of our society in the hands of the British, until we eventually sought some autonomy with our Federation in 1901. While we have an autonomous system of government system,

constitutionally we still remain part of the British Commonwealth, and our national flag still features the British Union Jack.

In addition, a number of effects of these initial colonial policies and systems are still with us today, with perhaps the most notable example being the concept of 'terra nullius'.

## **Terra Nullius**

During the British colonial expansion era, there were predominantly three ways in which the British 'occupied' new territories:

Direct conflict/war – they would engage in direct combat with the resident occupiers of their new (desired) territory, and the victor would be anointed as the rightful 'owner' of the land. This has been a constant throughout British history, and the structure of modern day England itself was effectively a result of the Norman conquest of England during the Battle of Hastings in 1066.

Cession - in historical terms, this refers to the practice of the British establishing agreements with the inhabitants via treaties. Such a practice was an attempt to abide by both British and international understandings of law and enabled the British to peacefully and legally obtain large tracts of land in exchange for agreed goods, artefacts, or other compensation. Famous examples in British history include the numerous treaties in the United States and Canada, and the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand/Aotearoa

Terra Nullius – the third method of occupation was based on the perception, or assumption, that the new land was unoccupied, or empty. This concept, believed to be derived from Roman law, is a Latin term, translating as 'no man's land' in English, and is probably the most powerful and profound term in Australia's history. Essentially, terra nullius makes the legal assumption that the land is unoccupied, thereby permitting the colonising power to assume ownership and/or sovereignty over it. When James Cook and Joseph Banks landed on the east coast in 1770 and saw no evidence of habitation or civilisation, they imposed this 'right of access' to claim the land on behalf of King George V.

## **Cook's Voyage and Terra Nullius**

As history attests, it was via terra nullius, the third option above, that the British occupied this 'great land of the south'. In a 2005 edition of the Law and History Review

journal, Stuart Banner explains that the intention of Cook's voyage, initiated by the Royal Society in Britain, was to observe the path of Venus across the sun. He was also under government instruction to search for 'Terra Australis', the great south land (thought by many European scientists to exist to counter balance the northern hemisphere).

He was warned not attempt to conquer any new lands, as this would be 'unlawful' according to both British and international law at the time. If he encountered any people living on this land, he was "with the consent of the Natives to take possession of convenient situations in the country in the name of the king of Great Britain", or, if it was found to be uninhabited, to "take possession for His Majesty" (Beaglehole, in Banner 2005). There was a general assumption among those responsible for the management of the British colonies at the time that if a new colony was to be established in an inhabited area, that the land would be purchased from the inhabitants.

History shows us that no land purchase existed in Australia, despite the prior experience of the British in negotiating with both native North Americans and the Maori of New Zealand. So why did Cook fail to conduct any such negotiations here, especially *after* the British had already established treaties with the North American tribes and Cook himself had similar experiences with the Maori?

The answer lies somewhere in the perceptions of Cook, and particularly his Chief Botanist, Joseph Banks, when they first arrived on Australia's east coast.

While Cook and Banks clearly observed and recorded experiences with Aboriginal people here, their perceptions guided the subsequent behaviour of virtually all the 'new settlers'. Both Cook and Banks reported that the new land was very sparsely populated, and while Banks admitted that he had only seen "a small part of the coast, and none of the interior", he suggested that

*...we may have liberty to conjecture that the interior of the continent was 'totally uninhabited', because without a supply of fish the wild produce of the Land seems scarce able to support them*

(Beaglehole, in Banner 2005 p. 99).

It was because of these accounts, and the esteem in which Banks particularly was held, that the prevailing British belief became that Australia was mostly empty. This sparseness of population was a driving force in the decision to claim the new land on

behalf of the King as 'terra nullius'. Ironically, parts of Britain were just as sparsely populated, but all thought it unlawful for strangers to simply 'move in' to what was recognised as someone else's land. Another justification put forward by the British was the claim that the more thin the population density, the cheaper it was to purchase the land – and this was seen as an easier (and cheaper) option than conquest.

Cook and Banks also drew on their earlier experiences to reach these conclusions. Large tracts of land had been observed in North America that were seemingly thinly populated, but the observations of Cook and Banks seemed to indicate that Australia was entirely different – “North America had some empty places, but Australia sounded like an empty continent” (Banner 2005, p. 100). These perceptions, as simple as they are, have had a lasting (and somewhat underestimated) effect on our national history and a devastating effect on Indigenous cultures and peoples.

## **Challenges to terra nullius**

There were, however, some early challenges to the British imposition of terra nullius. As discussed above, such imposition was based on British assumptions about Aboriginal life – that they were low in number, nomadic in lifestyles, and showed no evident claims to land or political structures. These assumptions were challenged as soon as the First Fleet arrived, as the British had clearly misread the population, nature, customs and lifestyles of the Aboriginal people.

---

### **WHAT YOU SEE MAY NOT BE WHAT YOU GET**

The early observations and perceptions of Cook and Banks were soon proven incorrect. There were many more Aborigines than expected, and Banks' assumption that inland areas were uninhabited was “utterly wrong” (Banner 2005 p. 113). In addition, the population was subsequently estimated at between 1 and 1.5 million, spread over the entire continent, which was significantly larger than the original estimates of Cook and Banks. Evidence of territorialism, and even land division, was quite readily observed, as well as a number of customs of inheritance. Indeed, almost all of the assumptions that were drawn from Cook and Banks' initial observations were proven either grossly inadequate or completely wrong.

Additionally, as Henry Reynolds explains in *The Whispering In Our Hearts*, many of the settlers struggled with their own consciences about British 'settlement' and “the morality of colonisation” (Reynolds 1998 p. xiii). This struggle has existed for many settlers from the very beginning, and each successive generation has expressed

concern and sought ways to ameliorate the devastating effects of colonisation on Aboriginal people in Australia.

---

These 'new' realisations of the land and its natives were soon supported by the Aboriginal responses and reactions that were immediate and obvious - no Aboriginal people acquiesced, or simply surrendered, when the British began occupation. It was far from the 'peaceful settlement' upon which much of our historical literature has been based.

## **The Effects of Terra Nullius**

The recent shift in intellectual thinking around the role of colonisation in Australian history (discussed in detail in Chapter 2 as 'postcolonialism') has seen a much greater recognition of this alternative view of our history. Indeed, the effects of this quite simple gesture by Cook and Banks are now being recognised for their true worth. Invoking 'terra nullius' as the basis for British occupation began a chain of events that impacted our society in a number of ways.

At the most fundamental level, it created a legal mechanism for the new 'settlers' to obtain land from the Aboriginal people. All over the country, land was simply taken from the Aboriginal people with minimal attempts to either compensate them or even recognise the damage it was causing. As we now understand, connection to land is an absolutely vital aspect of Aboriginal culture and identity – it is the essence of life. As such, dispossession of lands in the late 1700s began a cycle of cultural destruction that is popularly regarded as the worst of the British colonial era.

Secondly, the imposition of the British political system rendered Aboriginal lore and lifestyles irrelevant. The prevailing attitudes of the settlers that accompanied these systems ensured that any sympathy for the Aboriginal people and their obvious loss was considered outside the norm, and largely irrelevant. As we will also discuss throughout this book, such attitudes have found their way into our 'mainstream' society today, such that 'normal' Australia is white, middle class Australia, with all the lifestyle accessories that this brings. Anything outside of this image is constructed as different, foreign, and at times, 'un-Australian'. These attitudes are considered our 'terra nullius of the mind'.

---

### **TERRA NULLIUS – THE TURNING POINT**

Recent Australian history has seen, for the first time, recognition of the problems of terra nullius. In 1992, the Australian High Court handed down its famous Mabo decision

in response to the claim by Eddie Koiki Mabo for land rights in his native Mer (Murray Island).



**Figure 4: Eddie ‘Koiki’ Mabo**

Following some discussions in the 1970s with historian Henry Reynolds and others at James Cook University (JCU) in Townsville, Mabo came to the realisation that what he thought was his country – Mer – was in fact recognised as Crown land by Australian law. A 1981 conference organised by the student union at JCU saw Mabo and his peers make the momentous decision to challenge the ownership of Mer through the Australian court system (Reynolds 2003). The resultant court procedures saw the notion of Terra Nullius challenged in the Australian High Court, culminating in the landmark Mabo decision of 1992, which recognised Native Title and rejected terra nullius in Australia:

*The common law of this country would perpetuate injustice if it were to continue to embrace the enlarged notion of terra nullius and to persist in characterizing the indigenous inhabitants of the Australian colonies as people too low in the scale of social organization to be acknowledged as possessing rights and interests in land. Moreover, to reject the theory that the Crown acquired absolute beneficial ownership of land is to bring the law into conformity with Australian history*

The High Court's final decision recognised that terra nullius has no legal basis in Australia, and that effectively the British occupation of Australia in 1788 was illegal. It recognised, officially for the first time, that Aboriginal people still have legal rights to their ancestral lands, despite the long-held legal rights that the Australian government had created and upheld since.

For the first time in Australia's history, our Aboriginal history and heritage had been officially included as a part of our nation.

---

The issues above and their results have created the Australia that most of us understand, have lived, and have been taught. It is the story of the 'Settlement' of Australia, and the story that is most often represented in any description of Australian history, culture and identity.

### **The 'Full Story'?**

However, this interpretation fails to consider the broader context within which this history has been created; we weren't just a stop on 'Adventures of Captain James Cook, Explorer Extraordinaire. Our own historical experience of colonisation is just one aspect of the broader expansion by many European powers including the British, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, French and Russians. Stuchtey (2011) suggests that colonisation of the Indigenous peoples of the world was a 400 year expedition, beginning with Christopher Columbus in the Americas in the late 1400s, and peaking with the British expansion of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. This broad expansion, following what is often called the Enlightenment in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, shaped the modern world as we know it.

---

## **THE ENLIGHTENMENT**

The Enlightenment, or Age of Reason, is a philosophical movement that probably began in England and France in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, before spreading to other parts of Europe (despite lacking a clear singular definition, or even a starting point in history).

Driven by the work of a number of notable philosophers and scientists, including Voltaire, Descartes, Copernicus and Sir Isaac Newton, the Enlightenment followed the Renaissance in linking the Middle Ages to the Modern World. Beginning with the scientific work of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, whose theories began to highlight the difference between humans and the physical environment, this Age of Reason challenged the role of religion in human knowledge. For example, Sir Isaac Newton's



Laws of Gravity established that there is a scientific explanation for objects falling to the ground, completely removed from any spiritual or religious intervention. (Love 2008; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a)

Following on from this, philosophers such as Voltaire, Rousseau and Descartes further introduced the world to the role of reason in shaping the way that humans understand the world around them. Such thinking established the view that “just as there are natural laws that govern physical nature and the universe, there is a ‘natural’ way in which human beings function.” (Love 2008 p. 8).

The Enlightenment encouraged people to challenge the dominant system of privilege that had existed for centuries throughout Europe, and to reject their allocated ‘lot’ in life in favour of improving themselves through the development of scientific knowledge. The philosophical work attributed to the Enlightenment ranges from moderate positions of free speech and representative government to radical criticism of the past and its religious assumptions.

---

Our Australian experience was controlled by British colonisation that, while unique in its own right, followed a number of principles of the broader expansion policies of the time and was driven by a number of motivating factors including the capitalist drive for greater resources and profit, overpopulation in Europe, a growing interest in modern scientific inquiry and methods, and prevailing religious and ideological motives.

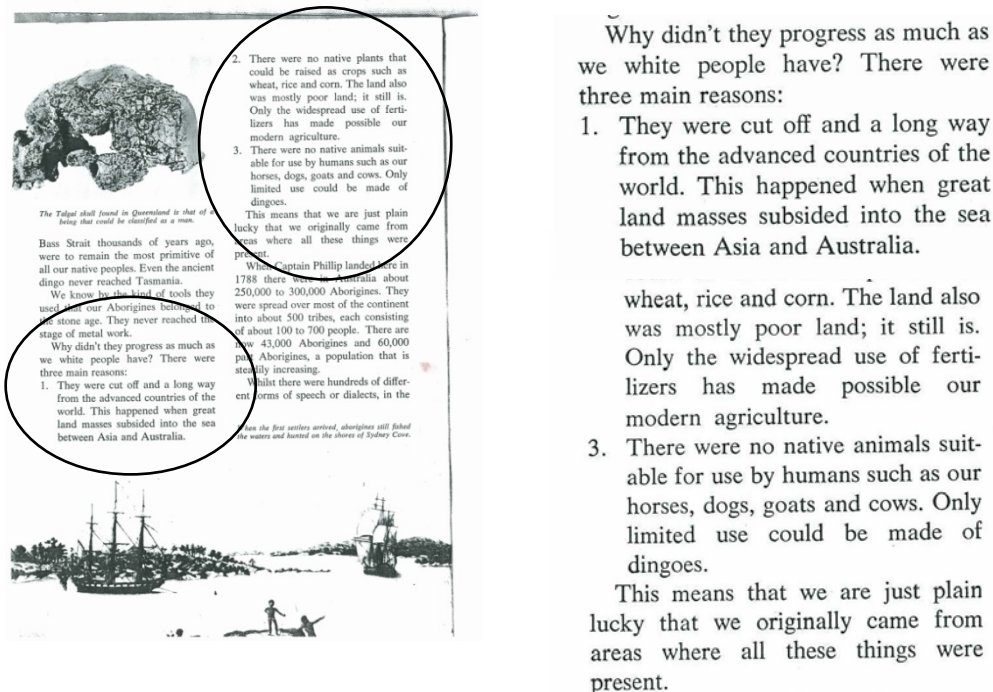
The way we look at the world today as a nation-state is as much a product of this history as it is of our current inhabitants. Our worldviews are shaped by the world in which we currently live and the people in it. We listen to those who came before us, as we understand that our history shapes who we are.

However, our history has been limited to this European-based version of events. As a number of so-called ‘Black Armband’ historians have recently noted, there is an alternative narrative that describes a very different experience of the same historical period.

## **Indigenous Australia**

Before I begin this discussion I would like to open with a caveat that this is not an attempt to lay blame on any section(s) of Australian society, past or present, for the happenings I discuss. Rather, as has been a focus in my classrooms, it is an attempt to highlight an aspect of OUR Australian history that has long been either hidden, covered, ignored or disregarded. My own school education of Australian history was,

for the most part, largely premised on the fundamental principles of the settler-colonial period outlined earlier. Consider this passage from an unknown source from around the 1970s:



**Figure 5:** Aboriginal Studies text, circa 1974 (Source unknown)

Such an excerpt highlights the prevailing attitudes of our controlling institutions from the earliest British arrivals in the 1700s until, in many cases, present day. The use of phrases such as “why didn’t they progress as much as we have?”, and “This means that we are just plain lucky that we originally came from areas where all these things were present” further shows the dominance of this settler-colonial attitude toward Indigenous Australians. It imposes Western/European worldviews and values upon Indigenous people and culture, with an underlying assumption that this worldview is somehow superior – without any genuine understanding of the alternative Indigenous worldviews.

I don’t know the exact origin or source of this extract, but the population estimates in the story suggest that it was written in the late 60s or early 70s – Aboriginal Australians were first counted in the 1971 census, where the population was recorded at 115, 953 in the census for the first time (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004).

Such phrases also exclude and ignore the other Australian history – that of *our* Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. And I emphasise the word ‘our’ here, as I

will shortly discuss the obvious yet almost completely overlooked notion of this native culture being an inherent part of ALL Australians.

---

## EARLY RECOGNITION

Recognition of the importance of Aboriginal culture and history in Australia hasn't always been completely ignored by historians. In her 1976 book *Black and White Australians*, Margaret Franklin cites historian Manning Clark, and highlights the myopic nature of Australian colonial society through the work of anthropologists Catherine and Ronald Berndt and their book *The World of the First Australians*:

*[There are] three reasons why all Australians should have some knowledge of traditional Aboriginal culture. Firstly...we Australians should know what we are supplanting. This is important in terms of creating not only a national conscience, but also a national consciousness. Secondly, the impact with Aboriginal art, poetry, and some oral literature could have on our own has not yet been felt, despite most of the attempts which have been made to translate, or rather transform them. And thirdly, it should be a permanent reminder to us that European Australian life is only one variety of Australian life, even though it is fast becoming the only one. There are other ways of doing and seeing and thinking about things.*

(Clark, in Franklin 1976 p. 9)

---

## 'Pre-Contact' Australia

Prior to the arrivals of the first Europeans to (what we now call) Australia's shores, Indigenous peoples occupied every corner of the continent. A number of the quantifiable aspects of this occupation are the subject of speculation. For example, population estimates vary from around 300,000 to over 1 million (Bourke 1998). The time of occupation prior to Cook's landing is also speculated, with estimates anywhere from 40,000 years (according to most archaeological evidence) to over 60,000 years (other Western evidence) (Broome 2010; Franklin 1976) although traditional Aboriginal accounts indicate that we have always been here (Bourke 1998). In any view, the Aboriginal peoples and culture of Australia stand as the greatest example of resilience, resourcefulness and sustainability we have in the world today. No other existing culture can lay claim to such a long history in the one location.

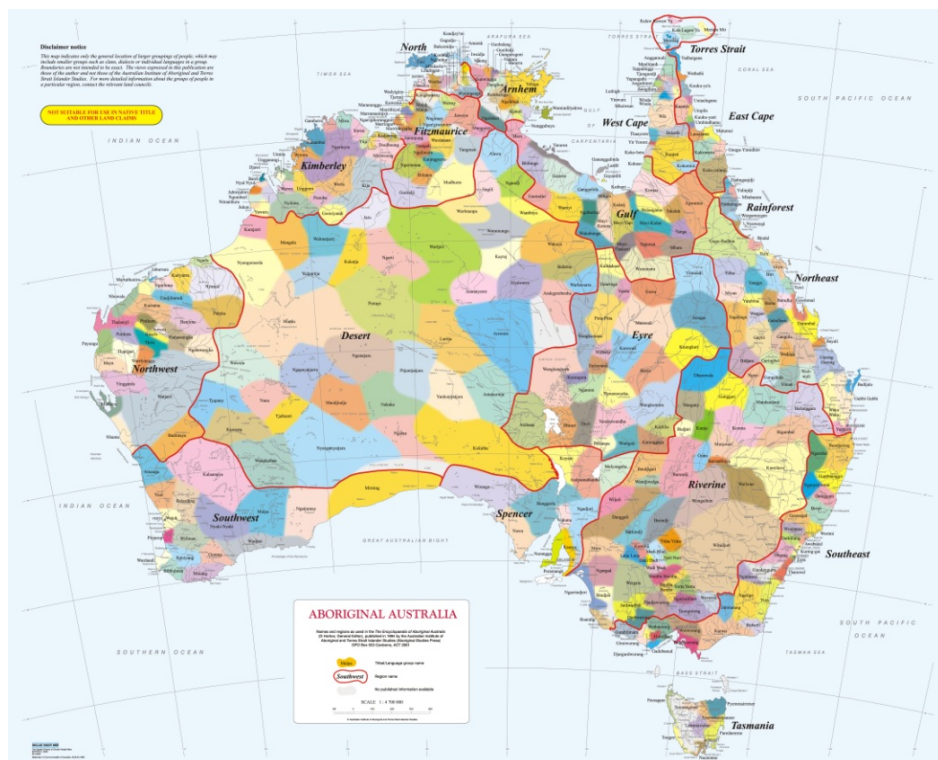
---

## FIRST ENCOUNTERS

The first known (and generally recognised) encounters with Europeans occurred in the sixteenth century with the Portuguese in the 1520s (McIntyre 1977), although this is disputed (Duncan 1977) and the honour of ‘discovering’ Australia is usually bestowed upon Dutch explorers (including William Jansz, who found the north of the continent harsh and forbidding), and Abel Tasman, who charted much of the north west, and after whom Tasmania is named) in the 1600s (Franklin 1976). There is evidence of the trading of trepan (sea slugs) and other items between the Dutch and Aboriginal groups in the north of the country.

---

The Indigenous peoples of Australia consisted of somewhere between 500 and 700 distinct language/tribal clans and groups (Tindale & George 1979). The geographic positions of each group dictated specific languages and dialects and ways of life, with groups in close proximity often sharing many dialects, customs and traditions (Tindale & George 1979). The introduction of cartography to Australia in the 1700s meant that mapping of Indigenous clans and groups became an inevitability, and in 1994 the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS n.d.-a) produced the map below showing the pictorial representation of where these groups may have lived prior to European occupation.



**Figure 6:** Aboriginal Australia Map (AIATSIS n.d.-a)

The Aboriginal way of life was quite clearly extremely different – almost completely opposite – to the European way of life that had emerged in the previous centuries. Utilising the fundamental beliefs of spirit, land and people, the Aboriginal peoples felt deeply connected to the land in a way that was (and continues to be) unknown, unfamiliar and quite exotic to the European arrivals. This connection was inherently bound in stories of Dreaming and Creation, and served as the basis for all things concerning life, including systems of belief, laws, customs, and behaviours “in accordance with the power, wisdom and intentions of our ancestral beings” (Aboriginalart.com.au n.d.).

The Aboriginal peoples were living (or perceived to be living) the existence of nomadic, hunter-gatherers – the ‘noble savage’ (see below). They were seen to conduct a primary economy, producing their own goods and utilising the available natural resources for their own consumption, a simple, nomadic lifestyle underlined by the hunter-gatherer regime (Foley 2010). Such perceptions were encapsulated in European observations such as the following extract from Captain James Cook’s journal:

*From what I have seen of the Natives of New-Holland they may appear to some to be the most wretched people upon the earth: but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans; being wholly unacquainted not only with the superfluous but the necessary Conveniences so much sought after in Europe, they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a Tranquillity - which is not disturbed by the Inequality of Condition: The Earth and sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for life;...*

Journal of Captain James Cook, 1770 – (in Woolmington 1988)

---

## **THE ‘NOBLE SAVAGE’**

The term ‘noble savage’ emerged in British literature in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, is often credited to French philosopher Jean- Jaques Rousseau (although there is doubt as to his use of the term) and appeared in the works of John Dryden and Charles Dickens, among others.

The phrase itself is generally used to refer to a member of an indigenous or non-European cultural or racial group who appears to understand and/or embrace European lifestyles and values. It was originally intended to describe the indigene/other as primitive and outside ‘civilisation’, but showing some familiar characteristics to the

Europeans, such as generosity, law and order, and 'nobility'. Over time, the phrase was used by the English in particular to describe the native inhabitants they encountered during colonial expansion – particularly in Australia. The term is now seen as a derogatory attempt to describe Aboriginal acceptance of (and perhaps assimilation to) British 'civilisation' and 'settlement' (from Attwood 1992; Ellingson 2001; and Woolmington 1988).

---

However, there was far more to the Aboriginal existence before the Europeans than was identified or understood. The European perception of a simple, nomadic lifestyle did not tell the true story of the people. Indigenous clans and groups were carefully organised, highly sophisticated, and extremely purposeful. In reality, hunting-gathering (evidence of the primary economy) was but one aspect of Aboriginal economies. Roaming traditional lands for food was deliberate and seasonal, and followed established patterns of knowledge of the flora and fauna, weather, and landscapes, as well as a degree of agricultural development (Foley 2010; Nicholson 2007). Specific roles were allocated to members of the group and each group member was well aware of their responsibilities and expectations. In addition, trade with external groups was evident among many groups throughout Australia. These examples provide clear evidence of 'traditional' Aboriginal communities engaging in trade and what we know as a 'surplus economy' that has long been assumed as being introduced here by the Europeans.

---

### **SURPLUS ECONOMY AND TRADE**

Despite the long-held perception of Aboriginal people as nomadic and primitive, there are numerous examples of surplus economies in pre-contact times, whereby surplus supplies of food and resources (for example, fish, meat, plants, tools & implements, depending on the particular 'strength' of the group, or abundance of supplies in/on their land) were exchanged for perceived needs of the group. Such trade was deliberate and purposeful with specific groups, and occurred in areas such as Western Victoria (the Gunditjmara people), New South Wales (the Gai-mariagal people), and Arnhem Land (the Yolngu). Such practices clearly indicate the elements of an exchange economy, which was/is considered advanced in European societies, and was certainly contradictory to the majority of written accounts from the Europeans of the time. Chapter 9 expands on this concept.

---

It became clear that the original understandings of Aboriginal life were misinformed and inaccurate, and as Stuart MacIntyre states, our "history of colonisation yielded to a

realisation of invasion” (MacIntyre 2009 p. 3). These misunderstandings and the realisations that followed are explored further in Chapter 4.

## **The Dreaming**

The concept of Dreaming is a complex yet vitally important feature of Aboriginal people and culture, and one that is extremely difficult to understand under our dominant Western structures of knowledge and understanding. To attempt to phrase it in terms of Western understanding, it is the foundation of Aboriginal education, religion, laws and behaviour. As Lynne Hume describes in her book, *Ancestral Power*, the Dreaming is “the central feature of Aboriginal cosmology and epistemology that is reiterated throughout the vast continent of Australia, in spite of regional variations” , and provides the inherent link between human beings, the land, and everything that inhabits it (Hume 2002 p. 24).

For Aboriginal people, the Dreaming has no temporal dimensions – that is, it permeates our everyday lives, affecting everything we see and do, but cannot be fixed in a certain point in history. Some people often question the use of the word Dreaming, when for many years the term Dreamtime was often used. The answer lies in this lack of temporal or time dimensions. The renowned anthropologist and writer W.E.H. Stanner,, in his essay collection *White Man Got No Dreaming* (1979), referred to this phenomenon as ‘everywhen’ to emphasise and describe such timelessness. Dreaming stories of creation often involve spirits assuming physical forms in order to teach, create, and/or guide the people. However, specific Dreaming stories relate to specific groups and clans – there is no single Dreaming story, for example, about the creation of Australia. Rather, individual creatures, and physical landscapes and features will have their own Dreaming stories that guide the local people – for example, rivers (eg. the Yarra River in Melbourne), mountains (Mt. Riddell near Healesville), and the kangaroo or the koala.

## **Aboriginal customs and traditions**

When the Europeans first arrived, Aboriginal groups had very strict and clear rules governing behaviour, including rights and responsibilities to land (what we today refer to as ownership), hunting, roaming/walking, marriage and ceremonies, and were guided by spiritual, cultural and economic responsibilities. For example, travel and movement was based on such things as Elders’ leadership decisions, kinship, seasonal availability of resources, ceremonial obligations and defined routes of trade. Crossing borders was prohibited without invitation or permission from the neighbouring

clan, with such permission being granted by way of (generally) a number of ceremonial steps (which in some cases could take days), and more often than not stemming from a mutually beneficial relationship.

Trade between clans during the pre-colonial period was generally ceremonial rather than commercial and the routes of trade developed enabled the creation of the subsequent travel 'tracks' that have, via archaeological evidence, formed the basis of our contemporary understandings of travel prior to European arrival. These tracks are often referred to today as 'songlines' – the paths that criss-crossed the land, covering hundreds of kilometres in many cases, and simultaneously created, held, and were formed by, the many traditional Dreaming stories that underpinned the existence of Indigenous peoples. These songlines also represented the level of knowledge of the relevant clans and groups – the further away from home along the track one travelled, the less they knew about the land, its beliefs, and its inherent Dreaming.

Travel was also dictated by factors such as climate and topography, availability of food sources, and social reasons, including arranging marriages. The intermarriage between neighbouring clans would ultimately lead to many Indigenous people subsequently needing to travel, sometimes over vast distances, to visit and reconnect with family (see for example Lowe 2002; Nicholson 2007; Reed 2009).

## **Aboriginal culture today**

Such practices formed a vital part of pre-contact Aboriginal culture, and elements of these practices still form vital parts of contemporary Aboriginal culture. Connections to family and community are an important part of all Aboriginal societies, and the songlines remain vital for maintaining both culture and connections to many groups in rural and remote areas. Much of the 'resurgence' in Aboriginal knowledges (introduced in Chapter 3) draws upon this, both to enhance contemporary culture and restore some of these important cultural aspects. Chapter 9 also looks at some of these aspects in further detail.

## **The Australia we know today**

The 'settlement' of Australia progressed at a rapid rate, enabling the country to establish itself on the world stage as a vibrant, young nation. The critical events outlined above helped to shape and build the fabric of the nation as we engaged more and more on the world stage in a number of areas including business, entertainment and sport.



Along the way, there have been various discussions about what it means to be 'Australian'. Our national identity has been a long, ongoing discussion that can be both uniting and divisive. In the face of continuing and increasing multiculturalism it is also important that we continue this discussion. To this point, our identity has been based upon a number of (in some cases) diverse characteristics that are seen as reflective of both who we are, and who we want to be as a nation. Such things include mateship, the ANZAC spirit, the beach, and the bush. Chapter 2 will look at these aspects in more detail.

There is no doubt, however, that along with the rest of the Western world – often labelled 'civilisation' – we have developed and changed since the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788. In fact, a quick look back at our recent history shows us just how much our society changes as technology impacts our lives.

	1975	1995	2015
Population	13.7 million	18.1 million	Almost 24 million
Cost of 1l of milk	\$0.30	\$1.14	\$1.89
Cost of bread	\$0.24	\$1.85	\$2.84
Average wage	\$7,618.00	\$27,092.00	\$72,000.00
Prime Minister	Gough Whitlam /Malcolm Fraser	Paul Keating	Tony Abbot/ Malcolm Turnbull

**Sources:** AMR/ARIA Top 100 Singles - <http://top100singles.blogspot.com.au/2011/07/amr-top-singles-of-1975.html#show>

State Library - <http://guides.slv.vic.gov.au/c.php?g=245232&p=1633085>

McCrinkle Research -

[http://www.mccrinkle.com.au/blog/2015/02/40YearsofChange\\_MediaRelease\\_McCrinkle.pdf](http://www.mccrinkle.com.au/blog/2015/02/40YearsofChange_MediaRelease_McCrinkle.pdf)

ABS - Yearbook Australia, 1995 1301.0 -

<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1301.01995?OpenDocument>

In fact, it wasn't until the mid-1990s that the internet came to Australia. Imagine that, no Google, no Wikipedia...no Facebook!! We can clearly see the influence that technology, as a by-product of the European (Western) colonisation of much of the rest of the world, has had.

## Conclusion

The result is the nation we currently call home. To many Australians, it is simply that – home. But in order to understand ourselves in the modern world, I challenge you all to look at this history and locate us in a more accurate way in the contemporary world. We have a very rich history that our own history books have relegated to the category

of 'Irrelevant' but one which, when examined, clearly explains to us who we are as a nation. This contemporary world – the one we will examine in the next chapter as Postcolonial Australia, is the one we see around us, but we don't know enough about. Beginning to understand this may help us to better understand ourselves.

## Discussion Questions

1. What is your view on Australia's 'History Wars'? Is the study of Australian history a study of an invasion, or settlement? Could it be both?
2. Why was the Australian experience of British colonisation different to those in New Zealand, Canada, or the United States?
3. Define colonialism and imperialism. How have each impacted upon Australian history?
4. What was the effect of 'terra nullius' in Australia?
5. Describe the way of life for Aboriginal people before the British arrived. Which aspects draw your interest the most?
6. Construct a timeline of important events in Australian history. Explain when you began, and why.

## Other Resources

These resources have been provided for you to investigate further the issues raised in this chapter. You are encouraged to examine a wide range of views on these issues.

### Books and Articles

Basset, J. (1994), *The concise Oxford dictionary of Australian history*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press

Bourke, C., E. Bourke and B. Edwards, Eds. (1998). *Aboriginal Australia: An introductory reader in Aboriginal Studies*. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Broome, R. (2010). *Aboriginal Australians: A history since 1788*. Crows Nest, Allen & Unwin.

Love, R. S. (2008). *The Enlightenment*. Santa Monica, Greenwood Publishing Group (available as an eBook)

Willis, R., G. Pryor, J. Close and J. Castle (1982). *Issues in Australian History*. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire

### Online

Australian Government - History - <http://www.australia.gov.au/information-and-services/culture-and-arts/history>

Australian history as depicted on the federal government's website

Australia's History - <http://www.australia.com/en/facts/history.html>

Version of history from the Australian Tourism website

Koorie Heritage Trust - <http://www.koorieheritagetrust.com/>

A Melbourne organisation that promotes, supports and celebrates the continuing journey of the Aboriginal people of South Eastern Australia

McKenna, M. (1997). Different Perspectives on Black Armband History. Research Paper 5 1997-98, Parliamentary Library. Canberra, Parliament of Australia. – available at [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/RP9798/98RP05](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/RP9798/98RP05)

The Australian Independent Media Network - <http://theaimn.com/was-australia-invaded-or-settled/>

Online platform for citizen journalists and bloggers to write and engage in an independent media environment.

The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Islander Studies - <http://aiatsis.gov.au/>

Australia's world-renowned research, collections and publishing organisation, promoting knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island cultures, traditions, languages and stories, past and present.

Australian Bureau of Statistics Yearbook Australia, 1995 1301.0 - <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1301.01995?OpenDocument>

Dawe, G., Top 100 Singles from AMR/ARIA charts - <http://top100singles.blogspot.com.au/2011/07/amr-top-singles-of-1975.html%20-%20show>

State Library of Victoria - <http://guides.slv.vic.gov.au/c.php?g=245232&p=1633085>

McCrimble Research - [http://www.mccrimble.com.au/blog/2015/02/40YearsofChange\\_MediaRelease\\_McCrimble.pdf](http://www.mccrimble.com.au/blog/2015/02/40YearsofChange_MediaRelease_McCrimble.pdf)

State Library of Victoria Research Guides – 'What it used to cost' - <http://guides.slv.vic.gov.au/c.php?g=245232&p=1633085>

## **CHAPTER 2 – POSTCOLONIAL AUSTRALIA**

### **Introduction**

In Chapter 1 we examined the Indigenous and non-Indigenous histories of Australia, explaining their distinctions (which have often been discussed in Australian history), but also their similarities and interactions. This interactivity - where the history of one impacts, and is impacted by, the other – is labelled ‘entangled histories’. It is this relationship between the two that is the underlying narrative of this book. The way that Indigenous and non-Indigenous histories collide, inform, engage and exist in Australia forms the basis of our very society today. Examining this relationship is therefore crucial to understanding ourselves as a nation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **National identity: what is ‘Australia’ today?**

We don’t often examine ourselves in the context of a nation. Many of our characteristics are generally understood to be unique to us, but a closer examination shows that we share a lot of these characteristics with some of our neighbours and allies. So what does it really mean to be ‘Australian’ in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

This chapter will examine the notion of Australian national identity and the role of British imperialism in shaping the lives of us as citizens, particularly Aboriginal Australians. We will look at the theory of postcolonialism and discuss Postcolonial Australia. We will also look at the ways that Aboriginal Australians have emerged in contemporary society as strong, proud cultural groups and how Aboriginal culture has not only survived imperialism but has thrived and continues to exist all around us.

### **Australian Identity**

Our national identity is a very important concept in terms of understanding who we are, but also one that receives comparatively little attention in our education system. Terms such as ‘nationhood’ are often used to try to understand who we are as a country, a nation. In the Australian context, our national identity is often touched upon with a great sense of pride, but it also evokes a sense of confusion. For many people, the Australian identity is bound in ideals of mateship, of ‘having a crack’ and giving everyone a ‘fair go’. ‘Aussie’ activities such as a ‘barbie’ with your mates and family, a swim or surf at the beach or going to the footy have all been put forward as typical parts of Australian life. However, our collective identity is not something that we’ve

been able to accurately describe. Even now, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we are unable to explain our identity in any clear, concise manner. Highlighting these inabilities is not intended as a criticism, but rather it highlights the complex nature of national identity and the ongoing lack of investigation that it attracts.

---

## HOW DO WE SEE OURSELVES?

Ask your friends and family what it means to be Australian. Chances are one of the following will appear in their answer. Our national identity is forged on the back of a set of collective ideals that have long been considered essential parts of 'Australia'.

Consider this list, obtained from the 'Australian Identity' section of the Australian Government website (Australia.gov.au n.d.)

- ANZAC Day
- Australia at a glance
- The beach
- The bush
- Changing face of early Australia
- Changing face of modern Australia – 1900s to 1940s
- Changing face of modern Australia – 1950s to 1970s
- Chinatowns across Australia
- Comedy
- Eucalypts
- Folklore
- Food and drink
- Holden car
- Humour
- The Lucky Country
- Mateship, diggers and wartime
- Melbourne Cup
- National dress
- Ned Kelly
- The outback – Australian desert
- Royal Flying Doctor Service of Australia
- Sacred places – Australian battlefield pilgrimages

Would you consider all of these elements to be vital to our national identity?

---

In attempting to define our own identity a number of factors are often considered, but invariably the ANZAC story and the spirit of mateship that evolved from it are central to how we see ourselves. In addition, physical aspects such as the beach and the bush are seen as core elements. A deeper examination allows us to try and create what we see as the concept of 'Australianness' today. And while such examination may appear on the surface to be an accurate reflection of who we are, there is something missing.

We are still striving to find an answer to the deceptively complex question of national identity. We are justifiably proud of our history, and equally as hopeful of our future as a nation. We roundly celebrate international successes, and are quick to help our neighbours when they are in trouble. We are staunch in our support of allies, and ready

to defend ourselves if necessary. Our collective national traits are strikingly similar to our individual traits – those we like to promote as the characteristics of the ‘real Aussie’.

We are like many of our ‘cousins’ such as New Zealand, the US, Canada and of course, Britain. Yet we are unique enough that we readily separate ourselves from all of them when questioned, challenged, or in opposition (think of the Olympics, or the cricket!)

---

### **THE TRAVELLING AUSSIE AND OUR FAMOUS ‘ACCENT’**

Although we are well aware of our colonial history and are justifiably proud of it, we still see ourselves as uniquely different. Have you ever travelled overseas (particularly North America) and been asked if you’re a Kiwi? Do I sound like a Kiwi?? Of course, to us, the New Zealand accent is almost like a foreign language. But to the Americans (and some Canadians) we ‘all sound the same’! But as we know, WE don’t have an accent – it’s everyone else that has the accent. Have you ever thought, though; why do we have a unique Australian accent? We share an almost identical colonial history with our neighbours in New Zealand (through the travels of Captain James Cook), so why do we have distinct accents from our Kiwi neighbours? Without being a trained linguist myself, I often wonder if there is any connection to Indigenous languages in Australia. Could this be the reason we have the classic Aussie twang?

---

Our uniqueness of character is a source of collective national pride. We stand firm in our strong belief that we live in the Lucky Country. But do we ever really think about why we are unique and different, particularly in comparison to our aforementioned ‘cousins’, all former British colonies?

We are undoubtedly a very unique society. We have physical landscapes unlike most other parts of the world. Our diversity is virtually unparalleled in other countries, both in terms of our land and our people. We have brought together a number of diverse and disparate aspects of life and created a proud, vibrant and resilient nation who can survive and respond to any challenge thrown our way, and come out smiling and stronger than ever.

---

### **THE ‘ABORIGINAL’ ASPECTS OF OUR NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Let’s have a slightly different and deeper look at four aspects from our government’s list on Australian identity – and see how they each may have an Aboriginal influence:

- [The beach](#) –an integral part of Australia, and often touted as one of the prime characteristics of Australian identity. But why do so many of us go to the beach to

get a tan? Is it to look more like our Aboriginal brothers and less like our English ones?!

- Folklore - the telling and retelling of stories, legends, beliefs and customs from generation to generation is recognised as an important part of creating and maintaining national culture and history. In Australia, our folklore includes such tales as those of bushrangers (Ned Kelly), gold diggers, drovers and cattlemen (Clancy of the Overflow), and Digger and soldier stories (ANZACs). Yet the essence of Aboriginal culture is based firmly on exactly this – story telling. Think of the Aboriginal concept of Dreaming & creation stories
  - Mateship, according to [www.Australia.gov.au](http://www.Australia.gov.au), ‘Mateship’ is a concept that can be traced back to early colonial times. The harsh environment in which convicts and new settlers found themselves meant that men and women closely relied on each other for all sorts of help. In Australia, a ‘mate’ is more than just a friend. It’s a term that implies a sense of shared experience, mutual respect and unconditional assistance. ‘Mateship’, and helping each other in difficult times and circumstances has been part of Aboriginal Australian culture for as long as time has existed here.
  - National dress - although we don’t have one iconic item, we tend to be known for bush wear and swim wear. In both cases, the style of dress reflects both comfort and protection – aspects that traditional Aboriginal items of clothing had done for thousands of years. The lap-lap, for example, is considered a standard form of ‘dress’ for pre-contact cultures – how different is this concept to a pair of Speedos?
- 

We do, and we should, see ourselves in a largely positive way. But in all of these superficial analyses, there is something we don’t see. If we look closely, we will see a number of influences on what we might consider to be Australian culture or identity, including aspects that can be directly related to Aboriginal culture. Yet even when we do this the question still remains a difficult one to answer- what is Australian identity?

---

### **WHAT DO YOU THINK?**

The question of our national identity is not a simple one and nor should it be – it’s a national question. Our identity as a reflection of who we are will have different meanings to different people – and we are all different. To me, the question still remains unanswered. I don’t really know the answer myself – I often remark to students that if I knew the answer to that I’d probably have a much more important job than lecturing, in a much bigger office, with a much bigger pay packet! But I do feel strongly about what our identity should be – or at least what should be essential elements of it. I struggle to reconcile how our immigration laws can compel people to ‘act like



Australians', when we're not really clear what that means ourselves. What do you think?

---

## **British Colonialism – how did we get here?**

Chapter 1 introduced the concepts of colonialism and imperialism and their role in Australia's history. As outlined in the introduction to the book, as a nation we often forget that this history has shaped who we are today and how we see both ourselves and the world around us. The way we collectively react to such contemporary issues as immigration and refugees highlights this forgetfulness. Let's now look at how this colonialism has shaped our societal attitudes and beliefs and in particular, our collective worldviews.

British colonialism created the blueprint for what we know as contemporary Australia. As part of the imperial project to create a more unified view of the world, colonialism provided authorities with methods of understanding and thus controlling the new lands. In Australia, this manifested in a number of ways, including the two key areas of mapping and labelling.

### **Mapping**

Mapping new lands was a way for colonial powers - colonisers – to understand the new, unfamiliar territory they now occupied, and to attach their own meanings to it. Maps allow their creators (cartographers) to shape the way we see things. As Smithsonian Museum curator Lucy Fellowes explains, each “map is someone's way of getting you to look at the world his or her way” (Henrikson 1999 p. 104). British colonists saw the land as an almost unending opportunity of expansion, including our surrounding oceans. As such, understanding these new fields of opportunity was vital to the success of colonisation. Mapmaking became the way that the settler-colonists could control the 'uncontrollable' land, and went a long way to forging the reputation of the frontier colonial explorers who 'tamed the wild bush' and became part of the folklore of Australia discussed above.

---

## **THE MAPPING OF AUSTRALIA**

The role of the mapping of the continent is a vital part of our story of colonisation, yet one that receives relatively little attention. Maps tell a story, but importantly provide us with the knowledge of an area that shape public policy. They allow us – in the Western sense – to understand the world around us, and thus how we perceive it. 'Mapmakers', known as cartographers, aspire for objectivity when creating maps, and as viewers, we

assume that maps are objective; however, objectivity in mapmaking is “an impossible ideal” (Henrikson 1999 p. 110). Cartography is both a science and an art, and the map, like the world itself, is both an object (what we see) and an idea (what we perceive). As such, we should always remember that when we look at a map of Australia, we are looking at a subjective, Eurocentric perception of the land.

Early mapping of Australia focused on our coastlines, and people such as Abel Tasman, Luis Vaz de Torres, and Matthew Flinders (the first European to circumnavigate the country) are responsible for many of our modern maps. Think about your knowledge of other names such as Burke and Wills, Blaxland, Wentworth & Lawson, and Flinders and Bass. Each of these names is etched into Australian folklore for the ‘brave exploring’ of the harsh new continent. And the legacy of each is our ability to today look at maps that chart each of their journeys, and in many cases, modern day place names. The state of Tasmania; the Torres Strait and its islands north of Queensland; Bass Strait between Tasmania and Victoria; all of these landmarks were named after the explorers mentioned above. And because of this, our understanding of our landscape is heavily influenced by their European heritage and perceptions.

---

This mapping, however, is an example of the ‘colonial lens’ through which we often view Australia exclusively. Each of our famed explorers is credited with being the ‘first’ to either see, or travel, different parts of the country, and such credit is immortalised in many of our history texts. However, the reality is that the land they had ‘discovered’ and mapped was not only known to the Aboriginal people, but familiar to a level unknown to the colonists. Mapping the continent provided new knowledge to the colonisers, but began a devastating path of damage to Aboriginal land and cultures. As Bain Attwood suggests, the declaration of terra nullius was the starting point for the “invaders” attempting to “make sense of this space by naming and mapping, thus transforming it into ‘their’ place” (Attwood 1992 p. v).

## **Labelling**

The mapping of Australia also included the subsequent labelling of the various new areas discovered and involved assigning English names to the various lands, landmarks, features and people they saw. Applying these English labels further allowed the colonisers to appropriate the ownership, use and functions of all of these ‘new’ areas they had ‘discovered’, and everything these lands held – including the inhabitants. By labelling all they saw with words they could understand, the colonisers

gave themselves permission to create their own knowledge of them, understand them and control them.

In terms of the physical landscape, the creation of our cities and towns and the associated infrastructure necessitated names and titles for them. Most of our major cities, for example, were given names to honour the British Crown or British Parliament – for example:

- Melbourne – named after William Lamb, known as Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister of England from 1835 - 1841
- Sydney – Thomas Townshend, Lord Sydney, the British Home Secretary from 1782 – 1789
- Brisbane – Sir Thomas Makdougall Brisbane, noted astronomer and Governor of New South Wales from 1821 - 1825
- Adelaide - Adelheid Amalie Luise Theresa Carolin of Saxe-Meiningen, wife of King William IV of England (1830 – 1837)
- Hobart – Lord Robert Hobart, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies from 1801 - 1804
- Perth – named after Perth, Scotland, the birthplace of British Secretary of State for War and the Colonies from 1828 - 1830
- Darwin – Charles Darwin, naturalist and founder of the modern theory of evolution

It is rather ironic, then, that our national capital, Canberra, is our only capital that is named after an Aboriginal word rather than a British public figure. The name Canberra is derived from the local Ngunnawal word for the area, 'Kamerry', although it is often claimed that it means 'meeting place' in local language.

In addition to these names, a number of other labels were used to try to make sense of the new land, and in particular, the Aboriginal inhabitants they found. Indeed, the word 'Aboriginal' was one of the first examples (see Introduction). It quickly became evident to the settlers that much of the lifestyles of the Aboriginal people were completely foreign to them. Rather than attempt to learn the language (and indeed this would have been extremely difficult due to the diversity and abundance of native languages), the colonisers used familiar words and phrases to create their own knowledge of them. As we will discuss further in Chapters 4 and 5, this created a cultural divide or 'gap' between the colonisers and the Aboriginal people, one that arguably still exists today.

---

## THE 'ANGLICISATION' OF MELBOURNE

As with all parts of Australia, Melbourne and the surrounding areas were shaped by the 'Anglicising' labels of colonisation. We view our city as one of Australia's (if not the world's) best and most 'liveable', but we rarely look at our city through anything other than our colonial lens. Consider the Aboriginal history of some of our landmarks and places:

- Yarra River: the river itself is known as Birrarung in Woiwurrung language – Yarra Yarra actually means flowing water;
- MCG/Yarra Park; the location of the MCG in what we call Yarra Park is an area where the five groups of the Kulin nation would often meet for ceremonial purposes and celebrations. And just think that every year on both the last Saturday in September (AFL Grand Final) and on Boxing Day (Test Match cricket) we again have thousands of people meeting here to celebrate – just like the Kulin people did for thousands of years
- Tullamarine – the home of our international airport is named after an Aboriginal warrior from the region
- Toorak – Woiwurrung word that translates as swamp or swampland
- Warragul – wild dog
- Geelong – tongue; to speak
- Warrandyte – flaming spear
- Mooroolbark – red earth

The list goes on – think about the history of the area where you live and work – it may very well have an Aboriginal name and it will almost certainly have some Aboriginal history.

---

Many of the words and phrases used to describe Aboriginal people are rooted in discourses of race and racism. Others became popular in use because they allowed an easier way to understand Aboriginal people. Such words and phrases include half-caste/half-breed, black, blackfella and walkabout. Each of them conjure up what have become stereotypical images of Aboriginal Australians and each of them has endured to perpetuate many of these images.

Other labels, however, were less obvious in their discrimination, but had equal effects. Some of these labels were affixed to official government policies about Aboriginal Australians and as such had a direct effect of their lives. From very early on in the Australian colonial project, governments were forced to address the effects of colonisation on the Aboriginal inhabitants. Beginning with the colonial governments of

the states, and moving into our Federation in 1901 and beyond, each of the broad policies attempted to allow the expansion of colonisation to proceed and to ameliorate the negative effects on the Aboriginal people. The primary motivation, however, is still a source of great debate in discussions of Aboriginal culture and history in Australia. There have been four major cultural policies that shape government decisions about Aboriginal people; Protection, Assimilation, Integration, and Multiculturalism (see Chapter 4). Progressively, each one has seen a growing awareness and understanding of not just Aboriginal culture, but also migrant cultures in Australia.

However, the early policies of Protection and Assimilation have left lasting legacies on our societies. One of their associated labels - 'half-caste' – has forever changed the relationship between Aboriginal people and colonisers in this country through the associated development of missions and reserves. Chapter 4 takes a detailed look at the role of these government policies in shaping not only how we have understood Aboriginal people, but how we have treated Aboriginal people and culture. Policies of protection and assimilation, creation of missions and reserves, and the associated racialising assumptions of Aboriginal people have had a lasting effect on our history.

## **Early encounters and responses**

The missions and reserves in Australia have shaped the face of Aboriginal communities we see today. Beyond the struggles and sadness they carried through their implementation of the ideals of racist assimilation at the time, they also provided a source of strength and pride. And with this strength and pride came a growing ability and willingness of Aboriginal people to actively resist colonisation in its various forms. The missions and reserves introduced a number of social issues to Australian society and showed many white Australians the value of Aboriginal culture. In addition, a number of Aboriginal people began to see the cultural strength and pride that had emerged and used this to stand up for their rights. This resistance, discussed below and further in Chapter 8, forms part of what I call 'Postcolonial Australia'.

The number of examples of this resistance throughout our history are too numerous to discuss fully here (see the 'Creative Spirits' website for some more) so we'll just look at a quick snapshot of a few key examples.

### **1938 National Day of Mourning**

One of the first key moments in Aboriginal 'postcolonial' history occurred on January 26, 1938. A group of prominent Aboriginal leaders, including Jack Patten, Sir Doug

Nicholls and William Cooper, attended an 'Aborigines Conference' to protest the 'celebration' of Australia's sesquicentenary (150 years since the arrival of the First Fleet). The protest highlighted the poor treatment of Aboriginal people during this time with the following resolution:

*We, representing the Aborigines of Australia, assembled in conference at the Australian Hall, Sydney, on the 26th day of January, 1938, this being the 150th Anniversary of the Whiteman's seizure of our country, hereby make protest against the callous treatment of our people by the whiteman during the past 150 years, and we appeal to the Australian nation of today to make new laws for the education and care of Aborigines, we ask for a new policy which will raise our people to full citizen status and equality within the community.*

Source: (AIATSIS n.d.-b)

This was the first time that such issues had been raised on a national level, and through the work of William Cooper led to the establishment of the first Aboriginal political organisation, The Aborigines Advancement League, the forerunner to a number of similar organisations, and what we now know as NAIDOC Week.

### **Segregation and the Freedom Rides**

Although acknowledged, Aboriginal people have continually found themselves excluded in many areas of Australian society. Education policies in the 1800s established separate schools for Aboriginal children as early as 1814, and as late as 1902 the NSW education system had an 'exclusion on demand' policy which, supported by the then Minister of Education John Perry, allowed schools to remove Aboriginal children purely upon request by non-Aboriginal parents (Aboriginal Schools 1876-c.1979 2003).

Segregation was not limited to education. In many regional areas of Australia, Aboriginal people were living in substandard conditions and endured relatively poor standards of health and housing, and were excluded from areas such as sport and employment. Such conditions were largely ignored by the majority of the population in urban areas; primarily as such issues rarely gained any public attention. This changed in February 1965 when a group of students from the University of Sydney who had formed a group called Student Action for Aborigines (SAFA) organised a bus tour of rural NSW towns including Walgett, Kempsey, Bowraville and Moree. The group, inspired by a similar initiative from the Civil Rights movement in the US, were astounded at the almost third-world living conditions and general treatment that the

local Aboriginal people suffered, including regularly being refused entry and service in shops, hotels and public swimming pools.



Figure 7: Sydney Daily Mirror Story - Source: (Stone 1965)

The Freedom Rides throughout rural NSW not only brought national attention to the prevailing attitudes of this area, but essentially held a mirror up to Australian society. Many people were dismayed and appalled by the situation facing our Aboriginal people.



Figure 8: 1965 NSW Freedom Rides

The subsequent attention forced many officials, local, state and national, to re-examine the racist policies that had underlined their existence for over 100 years. The Freedom Rides therefore proved the catalyst for a changing national conscience and awareness, and served as a springboard for the 1967 referendum.

## The 1967 Referendum

When Australia was established as a sovereign nation upon Federation in 1901, our Constitution was drafted and this became our founding document. The Constitution is “the birth certificate of a nation’, and provides the basic rules for our government, and the fundamental law that binds the Commonwealth and each of the States. It is such a defining document that any Act “passed by a Parliament is invalid if it is contrary to the Constitution.”

The Constitution was founded upon the reigning values and attitudes of 19<sup>th</sup> century Australia. For example, the Preamble of the Constitution states

*Whereas the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania, humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God, have agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and under the Constitution hereby established*

(Commonwealth of Australia 2010)

However, the Constitution was drafted with no reference to or inclusion of the country’s native inhabitants. Indeed, as Attwood and Markus point out, the constitution made reference to ‘alien races’, “those called Kanakas, Chinese, Indians or Malays who had come to Australia as indentured labourers, not ‘native races’ such as...Aboriginal people” (Attwood & Markus 2007 p. 1). Section 51 of the Constitution also explicitly states the exclusion of Aboriginal people:

*The Parliament shall subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to...(xxvi) The people of any race, other than the aboriginal race in any State, for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws.*

In addition, Section 127 of the Constitution entitled “Aborigines not to be counted in reckoning population”:

*In reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted.*

(Attwood & Markus 2007 p. 1)

This was a clear indication of the exclusionary attitude and policies of Australia’s decision makers at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



However, riding on the momentum of the civil rights movements that began in the 1950s and continued into the 1960s (see above) changes to the Australian Constitution were suggested. To do this, a national referendum was held where the Australian people were asked if the constitution should be amended to address this clear discrimination and exclusion of Aboriginal Australians. On May 27, 1967, a national majority of 90.77% of the six voting states voted in favour of amending our Constitution (Bennett 1985). As a result, the Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals) Act 1967 saw the removal of the phrase “other than the aboriginal race” from Section 51 (xxvi), and the complete removal of Section 127. For the first time Aboriginal Australians were officially recognised as part of the population, and the Commonwealth Government (as opposed to State governments) assumed power to make laws for their welfare and protection. It is worth noting that this majority is still the largest in any Australian referendum. For Aboriginal people today, it is simply known as ‘The Referendum’.

The referendum and its reverting of constitutional exclusion cannot be underestimated in terms of its historical impact. As one example, consider the hundreds of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have fought in conflicts involving Australia. It is believed that our involvement in the Boer War (in South Africa), both World Wars, the Korean War and the Vietnam War all included involvement by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, despite the lack of official recognition as citizens.

---

## **ABORIGINAL SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN**

One of the many ‘silent’ stories about our Aboriginal history is the contribution of Aboriginal people to our war efforts. Although the exact number is unknown (as racial identity wasn’t recorded on enlistment records in the wars), it’s estimated that perhaps 1000 or so Indigenous men and women have served Australia, taking part in every major conflict we have fought as a nation. Enlisting in World War I was difficult to many Aboriginal men as they were often rejected on racial grounds until dwindling numbers (through casualties) and necessity saw the colour barrier removed. A common theme for virtually every Indigenous soldier was the daily racism experienced at home compared to the almost universal acceptance in battle. Many people question the motivations of Aboriginal men volunteering to fight for Australia, particularly in WWI. However, the virtues that today we automatically associate with the Australian war effort – mateship, patriotism, loyalty – have long been entrenched among Indigenous Australians. In addition, fighting for the new country was often seen as a way for Aboriginal men to gain acceptance in the White world.

The poor treatment of these soldiers when they returned highlighted the ambiguities and collective ignorance of Australia in the early 20th century. Awareness of the ludicrous nature of racism in Australian society grew in the 1930s and is exemplified with the development of the Aborigines Advancement League (see above). Involvement in WWII by Indigenous people was, therefore, conducted with a little more knowledge and recognition. However, opinion among Indigenous people was divided about whether or not we should be fighting for the country. On the one hand, serving in the war might help the push for greater recognition and full rights of citizenship. On the other, the experience of WWI had shown that willingness to fight, and the high number of casualties, had done little to change the prevailing racist attitudes and treatment towards Aboriginal Australians – why suffer to fight for ‘White Australia’? William Cooper, having lost his son in WWI and seen no improvements in life at home, demanded this situation be changed before any Aboriginal men assumed the “privilege of defending the land which was taken from him by the White race without compensation or even kindness”.

Despite the growing awareness and rejection of racist treatment in Australia, the experiences of WWII were sadly similar. In the early stages of WWII, many White soldiers refused to serve with Aboriginal soldiers and the enlistment of Aboriginal people was “neither necessary nor desirable”. Such attitudes were fuelled by a paranoid belief that some Aboriginal men may see the enemy as a liberator to free them from the colonial oppression that had been imposed in Australia. The introduction of Japan into the conflict, and in particular the Japanese advancement towards Australia, caused a change in such attitudes. The end of WWII saw a return to the prevailing attitudes that underlined colonial Australia since 1788. Returning Indigenous servicemen were barred from RSLs (except for ANZAC Day) and denied access to pubs and clubs. They also suffered the indignity of the ‘Soldier Settlement Scheme’. Following the end of WWI, the Commonwealth Government put provisions in place to address the needs of returning servicemen. The Repatriation Act of 1919 provided pensions, unemployment schemes, training, medical treatment and assistance in obtaining land for returning soldiers and their families. The land assistance scheme, known as the Soldier Settlement Scheme, was designed to provide farmland for those “possessing the necessary aptitude and fitness” and involved the allocation of large tracts of land.

Although well intentioned, the scheme had a number of problems such as a low success rate. However, its role in ongoing misunderstanding (and mistreatment) of Indigenous Australians is what has endured. Land was allocated to returning White

soldiers for them to re-settle into life after the war, but in many cases this land was taken away from Aboriginal people. In the case of Coranderrk, near Healesville, over 1000 acres were given to white returning soldiers, land that was taken following the sale of Coranderrk. And these were the soldiers 'lucky' enough to return home to their families.

---

Recent years have seen a concerted push by Aboriginal leaders and other groups to have our constitution recognise Indigenous Australians as the first peoples of this land. It seems incredible that our founding document does not recognise this at all. Our 'birth certificate' doesn't acknowledge one of our parents (see also discussion in the conclusion to Chapter 9).

## **What is 'Postcolonial Australia'?**

All of these historical events have shaped the nation we are today. They are each as important in creating our contemporary national fabric as the events we are 'traditionally' taught, that comprise our colonial history – such as the ANZAC legacy, Australia's presence in the World Wars, The Great Depression, Sir Robert Menzies, and the Whitlam Government. They have created our society that is symptomatic of colonialism, yet has also emerged from it.

This move out from under the blanket of colonialism is the first move in what I describe as Australia's postcolonial shift. It is the way we *now* look at ourselves; slightly differently to how we did in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but with a sense of nostalgia and pride in that history. It is how we recognise some of our mistakes, but also look at the strengths of that history. It is how we see ourselves moving forward as both a product of British colonisation, and a product of a strong, proud culture.

*One event is always the son of another, and we must never forget the parentage*

(Bechuana chief, Africa, in Tylor 1889 pp. 4 - 5)

It is also informed by the recognition that each of these events has played a vital role in forming contemporary – postcolonial – Australian culture. And of course, postcolonialism has played a major role in the lives of the world's Indigenous peoples.

---

## **WHAT IS POSTCOLONIALISM?**

The theory of postcolonialism is discussed in many academic circles today and is often used as a descriptor of contemporary society. It is also complex and varied, and like

many other academic theories, lacks one distinct, clear definition. As perhaps a post-script to colonialism, it may have social, cultural or economic implications. It is not bound by a specific discipline or area of study, and as such is discussed in a variety of areas of society including sport (Bale & Cronin 2003b) and tourism (Hall & Tucker 2004). Postcolonial theory broadens our understandings of Western (European) philosophy and theory.

The study of postcolonialism is generally thought to have emerged in the 1970s with Edward Said's investigation of 'Otherness' in his book *Orientalism*. Said focused attention on how the Western world views cultures different from its own – 'other' people, and how colonial powers in particular see the world. This has led to an ongoing discussion about postcolonialism and how it shapes the contemporary world.

In terms of definition, its relationship to colonialism is often the source of interrogation. Robert Young suggests that the theoretical and political foundations for postcolonialism were laid with resistance to British, French and American imperialism (Young 2001), while others see it as an extension of Marxism (Spivak 1990; Williams & Chrisman 1994).

It is a complex area, and entire textbooks are devoted to discussing it. Clearly, we do not have room for such an in-depth discussion here. Rather, our contextual definitions will focus on one key aspect – temporality, or time. In this respect, we look at two ways of representing the theory – post-colonial, and postcolonial.

Leila Gandhi tells us that hyphenating the word (post-colonialism) risks ignoring the diversity of the world's colonised peoples by suggesting that their colonial experience is distinct from the era of colonisation – that is, that colonisation occurred in a type of vacuum that doesn't include experiences of Indigenous peoples. Rather, she says, non-hyphenation suggests that their experiences are incorporated with the onset and within the whole process, "rather than with the end of colonial occupation" (Gandhi 1998 p. 3). As such the term 'postcolonialism' looks at the experiences of both colonised and coloniser, and is more sensitive to the history of colonialism. It is generally associated with nations striving to reclaim and re-identify their identity in the face of globalisation and Eurocentric and universalist concepts and images (During 1995; Young 2001). The non-hyphenation of postcolonialism better reflects the Australian experience.

As such, a **contextual definition of postcolonialism** for this text is, quite simply, the ways that contemporary Australians know, understand, and engage with their experiences of colonisation and the role this plays in contemporary society.

---

### **Postcolonial Indigenous Australians**

For Indigenous Australians, postcolonialism presents an opportunity to move forward. History, as we have written and read it to this point, probably hasn't captured the true essence of who we are as a nation. Our Indigenous heritage remains the silent aspect. Postcolonialism allows all of us – academics, authors, researchers, teachers, students, parents and friends alike – to examine that history and identity its flaws. It allows us to move forward to a position that is more informed, more knowledgeable, more tolerant and more aware.

In this sense, contemporary Indigenous culture in Australia could be categorised as postcolonial. Postcolonialism, in regards to Indigenous Australians, can therefore be defined as the ways in which Indigenous people today know, understand, and engage with contemporary society. It is about how we, as a strong, proud people, express our contemporary culture in the contemporary world.

### **Contemporary diversity/local Indigenous culture**

Chapters 8 and 9 look in more detail at the specific ways Aboriginal people are displaying and practicing culture in the world today. Fundamentally, it is about recognising what our culture is. It is about connecting with our ancestors, our Elders, and our communities to learn about old ways and to engage in new ones. It is about being able to express your culture in a way that you feel comfortable with in the world around you. For some Aboriginal people, this expression may bear a great deal of similarity to what we would now consider 'traditional' (or pre-contact) culture – things like traditional dances, art, music and practices such as hunting and fishing. For others, it will mean a variation of these things – traditional hunting and fishing, for example, is virtually impossible for Aboriginal people living in urban areas of Australia due to the loss of traditional lands and therefore knowledge. However, expression of culture to urban Aboriginal people today is no less relevant, or authentic, as the stereotypical images of remote Australia we have come to know and expect. The diversity of Aboriginal culture today is as strong and appropriate as it was when the Europeans first arrived.

As we will point out in subsequent chapters, denying the authenticity of all Aboriginal people is merely projecting and perpetuating the outdated attitudes of colonial Australia.

## **Introduction to Indigenous knowledges and worldviews**

The 'postcolonial push', as will be discussed throughout this textbook, has created a number of opportunities for greater recognition of Indigenous cultures all over the world. In particular, systems of Indigenous Knowledge have emerged as a key aspect of such recognition. The United Nations identified in 2000 the potential for Indigenous knowledges to be utilised to create opportunities for greater cultural awareness, economic and social development and cultural strengthening (United Nations 2000).

Like postcolonialism, the academic discourse on Indigenous Knowledge systems is complex and varied. However, at a basic level, the concept of Indigenous Knowledges proposes that time-honoured Indigenous cultures and peoples have deeply embedded systems of knowledge that formed the foundation of not only their existence, but their sustainability, adaptability and survival. These systems are inextricably connected to vital aspects of culture including people, land and spirituality, and are therefore localised, contextual, and sacred, bound by explicit rules and protocols. They have become accepted as an identifiable system of knowing, clearly distinguishable from Western knowledge for its key elements of relationality, contextuality, and transfer (Fixico 2003; Hewson 2015; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a; Sheehan 2011; Yunkaporta 2010).

Indigenous Knowledge is now widely accepted in a number of fields as a viable alternative worldview that can inform practices in such diverse fields as sustainable development, environmental management, education, health and medicine, botany, ecology, rural sociology and law (Agrawal 2002; Ayre & Mackenzie 2013; Janke 2009; Nakata 2004; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a; Smith 2009). Chapter 8 investigates Indigenous Knowledge in greater detail.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed a number of issues that have shaped what we understand as contemporary Australian society. Beginning with our contemporary identity, we identified the influences of colonialism that shaped how we see the world. The way that colonisation influenced government policy allowed for the creation of policies and procedures that have had a profound effect on Aboriginal Australians today, including

Protection Acts, the Assimilation/White Australia Policy, and the creation of missions and reserves.

The Aboriginal response to these historical issues included the Freedom Rides in NSW of the 1960s and the 1967 referendum that included Aboriginal people as 'members' of Australian society. This response sits within the 'postcolonial push' in Australia (and around the world) that challenged the way the Western world views itself, and others, through an almost exclusively colonial lens. This shift has allowed a greater examination of the world around us, an acknowledgment of past mistakes, and a way to build towards a more culturally inclusive future for all Australians.

All these elements of the postcolonial shift have both increased interest and attention in Aboriginal culture and served to instil pride in culture for many Aboriginal people. However, social and cultural divisions still exist in contemporary society. The chapters in the remainder of this book will include examples of how this shift has influenced a number of areas of thinking and behaviour in Australia today.

In many cases, these divisions are grounded in issues of race and culture. Chapter 3 begins to examine how the concepts of race and culture have been created and understood in Australian society and the influence this has on us today. In addition, we will explore the concept of identity and look at both historical and contemporary examples of identity that continue to shape the way we see ourselves and others.

## Discussion Questions

1. What is Australian national identity? How would you describe it to an international visitor here for the first time?
2. What do you see as the FIVE (5) most important aspects of Australian national identity? Why did you select these particular aspects?
3. Think about the location of your home and your work/place of study. Name three (3) places or features that have colonial/British names, and three that have Aboriginal names.
4. Was the creation of missions and reserves driven more by a desire to protect Aboriginal people, or the drive for more land for colonial expansion? Look up the AIATSIS missions and reserves website and find the reserve that was closest to where you live.
5. What was significant about the National Day of Mourning, and what has been the result?
6. What is postcolonialism, and what role does it play in contemporary Australian society?

## Other Resources

These resources have been provided for you to investigate further the issues raised in this chapter. You are encouraged to examine a wide range of views on these issues, and the following represent the diversity of information available.

### Books and Articles

Barwick, D. (1998). *Rebellion at Coranderrk*. Canberra, Aboriginal History Inc.

Bourke, C., E. Bourke and B. Edwards, Eds. (1998). *Aboriginal Australia: An introductory reader in Aboriginal Studies*. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Demko, G. and W. Wood (1999). *Reordering the World: geopolitical perspectives on the twenty-first century*. Boulder, Westview Press.

Presland, G. (2010). *First people: the Eastern Kulin of Melbourne, Port Phillip, and Central Victoria*. Melbourne, Museum Victoria Publishing.

### Online

#### **AIATSIS Missions and Reserve Records (All states) -**

<http://aiatsis.gov.au/research/finding-your-family/research-resources-family-history/mission-and-reserve-records> - accessed 4/11/2015



**AIATSIS Indigenous Australians At War -**

[http://aiatsis.gov.au/archive\\_digitised\\_collections/iaaw/home.html](http://aiatsis.gov.au/archive_digitised_collections/iaaw/home.html) - accessed  
4/11/2015

**Creative Spirits website – Australian Aboriginal history -**

<http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/history/#axzz4ADFKf122> – accessed  
4/3/2016

**Postcolonial Web – Literature in Australia and New Zealand -**

<http://www.postcolonialweb.org/misc/australov.html> - accessed 4/11/2015

## CHAPTER 3 – RACE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

### Introduction - What is Identity?

*Aboriginal People are the skeleton in the cupboard of Australia's national life... outcasts in our own land.*

(Sir) Doug Nicholls, National Day of Mourning speech, 1938.

What is identity? It is a question that is not often asked, but one that has a profound impact on our existence, as the very basis of how we live our lives is our identity. Although it's a question not often asked, it has certainly been asked before...

Who are you? (Who who, who who?)

Pete Townshend, 1978.

Our formal education today aims to give us a range of skills that are deemed necessary to survive in the modern world, including literacy and numeracy, social skills and specialised skills in a chosen area (eg accounting, psychology, law, finance, history etc.), but we are taught relatively little about ourselves. Our education is provided to teach us the necessary skills to contribute to society, to forge a career, reach our potential and 'be all we can be'. We begin our education by learning the basics; reading, writing, counting, spelling and then gradually the lessons become more complex and specialised the further we go.

However, the notion of identity is something that is rarely addressed in the classroom. For most of us, identity as a topic isn't considered until University or tertiary study. It seems evident that our education system doesn't formally acknowledge that learning about your own identity is important enough to include in our curriculum.

Yet I would argue that this is the ONE thing that we all SHOULD be learning – how can you contribute to society, reach your potential, 'be all you want to be' if you don't really understand WHO you are?

Identity is a complex thing. This alone may be a reason why it is seemingly avoided in much of our curriculum. It can be a difficult thing to define, and is comprised of a number of aspects, including individual identity and collective identity.

---

## DEFINING 'IDENTITY'

The Oxford Dictionary definition of 'identity' is:

1. The condition or fact of a person or thing being that specified unique person or thing, esp. as a continuous unchanging property throughout existence; the characteristics determining this; individuality, personality
2. A person long resident or well known in a place

Definition from Dictionary.com:

1. the state or fact of remaining the same one or ones, as under varying aspects or conditions:
2. the condition of being oneself or itself, and not another:
3. condition or character as to whom a person or what a thing is:
4. the state or fact of being the same one as described.
5. the sense of self, providing sameness and continuity in personality over time and sometimes disturbed in mental illnesses, as schizophrenia.

These definitions give us an insight into the dimensions of identity. The word 'identity' is derived from the Latin word 'identitas', which means sameness or repeating. But it also distinguishes us.

At both the collective and individual level, it is how we recognise something as both belonging to a certain 'category' and distinct from others. It is how we see ourselves as 'Australian' – unique in many of our characteristics (see Chapter 2), but also similar to our colonial cousins including New Zealand, the US, Canada, and of course England. At the individual level, it is how we see ourselves as different to everyone else, but part of our social groups, including family, friends, and colleagues. It is the set of behavioural or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognisable as a member of a group.

In short, it is 'who we are and who we are 'meant' to be'. However, unlike the dictionary definitions above, human identity is 'contextual' – that is, it can change according to the environment around us. It has a "fluid and contextual nature" (Paradies 2006 p. 356) and is a personal construction that we position according to who and what we associate with. For example, at any point in time you may identify as a son, daughter, mother, father, cousin, uncle, aunty or friend. You may be a work colleague, a boss, an employee, a teammate, player, supporter, or enthusiast. In addition, you can be all of

these. You may identify yourself with your family (and its heritage) your career, your job, or your sporting or other interests, depending on the changing situation around you.

---

Identity is clearly a complicated phenomenon. It is the sum of all our influences and it results in the way we act, think, communicate and respond in, with and to the world around us. Where does our identity come from? Perhaps it comes from our environment, or our genetics/biology (the argument of nature V nurture), or both? Identity can be both confusing, and intriguing. Understanding who we are is a vital part of our functioning as human beings, yet most of us have spent little time considering it.

Our identity is a reflection of our lives, our families and friends, our skills and abilities, our beliefs, hopes and dreams. In addition, it is how we see ourselves and where we understand ourselves fitting into the society around us. It is therefore an extremely important concept in terms of how we live in the world today. Our relationship to the world around us shapes every aspect of our lives, as society is constructed around an ongoing series of these relationships. Think about how many times you interact with other people each day. By not understanding our own identities, we cannot fully understand these relationships.

Identity is therefore a very confronting concept to many people but it can also be very liberating. Understanding our position in the world is a key to achieving happiness and 'success' – whatever that may be for each of us.

In the postcolonial world of today (and particularly in Australia), understanding identity has the added complexity of multiculturalism. The next section looks at the role of culture in contemporary identity in Australia.

## **The intersection of race, culture and identity**

Contemporary society, particularly those we classify as postcolonial, displays an amalgam of characteristics that include biological backgrounds, contemporary customs, religious and secular belief systems and levels of education. Each of these characteristics is unique, yet can also inform the others. As such, discussions of race (biological), culture (customs and beliefs) and identity (all of the above) tend to become a bit blurred. In this section we will look at how they differ but also where they intersect and how they interact and inform each other.

Humankind is constructed with a broad range of peoples, cultures, and beliefs. In Australia, this provides us with wonderful opportunities to learn about and embrace

people and cultures we may not know much about, but it also creates a great deal of consternation and concern for many people. Why do we feel this way? Perhaps this emerges from a fear of the unknown. Perhaps it is a reflection of continuing (colonial) assumptions of Western (racial) superiority? Whatever the cause, it is evident to most of us that race and culture are two areas of society about which we are not completely knowledgeable.

We'll begin this discussion by looking at culture. Culture has been studied and defined for many years and plays a key role in most aspects of our society, including education, employment, sports and politics. Our children attend schools with students from a variety of different cultural backgrounds and cultural diversity has become entrenched in almost every Australian workplace. It appears daily online, on our TV screens and in our newspapers. However, it is still something of a mystery to many Australians. It is kind of like our mobile phone - we know it is there, we use and see it every day, but we don't really know how it works.

The importance of understanding culture was highlighted by noted anthropologist Ruth Benedict, who claimed that of all society's social problems, none was more incumbent upon us than to understand culture and that until we learn about the variety and laws of different customs and cultures, we cannot understand the "complicating facts of human life" (Benedict 1961 p. 2).

### **Definition of culture**

Defining culture is therefore vital to understanding how it affects us. Being a complex concept, however, it isn't easy to define in simple terms. As you can see from the reference lists throughout this book, academic and scholarly discourse and debate on the topic has existed for well over one hundred years and continue to this day (in large part due to the ongoing fluidity and changing nature of cultures).

Dictionary definitions of culture include a number of different aspects:

The arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively: '20th century popular culture'

refined understanding or appreciation of culture:

The ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society: the attitudes and behaviour characteristic of a particular social group (*Culture* 2016a).

The behaviours and beliefs characteristic of a particular social, ethnic, or age group: the youth culture; the drug culture.

Anthropology: the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another (*Culture* 2016b).

Drawing on the various views on defining culture, we have once again developed a contextual definition

“The shared rules governing the behaviour of a group of people that enable members of that group to co-exist, adapt and survive in their environment.”

---

## WHAT IS CULTURE?

Culture has many aspects and definitions. It emerged as a scientific and academic discourse in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as part of the global expansion of colonisation and the subsequent inquiry and discussion it generated. Quite simply, it became the discourse that distinguished the European world from that which it was now exploring. That is, the differences that were being observed by European explorers, scientists and philosophers were explained and understood as ‘cultural differences’.

Many scholars have engaged in the discourse on culture and provided innumerable definitions and interpretations. Edward Tylor (1889), an English anthropologist, developed what is considered the original definition of culture in 1889, when he stated that in a broad sense culture:

*is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society*

Analysis of culture has unveiled a variety of aspects and opened a great deal of academic debate and discussion. In his 1993 book ‘Culture and Imperialism’, Edward Said identified the complexity of culture in describing it as hybrid, heterogeneous, and extraordinarily differentiated (Said 1993). Cultures reflect the environment in which they exist, including physical environment, climate, food sources and diet, and language. As such, cultures in close geographic proximity may differ (Benedict 1961).

Cultures are viewed as subjective entities – that is, we reference other cultures by our own traditions and beliefs, and the way we see them is always through this lens:

*No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes. He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and way of thinking*  
(Benedict 1961 p. 2).

Cultures also exist as relational concepts – that is, a culture is identifiable when in relation to, or compared to, another (different) culture – when they are ‘involved in’ one another (Said 1993). This space, where cultures meet and interact, has been described as the ‘cultural interface’ (Nakata 2004). Cultures are unique, and often specific to particular areas. But in all cases, cultures must be adaptable to survive (Paradies 2006).

According to Tylor, there are two ways we can attempt to understand culture. One is through the emerging patterns in society that enable an assumption or prediction of behaviour. As a very broad example, anyone watching the population of Melbourne from a distance would see the pattern of many thousands of people moving from one place to another early in the morning, then a reduction in this movement, before it increases again toward the end of the day. These two periods of the day with a lot of movement are known to us as ‘peak hour’ – the times of the day when most people are travelling to and from work/school. This pattern of behaviour in turn allows an outsider to make predictions about one aspect of the way we act as a society.

The second way is to view cultures as stages of development or evolution where each stage is a result of its previous history and subsequently plays a role in its future. In this way, how we live our lives today can be seen as a result of how our parents lived their lives, which in turn was shaped by how their parents lived their lives. Each generation has a direct impact on the lives of the one that follows it.

Both are important in Australia today in order for us to understand our culture, and the many diverse facets of it.

---

In our society today, there are probably two broad categories of culture that impact on our lives. The first is what I categorise as social/racial culture, which refers to the knowledge, understandings and patterns of behaviour that are exhibited by members of a particular (social and/or racial) group. Simply put, this refers to the ways we act and interact in our society today – how we learn, how we see ourselves and the rest of the world and how we act in our everyday lives. Here in Australia, we like to see ourselves as living a certain way – friendly, cooperative and peaceful. This was addressed in more detail in Chapter 2.

The second category I refer to is organisational or institutional. This is the way that groups, organisations, corporations, and institutions are created to guide and control how we live. They are structures put in place to provide recognisable systems by which we can live as well as rules and protocols that guide us to maintain peace and order.

They can be described as our 'safety net' that we turn to when things get a bit out of control. They are the 'default position' that is recognisable, reliable and trustworthy. Examples in our lives today include, among others, political (our structure of local, state and federal governments), education and legal systems, and each of them plays a key role in our modern society. Without them, our lives would most likely be chaotic and disorganised.

The combination of these elements of society – our culture – and the ways we live within it – our identity – can be described as *cultural identity*. It is how we are recognised as distinct from other groups by our beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. And as we have just discussed, much of our cultural identity is both reflected in and impacts upon the societal institutions we have created.

However, what is often not considered is the mono-cultural way that these institutions were constructed and continue to operate. They exist within a very colonially dominated framework, where the notion of 'Australia' as it emerged from its British colonial beginnings is considered 'normal' (see Chapter 2), and anything outside of this is unusual and different. It is this difference to 'normal' that we will now focus on as part of contemporary cultural identity.

## **Contemporary cultural identity**

Our cultural identity is not something we often discuss or analyse, as we have already seen, but it exists as part of our everyday lives. We use the word 'normal' almost every day to describe those things we find comfortable, predictable and that meet our expectations or standards. In fact, the word 'normal' has become so 'normal' that we barely think about what this means to us today.

From a cultural perspective, however, 'normal' has enormous ramifications. Chapter 2 introduced us to colonialism and the role it has played in shaping contemporary Australians society – in other words, it has created what we see as normal in our world today. The word normal is therefore usually associated with anything that displays the characteristics of Australian colonial history. In racial and cultural terms being 'white' in Australia is considered normal. Thus 'Whiteness', as Aileen Moreton-Robinson describes it, is the universal and 'normal' marker, and all non-white identities are known as 'other' - in fact, Moreton-Robinson suggests that Whiteness is the "representation of humanity" (2004 p. 77). This distinction between racial and cultural identities, known as *cultural othering*, provides the platform upon which many of our national debates on race and culture are held. It has a profound effect on the contemporary identities of



many Australians, because our 'normal' approach to cultural othering is embedded in our societal institutions discussed earlier.

---

## **CULTURAL 'OTHERING'**

The concept of cultural othering, itself a postcolonial discourse, emerged through the work of Edward Said with his 1978 book *Orientalism*. In it, Said discussed the way that the Western world (the Occident) creates its own meanings and interpretations of Oriental culture and people through the subjective creation he labelled 'Orientalism' (Said 1978). Said suggested that paradigms such as Orientalism are constructed from a position and sense of strength, authority and domination, and thus involve an assumed power of one group (the West) over another (the 'Others').

Said argued that Europeans used four underlying beliefs to justify the 'civilisation' of the East:

1. There is an absolute, essential, and systematic difference between the rational, highly developed West and the primitive, uncivilised East
2. European representations of the Other were based on selective readings of texts and documents
3. The Orient was "incapable of defining itself", allowing Western scholars to formulate their own descriptions
4. The Orient had to be feared or controlled through research or colonial occupation (Bhatia 2002).

Said shined a light on the Eurocentric way that the world had been, and continues to be developed and opened up a field of inquiry that challenged how the West had constructed its knowledge of the rest of the world. Said's work opened the way for the global scholarly discourse of postcolonialism to flourish, and many colonised groups were given a voice to challenge the assumed superiority of white colonisation.

In Australia, Bain Attwood drew on Said's concept to develop his notion of Aboriginalism, which investigates the ways that Australian colonial society has created, imagined, and constructed knowledge about Aboriginal people (Attwood 1992). Chapter 5 looks in more detail about this concept.

A number of Australian academics and scholars have also made some extremely valuable contributions to the discussion, including (but certainly not limited to) Marcia Langton, Gillian Cowlishaw, Lester-Irabinna Rigney, and Aileen Moreton-Robinson.

Cultural Othering has become an embedded and 'normal' part of Western societies, and often provides the foundations for racial and cultural debates in areas such as Indigenous affairs and immigration that we see in the news today.

---

This 'normalising' of cultural difference that places European whiteness in the centre has also led to other issues of culture that surface in our world today. Cultural Othering, as we have discussed above, causes people to 'locate' themselves as normal, and seeing those from other cultural groups as different. These differences can be small in number, barely visible, or hard to recognise at all. They may be so noticeable that someone else's culture is markedly different from our own – or somewhere in between. But we have created a world where we, the Western world, see other cultures from a singular viewpoint that is normalised as natural, scientific and objective, and the 'others' as different. This viewpoint includes beliefs, narratives and perceptions of others that produce expectations as well - the practice of stereotyping.

### **Stereotyping**

Put simply, stereotypes are a standard or simplified characteristic – an image, notion or conception - of someone or something that associates it with a particular group, and where that characteristic is exaggerated to represent the entire group. In human (or cultural) terms, it is a particular way we perceive people to be based on their membership to a certain group. Stereotypes can be perceived as negative or positive.

Examples\* include:

- Black people are good at sports
- Asian children are the smartest at schools
- Women (and old people) are bad drivers
- Blonde people are less intelligent
- All Australians say 'G'day mate', 'Strewth', and 'Bewdy'
- All Muslims are terrorists
- African Americans are good dancers

\*I wish to point out here that the views above are merely illustrative, and do not reflect my own beliefs, or any other specific person or persons. These are some typical comments heard in contemporary society.

We can see the links between cultural stereotyping and Said's notion of Othering, particularly in terms of the assumed dominant relationship between, in this case, West and East – or in contemporary Australian terms, white and non-white. This assumed domination or superiority is often labelled 'hegemony'. Hegemony can be defined as

the power or control by one group over another, with an underlying belief that such control is for the greater good. It has formed the basis of colonial occupation and understanding of non-white cultural groups in Australia, particularly how we see and understand Aboriginal people. Let's think for a minute about some of the common stereotypes about Aboriginal Australians:

- All Aboriginal people are dirty, lazy, and 'Dole bludgers' (a slang term for welfare recipients)
- 'Real' Aboriginal people have dark skin and live off the land
- Aboriginal people are alcoholic
- Aboriginal people get more welfare than other Australians

If we dig into our history, we can find evidence of the roots of such stereotypes in early colonial experiences and perceptions. Aboriginal barrister and leader Professor Mick Dodson captured the essence of these perceptions in early historical and anthropological writings:

19<sup>th</sup> century accounts:

*the poorest objects on the habitable globe – George Clark (Church Missionary Society 1825*

*blood thirsty, cunning, ferocious, and marked by black ingratitude and base treachery... – Boyd 1882*

*The Australian nigger is the lowest type of human creature about... But having one splendid point in which he is far ahead of the chinkie. He'll die out and the chinkie won't – Inson and Ward 1887*

*degraded as to divine things, almost on a level with a brute... In a state of moral unfitness for heaven... And as incapable of enjoying its pleasures as darkness is incapable of dwelling with light – John Harper (in Woolmington 1973)*

Of physical appearance:

*Their Aboriginal blood is remotely the same as that of the majority of the white inhabitants of Australia, for the Australian Aboriginal is recognised as being the forerunner of the Caucasian race. – Tindale 1941*

*showing anatomical characters very rare in the white races of mankind, but at the same time normal in ape types. – Duckworth 1904*

Of the notion of 'half-caste':

*There is no biological reason for the refection of people with a dilute strain of Aboriginal blood. A low percentage will not introduce any aberrant*

*characteristics and there need be no fear of reversions to the dark  
Aboriginal type. – Tindale 1941*

(from Dodson 2003)

These perceptions lingered and we can clearly see that the seeds of modern-day stereotypes were planted at this very early juncture of Aboriginal and European relationships in Australia. The scientific developments of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had a profound impact on how Aboriginal people were perceived in Australia. Led by the growing belief in Charles Darwin's theories of evolution, the scientific areas of archaeology and anthropology shaped and informed Australia's educational and political structures. Fuelled further by the scientific paradigms of positivism and essentialism throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, public knowledge, understanding and awareness of Aboriginal culture and people became erroneously entrenched in the public consciousness.

These ideologies progressively used Aboriginal people and culture as little more than objects of study, without every really gaining insights into them, thus producing biased and myopic perceptions. The result was a decidedly limited understanding of Aboriginal culture and a society that has therefore faced a number of challenges in not only improving our collective understanding and knowledge, but more importantly improving the lives and development of Aboriginal people. More recent developments, such as postcolonialism, have drawn attention to some of the errors of the past and allowed us a much more informed view of the present and future. For Aboriginal people, this has meant a greater awareness, recognition and understanding of important concepts such as cultural diversity.

Despite their negative connotations, stereotypes are often defended. The contemporary world, with its focus on capitalism and the growth of business, can and does benefit from stereotyping. Companies often rely on stereotypes to gain knowledge of their relevant markets and attempt to increase sales of their products. In addition, many cultural stereotypes are 'supported' by statistics – for example, the view of Aboriginal people as lazy 'dole-bludgers' could be 'supported' by statistics that show a higher proportion of Aboriginal people living on welfare. However, what also needs to be considered is the colonial framework within which such statistics are collected – they are measured against 'mainstream' (ie non-Indigenous) criteria and do not take any cultural factors into consideration. It is therefore important to always consider this when making judgments about cultural stereotypes.

For most Aboriginal Australians today, this presents one of our greatest challenges – growing awareness of contemporary Aboriginal identity and culture, particularly those in the urban areas of Australia. It is fraught with issues such as stereotyping, essentialist thinking, and remnants of Darwinism. And for most Aboriginal people today, the effects of colonisation are felt and seen in a very immediate sense by our own biological heritage – most of us have one Aboriginal parent and a parent of European heritage. In historical terms, we would be labelled ‘half-castes’. The pejorative connotations of this phrase, however, have seen it removed from everyday use as offensive. In the changing world today, greater understanding of the shifting nature of culture and cultural identity and the space between binaries – black and white, right and wrong, East and West – is vital in understanding who we are.

---

### **THE EFFECT OF THE SCIENTIFIC ‘ISMS’**

The growth of Western science and scientific methods has almost exclusively informed our current day knowledge and practices around how we view the world. Beginning with social Darwinism, anthropological study in Australia was based upon European systems of knowledge and understanding and, driven by subsequent developments such as positivism and essentialism, shaped the way that knowledge was constructed in Australia. Although there are a number of various branches that have impacted the Australian ‘intelligentsia’, we will focus here on the three aforementioned areas:

Social Darwinism: beginning with a study of living creatures, noted naturalist Charles Darwin wrote a number of seminal works in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, including his famous *The Origin Of Species*. Darwin claimed that all living creatures followed a process of natural selection, whereby the weakest and smallest of each species would not survive, thus making the overall species stronger over time and more likely to survive. This theory became adapted to the human race, and formed the basis of a deep-seated belief in the inferiority of Aboriginal Australians, and their inevitable extinction at the hands of colonisation. His theories were so popular they informed school programs and political policy – and thus greatly influenced the way Australia perceived its Aboriginal people.

Positivism – a philosophical stance that sees observation and reason as the basis for human understandings. Positivism suggests that all genuine knowledge is based on what we see and experience, and thus empirical evidence is vital. Positivists accept natural science as “the paradigm of human knowledge” and the clearest “ideal of knowledge” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011 p. 7). In this way, (Western) scientific knowledge that can be tested via experiment and observation is accepted as the true, genuine knowledge for all humans. The normalising of this positivist approach to

human behaviour saw alternative forms of knowledge, including Indigenous Knowledge, relegated as inferior.

Essentialism: in its purest sense, essentialism is the doctrine that ‘things’ – whether they be objects, concepts, species or cultures – have some attributes or characteristics that are deemed essential to making it what it is (Cartwright 1968). In terms of culture, the doctrine refers to a suggestion that concepts, ideals, traits and characteristics are essential to a certain society, culture or group. This belief assumes that to belong to a particular cultural group (eg. Aboriginal Australians), one must have certain essential characteristics or features (eg. dark skin, flat nose, dark hair, innate awareness of the bush).

It should be clear how each of these paradigms has shaped Australia’s understandings of Aboriginal culture and people. In almost every case, our education and political systems have been greatly influenced and informed by each, and thus contributed to the (often inaccurate) perceptions we see today.

---

## **Cultural Hybridity**

As many anthropologists, sociologists and cultural experts have stated over the past 30 years or so, our understanding of culture and cultural difference has changed from its early beginnings in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The growth and globalisation of the ‘world economy’ has seen many people moving to different parts of the world. These people – known as diaspora – move not only their physical selves, but take with them parts of their ‘home’ culture. Moreover, once established in their new home, their culture becomes entwined with the ‘host’ culture to provide a fluid, changing view of culture itself, occupying that cultural space between black and white. The biological and racial basis of this ‘new’ culture has been described as cultural hybridity.

Quite simply, cultural hybridity is the condition of having more than one distinct cultural ancestry – that is, having parents from different cultural backgrounds. The notion itself is inherently tied to European colonisation, and examples can be found in almost every part of the world. Other phrases that are used include mixed blood, mixed race, bicultural and biracial. The phrase used to describe the notion varies in use in different parts of the globe, but carries the same intent – the coming together of Indigenous and other (generally European) heritages. In Australia, there is no single accepted term to use – although as mentioned above, the term ‘half-caste’ should be avoided. The concept itself, however, is one that has generated much discussion in terms of contemporary identity in Australia.

---

## **LABELLING CULTURAL HYBRIDITY**

The notion of mixed ancestry is a common one in all postcolonial societies, but the terminology is not. Some countries use words that others do not. Reasons are generally historic, but each is as legitimate as the next. When referring to people of mixed heritage, it is always best to avoid using words that can cause offence. The following gives you an idea of how different countries address the notion of mixed ancestry:

- In Australia, although not widely endorsed, cultural hybrid is the phrase often used in literature, but not in conversation. For Aboriginal Australians, any reference to ‘blood quantity’ is seen as insulting and offensive, as it is viewed as denouncing and devaluing Aboriginal heritage. As such, Aboriginal people identify as ‘Aboriginal people’, not, for example, ‘part-Aboriginal’. Words such as half-caste, half-blood, quarter-caste, quadroon etc (that have been used historically) are not used at all today – avoid them if you can.
- In Canada, people of mixed Native and European ancestry are generally known as Métis. Terms such as mixed blood and half-breed, although in widespread use in the past, are no longer used.
- In the US phrases such as mixed blood, half-breed and half-blood are commonly used, as blood quantification is used to assist government classification of people (for resource allocation etc.). However, these terms are still offensive to many Native Americans due to its denigration of culture. In addition, issues of cultural hybridity among African Americans and Native Americans produce another layer of complicated identity politics for many Native American tribes. In Central and South America, those of mixed Spanish and native heritage are often called Mestizo or Mestiza (names that have also entered American discourse in recent times).
- New Zealand – very similar to Australia, where the Maori see themselves as Maori and generally see any attempts to quantify identity as offensive. As such, people usually identify as Maori or pakeha (White).

In terms of addressing Indigenous peoples, the best way to approach these sensitive issues is to avoid assumptions – have a discussion with Indigenous people about which terms are offensive and should be avoided, and those which are acceptable.

---

For the purposes of this book, cultural hybridity refers to the fusion of (fundamentally) ‘white’ and ‘black’ cultures, and is directly related to the colonisation of Australia by the

British. It is the direct result of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people having children together, and has effectively reshaped the cultural fabric of our society.

For Aboriginal people this has created a spectrum of both opportunities and problems. At one end, a number of Aboriginal people (especially in urban areas of Australia) are familiarised and acculturated into the 'mainstream' society from birth and therefore don't face the cultural barriers of white Australian society. School is a little easier to negotiate, the structures and systems of 'mainstream' Australia hold more familiarity and language isn't a problem. On the other end of the spectrum, many Aboriginal people are disconnected from culture and history, are faced with numerous difficulties in terms of education and daily life and struggle to find their place in a society that seems to prescribe their place for them. For such people, daily functioning in the society most of us see as normal is a battle. Being separated from traditional aspects of culture, including language, means that every day becomes a contest between innate expectations and desires and the external expectations of Australian society. For the majority of Aboriginal Australians, daily life lies somewhere between these two extremes.

These issues are at the heart of contemporary Indigenous identity politics and the problems that are associated with it. For Aboriginal Australians, we are caught somewhere between a world that is inherently who we are and driven by time-honoured cultural and spiritual connections, and the world that physically surrounds us and is driven by capitalism, materialism and 'keeping up' with what is considered normal.

## **Contemporary issues for Indigenous people**

The questions of identity are a central element of social issues that face Aboriginal people in Australia, but they are certainly not the only ones. Like many Indigenous groups throughout the world, Aboriginal Australians consistently appear on the lower rungs of society in a number of areas including health (eg. life expectancy, chronic diseases), education (eg. school retention, participation in higher education), and the economy (eg. lower wage levels, higher rates of welfare dependence). Despite recent improvements in some of these statistics, ABS Census data has invariably illustrated these constant struggles.

So why do we always see Aboriginal Australians occupying these lower levels of society? The answers are varied and can be difficult to pinpoint – and let's face it, if they were easy we would assume these figures would be drastically different today –



but we can suggest with a fair degree of certainty that there are some common societal elements that conspire to ensure these statistical results. We have already discussed the role of colonialism in shaping contemporary society, and we can allude to this being a general contributor. However, for the purposes of this book, we will focus on two broad issues for Aboriginal Australians – identity and race.

## **Identity**

As we discussed in the beginning of this chapter, identity is a complex and vitally important element of society. By not fully understanding our identity, we effectively deny ourselves the full ability to engage in the world around us. For Aboriginal people, the issue of identity presents multi-layered challenges. Not only is there the question of our collective national identity to wrestle with, but we also must negotiate where we fit within that national identity. For many of us, we are caught between the two worlds of white and black in Australia – a colonial culture that has forged itself upon a set of ideals predominantly transported from Great Britain and Europe, and a millennia old culture that has become invisible and apparently redundant in the modern world. Yet, as many Aboriginal people are well aware, the expectation to remain ‘true’ to our culture is particularly strong. We are therefore, in many cases, torn between a world that resonates with heart and spirit and one that fails to see any value in this in the ‘modern’ world.

In terms of identity, this is played out in the way we are seen and the way we see ourselves. For many Aboriginal people, particularly those in urban areas, cultural identity is an extremely difficult concept to negotiate as we are faced with numerous challenges to who we are. We are often judged by the outdated colonial measure of skin colour and then have our identity ascribed to us – that is, we are told where we belong and importantly where we don’t belong.

In the ‘mainstream’ world, we are seen as different because we have darker skin. In the Aboriginal world, we can be seen as different because of our lighter skin. The relative judgments of our skin colour produce an environment where we can feel excluded from both areas of society.

Today, such tensions are often perceived to be confined to adults – what we read in the news, the views we construct based on what we see and experience as mature Australians. However, these tensions appear for many Aboriginal people at a very young age, and are the foundations for cultural identity and understandings later in life.

---

## THE URBAN ABORIGINAL

My cousin, Carolyn Dawe (nee Peters), captured the essence of these experiences of exclusion with the following poem written in 1991 that describes her experiences as a young Aboriginal girl growing up in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne:

### *The Urban Aboriginal*

I'm an urban Aboriginal who has no place to go  
'Cause our culture is almost forgotten and now who seems to know  
I'm too white to be black and too black to be white  
And the only time I can belong to either is when I'm alone at night  
If only we were allowed to remember our History and Knowledge of the past  
But my people lived in Melbourne so of course it couldn't last  
It didn't last because we were rounded up like cattle  
And we were told just what to do which makes teaching such a battle  
And some of the kids were taken away, before they had a chance  
To learn about the history and also about the dance  
So we slowly started losing everything, with all the changes that came in  
And sadly I must say is that I think it was a sin!  
Because now I know nothing and my kids will know nothing too  
Even with the simplest things, like a woman can't blow a didgeridoo  
I'll never have the knowledge of what went on before my time.  
So what answers do I give to my children, do I tell them everything is fine.  
I can only tell them what I know and I hope that it's enough  
I hope that they don't feel the same, cause my god it's bloody tough.  
I will always call myself a Koori and I will tell it to everyone with Pride,  
But I do and always will have that little ache inside.

*Carolyn Peters 1991*

---

We also, therefore, need to become aware of not only how we as adults may make judgments based on skin colour, but of how these judgments can begin at a very early age. They may, of course, also alter over time and with experience.

Such judgments, which it could be argued are basic human characteristics (ie to observe difference), are today practiced on the basis of the colonial assumptions of early Australia. As such, they do an injustice to both Aboriginal people (through the prejudice of stereotyping) and non-Aboriginal people (through a denial of a genuine learning experience). By using only the colonial lens to make assumptions of someone,

we negate our ability to really know and understand them. The desire to learn about other groups has existed in colonial Australia from the very beginning. As we discussed earlier, the 19<sup>th</sup> century scientific advancements created a desire to know and understand Aboriginal people in a colonial (British) context. Developments in this knowledge created a kind of 'repository' of knowledge that was drawn upon to explain Aboriginal people and culture to the 'mainstream' public. As the social fabric of Australia changed, so did the methods of learning.

The increase in the number of cultural groups in Australia forced us to examine the way we learned about other cultures. The problems with stereotyping were identified and a deeper learning was sought to respond to the growth of multiculturalism. For Aboriginal Australians, this created a double-edged sword. On the one hand, awareness of culture was increasing and the previous problems of hegemony and assumed superiority were addressed, while on the other hand emerging categories of sub-cultures were identified – including the cultural hybridity discussed above. This in turn developed into a discourse of authenticity and produced the concept of 'real' Aboriginality.

'Real' Aboriginality referred to those who had a direct connection to pre-contact (ie 'traditional') culture – those who were proficient in language, adept at traditional skills such as hunting, weaving and fishing, and in many cases were initiated into ceremony. They were symbolised by dark skin and 'traditional' dress. They embodied the earlier rejected stereotype of Aboriginal culture. Anyone who didn't fit within this clearly defined category was considered to be inauthentic, and 'not a REAL Aborigine'. Most Aboriginal people in the urban areas of Australia (those who felt the effects of imposed colonisation the most), fell into this latter category. For us, Aboriginal identity has become a long-term issue.

---

### **“WHERE ARE YOU FROM?”**

The question that probably signifies racial difference and Othering in our society more than any other is: “Where are you from?” For darker-skinned people, it is the clear marker for cultural othering, particularly in Australia today. ‘Where are you from?’ often asked with purely innocent intent carries with it much more than innocent inquisitiveness. Anyone of ‘colour’ who has been asked that question can tell you of the feeling of distance that is felt, as there is an unspoken racial element to the question. When someone asks the question – and it is clearly asked based on a physical assumption of a non-white cultural heritage – what they are really asking is “Where are you from, *because you don't look like you come from here*”. I have been asked this

question numerous times in my life, and in each case the conversation usually goes something like this:

Anonymous Inquirer: Where are you from?

Me: Australia

Anonymous Inquirer: No, no, originally

Me: Australia

Anonymous Inquirer: No, where was your family from?

Me: Australia

Anonymous Inquirer: No, I don't think you understand. Where is your family heritage from?

Me (*thinking to myself; I understand EXACTLY what you're saying, YOU don't understand what I'm saying!*): Australia

Anonymous Inquirer: Ohhh....you're Aboriginal.

There are two things I draw from such encounters – one, this person has judged me on the basis of my appearance, and two, being Aboriginal is distinct from being Australian.

So the next time you are genuinely interested in the cultural background of someone else, think for a minute about what you say, and how you ask – are you judging and Othering them?

There have been a number of articles published on this issue relating to cultural difference in Australia, including African migrants (see, for example, Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo 2010).

---

## **Effects of Identity Politics**

Debates about Indigenous identity have left indelible marks on almost all Indigenous cultures throughout the world. The impact of British colonisation has created a number of similar scenarios for the descendants of each of these cultures and is still felt today. In writing on issues of identity for native Americans, Michelle Raheja (2011) discussed the concept of 'double consciousness' where "the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others" ( p. 15) becomes a poignant reminder of the ongoing effects of colonisation.

The issue of identity also involves negotiating one's identity within contemporary Aboriginal communities as well. Internal politics have become a standard part of almost every Aboriginal community in Australia today and defending your Aboriginal identity is unfortunately all too common in our world. This issue has been exacerbated through

Australia's inability to accurately and effectively understand Aboriginal people. Throughout our history there have been many varied attempts to 'define' Aboriginal people and address the issues in our governance and policy frameworks, with little success. In 1986, Secretary to the Attorney General John McCorquodale conducted an audit of Australian legislation and found no less than 67 different definitions of what it meant to be Aboriginal (McCorquodale 1986). No wonder governments had trouble understanding Aboriginal people and culture!

To address this, the Australian Government became one of the first in the world to develop a standard definition. To be considered Indigenous in Australia, one must:

- Be of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander descent
- Identify as an Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander and
- Be accepted as such within the Aboriginal community

### **Racism in contemporary society**

Another major issue for Aboriginal people in contemporary society is the contentious issue of racism. Racism is seen as a 'dirty' word in Australia as it almost always brings with it negative connotations and invariably a strong denial – nobody really wants to be labelled racist.

Racism has a number of elements, including historical, political, social and cultural. It is a process that involves one group identifying and locating an 'other' group as distinct and different based on physical, cultural and social characteristics. In most cases, these differences are also seen as fixed and unable to change. And racism invariably includes an element of assumptive cultural superiority. It is therefore a manifestation of racial and cultural Othering that produces differential (and often unfair) treatment of others based on the assumption of inferiority.

Racism occurs on three broad levels:

1. Internalised racism – the resultant condition of colonial hegemony that sees Whiteness as normal and 'mainstream' and thus racially differentiates those viewed as Other. It results in often subconscious 'default' reactions being grounded in the assumption of cultural superiority of this Whiteness and the critical, often derogatory, treatment of other (non-White) groups

2. Interpersonal racism – the manifestation of racist attitudes and beliefs that result in direct racist treatment of one individual from another

3. Institutional racism – the institutions, organisations and societal structures that control and guide our society are all, without exception, constructed and operating within an exclusively colonial framework, meaning that input and involvement from non-colonial groups is virtually non-existent. As a result, the motivations, operations and expectations of these institutions are measured exclusively by colonial (White) measures in contemporary society.

---

## **RACISM IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY**

The public reaction to incidents of racism in Australia can be accurately described as perpetually divided. Whenever such incidents come to public attention, talk back shows, newspaper editorials and online forums are inundated with views from the public about the issue. At one end, we are labelled as a racist nation, and at the other, political correctness gone mad.

There have been numerous incidents in contemporary Australia that flame the racism debate in this country, including:

- *Hey Hey It's Saturday* (1999) – in its comeback episode in 2009, six men performed an act on the 'Red Faces' segment of the show, wearing blackface makeup and depicting the Jackson Five. Guest judge Harry Connick Jr. was appalled and immediately made his displeasure known. After an on-air apology was issued, debate raged among Australians about whether or not the skit was racist, or if this was an overreaction.
- The Australian Football League (AFL) has seen a number of incidents of racism, with some becoming seminal moments in both sporting and Australian history, including:
  - Nicky Winmar (1993); playing for St. Kilda against Collingwood, Winmar raised his jumper and pointed to his skin in defiance of the constant racial abuse from the crowd. The image (see below) has become an iconic symbol of race and sport.
  - Michael Long (1995); playing for Essendon (again against Collingwood), Long was the first player to publicly identify and report on-field racial abuse from an opponent. Long's stand led to the introduction of the AFL's Racial Vilification Policy, the first professional sporting body in Australia to do so.
  - Adam Goodes (2013, 2015); during the AFL's Indigenous Round in 2013, Goodes publicly identified a crowd member who had racially abused him, leading to the fan's ejection from the stadium; in 2015, Goodes performed an impromptu 'war dance' in celebration of a goal, again during Indigenous

Round. What followed were many weeks of constant ‘booing’ of Goodes by opposition fans. This is explored further in Chapter 7.

Each of these incidents involved Indigenous players either defending or celebrating their culture. Winmar reacted to the racial taunts from the crowd, Long reacted to a racist taunt from an opponent; and Goodes responded to a crowd taunt. In each case, public opinion was divided over the actions of each player.

The resources section at the end of the chapter includes some links to these incidents. When you have a look at them, take particular note of the public reactions. Why do you think they are constantly divided?

---

There is no doubt that contemporary society has greatly improved its understanding and awareness of the issue of racism. Generally more and more people are not only aware of what racism is but actively participate to reduce its occurrences. However, while we have far fewer cases of overt racism – the obvious, visible discrimination of someone based on racial identity - they have been replaced by more subtle forms of racism. The institutional racism discussed above is one example of this, what Jhally and Lewis (1992) call ‘enlightened racism’, where ‘mainstream’ (White) societal expectations are imposed upon non-White cultures. That is, where White people don’t prejudice or discriminate against black people simply because of their colour, provided that these black people appear “just like white people” by fitting “neatly into the privileged middle class world” ( p. 98) that contemporary society upholds as desirable or normal.

Jhally and Lewis focused their work on the 1980s hit TV series ‘The Cosby Show’, where comedian Bill Cosby and his on-screen family displayed the lifestyle of a ‘typical’ upper-middle class American family. The aspirational tone of this scenario provided a diversion from the hitherto portrayals of African Americans on TV, but also presented them within the dominant ‘mainstream’ (White) culture of the US. Thus, those African Americans who didn’t fit within the framework provided by the Cosbys on TV are still seen as outsiders, while the Cosbys represent the lifestyle that African American people can, and should, aspire to.

The enlightened racism has emerged as a key part of the racism discourse today, and shows us that while there has been progress, there is still a long way to go.

In Australia in particular, racism is an almost taboo topic and most people will go out of their way to avoid discussing it. Along with other ‘uncomfortable’ social issues such as

sexual discrimination and harassment, our cultural roots that are embedded in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial attitudes of paternalism and racial superiority compel us to view racism as someone else's problem. That is, we predominantly see racism from the 'mainstream' view (ie the perpetrator) rather than the cultural Other (victim). Having not experienced racism as a victim, colonial Australia struggles to understand the implications of its racialising behaviour, and thus we tend to dismiss many incidents of racism as 'just a bit of fun', with 'no harm or malic intended'.

Hopefully, in a similar way to the gradual but effective progress we have made with sexual discrimination, we can move away from this myopic view of racism and become much more empathetic to its devastating long-term effects.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter we examined the complexity of race, culture and identity in contemporary society. Despite a lack of formal examination in our education system, the issue of identity is an extremely important one for us all. It defines who we are, and most importantly, helps us to understand our place and role in the society around us. There are many things that influence our identity, including our family, friends, our beliefs and our attitudes, which in turn are all closely linked to our culture.

Culture, the sharing of a set of rules that govern our behaviour, is a representation of how a group of people coexist. It has a number of social and cultural elements that reflect who we are, as well as institutional elements that shape our daily lives. Examination of these factors allows us to examine what is called our cultural identity.

In our multicultural society, cultural identity can be a difficult concept to negotiate. Multiple ancestries create a number of layers to our heritage, and this can be difficult to navigate in the contemporary world. For Aboriginal Australians, this issue becomes even more complicated as there are both internal and external identity politics that influence how we are seen, and how we see ourselves, many of which have roots in early colonial experiences. For contemporary Aboriginal people, the reality of cultural hybridity looms large as a lifelong challenge to face.

In addition, as with all postcolonial societies in the world today, racism is a crucial social issue. Understanding and dealing with racism remains an ongoing challenge for an Australian society that was predicated upon notions of White superiority, paternalistic control, and very little awareness of the cultural differences that the 'inferior' native people possessed.



Chapter 4 looks a little deeper into some of these early perceptions and how they both developed and endured to mould the way that the nation learned about, understood and represented the native inhabitants.

## Discussion Questions

1. In a short paragraph, describe your identity. What has influenced and shaped it? Has it changed, or do you think it will change? Now, try and describe it in one sentence.
2. How do the notions of race, culture and identity converge for you? That is, what are the racial and cultural influences on your identity?
3. Think about your workplace or your university, and formulate a definition of its culture. What kinds of things influenced your thinking?
4. Give some examples of common stereotypes about any cultural group. Critically examine your own attitudes, and discuss any racial stereotypes you may currently hold. Why do you think you feel this way?
5. What is racism? Look at the examples provided below and using a web search, find another two examples. Do you think Australia is a racist society?
6. What do you understand of the term 'enlightened racism'? Describe an example in your world today.

## Other Resources

### Books and Articles

Bhatia, S. (2002), *Orientalism in Euro-American and Indian psychology: Historical representations of "natives" in colonial and postcolonial contexts*. *History of Psychology* 5(4): 376-398.

Carter, D. (2006). *Dispossession, dreams and diversity: issues in Australian studies*. Frenchs Forest, Pearson Education Australia.

Cowlishaw, G. (2004). *Blackfellas, whitefellas, and the hidden injuries of race*. Carlton, Blackwell Publishing.

Crooks, R. (2014). *Enlightened Racism and The Cosby Show*. *The Owl* 4(1): 4 - 13. Available at: <http://diginole.lib.fsu.edu/owl/> (Accessed 25/11/2015)

Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. London, Penguin.

Innes, R. (2013), Elder Brother and the Law of the People, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press

## **Online**

Hey Hey It's Saturday:

News report: <http://www.news.com.au/entertainment/tv/hey-hey-its-saturday-in-red-faces-racist-row/story-e6frfmyi-1225784048432>

You Tube Clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qEtjaZ8ZuNU>

Adam Goodes:

Australian of the Year speech news report - -

<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/sport/afl/adam-goodes-australian-of-the-year-speech-turned-fans-against-sydney-swans-champ-but-is-it-really-divisive/story-fni5f22o-1227463023081>

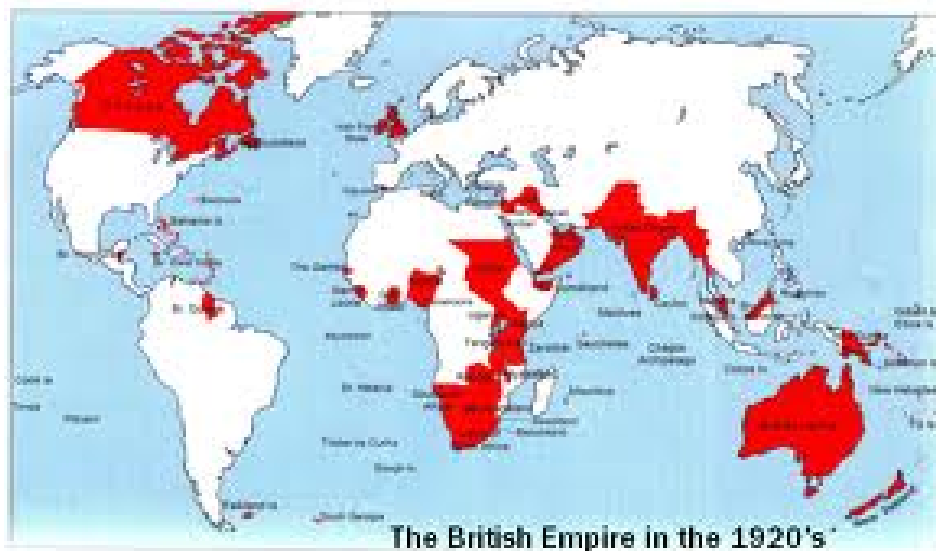
Nicky Winmar – see Eva, B 2013, The day Winmar drew the line in the sand, Australian Football League - <http://www.afl.com.au/news/2013-05-25/the-day-winmar-drew-the-line-in-the-sand>

Encyclopaedia of Saskatchewan – Metis Culture and Language - [http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/metis\\_culture\\_and\\_language.html](http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/metis_culture_and_language.html)

## CHAPTER 4 – COLONIAL DOCTRINES AND REPRESENTATIONS

### Introduction – colonial influence

The opening chapters of this book have discussed the enormous role British colonialism played in the shaping of the modern world, and in particular what we identify as the *Western world*. Generally accepted as emerging in the last 18<sup>th</sup> century and reigning until the two World Wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, at its height the British Empire was the largest in world history, comprising over 40 countries.



**Figure 9:** The British Empire in the 1920s – Source: (Notes Concerning the British Empire n.d.)

This influence is still very much evident today, as despite the majority of these countries claiming either independence or autonomy from British control, there are today over 50 countries who state English as their official language. The influence of British colonisation is seen and felt every day in such countries.

So how did the British, occupying such a relatively small area of Europe, manage to control so much of the world's land?

	Country	Yr		Country	Yr	
1	Australia	1901		22	Mauritius	1968
2	Bahrain	1971		23	Myanmar	1948
3	Bangladesh	1947		24	New Zealand	1907
4	Botswana	1966		25	Nigeria	1960
5	Canada	1867		26	Oman	1971
6	Cyprus	1960		27	Pakistan	1947
7	Egypt	1922		28	Qatar	1971
8	Fiji	1970		29	Sierra Leone	1961
9	Gambia	1965		30	Singapore	1959
10	Ghana	1957		31	South Africa	1910
11	Guyana	1966		32	Sri Lanka	1948
12	India	1947		33	Sudan	1956
13	Iraq	1932		34	Swaziland	1968
14	Israel	1948		35	Tanzania	1961
15	Jamaica	1962		36	Trinidad/ Tobago	1962
16	Jordan	1948		37	Uganda	1962
17	Kenya	1963		38	United Arab Emirates	1971
18	Kuwait	1961		39	United States	1783
19	Lesotho	1966		40	Yemen	1967
20	Malawi	1964		41	Zambia	1964
21	Malaysia	1957		42	Zimbabwe	1965
<b>Yr = Year of Independence</b>						
Source: Lange & Dawson (2009, pp815-816)						

**Figure 10:** List of former British colonies – Source: (Lange & Dawson 2009pp. 815 - 816)

## Colonial doctrines

Chapters 2 and 3 looked at the reasons for British expansion, including competition with other European powers, the need for more resources (particularly land) to fuel the growth of the capitalist economy, and the rise in number and cost of prisoners in the penal system. Such expansion, historically considered inevitable, was conducted under the watchful eye of Britain’s many neighbours – and competitors. As such, there were certain expectations about how expansion should take place, and the protocols to which each nation’s explorers should adhere.

One of the key actions of the European colonial expansion area was the acquisition of land. In their attempt to adhere to the protocols mentioned above, the British occupied new territories in one of the three agreed ways in international law of the time, terra nullius.

## Terra Nullius

Chapter 2 also looked at the British methods of land acquisition during colonial expansion, which included:

- Direct conflict – eg. the occupation of present day England by the Normans in the Battle of Hastings in 1066
- Cession – eg. establishment of treaties in the United States, Canada and New Zealand.
- Terra Nullius – the method by which the land of Australia was acquired.

Our Australian experience saw the British imposition of terra nullius centre on two key aspects:

- No recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty or political systems
- No recognisable evidence of ownership or occupation

Cook and Banks are generally credited with the first recorded observations of 'Terra Australis', the great southern land that they had come to find, and based their recordings on both their observations of the landscape and the Aboriginal people, and previous experiences in North America and New Zealand. The perceptions they had of Aboriginal people here relative to their encounters in these other lands have had a profound and lasting impact on Australia's history.

An analysis of British colonial expansion will invariably raise the question: why did James Cook invoke Terra Nullius to claim Australia? It was clear that he had observed native inhabitants, and his previous experiences had shown that Indigenous peoples of the southern hemisphere had established very clear societal structures. As we discussed in Chapter 2, he had very clear instructions on how he and his party should conduct themselves in their interactions. Cook was to:

*observe the Genius, Temper and Disposition and Number of the Natives, if there be any, and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them presents of such Trifles as they may Value, inviting them to Traffick and Showing them every kind of Civility and Regard*

(Beaglehole, in Ogleby 1993)

Cook's instructions were also clear on how land should be acquired, which reflected the laws of international land acquisition at the time:

*You are also with the Consent of the natives to take possession of Convenient Situations in the Country in the Name of the King of Great Britain; or, if you find the Country uninhabited take possession for His*

*Majesty by setting up proper marks and inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors*

(Beaglehole, in Ogleby 1993).

As we have discussed already, the arrival of James Cook to Australia brought new challenges for his travelling party, unlike their previous experiences. It became quite clear that language and communication would be a problem, and that they would need to work harder on relationships with these Indigenous peoples. It still remains unclear as to exactly why Cook made the decision to invoke Terra Nullius to claim Australia for the King. The lack of apparent cooperation from the Aboriginal people towards Cook and his men led them to a couple of key conclusions. Firstly, that these people were not as advanced as the 'natives' of New Zealand, Their lack of communication and inability to negotiate any land led the British to deduce that these native peoples were not capable of such 'advanced' behaviour. Secondly, that there wasn't considered to be a significant population of native inhabitants in Australia due to the limited interactions that Cook and his men had with them. Cook's perceptions suggested that:

*(N)either are they very numerous, they live in small parties along by the Sea Coast, the banks of Lakes, Rivers, creeks &c (sic). They seem to have no fix'd habitation but move about from place to place like wild Beasts in search of food, and I believe depend wholly upon the success of the present day for their subsistence... we never saw one Inch of Cultivated land in the whole country*

(from Beaglehole, in Woolmington 1988 p. 3).

Joseph Banks supported this view, stating that "(t)his immense tract of land...considerably larger than all of Europe, is thinly inhabited even to admiration". Despite admissions that these perceptions were based on limited experiences, Banks also drew the conclusion that the interior land was "totally uninhabited," as "the wild produce of the Land seems scarce able to support them" without an adequate water supply (Banner 2005 p. 99).

Cook and Banks also observed (and reported back to Britain) that the native inhabitants had no forms of agriculture, a key symbol to the Europeans of intelligence and civilisation (Banner 2005). These conclusions drew Cook and Banks into the assumption that the land, therefore, was uninhabited and 'available', therefore lending itself to the invocation of terra nullius, and the acquisition of the land on behalf of King George VI.

These perceptions, however, were almost immediately discounted upon the First Fleet's 'settlement' of Australia. Many of the settler-colonists began to identify with the Aboriginal and their struggles, as life for the settler-colonists themselves was rarely easy. In particular, many early settlers became aware that Cook had underestimated the population, with Arthur Phillip reporting that Banks' claim of an uninhabited interior was "utterly wrong" (Banner 2005 p. 113) and estimates indicating a population of anywhere between 1 and 1.5 million (Butlin 1993). In addition, the effects of colonisation on the Aboriginal people were being noticed:

*While, as the contagion of European intercourse has extended itself among them, they gradually lose the better properties of their own character, they appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours*

(from Woolmington 1988 p. 76)

The doctrine of Terra Nullius endured in Australia for 222 years. For all of this time, including with the drafting of Australia's Constitution in 1901, Aboriginal people were not officially recognised as the original inhabitants of the land that became Australia. It was only with the High Court Mabo decision on 1992 that the first official recognition of Aboriginal history, culture and connections to land came (see Chapter 2).

This is what distinguishes Australia's colonial experience from the Americans, Canadians and New Zealanders. In each of these cases, treaties were negotiated between the native groups and the British virtually at first contact. Moreover, although the creation of treaties has not excluded these countries from issues of race and identity in the contemporary world (see below), it has ensured that these native groups have received ongoing recognition of their status as original inhabitants.

---

## **ISSUE OF TREATIES**

Treaties have been as much a part of the history of some countries as British colonialism itself.

A treaty is a formal relationship or agreement between two or more states in terms of peace, alliance, commerce or trade. In British colonial history these documents established and formalised the relationship between the various native groups and the colonisers during early times. In general terms, treaties can cover a broad range of concepts (such as a contract, compact or settlement). British treaties fundamentally addressed issues of land cession and acquisition and recognition of rights for the

native inhabitants. Each treaty involved a series of negotiations, which in many cases remain ongoing.

Treaties in North America and New Zealand were first instigated upon contact between the British and the native groups, As such the native (and original) inhabitants of these countries have rights firmly entrenched in their respective nations' founding documents. For example:

United States: Declaration of Independence, (1776). Negotiations began almost immediately, and the first treaties with the Native Americans were established in 1778.

Canada: Royal Proclamation (1867), followed by the 1876 Indian Act, although treaty negotiation began in 1701. The Royal Proclamation formed the basis for the Crown to enter treaty agreements with First Nations peoples, and scrip with the Métis. Canada's contemporary constitution, the Constitution Act was only passed in 1982.

New Zealand: Treaty of Waitangi (1840). New Zealand's founding document established that "Māori gave the Crown rights to govern and to develop British settlement, while the Crown guaranteed Māori full protection of their interests and status, and full citizenship rights" (Waitangi Tribunal 2015). This was ratified by the Treaty of Waitangi Act of 1975, which was created to address the inconsistencies created by the language differences of the original treaty signing in 1840.

The Australian Constitution, by contrast, makes no reference to the Aboriginal people that Cook and Banks have recorded in their journals. As such, Aboriginal people are not officially recognised as having the rights recognised of the Native Americans, Canadians, and Māori.

As mentioned, however, the signing of treaties has not absolved nations from contemporary problems of race and identity. Indeed, the often complex and ambiguous nature of these early treaties has created what Jill St. Germain has labelled a 'broken treaties tradition' (St. Germain 2009). The ambiguous intentions of settlers and native groups, the misalignment of understanding of land ownership and language and communication difficulties at the times of signing the treaties resulted in both settler and Indigenous groups almost constantly at odds over the honouring and alleged breaking of treaties on both sides. The also creates issues in terms of government accountability, and a situation where cultural diversity is apparently overlooked in favour of a more national (for example pan-American) approach to cultural issues.



In our contemporary world, opinion remains divided over the value of treaties. In Australia in particular, the debate over treaties is as divided as the one on a republic. So what do you think? Should we establish treaties here?

---

## **Treaties**

Although they have a long history in the US, Canada, and New Zealand, treaties have not made these countries immune from racial division. Social welfare statistics in each of these countries still show a clear over-representation of Indigenous groups in major categories such as health (eg chronic disease and life expectancy), income, employment, incarceration and many others.

In North America, treaties were established on an almost needs basis by colonisers in various parts of the country. In Canada, treaties were established to compensate First Nations peoples for extinguishment of their title to land. For the Métis peoples, scrip was used in lieu of treaties, but effectively served the same purpose – recompense for title extinguishment. Today, there are literally hundreds of individual treaties that address rights and responsibilities of both the native groups and federal, state and provincial governments, the latest of which – the ‘James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement’ – was signed in 1975. However, ongoing problems still persist with the issue of treaties.

Firstly, in many cases the original intentions of those signing the treaties were different. For example, the concepts of land ownership of Indigenous peoples and settler-colonists were – and remain – markedly different. For Indigenous people, land was not an asset or a resource, but the very source of life itself. As such, no one group or person could lay claim to ‘ownership’ of the land as a material possession, unlike the coloniser’s view of land as a capitalist resource, or a material possession that becomes one’s ‘own’ when a ‘fair’ price is paid for it. From the very beginning, therefore, the respective objectives of each treaty contained inconsistencies. In addition, the terms of the treaties have often led to ongoing issues. Terms such as ‘perpetuity’ that referred to the length of any agreements have often been the source of contestation and legal issues for many years.

---

### **BATMAN’S TREATY OF MELBOURNE**

In Australia’s colonial history there are two documented examples of treaties being attempted between the settlers and Aboriginal people. One is known as the Parramatta Treaty, and was the culmination of the ‘Bathurst Wars’ between the Wiradjuri people

and British Imperial forces during the 1820s. In December 1827, a Wiradjuri leader, Windradyne, led a 'secret' party to the home of Governor Brisbane to negotiate the end of the war, while most of the British soldiers at the time had travelled down to Bathurst to join the fighting. A clearly surprised and undermanned Governor Brisbane was forced to negotiate with Windradyne, and subsequently signed an agreement with him for British sovereignty of the land in exchange for the stipulations of the Wiradjuri. After Windradyne's death in 1835, the land was gradually overtaken by pastoralists, effectively rendering the treaty obsolete (Atwell 2011).

The second and more widely known attempt was by the recognised 'founder' of Melbourne, John Batman, to negotiate purchase of much of the land in and around present-day Melbourne with the Kulin nations. In June 1835 Batman, in conjunction with several Kulin leaders, negotiated the 'sale' of around 500,000 acres of land around Melbourne, and a further 100,000 near Geelong, in exchange for rather valuable items including blankets, knives, tomahawks, scissors, looking-glasses, flour, handkerchiefs and shirts:

"After some time and full explanation I found eight chiefs among them, who possessed the whole of the country near Port Phillip. I purchases two large tracts of country from them – about 600,000 acres, more or less – and delivered to them blankets, knives etc. as payment for the land, and also agreed to give them tribute or rent yearly." – from Batman's journal (Argus 1934).



**Figure 11:** Copy of Batman's Treaty – Source (Dawson 1981)

Although historically ground-breaking in Australia, it is highly likely that both parties had different perceptions on what this treaty was signalling – Batman assumed that he was

purchasing the land (as per British law), while the Kulin probably presumed that they were granting access to the land (as opposed to ownership) in the same way that visitors from other clans would be granted access once officially welcomed.

The treaty, however, was almost immediately revoked by the British Crown in August 1835 on the basis that, according to colonial leaders, the Kulin nation did not have sovereignty or ownership of the land and therefore no legal right to negotiate for it.

Sources: (see also Banner 2005; and Dawson 1981)

---

Still, the fact remains that Australia is still the only former British colony to NOT have established treaties with its native inhabitants.

In addition to the issues and ramifications of terra nullius in Australia discussed above, its establishment created an ongoing and enduring paradigm of colonialism here that shapes and creates our collective knowledge of native peoples.

## **The concept of Aboriginalism**

In Chapter 2 we briefly discussed the work of Edward Said, and in particular his theorising of cultural Othering in his 1978 book *Orientalism*. Here, Said discussed the ways that the Western world sees, understands and discusses the East - the Orient (Said 1978). In 1992 Australian historian Bain Attwood published *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines* which translated Said's thesis into the Australian experience, suggesting that Australia had historically viewed Aboriginal people through this same lens of cultural ignorance (Attwood 1992). That is, we tend to look at Aboriginal people and culture only through our understandings of the European, colonial world. Attwood labelled this concept 'Aboriginalism' (Attwood 1992).

Aboriginalism is the Western construction of Aboriginal knowledge, culture, history and identity, control of which was wrested from Aboriginal people. This Western construction is based on stereotypical images and characteristics (such as the Dreaming/Dreamtime), artefacts (eg. boomerangs, didgeridus), and appearance (dark skin, flat nose, curly black hair), and is fixed in history. This positions Aboriginal people as the nomadic, primitive Other – the “childhood of humankind” (Attwood 1992 p. iv) - that European 'civilisation' had left behind to enter the modern world

Aboriginalism depends on colonial power, and colonialism has depended on Aboriginalism. It has been characterised by an overarching relationship of power between coloniser and colonised where Aboriginal people are created “as an essence

that exists in binary opposition to non-Aborigines, and... not subject to historical change" (Attwood 1992 p. xi).

This view, Attwood asserts, has dominated Australian cultural and popular thinking from the very beginning of colonisation.

### **Forms of Aboriginalism**

Attwood also suggests that Aboriginalism has independent forms through which it manifests in our everyday lives:

Study – teaching, research and scholarly discussion of Aboriginal peoples and cultures was predominantly conducted by non-Aboriginal people. The knowledge that was created and disseminated from this through our schools and universities subsequently informed Australian society, including policy makers, about how to understand and treat Aboriginal people.

Style of thought – in this context, Attwood suggests that the practice of cultural Othering became a crucial method by which European imperialists acquired knowledge of non-Europeans. This method of knowledge acquisition, based on the binary notion of self (European) and other (non-European) also contained an inherent element of power that favoured the Europeans. Aboriginal Australians therefore occupied the position of the subordinate 'other', a cultural group fixed in the distant past and both distinct from and inferior to the 'normal', white European 'self'.

Institutionalisation – the creation of institutions and organisational structures that, based on the above two forms, ensured that the assumed authority over Aboriginal people was maintained. Examples include our political system and its policies, the education system and its pedagogy, and the capitalist economy driven by materialism. All of these hegemonic systems are founded upon European models that inherently exclude Aboriginal peoples and culture in their structures and operations (from Attwood 1992).

Analysing Attwood's work we can see the basis upon which many negative assumptions of Aboriginal peoples in Australia have been made. In particular, as we discussed in Chapter 2 and above, the Australian political system is based on the British Westminster system of an Upper and Lower House and democratically elected representatives. However, this system is exclusionary to anything other than the white Eurocentric paradigm from which it emerged. Even our system of democracy has inherent flaws that severely hinder its assumed fairness. Maori educator Graham

Hingangaroa Smith argues that in our Westminster model (of ‘one person, one vote, majority rules’) minority groups don’t always have their rights recognised or supported by the process as their population numbers are lower. Thus, the Westminster system reproduces the interests of the dominant, more populous groups (Smith 2009). For Indigenous people in a numerical minority, the political playing field is not always level.

## Australian Government

We can see here that the experience of Aboriginal people in Australia has been a difficult one to negotiate, and a difficult one for our policy makers to both understand and deal with. Statistically, Aboriginal people are the most disadvantaged cultural group in areas such as health, welfare, education, incarceration, housing and income (for an example, see Figure 12 below). It is clear that there are fundamental issues that need addressing in terms of public policy and Aboriginal peoples.

However, successive governments have failed to engage with Aboriginal people in any sustainable, meaningful way and have largely seen these issues as a “problem to be solved” (Maddison 2009). This has resulted in what Sarah Maddison describes as a “continual and unambiguous policy failure” that saw governments attempt to deliver simple programs to address complex issues (Maddison 2009 p. 1).

### S9.1 SELECTED PERFORMANCE INDICATORS: INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS PERSONS

	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Gap	Rate Ratio(a)
Male life expectancy (2005-2007)	67.2 yrs	78.7 yrs	11.5 yrs	0.9
Female life expectancy (2005-2007)	72.9 yrs	82.6 yrs	9.7 yrs	0.9
Infant mortality rate (2003-2007)	9.7 per 1,000 live births	4.4 per 1,000 live births	5.3 per 1,000 live births	2.2
Pre-school participation rate (2006)	33%	43%	10%	0.8
Reading (Year 7, 2008)	72%	95%	23%	0.8
Writing (Year 7, 2008)	68%	93%	25%	0.7
Numeracy (Year 7, 2008)	79%	96%	18%	0.8
Year 12 attainment (19 yr olds, 2006)	36%	74%	38%	0.5
Unemployment (2006)	16%	5%	11%	3.1

(a) An Indigenous to non-Indigenous rate ratio of 1.0 indicates parity, while rate ratios other than 1.0 indicate relative Indigenous advantage/disadvantage, depending on the indicator. For positive indicators such as life expectancy, a rate ratio of less than 1.0 indicates relative indigenous disadvantage, whereas for negative indicators such as the infant mortality rate, a rate ratio greater than 1.0 indicates relative indigenous disadvantage.

Source: Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage 2009; Infant mortality data from ABS (unpublished), Causes of Death collection.

**Figure 12:** ABS Performance Indicators - Source:(Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012a)

The Australian Government's history of cultural policies affecting Aboriginal people has followed a progressive line from complete exclusion to degrees of inclusion, yet none have achieved outcomes that have seen a lasting improvement in the living experiences of Aboriginal people. As with all other British colonial societies, the pre-colonial autonomy of Aboriginal societies was forcefully and immediately replaced by colonial dependency (Maddison 2009). Every aspect of life for Aboriginal Australians was controlled by the colonial government systems.

There have been four major cultural policies that impacted upon Aboriginal people in Australia: Protection, Assimilation, Integration and Multiculturalism. Each of these had a direct bearing on the livelihoods of Aboriginal people. Beginning with Protection in the pre-federation era, governments sought to control both the impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal peoples and the Aboriginal reactions to them. Progressively each policy was revised as Australian society evolved, yet none of them have ever really considered Aboriginal viewpoints in their operation.

## **Australia's Cultural Policies**

Policies affecting Aboriginal people were introduced soon after colonists established the new society here. Victoria was the first colony to enact policies regarding Aboriginal people, and despite Federation in 1901, it was not until the 1967 referendum that the Federal Government assumed responsibility for Aboriginal affairs. The four main policies that have affected Aboriginal Australians are:

**Protection** – beginning in Victoria with the Aborigines Protection Act (1869), these policies were designed to protect Aboriginal people from the devastation of colonisation, but also to allow the spread of colonisation. In effect, the protection era was about controlling the lives of Aboriginal people. Enacted during an era of general democratic reforms (including extending the right to vote to all men, not just the wealthy, and measures such as free public education), this policy reflected the prejudice with which Aboriginal people were treated in Australia. Through the creation of Protection Boards (eg. Board for the Protection of Aborigines or BPA), Protection Acts empowered governments with controls over such things as approved removal of children to attend boarding schools, where Aboriginal people could live and work, types of jobs they could take, who they could associate with and who they could marry. It was during the Protection era that missions and reserves were created across Australia (see below).

**Assimilation** – Although not labelled as an official policy until the 1950s, the assimilation era in Australia is generally accepted as lasting from early 1900s until the mid-1960s. The growing concern over previous policies and treatment of Aboriginal people created a wave of political activism that drew Aboriginal issues to national attention. Coupled with concerns over the large influx of predominantly Chinese immigrants during the Gold Rush era, and increases in post-War immigration, Commonwealth and State governments reached a general agreement that their goal should be the ‘absorption’ of the Aboriginal people into ‘mainstream’ society; excluding ‘full-bloods’. Commonly referred to as the White Australia policy, assimilation became firmly entrenched in the national consciousness:

*This country shall remain forever the home of the descendants of those people who came here in peace in order to establish in the South Seas an outpost of the British race*

Prime Minister John Curtin, 1941

The policy progressively gained support and was formally adopted as State and Federal policy in the 1950s, following the first Native Welfare Conference in Canberra in 1951, where assimilation, as the desired aim of welfare measures, was discussed and defined:

*Assimilation means~ in practical terms~ that, in the course of time~ it is expected that all persons of aboriginal blood or mixed blood in Australia will live like white Australians do*

(Johnston 1951 p. 4).

What is worth noting is the very clear intent to *transform* Aboriginal people into white Australians, and the complete lack of intent to include an Aboriginal voice in the policy. A decade later, a second Native Welfare Conference provided another definition:

*The policy of assimilation means in the view of all Australian governments that all Aborigines and part-Aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community, enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians*

(Native Welfare Conference 1961 p. 1).

Although the policy was introduced with genuine concern for Aboriginal people and culture, it failed to fully understand the cultural bonds that Aboriginal people had maintained since European arrival. It soon gave way to the growing social movement around cultural identity and pride that emerged in Australia in the 60s, signified by such developments as the 1967 referendum and the creation of government agencies dedicated to Aboriginal issues (Dow & Gardiner-Garden 2011).

**Integration** – Following criticism of the Assimilation policy, and in particular its exclusionary, hegemonic nature, government ministers sought new approaches to address issues of Aboriginal disadvantage. Problems with assimilation included its ignorance of the resilience of Aboriginal culture and peoples, and the willingness of Aboriginal people to maintain their cultural heritage. Assimilation had no consideration for cultural ties and was based on the flawed assumption that Aboriginal people *wanted* to live like white Australians. The gradual shift away from assimilation led to increased use of the term ‘integration’, which reflected the recognition of Aboriginal culture and the inherent rights of Aboriginal people to maintain language, traditions, and community ties. The integration era saw a number of key developments, including the NSW Freedom Rides (see Chapter 2), the 1967 Referendum, the emergence of dedicated government agencies, and the beginnings of land rights legislation in the early 1970s.

**Multiculturalism** – In addition to the growing awareness and understanding of Aboriginal culture, Australia’s immigration increased markedly, particularly following World War II. As such, cultural awareness and understanding were becoming vital ingredients to a successful society. The assumptive and exclusionary nature of Assimilation was gradually replaced with a more inclusive set of policies that better reflected the changing nature of Australia. In 1973, then Whitlam Government Immigration Minister Al Grassby issued a paper entitled ‘A multi-cultural society for the future’. By this time, migrant groups had formed associations to maintain their cultural identities, and promote the survival of their languages and heritages within “mainstream” Australia. In addition, the growing awareness of Aboriginal issues had placed, among others, land rights on the national agenda. By 1978, the first official policies of multiculturalism had taken effect. The policy is still as relevant today, with ABS figures showing our multicultural nature showing absolutely no signs of slowing down. At the 2010 Census in Australia:

- 1 in 4 people were born overseas
- 43% of Australians have at least one parent born overseas
- Of people born in Australia, 26% had a parent born overseas



- 16% of the total population speak a language other than English at home (including over 60 Indigenous languages)
- Over 270 individual ancestries are separately identified

Sources: (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013a; Australian Law Reform Commission 1977; Department of Social Services 2007; Native Welfare Conference 1961)

Developing effective cultural policy requires an understanding of those it affects. For too long in Australia successive governments have not had deep enough knowledge and insight into Aboriginal culture and peoples to be able to develop policies that address the issues for which they were designed. Our political system is built on a Eurocentric tradition that privileges the white middle class, and operates in a way that still emphasises class distinction (as we discussed above).

It is also evident that our colonial past still dominates our present. That our political system has altered very little over the past century may speak to the difficulties current governments have in creating and implementing successful policies for Aboriginal Australians. Let us now look at one of the most controversial and damaging effects of Australian government policies – the creation of missions and reserves during the Protection era.

---

## **OTHER NOTABLE POLICIES AND ACTS**

Although there have been numerous government policies and acts introduced, the area that perhaps generates most public debate is that of land rights. Beginning in the 1970s, Land Rights Acts have been progressively introduced, with many more requiring lengthy court hearings. Land Rights Acts generally set procedures for negotiation of land and resource use, funding of Land Councils and access to the land.

The first Land Rights Act in Australia was the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976. This act, after a number of years of fighting for recognition, recognises Aboriginal rights to land established Land Councils to facilitate processes for further action, and to manage land resources. (Northern Land Council n.d.). Today, there are approximately 30 such Land Councils in Australia, including 10 in Victoria (Department of Premier and Cabinet 2015).

The most famous and perhaps the most ground-breaking case in Australia in respect to land ownership has become known simply as Mabo, after the surname of the claimant. Eddie Koiki Mabo was a Meriam man from Mer (Murray Island) in the Torres Strait. In the 1970s while working at James Cook University in Townsville, Mabo learned that he was denied the right to 'visit' his homeland because it was now considered Crown land.

This both infuriated and inspired Eddie Mabo to begin what has become one of the greatest and most significant court cases in Australian history.

Following a 10-year battle in the High Court, Mabo and his fellow claimants were victorious. The High Court decided on June 3 1992 that native title did exist in Australian law and that “extinguishment of native title by the Crown by inconsistent grant is wrongful” (High Court of Australia). This judgment effectively acknowledged the legal errors of terra nullius and was the first formal recognition in Australian law of Aboriginal occupation and rights to land.

The Mabo decision opened the doors for a raft of land claims and has resulted in a number of successful cases including the Native Title Act of 1993 and the High Court Wik decision of 1996. A number of land cases all over the country remain ongoing.

---

## **Missions and Reserves**

A thorough discussion of the motivations for, nature and impact of missions and reserves requires a much greater space than this book allows. However, any understanding of contemporary Aboriginal culture absolutely must address this important part of Australian history.

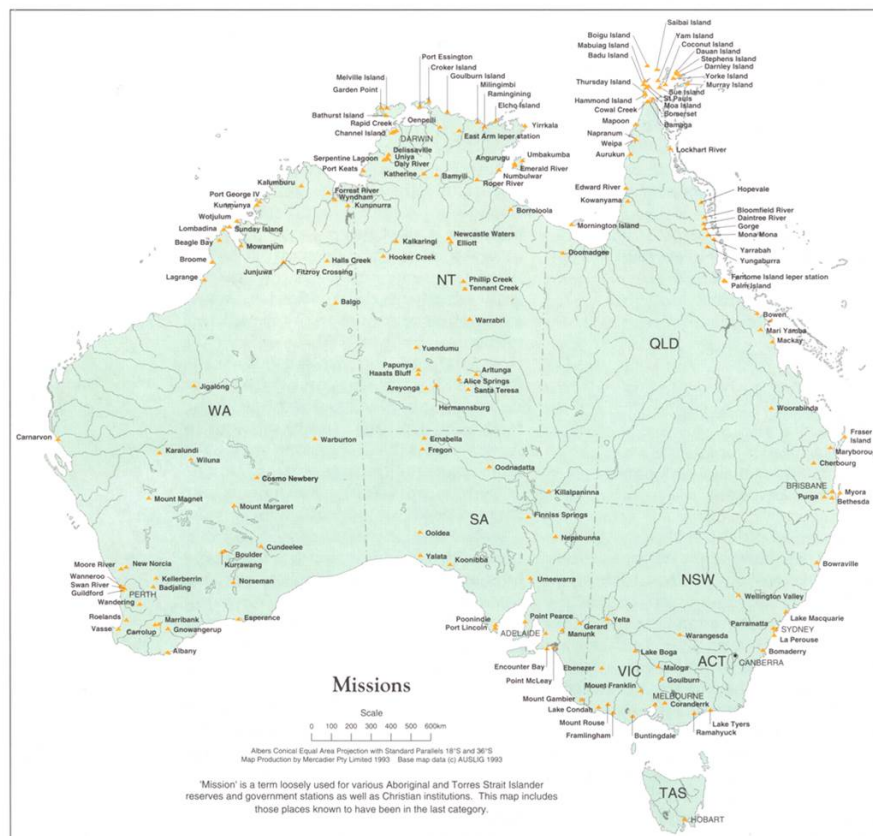
The term ‘missions and reserves’ is used here as a collective phrase for the period during the Protection era when they were established. Generally, missions were controlled by one of many religious and church groups such as Anglican, Jesuit, Roman Catholic and Lutheran, (among more than 30 in total) while reserves were Government controlled and operated. In addition, the word ‘station’ is often used as either a replacement or an addendum – for example, the government-run Coranderrk Reserve is sometimes referred to as Coranderrk Reserve Station, or simply Coranderrk Station.

Successful colonial expansion throughout the mid to late 1800s increasingly required land, forcing Aboriginal people from their homelands. All over the country, from around the 1820s onwards, the original inhabitants were required to relocate to accommodate the growing European population and its associated demands for land. However, many colonists worried about the fate of the Aboriginal people as the damage of colonisation was clearly evident. This scenario was a major factor in the establishment of the Protection era, and the associated Acts it produced. Beginning in Victoria in 1869; and followed by WA in 1886; Queensland in 1897; and NSW 1909, the enactment of Protection Acts facilitated the creation of missions and reserves.

As a product of this Protection era, missions and reserves were established throughout the colonies for multiple reasons, including to:

- Protect Aboriginal people from the damaging cultural effects of colonial expansion
- Educate and assimilate Aboriginal people into British colonial life
- Allow access to land for further expansion

Missions and Reserves operated in virtually every part of the country (see Figure 13) and numbered over 300 through the various stages from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards (see Table 1).



**Figure 13:** Map of Australian missions and reserves - Source: (AIATSIS n.d.-c), also see Resources section of this chapter.

Missions and reserves also served to try to educate Aboriginal people on colonial ways of living, including literacy and numeracy, work skills (such as farming and building), and the capitalist economy. Basically, it is argued they were used as tools of assimilation.

State/colony	No. of missions/reserves
Victoria	18
New South Wales	190
Queensland	39
Northern Territory	21
Western Australia	71
South Australia	26
Tasmania	None

**Table 1:** Australian missions and reserves - Source from AIATSIS

This protectionist paradigm also established the racialising of Aboriginal people. Beginning with the introduction in Victoria of the Half Caste Act in 1886 and followed by similar legislation in other states, Aboriginal people were segregated based purely on colonial perceptions of race. As such, those deemed to be ‘full-bloods’ were moved onto the stations and reserves under strict living conditions. These included a ban on certain cultural practices (eg language, dance etc.) and severe limitations on others (hunting, fishing etc.). Those who were not deemed to be full-blood Aboriginal people were labelled ‘half-castes’ and expected to assimilate into the white colonial society (see above).

The result of this policy was, and remains, devastating for Aboriginal people. The racial judgments of the Aboriginal people were based almost exclusively on skin colour, and took no consideration of kinship ties within communities. As such, a number of families were separated, communities were divided, and one of the key elements of Aboriginal cultural tradition was destroyed. Coupled with the clear and at times violent dispossession of land, the cultural resilience of Aboriginal people was severely tested.

There were approximately 18 such missions and reserves in Victoria (see also Figure 18), with one of the most prominent being Coranderrk, established near Healesville to the east of Melbourne. Coranderrk, known widely to Aboriginal people as one of the most successful reserves, was home to the remaining Kulin nation people and thrived under the guidance of Scottish manager John Green and Aboriginal leaders Simon Wonga and William Barak.

---

### **CORANDERRK RESERVE**

Coranderrk is one of the more widely known examples of missions and reserves in Australia and also recognised as one of the most successful. After a protracted negotiation process, Aboriginal leaders Simon Wonga and William Barak of the

Woiwurrung people agreed to relocate the remaining Kulin nation people to a 2800-acre site on Birrarung (Yarra River) near what is now the town of Healesville in 1863. A Scottish minister, John Green, was appointed Manager, and almost immediately began had a positive impact on the new residents. Despite instructions from the Protection Board (BPA) to control the Aboriginal residents, Green instead chose to educate, and in turn, be educated. He learned some Woiwurrung language and the value of customs and traditions. By the late 1860s, Coranderrk had been expanded to almost 5000 acres, and had established farming and agriculture, building and construction, all using the newly acquired skills of the Aboriginal residents.

Coranderrk had become virtually self-sufficient and highlights included their hops winning prizes at the Royal Melbourne Show and residents making crafts that were sold to visiting tourists. It became renowned among Aboriginal people in Victoria, and residents of other missions and reserves would ask to be transferred to live at Coranderrk. Residents would often talk of Coranderrk, and John Green, with affection:



**Figure 14:** Coranderrk Hop Kilns - Source (Barwick 1998 p. 127)

However, the success of Coranderrk also contributed to its demise. Managers at other missions and reserves became agitated at the apparent autonomy Green had created, and strongly opposed the 'secret' traditional practices he seemingly allowed. In addition, the success of the agriculture programs had convinced many government ministers and local farmers that the land was indeed valuable (one of the reasons for the chosen location was a perception among white colonists that the land was not fertile enough for successful farming). Despite the strong protests from Aboriginal residents, John Green was removed as manager in 1874.

What followed was a series of attempts by the residents, led by William Barak (who had become the ngurungaeta), to remain at Coranderrk and have Green reinstated. Barak led a number of deputations to government officials in Melbourne, including the famous Rebellion of 1881, to personally protest to both the government and the BPA, citing Queen Victoria's promise that Coranderrk would remain under the ownership of the Kulin nation 'in perpetuity'. Barak's aim was to:

- Protest against the proposed removal of residents
- complain about the lack of ability to contribute to improving the land;
- ask the Minister to abolish the Board for Protection; and
- Obtain permission to self-manage under the guidance of John Green

All protests, sadly, fell on deaf ears, and Coranderrk was officially closed in 1924. The land itself was later allocated to the government's Soldier Settlement Scheme in 1948. The only remaining, untouched land was the  $\frac{3}{4}$  acre cemetery.



**Figure 15:** Coranderrk Cemetery (Barak's headstone centre right) – circa 2013

However, in 1986 a large parcel of Coranderrk was returned to the auspices of the Wurundjeri people. Some of that land is now home to the Worawa Aboriginal Girls College, and the original manager's residence also remains intact. Today, the land is used for cultural reconnection programs, including the bi-annual Coranderrk Festival, a cultural and music festival hosted by local community members (see link in Resources).



**Figure 16:** Crowd at Coranderrk Festival 2012



**Figure 17:** Opening of Coranderrk Festival, 2014 – Andrew Peters, Jacqui Wandin, Brooke Collins

---



**Figure 18:** Map of Victorian Missions and Reserves - Source: (Mission Voices n.d.)

However, Aboriginal people did not meekly resist. There are examples all over the country of Aboriginal protests over enforcement of these policies, of long, drawn-out negotiations of land for the new missions and reserves and of the poor treatment received at many of them. Some of the more widely known examples include the Coranderrk Rebellion of 1881 (Victoria), the Cummeragunja Walk-Off of 1939 (NSW), and the Yarrabah strike of 1957 (Queensland). Today, examples such as this serve as a reminder of the strength, resilience and pride of Aboriginal culture in the face of devastating colonisation. In addition, the creation of missions and reserves has left a lasting legacy of community strength and pride with many prominent Aboriginal communities maintaining close ties to these lands, including as Lake Tyers in Gippsland Victoria (a reserve that still operates as a distinct entity), Coranderrk, near Healesville (see above). In such cases, the closure of the reserve led to the creation of a strong sense of community in nearby areas that today serves as a culturally strong, vibrant focus of Aboriginal culture and community.

While Aboriginal language is arguable the greatest cultural casualty of British colonisation, the resilience of Aboriginal peoples and culture is very clear for us today. Despite the obvious and in many cases deliberate attempts to see the demise of Aboriginal culture in Australia, we have endured, grown, and strengthened.



## Conclusion

The spectre of colonisation hangs over contemporary Australian society in such a dominant, imposing way that it has become invisible to many Australians. Our way of life and the way we see ourselves and the world around us are so ingrained that we fail to understand its impact. We have become entrenched in the colonial mindset to such an extent that anything outside of that paradigm is often seen (and labelled) as a threat. However, our very society is multi-faceted, multi-dimensional, and – multi-cultural. How we see ourselves may need some revisiting.

This chapter has looked specifically at how British colonisation has shaped the contemporary society that has emerged from it. Beginning with a reflection on colonial expansion, we looked at the methods of land acquisition of the British, and critically examined the reasons for the adoption of terra nullius in Australia. In addition, we looked at the perceptions and assumptions that underpinned this decision, and the ongoing and lasting ramifications.

We then addressed Bain Attwood's 'Aboriginalism' and its application to Australian society, including the role it has played in shaping broader Australian society, and specifically our political and educational structures. The role of Aboriginalism in helping us understand contemporary attitudes and perceptions of Aboriginal culture and people was also explored, including specific policies that have shaped these attitudes such as Protection and Assimilation.

The chapter closed with a discussion of one of the most enduring legacies of these government policies, the Aboriginal missions and reserves in Australia. Chapter 5 extends this discussion of Aboriginalism from government policies to the education system and in particular the role of science and scientific beliefs in perpetuating the prevailing attitudes of Protection and Assimilation. Specifically we will examine the field of anthropology in Australia and its role in informing our schools and museums.

## Discussion Questions

1. What is 'terra nullius'? What were the effects of the British claiming Australia as terra nullius? Had the British chosen a different option, what may have been the results?
2. Explain what treaties are, and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of Australia developing a treaty with Aboriginal people today?
3. Define 'Aboriginalism'. What role has it played in contemporary Australian society.
4. Briefly define and explain Australia's four main cultural policies affecting Aboriginal people, and explain which, in your opinion, has had the most impact and why.
5. Construct a timeline of the significant events in Australian Aboriginal political history. Which three (3) do you see as the most significant?
6. Select an example of one mission or reserve in Australia, conduct some research, and present a five-minute class talk on the background and results of your chosen example.

## Other Resources

### Books and Articles

Broome, R. (2010). *Aboriginal Australians: A history since 1788*. Crows Nest, Allen & Unwin.

Langton, M. and L. Palmer (2004). *Treaties, Agreement Making and the Recognition of Indigenous Customary Polities. Honour Among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People*. M. Langton, M. Teehan, L. Palmer and K. Shain. Carlton, Melbourne University Press: 34 - 49.

Ogleby, C. L. (1993). *Terra Nullius, the High Court and Surveyors*. *The Australian Surveyor* 38(3): 171 - 189. – available from <http://www.csdila.unimelb.edu.au/publication/misc/anthology/article/artic7.htm> - accessed 25/11/2015

### Online

[Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies](#) – Missions Days - AIATSIS - Map of missions from: *The encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history, society and culture* / Dr David Horton, general editor, Canberra : Aboriginal Studies Press for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres

Strait Islander Studies, 1994. This map includes Christian missions and government reserves as well as those operated by AIM – taken from <http://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/mission-days>

Coranderrk Festival website – [www.coranderrk.com](http://www.coranderrk.com)

National Film and Sound Archive – Mabo/Terra Nullius website - <http://www.nfsa.gov.au/digitallearning/mabo/tn.shtml> - accessed 26/11/2015

Charles Kappler treaty collection: Oklahoma State University - <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/toc.htm> - accessed 4/4/2015

New Zealand Government Treaty of Waitangi Act website - [http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435368.html?search=ts\\_act\\_Treaty+of+Waitangi+Act+1975\\_rese](http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435368.html?search=ts_act_Treaty+of+Waitangi+Act+1975_rese) - accessed 28/11/15

## **CHAPTER 5 – COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE & REPRESENTATIONS**

### **Introduction –Aboriginalism in Australia**

Chapter 4 introduced the concept of Aboriginalism and its role in the cultural sculpture that is Australian society. Drawn from Said's Orientalism, Aboriginalism describes the ways that 'mainstream' Australian society has viewed, learned about, understood and described Aboriginal people in Australia. As a product of colonialism, it involves not only ways of thinking and learning about Aboriginal people and culture, but includes the means by which our society was created in response to these ways. As a result, we have created a society today that relies almost exclusively on colonial ways of life to observe, learn, teach, and operate the world around us – our political system, our educational system, and our economic system are all deeply embedded in European colonial foundations. As such, the major influences on our daily lives are extremely Eurocentric in both structure and operations.

In any study of Indigenous peoples all over the world, an understanding of historical issues is vital. In Australia, it is no different. As pointed out in earlier chapters, we cannot really understand who we are as a contemporary nation without gaining insight into the foundations of our history. This chapter looks at an important part of this historical foundation – knowledge.

We will examine the early beginnings of what we call Australian knowledge construction, or the particular ways that we, as Australians, have come to know and understand the world around us. An important part of this knowledge creation is, of course, its dissemination – that is, how the knowledge is transferred from person to person, group to group, generation to generation. And one of the fundamental influences on this was, and continues to be, what is commonly termed 'science'.

### **The role of Science**

As we discussed in Chapter 3, the concept of science as we understand it today is a relatively recent phenomenon. It emerged from the European Enlightenment of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and gradually subsumed almost every aspect of life on Earth as it played an inherent role in the expansion of capitalism. Capitalism, as we discuss in

detail in Chapter 9, involves the market-led drive for individual wealth accumulation through the exploitation of various resources (including labour) and the quest for profit.

Respected philosophers and scientists were proclaiming and valorising the distinction between the natural, physical environment and that of us, human beings, as occupants. The emergent scientific paradigm began to inform the growing Western world that science and scientific knowledge provided 'absolute truths' and that these truths were capable of explaining everything about ourselves and the world around us. It was these growing beliefs that both supported and affirmed European expansion and continues to underpin virtually all contemporary knowledge. We consider ourselves (humans) to be at the very top of the evolutionary ladder of species in the world, and that our intelligence holds us above, for example, virtually all species of animals. We accept 'science' as a way of knowing about the world, and of testing what we think we know about the world (West & Griffin 2005).

In this sense, science consists of a number of branches – physical, biological, social and behavioural (Rosenberg 2005). Each of these address particular aspects of the world around us – the physical and material world around us, the various life forms that occupy our planet (and perhaps beyond!), the ways that living organisms interact and coexist, and the patterns of behaviour that we exhibit. As science and scientific knowledge has developed, our belief in its legitimacy has also increased. It is a way of knowing the world around us, but also a way of testing what we think we know (West & Griffin 2005). More and more people today see science as *THE* way of explaining the world around us, rather than *A* way.

In Australia, the growing belief in Western science as a legitimate, universal knowledge went a long way toward establishing current attitudes to Indigenous cultures and peoples. Science has been seen as “arguably the unique contribution of Western thought” to the various Indigenous cultures it has affected (Rosenberg 2005 p. 1). The development of Western sciences had brought public attention to the staunch religious beliefs that had driven human development for many centuries and the idea that humans had a place in the world around us. However, a great many scientists saw humans – and specifically Europeans – as occupying a higher order in the world than most other living creatures. Scientific development created a belief that human intelligence was superior to almost all other forms of life. This was no more evident than during British colonisation that was largely fuelled by the branch of anthropology – the study of humans – and its associated principles.

The development of Charles Darwin's social evolutionary theory (see below) created a scientific discourse that drew on the earlier work in the 'hard sciences' such as that of Albert Einstein and other physicists and established a more philosophical stance that saw the nature of mankind as only incrementally different from that of animals (Rosenberg 2005).

This attitude was shaped in Australia by the development of anthropology as a field of scientific study and inquiry. Prominent anthropologists such as Elkin, Spencer and Howitt have all had a marked impact on the intersection of Western science and Indigenous cultures and peoples. Beginning at the time of first contact in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, observations of Aboriginal people by European governors, officials and botanists evolved into evaluative interpretations of how Aboriginal people lived, their social structures, languages and various other areas of interest. These interpretations further morphed into other key questions for anthropologists – for example, 'can they be civilized and become Christian?' (Elkin 1958)

---

## SCIENCE IN YOUR WORLD

Think for a moment about the role of science in your life. Our world today has become all-consumed with the pursuit of scientific 'development'. The development of technologies such as wi-fi and Bluetooth; the almost exponential growth of information technology and the World Wide Web, and the improvements in transportation technology have transformed the world we live in. Each of these areas has not only a profound impact on our daily lives, but in many cases has completely dominates our way of life. But at what cost? How much do you know about your natural environment? Do you know anything about weather patterns (other than listening to a forecast, or looking up the Bureau of Meteorology website)? Can you identify different species of plants or animals, and their natural habitats?

We tend to focus our preferences on what we see as important in our society today – material possessions, earning money, capitalism. However, do we *really* understand the world around us, the natural environment that sustains us?

Do you have any connection to the land on which you live?

---

## Anthropology in Australia

As the branches of Western science developed and began to influence society, anthropology (particularly in Australia) drew on the early 19<sup>th</sup> century work of naturalist Charles Darwin, and his theory of evolution. Darwin's theory, introduced in his book *On*

*The Origin of Species* in 1859. In this volume, Darwin discusses his theory of Natural Selection, where beneficial characteristics of a species that allowed it to survive and/or thrive were passed on to offspring, thus creating a stronger species. Those members of the species who did not receive such a characteristic, he suggested, would eventually die out. Darwin suggested that natural selection was a very slow process, however, and that such changes occurred infrequently.

Other scientists examined Darwin's work and contributed to its progression into what is often termed 'Social Darwinism'. In the context of European colonial expansion, this theory became very useful in justifying and legitimising the effect of colonisation on other cultural groups. As Darwin had suggested, the influence of one group (Europeans) over another (Aboriginal people) could help "...by better adapting them to their altered conditions ... and natural selection would thus have free scope for the work of improvement" (Darwin & Beer 1996 p. 68).

Such discussion provided imperialists with enough 'scientific evidence' to suggest that the strongest races of humans (ie Europeans) would be the ones to survive, and others (Native groups) would eventually die out. It was this belief that drove the role of anthropology in Australian society to a position of authority, and was instrumental in many of the policies that dictated Aboriginal lives (see Chapter 4). In its development, white male academics positioned themselves as 'experts' on cultural matters, and particularly Aboriginal Australians, through their superficial observations and scholarly writings.

As well will discuss, the role of anthropology in Australian history should not be underestimated, as it has essentially constructed all of our understandings of culture and cultural traditions.

Specifically, the growth of anthropology in Australia created a reference point for our government decision makers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Anthropologists were drawn to Australia's Indigenous population by the perception of them living a 'primitive' lifestyle and belonging to a history that long pre-dated the present-day Europe they knew. Early anthropological references to Aboriginal people reflected such beliefs, including a volume from 1832 of "observations of Zoology, from the order insectica to that of Mammalia, the latter including the Natives of New Holland" (Henderson, in Stanner 1979). The association of Aboriginal Australians to the plants and animals of the continent has remained an enduring legacy of these early anthropological beliefs.

Prominent anthropologists in Australia during this era included Alfred Howitt, Edward Jenks, and Baldwin Spencer, the latter two recording their influential observations of the native inhabitants:

In his popular 1895 book *A History of the Australian Colonies*, Jenks wrote:

*The Aborigines...have had no influence over Australian history. Absolutely barbarous and unskilled in the arts of life, dragging out... a wretched and precarious existence even before the arrival of European settlers, they could offer no resistance to the invaders, and they have, in fact, been entirely ignored (except as objects of charity or aversion)*

(Mulvaney 1993 p. 107).

Similarly, Baldwin Spencer, biologist and director of the National Museum of Victoria, produced a museum handbook in 1901, in which he discussed the Aborigines of Australia:

*They were, in fact, living representatives of Palaeolithic man, lower in the scale of cultures than any human beings now upon earth. It is a matter of deepest regret that they were allowed to become extinct without our gaining anything but the most meagre information...*

(Mulvaney 1993 p. 110)

---

## **THE LEGACY OF BALDWIN SPENCER**

Sir Walter Baldwin Spencer was born on June 23, 1860 in, Lancashire, England. Beginning study at Owens College in Manchester in 1879, Spencer originally intended to study medicine, but was inspired by a disciple of Darwinism. He refocused his energies and entered the world of evolutionary biology at Oxford University in 1881.

Spencer moved to Melbourne with his wife in 1887 where he was appointed the foundation Professor of Biology with the University of Melbourne. He there created one of Australia's preeminent University departments, and was instrumental in shaping Victorian education.

In 1896, along with Alice Springs postmaster Frank Gillen, Spencer embarked on a major fieldwork project to investigate the lifestyles of Aboriginal people living in central Australia. Despite criticism of some of their findings, this work helped define his career. He was appointed honorary director of National Museum of Victoria in 1899 and his legacy lives on in the museum today.



Much of Spencer's work typified the intellectual stance of the paradigm of social evolution, and he is also widely recognised for his recommendation of the establishment of Aboriginal reserves, partly due to his biologically based thesis that the Aboriginal race would become extinct

Baldwin Spencer remains something of an enigma in the Aboriginal history of Australia – his work did a great deal for awareness and knowledge of Aboriginal cultures and peoples, however he is often perceived as the perpetrator of destructive policies of Protection (see Chapter 4) (Source: Mulvaney 1990)

---

This early literature from Spencer, Jenks and others formally shaped the way that 'mainstream' Australia came to know and understand Aboriginal people. Importantly, it also influenced how our governments approached their policymaking, and these prevailing attitudes dominated scholarly (and thus societal) attitudes and thinking for a number of decades. The development of anthropology in Australia had a kind of paradoxical relationship with Aboriginal peoples and cultures. While understanding and treatment "(administration) of native races" in Australia was a foundation for the institutionalisation of anthropology in Australia (McGregor 1997 p. 100), this institutionalisation became the foundation of national and popular knowledge of Aboriginal peoples and cultures.

Increased awareness and political activism by Aboriginal people (including the creation of the Aborigines Advancement League and Day of Mourning in 1938 (see Chapter 2) assisted in achieving some policy changes in the 1930s, but very little changed in the way of real outcomes. From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century until the 1960s, more research and discourse on Aboriginal people was being undertaken, again with minimal changes in real knowledge or attitudes. During this time, a number of prominent authors began capturing 'Australian' history through text and other commentary, including:

- My Australia (Eldershaw, 1939) – "in truth, the Stone Age and the 20th Century cannot live together"
- Australia: A Social and Political History (1955) – a detailed study of our hitherto history – written by six eminent scholars, reprinted half a dozen times – and mentions the Aborigines five times, from 1788 – 1892 (Stanner 1979).

It was clear that the eras of Protection and Assimilation in Australia were having a deep and lasting impact on our national psyche. Aboriginal people in Australia, regarded as inferior and sub-human from the earliest times of colonisation, were relegated to the

margins of society with the expectation that they would never really be of relevance to what was considered the 'modern' Australia.

## **The Turning Point**

As part of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC) Boyer Lecture series, prominent anthropologist W.E.H (Bill) Stanner delivered his now-famous 1968 oration, 'After the Dreaming'. In it, Stanner talked about his partial survey of anthropological and historical writings in Australia that identified a distinct lack of any Aboriginal content. Stanner identified and articulated the deep-seated societal attitudes of Australians, the biased nature of their origins, and our ingrained ignorance to Aboriginal culture and people. Stanner labelled this phenomenon 'The Great Australian Silence, and was critical of our hegemonic attitudes:

*What may well have begun as a simple forgetting of other possible views turned under habit and over time into something like a cult of forgetfulness practiced on a national scale.*

(Stanner 1979 p. 214)

In particular, Stanner criticised our ongoing mistreatments and misunderstanding of our native inhabitants, declaring that "...our folklore about the Aborigines... had a lot to do with the making of our racial difficulties and it still has a lot to do with maintaining them" (Stanner 1979 p. 217).

Stanner's lecture opened the eyes and minds of 'mainstream' Australia to our myopic cultural stance and the need for us to collectively address this issue through greater engagement and understanding of Aboriginal people and culture. Following the 1967 Referendum, Stanner's lecture challenged Australia to maintain the momentum of the civil rights social movement of the 1960s that in Australia included the NSW Freedom Rides (see Chapter 3) and the Referendum. A great deal of credit for current levels of cultural understanding in Australia can be given to Stanner's lecture, as it arguably led the way to the development of anti-racial policies, land rights legislation and importantly, the emergence of the study of Indigenous issues in our 'mainstream' education system. As a recognised area of study, Indigenous Studies plays a vital role in the ongoing education of Australian culture and history.

## **Education – The discipline of Indigenous Studies**

The postcolonial shift in Western education has brought with it many changes, from increased awareness and understanding of women and gender issues, to greater

critical examination of society and culture. Often described as 'interdisciplinary', Indigenous Studies has come to represent a dramatic shift in the way that the hegemonic systems of education transported from early Europe have constructed, shaped and disseminated knowledge. Indeed, postcolonial critique has challenged the very notion of knowledge as it existed in the colonial world. It has allowed us to view the world around us from differing perspectives, and challenged the Western epistemologies that have dominated our society's education.

Think about it for a moment – have you ever learned anything in your life that was not shaped, constructed and transmitted within the white colonial paradigm of our contemporary society? As we discussed in Chapter 1 the fabric and structure of contemporary Australian society is based almost entirely on European (predominantly British) foundations. This becomes vital to recognise within our education system for, as Mark Rose suggests, it denies us an awareness and understanding that is “essentially the basis for national identity” (2015 p. 69). We are effectively denying ourselves knowledge of our own identity and history.

The 1970s and 1980s in Australia saw the beginnings of what we now understand to be the discipline of Indigenous Studies (IS). Following the work of people like Bill Stanner, a movement of Aboriginal activism in Australia challenged our education and understanding of Aboriginal culture and people, and saw more Aboriginal people involved in the 'Academy'. In addition, there was a growing identification of the shortcomings of anthropological understandings (of, for example, such things as 'Women's business') within existing academic frameworks.

The discipline itself, defined by prominent Torres Strait Islander academic Dr. Martin Nakata as “the study of and about Indigenous peoples” (2006) is part of a broader landscape that includes Higher Education for Indigenous students, improving Indigenous communities and ensuring a culturally appropriate and safe future. It is multi (or cross) disciplinary, drawing on concepts, theories and methodologies from established academic disciplines and areas such as sociology, politics and history, as well as Maori, Native American and other studies.

As an interdisciplinary area, IS gathers and redistributes knowledge about Indigenous people and cultures. For example, knowledge of Indigenous culture and cultural traditions informs and influences areas such as sociology and anthropology, which in turn inform and influence studies of education, health, law, business and management. This acknowledgment therefore opens up Indigenous Studies as a discipline rather

than a collection of subject areas. The distinction for IS as a discipline, however, is that one of its core objectives always remains the improvement of Indigenous communities. It is this connection to community, and (re)establishing community connections with traditional culture and knowledge, that distinguishes the area of IS from other academic areas of study.

IS serves a number of interrelated purposes, including strengthening culture, improving social and cultural outcomes for Indigenous people, furthering 'mainstream' educational opportunities for Indigenous students, and educating non-Indigenous people about contemporary culture. From a broad, Australian perspective, it is "both *for* and *about* Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples" (Price 2015 p. 4; original emphasis). Each of these purposes (which are certainly not exhaustive), seek to both improve the experiences of Indigenous people within the Western education system, and to educate and 'Indigenise' the Western education system in Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing (discussed under the 'Indigenous Knowledge' section of Chapter 8).

Despite such clear objectives, and many years of research, insights, reports and 'progress', there remains a large gap in the two systems. As Kaye Price tells us, Western education remains fixed in the notion of regulated learning, while Indigenous education provides staged learning that sees knowledge and information given to young students when they are deemed ready (Price 2015). The ongoing result is that our dominant system of education values Western knowledge and beliefs at its centre of power, while Indigenous people, culture and education remain on the outer edges (Herbert 2012; Rose 2015). There remains a very clear need to bring these two systems closer together – to 'Indigenise' our education system.

### **'Indigenising' Education**

Perhaps seen as something of a buzzword or catchphrase, 'Indigenising' is nonetheless a phrase that has become commonplace in many areas, particularly in the field of education. It is frequently used to refer to curriculum reform, where methods and content of classes is analysed and critically examined to determine the extent to which Indigenous cultures and perspectives are included in the delivery of teaching and learning. More specifically, it is:

*Making a space within universities that is recognisably Indigenous... (and) formed by inserting and asserting content, practices and processes that culturally affirm Indigenous people, students, community and perspectives.*

(Nakata 2006 p. 269)

Indigenisation seeks to define boundaries and delineate between Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests. It exists on the assumption that such inclusion of Indigenous perspectives provides an alternative to Western pedagogy and allows the development and inclusion of ongoing Indigenous traditions and knowledges that contribute to Indigenous problem solving (Champagne 1996; Foley 2003b; Nakata 2006). Put simply, it is a way to incorporate Indigenous perspectives and methodologies into contemporary curricula and teaching.

Indigenisation is grounded in Indigenous holistic experiences and interconnectedness with land, Elders and spirituality. Unlike Western education where information is often isolated and categorised, it draws on 'traditional' knowledges that are localised but have a shared philosophy. It recognises real processes and philosophies and defines identities and traditions in terms of what they share with the surrounding natural environments (Wildcat & Pierotti 2000).

Indigenisation as a concept has developed in usage in many Australian universities during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and has been used as a term of Indigenous inclusiveness in many areas of study including sociology, history, tourism, business, media, and psychology. However, the ongoing challenge remains how to *effectively and appropriately* include, insert and assert Indigenous perspectives into current teaching and learning practices, as opposed to simply using Indigenous cultural examples to emphasise and exemplify existing methods.

---

## WHY IS THIS IMPORTANT?

Indigenising education is neither a simple nor an easy task. Many universities, colleges and schools have attempted, only to find it beyond them, partly due to a lack of motivation and/or momentum, and partly because of a lack of adequate resources. Such a task involves time, energy, resources, and most importantly appropriate Indigenous knowledge and perspectives.

Knowledge as we humans understand and use it in contemporary society is something we tend to take for granted. Everybody has at least some knowledge, and most of us focus our knowledge on areas either of interest to us, or of our occupation or vocation. Famous French philosopher Michel Foucault suggests that there are three key assumptions to human knowledge:

- It is interpretive – that is, we create our knowledge, and interpret it according to our own situations and environments
- It is contextual as it relates specifically to our circumstances

- It is political, in that it is constructed by power relationships between those who know and those who do not know (from Attwood 1992)

These three assumptions highlight for us the role of this Western construct of knowledge in understanding Indigenous cultures and peoples. Firstly, our current understandings of Indigenous Australians have been constructed - interpreted – from British perspectives. Second, we assume that our knowledge of Aboriginal people is correct, because it is in the Australian context that we have learned and understood it. Thirdly, it is political in the sense that (until very recently) almost all of this knowledge, and our knowledge of Australian history, was transmitted to us through British colonial devices – in this case, our institutions of politics, education and media.

Indigenous Studies as a discipline, therefore, allows us to challenge these assumptions of knowledge about Indigenous people and culture, and provides us with an opportunity to learn not only new information about ourselves, our country and our history, but a *new way of learning about* these things.

---

## **Critiques of Indigenous Studies**

As with many areas of ‘development’ in the area of Indigenous culture and people, there are some cautions to this growth of Indigenous Studies. Firstly, the discipline itself has been dominated in terms of input by non-Indigenous academics. Clearly, this is largely result of the dearth of qualified Indigenous people being able to perform the roles and satisfy the requirements of an academic discipline. However, many institutions draw criticism for their lack of understanding of Indigenous perspectives of education – which brings us to our second area of concern.

Indigenous Studies as a contemporary discipline sits within the framework of our contemporary education system. As such, its operation, direction, policies and administration all fall within this framework and its incumbent standards, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, are all completely contrived, implemented and scrutinised under our dominant colonial paradigm. Even with all of the progress made in presenting and teaching about Indigenous cultures, peoples and perspectives, they are still all based on Western literature (as the fundamental basis of academic inquiry) and reflect the Western representation of the world.

This non-Indigenous domination has left the discipline of Indigenous Studies open to criticism of its academic rigour. In most other disciplines, integrity is established when their pedagogies, methodologies and epistemologies are laid bare for open critique

from relevant experts in the field. In the case of Indigenous Studies, such experts – Indigenous people themselves – are largely absent from this process of critique.

Thirdly, the Indigenisation of curricula discussed above (particularly in Australia) is often based on the premise that if we add more ‘authentic’ Indigenous content, our knowledge base will grow to become representatively ‘Indigenous’, thus providing ‘Indigenous’ solutions to these academic issues. However, as we have just noted, this mindset is a further example of how any contemporary Indigenous space within the academy is circumscribed by, and implicated in, a non-Indigenous/Western system of thought (Nakata 2006). All knowledge produced by and about Indigenous peoples, therefore, is reorganised to fit within the disciplines of Western knowledge. Studying Indigenous knowledge in a Western sense is very different to learning the embedded social and cultural practices and meanings of this knowledge (Champagne 1996).

Each of these critiques exposes the academic study of Indigenous issues – Indigenous Studies – as merely another tool of European colonisation that functions as the scientific area of anthropology did, viewing, interpreting and understanding Indigenous people through the Western lens of colonisation.

The reality is that the development of Indigenous Studies within the academy has vastly increased awareness and understanding of Indigenous cultures and peoples for all of us. For Aboriginal Australians, it can be a vehicle of cultural pride and strength, affirming our culture through its acceptance in the ‘mainstream’ educational environment. For non-Aboriginal Australians, it provides a way to learn from (in some cases) first-hand experiences of both traditional and contemporary Aboriginal cultures and peoples, and to understand the connections between them.

## **The Global Future**

As a discipline, Indigenous Studies now has a global reach that ensures both its viability and its credibility in the world of Western education. Internationally it has a stronger foothold, perhaps in part because of histories of official recognition in countries such as the United States, Canada and New Zealand. These countries have established themselves as relative ‘champions’ of Indigenous education and many Australian institutions actively engage and collaborate with international partners when teaching and researching Indigenous cultures and peoples.

While the study of Indigenous Studies in Australia takes a rather eclectic, pan-Aboriginal approach, many institutions abroad see the role of Indigenous Studies as a

more locally-focussed one that espouses cultural diversity, pride and history. While we in Australia tend to use the collective term 'Indigenous Studies', others have a range of names: for example, in the US – Native American Studies, American Indian Studies, Ethnic Studies, Pacific Studies; Canada – Native Studies, Indian Studies, Aboriginal Studies; New Zealand – Maori Studies (Battiste 2002; Champagne 1996; Nakata 2007; Wildcat & Pierotti 2000).

Much of the discourse refers to an underlying philosophy of tribal knowledge and its differences to Western knowledge, together with the value of connections to land and people in teaching Indigenous Studies. Many scholars, including Champagne and Nakata, have discussed the need for Indigenous education to be drawn directly from Indigenous communities and their traditional knowledges. The merits of such an approach in the sphere of Western academia, however, are still debated (as we have alluded to above).

One suggestion for the future of Indigenous Studies has been to openly acknowledge and recognise colonial educational domination and then reinstate Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies within this Western system. This process, often referred to as 'decolonisation' involves recognising alternative ways of not only gathering and interpreting knowledge as we know it today, but also alternatives to our very concept of knowledge itself and how it is taught. Decolonisation is a widely discussed (and debated) issue in both teaching and research, and we take a more detailed look in Chapter 8.

The future of Indigenous Studies is (like most disciplines) a bit unclear. Universities in particular are increasingly introducing programs of Indigenous Studies and education into their 'mainstream' areas in an effort to engage more readily and productively with culture and history. For Indigenous people, the goal will remain to establish ourselves within the academy while maintaining our strong links to culture, history and community. To this end, understanding the role of our natural landscape in the contemporary world is a vital element to establishing a "knowledge landscape" that grows and evolves as both knowledge and information increase (Nakata 2006 p. 273).

It is clear that any study of or about Indigenous peoples must consider the impacts upon Indigenous peoples. Teaching and research on Indigenous issues must have, as a primary objective, the improvement and benefit of Indigenous communities. As Martin Nakata (2006) suggests, "whilst Indigenous Studies in the academy will always be study about us, we must shape it to ensure it is also study and inquiry for us" ( p. 273).



As we have discussed, Aboriginalism has shaped the representations of Aboriginal people and culture through its role in scientific knowledge in Australia, and one of the key examples (that we will examine now) is the production of our museums, and their displays of Aboriginal culture.

## **Museums**

The way that colonial knowledge of Aboriginal people was constructed and disseminated has played a vital role in contemporary understandings and attitudes. One of the primary sources of historical knowledge in modern societies has been our museums.

The concept of museums as we know them today emerged from ancient Mesopotamia, where copies of old inscriptions were made available for viewing and use in schools. This concept gradually evolved into the modern idea of displaying objects and artefacts. Beginning as private collections of the upper class in Europe, the earliest modern museums opened during the Renaissance in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first truly 'public' modern museums (open to all people) were the Ashmolean (UK, 1683), the British Museum (1759) and the Louvre in Paris (1793) (Lewis 2016).

---

### **TYPE OF MODERN MUSEUMS**

Today, museums represent a range of different interests, markets, histories and locations. Generally, museums can be divided into several categories:

**History** – Those museums that relate to the history of a region and its relevance to the present. This section also involves the physical aspects of history (eg. buildings). Examples include historic houses or buildings (such as Cook's Cottage in the Fitzroy Gardens in Melbourne, or Gulf Station Homestead at Yarra Glen in Victoria).

**Art** – includes art galleries and spaces for exhibitions of paintings, sculptures, performances

**Natural history** - focusing on nature and exhibiting the natural world. This includes areas such as ancient/prehistoric collections (eg dinosaurs) and anthropology. Examples include the Natural History Museum in London and the National Museum of Natural History in Washington DC

**Maritime** – museums relating specifically to ships and water travel, often including former ships and replicas, and are located near docks etc. Examples include the

Australian National Maritime Museum (Darling Harbour Sydney) & WA Museum – Maritime (Fremantle)

**War** - Specialising in war and military histories, including displays of weapons, uniforms, and propaganda etc. relating to specific conflicts. Examples include the Australian War Memorial (Canberra), and Canadian War Museum (Ottawa)

**Science** – These museums celebrate and display the history and achievements of science and technology, often utilising multimedia techniques to demonstrate scientific achievement (eg IMAX 3D technology). Examples include Questacon – The National Science and Technology Centre, Canberra, and Scienceworks Museum, Melbourne

**Specialisations** – These museums are dedicated to specific time periods, culture(s), locations or even people. Examples include the Cuckooland Museum (UK), Graceland (Memphis US), and the Australian National Sports Museum (Melbourne Cricket Ground)

---

Generally speaking, contemporary museums function as a source for the collection, protection and display of objects that have cultural, artistic and/or historical value. In his 1985 book *Objects and Others*, George Stocking describes museums as “archives of material culture” (Stocking 1985). Material culture can be described as how inanimate objects act on people, and are acted on by people, to give symbolic meaning to human activity (Woodward 2007). Material culture can refer to almost any object (eg a pen, or shoes) or collection or network of objects (eg. a house/home, car, or a shopping centre) that enable people to carry out social functions and relations (Woodward 2007). Woodward suggests that the term ‘material culture’ emphasises how these objects can give “symbolic meaning to human activity” (2007 p. 10). It provides the connection between the objects themselves and identity. We become recognised and known by and through these objects.

For Indigenous cultures, material culture became a vital tool of understanding. Through the scientific development of areas such as anthropology and archaeology, material culture constructed how the Western world understood other cultures and their histories. It is generally accepted that material culture epitomises the collective identity of a people as the physical objects – the artefacts – symbolise the narrative of the people rather than a specific history of one object. This symbolism requires both the displayer (curator) and the viewer to ‘appropriate’ their meaning. That is, to recontextualise the object from its original, intended environment into a contemporary contextualisation that the viewer understands. For example, Aboriginal boomerangs

were created for a variety of purposes, including practical hunting and occasionally ornamental gifts. However, their display in museums has appropriated them as a display of an ancient, mystical object that belongs to a culture from the distant past, where they were thrown only to be caught upon return.

Museums, therefore, became houses of historical display, where the artefacts represented 'Other' cultures, mostly from a distant past, and highlighted the differences between them and the modern world.

## **Museums and postcolonialism**

Recent years, however, have seen a shift in the attitudes of both museum curators and visitors. The growing global awareness of cultural critique saw a challenge to the assumptive attitude to ownership of objects and the right to display them that modern museums were built on. More and more people began to question not only the right of museums to appropriate ownership and control of artefacts, but of their representation when on display. The methods of display, therefore, came under critical scrutiny by educators, academics, scientists, and curators themselves.

The result has been a marked shift in the way that museums display all artefacts and objects, and the information that accompanies them. In particular, displays of cultural artefacts are much more aware of cultural protocols, and indeed of the hegemony that European colonisation had created in their displays. 'Traditional' ownership of cultural artefacts is much more widespread, and consultation with local groups frequently occurs to ensure culturally appropriate representation of both artefacts and people in contemporary displays (see section on Bunjilaka below).

## **Museums in Australia**

Museums in Australia have been in operation since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, beginning with the Australian Museum in Sydney in 1827 and the Melbourne Museum in 1854. These early museums originally used British museums as a point of reference and provided perspectives on scientific developments, their role as tools of memory, and as a link between colonial governments, the sciences, education, and Indigenous populations.

Due to the large scientific interest in Australia's Indigenous populations, our early museums initially played a role in the development of evolutionary discourses such as Social Darwinism (discussed in Chapter 3) that, at the time, reinforced the equation of distance from Europe to travelling back in time. That is, as Australia was so far away

from Europe its inhabitants and associated culture must belong to the historical past. Australia was thus recognised in anthropological circles as “a ground zero for evolutionary narratives”, and a “concrete location for the beginning of things” (Bennett 2004P. 9). Aboriginal culture therefore became an important element by serving as the point of origin for evolutionary thought and a source of abundant interest from scientists.

The display of Aboriginal culture in our museums was greatly influenced by the work of Baldwin Spencer (see above) who performed the role of director of the National Museum of Victoria in the 1890s. Spencer shifted the focus of museums in Australia from simple observation to education, and he included Aboriginal materials in the natural history section, arranged according to evolutionary principles. Spencer’s work, and beliefs, in this area were pivotal in the development of missions and reserves (see Chapter 4) and the creation of the concept of ‘half-caste’ that was crucial in the shaping of both government policies and museum displays. The ‘half-caste’ children, according to Spencer, would be disadvantaged by the influence of the ‘full-blooded children’ and the half-caste children “must be encouraged to marry amongst themselves” (Spencer, in McGregor 1997 p. 146). Spencer’s fervent belief in the segregation of ‘half-caste’ and ‘full blood’, based almost solely on skin colour, had a very deep and profound influence on how Aboriginal people were understood and treated in an era punctuated by the ‘doomed race theory’ (McGregor 1997). Museum displays thus reflected the dominant European perceptions of ‘real’ Aboriginal culture that was inferior, doomed to extinction, and in need of as much preservation as was possible.

## **Aboriginal culture and museums today**

Museums all over the world have greatly improved their display and representation of Indigenous cultures. Two clear examples of the postcolonial shift that has empowered the Indigenous voice are the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington DC, USA, and the Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre, at the Melbourne Museum.

As part of the famous Smithsonian Institute group of museums and centres, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington DC presents four levels of Native American culture all presented with a view to sharing the Indigenous voice of the tribes of North America. Located in Washington DC’s famous National Mall (that houses dozens of museums and historic sites in the nation’s capital), the architecture of the building itself was designed in consultation with a number of Native American tribes.

Established in 2000, the Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre at the Melbourne Museum aims “to empower Aboriginal Australians to interpret their own cultural heritage” in a space for all visitors. It is one of the most significant and unique collections in the world. As well as spaces for exhibition and performance, there are private areas where members of the Aboriginal community can meet and view *their* cultural heritage material. “This enables Aboriginal people to retain ownership and interpretation of the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage material in Museum Victoria's collections and actively and directly contribute to the preservation of their culture” (Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre 2015).

The name ‘Bunjilaka’ means ‘Bunjil’s place’ in Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung languages, the traditional owners of the area we now call Melbourne. Extensive community consultation has informed the centre, currently the only Aboriginal cultural centre in an Australian museum. The Centre comprises three main areas – the Birrarung art gallery, the Millari Indigenous garden that is reflective of south-eastern Australians climates, and the Jumbunna display section. Each attempts to both record and re-tell the story of the Indigenous cultures of south-eastern Australia, engaging both past and present to provide visitors with an authentic look at this vital part of Australia.

Museums in Australia have evolved from simply being a repository of historical artefacts to interpretive centres of education and empowerment. Where once their displays would relegate objects and people to a fixed point in history – and this is specifically true of Indigenous cultures and peoples - they now attempt to relate the viewer to the material culture on display. In addition, although much interpretation remains within the power of the visitors themselves, the Indigenous voices, so long considered relics of the past, are now beginning to be heard in the present.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the way that colonial constructions of knowledge and education have not only informed Australian perceptions, understandings and attitudes towards Aboriginal people, but completely dominated them. Further, these colonial paradigms have shaped the way we view both the world and our place within it.

Following the European Enlightenment, the emergence of Western science as the dominant ideology saw constructions of knowledge of Indigenous cultures that were severely epistemologically limited. Almost exclusively, the way that early Australians were informed about Aboriginal peoples and cultures was within the dominant

paradigm of British colonisation. By extension, the development of anthropology as a scientific blueprint saw our political and educational systems almost devoid of any diversity in cultural education. This also included museum displays of Aboriginal cultures and artefacts that reflected this colonial bias.

Postcolonial shifts have seen a challenge to the assumptions of colonial knowledge as an absolute truth. Increasingly, alternative, Indigenous viewpoints on knowledge and knowledge creation are seen as legitimate forms of establishing worldviews, and of reflecting lived experiences in the world today.

To further emphasise the role of Aboriginalism and colonial knowledge in the shaping of Australian attitudes, Chapter 6 examines popular culture in the contemporary world and its role in shaping cultural attitudes and understandings. With a focus on the areas of film and media representations, the chapter considers how film and media have developed in Australia and their role in representing Aboriginal peoples and cultures to the 'mainstream' world.

## **Discussion Questions**

1. Revisit your definition of Aboriginalism, and describe how it has influenced our collective knowledge of Aboriginal people and culture
2. List three ways that science has an impact on your life today, and three ways that Aboriginal culture has an impact on your life today. Which list was easier to compile, and why do you think this is the case?
3. Should Indigenous Studies be treated as a distinct discipline, or should it be taught as part of other fields of education? Explain your view.
4. Visit a local museum, and take note of how it represents Aboriginal culture. What do you see as the narrative of these displays? If you were the curator, what would you do differently to represent Aboriginal culture accurately and authentically?

## **Other Resources**

### **Books and Articles**

Andersen, C. (2009). *critical indigenous studies: From Difference to Density*. Cultural Studies Review 15(2): 80-100.

Mulvaney, D. J. (1993). *Australian Anthropology: Foundations and Funding*. Aboriginal History 17(2): 105 - 128.

Nakata, M. (2006). *Australian Indigenous studies: A question of discipline*. The Australian Journal of Anthropology 17(3): 265 - 275.

Phillips, J. and J. Lampert, Eds. (2005). *Introductory Indigenous studies in education: the importance of knowing*. Frenchs Forest, Pearson Education Australia.

### **Online**

Encyclopaedia Britannica Online – History of Science -

<http://www.britannica.com/science/history-of-science> - accessed 03/01/2016

National Museum of Australia <http://nma.gov.au/research/understanding-museums/> - accessed 03/01/2016

National Museum of the American Indian - <http://www.nmai.si.edu/> - accessed 4/1/2016

## **CHAPTER 6 – POPULAR CULTURE: REPRESENTATIONS**

### **Introduction: Aboriginalism in contemporary society**

As we have discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the concept of Aboriginalism has had deep and far-reaching impacts upon the Australian cultural psyche. Its foundations in colonialism have ensured that our collective worldview is deeply embedded within the dominant European attitudes, values and beliefs that drove worldwide imperial expansion from the 1400s onwards.

In Australia, this dominant paradigm is more pronounced and influential. Our contemporary societal institutions of politics, business and education are almost exclusively European-based in their structures and operations and this has had a lasting impact on the attitudes of Australian citizens.

However, perhaps the greatest influence on ‘mainstream’ Australian society in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is our popular culture. Popular culture pervades the lives of almost all Australians in some way. As such, it has a key role in shaping the attitudes, values, beliefs and thus cultures of all of us living in the contemporary world.

This chapter examines many aspects of popular culture and discusses the impacts it has had, and continues to have, on ‘mainstream’ Australia’s perceptions and understandings of Aboriginal peoples and cultures.

### **Popular culture**

The term ‘popular culture’ has become synonymous with the phrase ‘mass culture’. Mass culture has been used to express the acknowledged commonalities among societies for many centuries, including the European Industrial Revolution and, as Dominic Strinati suggests, the rise of the market economy in Europe (Strinati 2004). The Industrial Revolution, occurring from the mid-1700s to the late 1800s, is credited with the emergence of such modern day phenomena as regular working hours, minimum wages and social classes. It saw the emergence of mass production and what we now know as consumerism. As such, popular culture can be linked to market capitalism and its associated commodification of so many areas of society.

By definition, popular culture “is a collection of thoughts, ideas, attitudes, perspectives, images”, and various other ‘items’ that are representations of, and consumed by the



'mainstream' population (West 2013). Similar to our discussion of material culture in Chapter 5, according to Strinati (2004) popular culture is a "specific set of artefacts" (p xv), that in our contemporary capitalistic society includes films, music, clothes, TV programmes, transportation, communications (eg smartphones), and so on. It is not limited to one set of artefacts, nor to one particular society, group, or period. In short, popular culture is a collection of various representations that reflect and inform society, groups within societies and different historical periods.

---

## **'POP CULTURE' IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

Examples of popular culture (or 'pop culture' as we'll refer to it in this section) in our world today are many and varied – think TV, movies, music, fashion, Facebook, Twitter, and advertising, just to name a few - but each has its own impact upon society. In turn, each aspect of our pop culture remains a product of this society as well. Although it has been traced back to the European 17<sup>th</sup> century, our understanding today of pop culture is more readily recognised from post-war market expansion and globalisation.

Think about some of the examples in the world today of what are generally known as 'Pop Culture Icons'. In 2003, TV Channel VH1 produced their 'Top 200 Greatest Pop Culture Icons' list, with the Top 10 made up of Oprah Winfrey, Superman, Elvis Presley, Lucille Ball, Tom Cruise, Marilyn Monroe, Madonna, Michael Jordan, Princess Diana, and Michael Jackson – (author's note: how Michael Jackson wasn't number 1, I'll never quite understand ☺). The list contained real people, characters from TV shows and movies (eg. The Fonz, and the cast of Friends), and 11 fictional characters (in order, Superman (no. 2), Mickey Mouse (17), The Simpsons (21), Bugs Bunny (77), E.T. (118), Spider-man (151), Harry Potter (154), Batman (158), Scooby-Doo (171), Wonder Woman (176), and Cartman (Eric Cartman from South Park, at 198). The order on this list is largely irrelevant, but it clearly indicates the power of mass media, and particularly film and television, in shaping contemporary society. (For a link to the full list, see the References section at the end of the chapter).

In Australia, similar lists show a similar phenomenon. The Allure Media website 'Popsugar' produced a Top 50 list in 2015, with their top 10 being Hugh Jackman, Miranda Kerr, Underbelly (TV series), Play School, Strictly Ballroom, Nicole Kidman, Silverchair, Chopper (the movie), Crocodile Dundee and Mad Max. Others to make the list included Neighbours, AC/DC, Dame Edna, Cathy Freeman and The Wiggles (Chandra 2015).

Of course, such lists are subjective and open to much interpretation. However, they provide examples of the influence of popular culture. Think for a minute about these lists. The use of the term 'icons', which emphasises (and inflates) the importance of its members, indicates the power of the media to promote them. Have any of them influenced your life, either directly or indirectly?

Think now about the Indigenous presence in any such lists. For example, Cathy Freeman, Olympic Gold Medallist and proud Kulu Yalanji woman from Queensland, is the only Indigenous Australian in the Australian Top 50. So perhaps we can create a list of Indigenous Australian pop culture 'icons' – those people, movies, shows and/or characters who reflect contemporary Aboriginal culture? Such a list may look something like this:

A.B. Original - Hip Hop Duo	Grant Hansen - TV presenter
Aaron Pedersen - Actor	Kev Carmody - Singer/Songwriter
Albert Namatjira - Painter	Kutcha Edwards - Singer/Songwriter
Bran Nue Dae - Movie (2009)	Redfern Now - TV show (2012 - 2013)
Casey Donovan - Musician	Rover (Julama) Thomas - Painter
Christine Anu - Musician/Actor	Stan – Grant - TV presenter
Clifford Possum Tjapatjarri - Painter	Ten Canoes - Movie (2006)
David Gulpilil - Actor	The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith – Movie (1978)
Deborah Mailman - Actor	The Sapphires – Movie (2012)
Deborah Cheetham - Opera Singer	Troy Casser-Daly - Singer/Songwriter
Ernie Dingo - Actor	Walkabout – Movie (1971)
Gilbert McAdam - former footballer/TV presenter	Yothu Yindi - Folk/Rock Group

(Sources: Wikipedia, IMDB websites)

Try ranking the above list in terms of influence on contemporary society. How many of these names do you recognise and know?

Of course, as we will discuss in detail in Chapter 7, much of the 'recognised' influence of Aboriginal people and culture on contemporary society has occurred in the sporting arena.

---

Popular culture forms play multiple roles in contemporary society, from hedonistic enjoyment to substantive education. Each time we see a display of popular culture, our perceptions and worldview can be altered, albeit slightly.

## **Role in shaping public perception**

Because of its abundance in the new world of innovation and in particular information technology, popular culture is an everyday, regular occurrence. Rarely in our contemporary lives are we free of the influence of this phenomenon – how much time in your day is used to watch TV, listen to the radio or surf the web? You should therefore be able to see that the perceptions of the modern world can be heavily influenced by this content. This influence is not limited to the channels of mass media that include news, TV, radio and the Internet. Popular culture has pervaded the realm of the academic world to the point where key thinkers, academics and philosophers embrace elements of popular culture in order to theorise and explain the world around us. Although often regarded as trivial, popular culture is “of profound importance in terms of power, economics and understanding” in the modern world (Bainbridge 2008b p. 156).

A quick search of a University library catalogue of the term ‘Philosophy and pop culture’ can produce hundreds of results of resources that analyse TV shows (eg. The Simpsons, Futurama, House Of Cards, Mad Men, SpongeBob Squarepants, Veronica Mars), music (Black Sabbath, Leonard Cohen), movies (Terminator, Avatar, Superman), and video games (Dungeons and Dragons, BioShock) just to name a few. Such results clearly indicate the role that popular culture plays in education, which, as we discussed in Chapter 5, plays a very important role in shaping public perceptions and worldviews.

We can also draw parallels with the expansion and impact of European colonialism (see Chapter 2) and its inherent role in contemporary worldviews. Again, Strinati discusses how popular culture (and mass media in particular) was seen as a threat to the West during wartime for its ability to promote a particular ideology to large numbers of people. The subsequent fears and concerns of the intellectual class in Britain and the US about this rise in mass culture “served to organise and inform the debates” about them and their value to society (2004 p. 4). The irony is plainly obvious here, for popular culture has certainly informed how the Western world has educated its citizens on such world matters. It has created a condition we can call the ‘pop culture gaze’ (see below). This gaze creates a lens through which the world is viewed, interpreted and understood. The pop culture gaze, therefore, creates a society that becomes informed about itself and the ‘outside’ world through the various media and methods of popular culture.

---

## THE 'GAZE'

In 1990 noted tourism scholar John Urry introduced us to the concept of the 'tourist gaze', where tourists, travelling to new destinations would 'see' them in a different way to how they see their own world, and indeed themselves. The tourist gaze is constructed through various mechanisms including the tourist themselves, signs and images and of course popular culture. It is generally directed at those features of a destination that are "out of the ordinary" for the tourist (Urry 1990 p. 2). Keith Hollinshead took this concept a step further when addressing how tourists viewed Indigenous cultures, specifically Native Americans who were seen as the "Red Indian" within this 'White gaze' (Hollinshead 1992 p. 43).

These notions of the gaze draw on the Eurocentric concept of Whiteness (see Chapter 8), which sees constructions of knowledge and understandings of the world – worldviews – that are based exclusively on European, colonial viewpoints as 'normal'. Anything outside of this, including other cultures, people, or destinations, is regarded as unusual and different. In this context, 'the gaze' can be seen as the lens by which we see the world around us and through which we see the representations of the world that shape our contemporary worldviews.

---

Similarly, popular culture has evolved into the primary vehicle for cultural education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Many public debates occur via the Internet, on online forums and media blogs and much of the information gained and disseminated by decision makers in our world today is drawn from similar sources. Rightly or wrongly, our world is deeply immersed in its popular culture, and escape appears futile.

## Film and media

We will focus our attention and analysis on two areas of popular culture - film and media - to highlight the impact of popular culture on our contemporary society. Film, as we have come to understand it, is the screen-based depiction of a story created for the enjoyment of a mass audience. It provides a medium for gathering information, communication, entertainment and distraction (Colman 2009). It has transformed itself from merely a vehicle of pleasure to one of significance in creating institutional systems for knowledge creation (Colman 2009). It is therefore recognised as a powerful element of popular culture in shaping societal attitudes and opinions.

Media as a term is much broader. Bainbridge, Goc and Tynan define media as mechanisms of distribution "through which information and/or entertainment is

transmitted” (Bainbridge, Goc & Tynan 2008 p. xvi), that in today’s world have increasing powers of influence and reach. This information is referred to as ‘text’ - any artefact that contains information communicated via some form of medium. Text is contained in a number of different forms, including books, magazines, newspapers, phone and electronic messages, films, TV & radio, comics, web pages, and advertising, and even graffiti, clothing, artwork, animations, furniture, buildings and toys - anything from which we can draw meaning (Bainbridge 2008b).

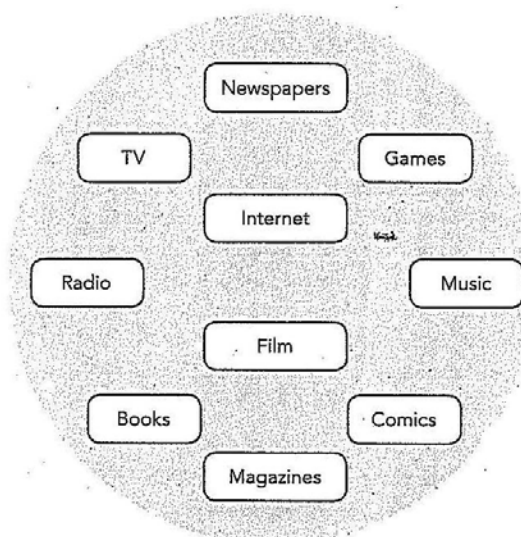
The mass reach of media enables it to inform, influence and shape us. There are many different forms and expressions of ‘media’ in the world today; such as mass media, broadcast media, electronic media, multimedia and social media, to name but a few. Our focus in this book is on the areas of mass media that utilises what has been called ‘one-to-many communication’ such as television, radio, newspaper, magazines and social media. It is the far-reaching impacts of these forms that will inform our discussions of representations of Indigenous peoples and cultures.

---

## THE ‘MEDIASPHERE’

Our world today presents us with a remarkable array of opportunities for gathering and disseminating information. From early beginnings of written communication, through to the development of radio technology, to the modern world of electronic communications with its immediacy and interactive capabilities, information technology has changed the way we live, and the way we see ourselves.

Jason Bainbridge explains that the collection of these various forms can be referred to as the ‘mediasphere’ – a network of thousands of texts that have numerous obvious and subtle connections to form a larger whole (Bainbridge 2008c).



**Figure 19:** The ‘mediasphere’ - Source: (Bainbridge 2008b p. 169)

Each of these forms of communication becomes related, informing others, and in turn being informed by them. Known as intertextuality, this relationship is interdependent, informing, and influencing. Intertextuality creates a ‘hierarchy of influence’, where the more a text is referenced in other texts, the more powerful it becomes. What is important to remember here is that these powerful texts then become a powerful influence on societal attitudes, understandings, and knowledge. In addition, of course, each of them is almost completely colonial and non-Indigenous in nature and form.

In our world today the three prominent examples are:

**Print media:** Consisting predominantly of newspapers, magazines and books, print media has long been a reliable source of news and current events for contemporary society, and thus a powerful medium in shaping public perceptions. In Australia, the majority of our print media is owned and controlled by either News Corp or Fairfax, meaning that much of our print information is controlled by very few sources. As the audience, therefore, we should remain aware of the implications of such limited diversity when engaging with print representations in the media.

**Electronic media:** Forms of media that use electronic capabilities to allow the audience to see or engage with them. Traditionally this refers to television, radio and computer information, or the Internet. The fundamental difference between print and electronic media is that print media information is static – once it is produced, it cannot be altered. Electronic media allows for constant updating of information and even a degree of interactivity with the audience.

**Social media:** Also termed ‘Web 2.0’. This is a phrase coined by Tim O’ Reilly of O’Reilly Media to indicate a resurgence of internet companies and platforms following the financial collapse of 2000 and the ‘burst of the dot.com bubble’. Social media refers to software products and applications such as blogs, microblogs, social networking sites, or video/image/file sharing platforms or wikis. These applications allow “individuals and communities to gather, communicate, share, and in some cases collaborate or play” (boyd 2009). Users also contribute to the content, thus creating networks and systems that control our social interactions and help create knowledge that is produced, interpreted and consumed via this technology (Fuchs 2014). As such, social media plays a crucial role in shaping public knowledge and perception about human events – including Indigenous cultures and peoples.

Think about how your own worldview has been created and shaped. Which of these forms has had the greater impact?

Sources: (Bainbridge, Goc & Tynan 2008; boyd 2009; Fuchs 2014)

---

Of course, to effectively examine issues affecting Aboriginal people, we need to focus our attention a little more on Australian examples. Beginning with Australian film, we explore the history and development of Australian film and its representations of Aboriginal culture and peoples. We then take a look at the way the Australian media has historically and contemporaneously made their own attempts at this representation.

## **Australian film**

### **Brief History**

The Australian film industry is regarded as one of the earliest in the world, with roots tracing back as early as the 1890s. What is arguably the world's first full-length feature film, *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, was produced in Australia in 1906. Signifying the beginning of Australian audiences love of the bushranger genre, *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, has endured as the quintessential example, even surviving a number of government bans of bushranger films in Australia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Australia.gov.au 2007).

Known as a 'boom and bust' industry it began with a boom during this period as filmmaking around the world was in its infancy. However, the outbreak of WW1, coupled with the sudden and massive growth of the US film industry (based in Hollywood, California, which produced 85% of the world's feature films by the end of the war), saw the Australian industry suffer and recede into its longest 'bust' period. The Great Depression of the late 1920s, which saw costs increase dramatically, and the growing domination of US-based studios saw a very lean period for Australian films that essentially lasted until the 1970s. For example, the Australian film industry produced 163 feature films in the 1910s, but only 201 in the five *decades* between 1920 and 1970 ((Australian Film Commission 2005).

The turning point came in the early 1970s with Federal Government support, including the introduction of the Australian Film Development Corporation (later the Australian Film Corporation) in 1970 and the Australian Film, Television and Radio School in 1973. This led to what is known as the 'Golden Age' of Australian film where over 400 films were produced between 1970 and 1985 (Australia.gov.au 2007). This renaissance saw the emergence of a number of world-renowned Australian films

(including Mad Max and Crocodile Dundee), actors (Judy Davis, Sam Neill, Mel Gibson) and directors (Gillian Armstrong, Bruce Beresford, Baz Luhrmann).

---

## AUSTRALIAN SUCCESS AT THE BOX OFFICE

Throughout Australian film history, we have had numerous people who have become globally renowned and in particular since the beginning of the boom in the Australian film industry in the early 1970s.

The Top 10 Australian films at the box office give us a clear indication of the growth of the industry:

#	Film	Release date	Box Office (\$)
1	Crocodile Dundee	1986	47,707,045
2	Australia	2008	37,555,757
3	Babe	1995	36,776,544
4	Happy Feet	2006	31,786,164
5	Moulin Rouge	2001	27,734,406
6	The Great Gatsby	2013	27,383,762
7	Crocodile Dundee II	1988	24,916,805
8	Strictly Ballroom	1992	21,760,400
9	Red Dog	2011	21,467,993
10	The Dish	2000	17,999,473

**Table 2:** Top Australian Films at the box office - Source: (*Top 100 Australian feature films of all time 2016*)

In addition, a number of world-class actors and directors have emerged from Australia:

Actors			Directors	
Bryan Brown	Geoffrey Rush	Margot Robbie	Peter Weir	James Wan
Cate Blanchett	Heath Ledger	Mel Gibson	Baz Luhrmann	Jane Campion
Chips Rafferty	Hugh Jackman	Naomi Watts	Bruce Beresford	P.J. Hogan
Chris Hemsworth	Hugo Weaving	Nicole Kidman	Fred Schepisi	Phillip Noyce
Colin Friels	Jack Thompson	Paul Hogan	Gillian Armstrong	Rolf de Heer
David Gulpilil	Jacki Weaver	Rod Taylor		
Eric Bana	Judy Dench	Toni Collette		
Errol Flynn	Liam Hemsworth	Wendy Hughes		

Of course, these lists are not exhaustive, and there are many other Australians who have 'made it' in the world of movies. What is your favourite Australian movie? Who is your favourite Australian actor? Why are these your favourites?

---



The success of the Australian film industry is something in which we can all have pride. However, as an element of popular culture, it is open to critique and scrutiny of the role it plays in shaping societal expectations and values. Of course, our film industry has also contributed to the knowledge of Aboriginal people and culture in Australia. So what is this contribution?

## **Indigenous Culture in Australian Film**

From a critical standpoint, Indigenous Australia has generally been represented in Australian film in one of two fundamental ways.

- Through presence,
- Through absence.

Representation through presence in simple terms describes the phenomenon of Aboriginalism through film. The portrayals and representations of Aboriginal people and culture that depict the 'obvious' side of Aboriginal Australia use stereotypical images and ideas to clearly show the difference of these characters and stories to what is considered 'normal', 'mainstream' Australia. These methods, more common in earlier Australian films, tend to focus on Aboriginal people and culture as a social problem where Aboriginal characters are portrayed as "a threat, an accusation, a regret, or an ideal" (Byrnes 2006 p. 1). The issue at hand is the apparent opposition that Aboriginal people and culture present to 'normal', white Australian values and ideals. Alternatively, representation through presence occurs when Aboriginal people and culture are inherently connected to 'the Outback', and thus distanced from urban Australia.

In both cases, the portrayal of characters and/or culture is positioned as outside the 'normal story' of Australian society, and this difference is clearly evident to the audience. Examples here include the movies 'Walkabout' (Roeg 1971), 'The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith' (Schepisi 1978) and 'Crocodile Dundee' (Faiman 1986).

Representation through absence involves a more collective analysis of the history of Australian film, where many of the films that claim to represent a 'story of Australia', capture our history, or provide us with a type of autobiographical look at our society. In almost all cases, these have completely excluded Aboriginal people and culture. In such films, the narrative of what it means to be Australian is a key element of the story, yet there is no reference to the role of any Aboriginal culture or history within this narrative. In a similar vein to the argument of Stanner's 'Great Australian Silence' (see Chapter 5), this absence either completely disregards Aboriginal people and culture as having value in the narrative of our history, or it serves to represent Aboriginal people

as part of the landscape, socially and culturally distinct from 'Australian' society and inherently connected to the 'wild' bush and the 'brave' white pioneers and their battle against it (Davis 2010; Elder 2007; Huijser & Collins-Gearing 2007). Australian historical literature is filled with references to the role of the white male, our 'brave pioneers', and 'intrepid explorers' who braved the 'harsh new land' to forge our nation, and much of our 20<sup>th</sup> century cinema reflected these attitudes. Examples of such films include *The Man From Snowy River* (Miller 1982), and *Gallipoli* (Weir 1981).

Both examples present the product of what Louis Nowra calls 'casual racism', where exclusion based on racial differences emerges from indifference (Nowra 2008). This further emphasises the role of Aboriginalism in Australian society. The attitudes, perceptions, and understandings of Aboriginal people and culture in Australia, first shaped by 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century understandings, became so entrenched in the national consciousness that they became 'normal', because, as Nowra suggests, the general population of Australia are 'indifferent' to Aboriginal people and culture (Nowra 2008). Generally 'anything outside of this point of reference was (and is) considered different, and not 'really' Australian, and supports Nowra's contention of casual, 'I don't really care' racism (2008). Of course, this is not to suggest that such films should not be made, or that the films listed here are inherently at fault, but hopefully you are able to see, with a critical eye, how our societal perceptions and understandings both shape, and are shaped by, what is presented on a cinema screen.

## **Representation in Australian media**

As discussed earlier in this chapter, media is a term that covers a number of broad and diverse aspects. In this section we will discuss the representations in the media, specifically Indigenous representations and focus our attention on the key areas of TV, radio, and print media in Australia.

### **Representation and Interpretation**

Our individual worldviews – how we see the world around us – are shaped by many factors and are unique to each of us. Our environment, our culture and our upbringing all help shape how we see the world and how we make sense of it – but popular culture also helps us to understand and comprehend the world we live in. As such, every text that we encounter is a representation of the world around us and helps create and define our worldview.

However, what we see through these texts is not a 'presentation' of the world - this can only happen if we are there to see, hear and experiences things for ourselves. Elements of the true 'reality' are selected and 're-presented' to us. These re-presentations (or *representations*) are versions or accounts of an event, happening, issue or experience. Therefore, what is re-presented to us through these popular culture representations is not necessarily the 'real' world, but our interpretations and perceptions of it, and these are always mediated by the method of communication – the media (Lacey 2009). Therefore, each textual representation (even about the same event or issue) can communicate to each of us a different message or view of the world.

The intertextuality of these texts – the way they refer to each other, or the relationship between them (Bainbridge 2008a) – also determines their significance, or in other words, their power. The more a particular text is referenced by others, the more significant (or powerful) it becomes (Bainbridge 2008a). Examples of significant or powerful texts today include daily newspapers, the Bible, social media (Facebook), and TV shows (The Simpsons). When watching, reading or listening to these texts, we are often guided by our perceptions of other texts. Thus, texts do not have any intrinsic meaning of their own as we create the meaning through our interactions with them and others (Lacey 2009). Thus, intertextuality helps shape our perceptions of what we see, hear, and feel in the world and create our worldviews. Despite inherent elements of power and hegemony, texts have no necessary control over our interpreted meaning.

### **Representation of race**

As an institution derived from colonialism and the capitalist imperatives of our contemporary world, media representation of non-white cultures and peoples is often fraught with danger. Many media outlets, including some in Canada, have drawn criticism for the way they handle the representations of cultural groups, and Robert Harding provides an example of media (in this case newspapers) even attempting to influence issues such as land rights (Harding 2006). It is therefore important for the audience to understand the role of intertextuality when engaging with Indigenous issues through the media. Australian history is littered with examples of subjective representations of Indigenous peoples that create and shape public perceptions and in most cases do not consider or understand the Indigenous viewpoint.

Early Australian history books represented not only a colonial perspective (or representation) of the history of our nation, but completely excluded any reference to Aboriginal cultures and peoples. Educational texts focus on representations of

Aboriginal culture that is fixed in time in the pre-contact era. Contemporary news reports often focus on marginalising Aboriginal Australians as ‘opposed’ to ‘mainstream’ Australia – where ‘mainstream Australia’ is often represented as ‘the taxpayer’. In such cases, perceptions based on these representations show Aboriginal people as ‘outside’ the boundaries of ‘normal’ Australia. These provide further examples of the concepts of ‘representation by absence’ and ‘representation by presence’ that we discussed earlier.

The interpretation of the audience is guided by their individual “frames of expectations”, which are the individual and shared responses and previous experience(s) we have (Goodall et al. 1994). For both journalists and the audience, these frames construct and influence how the story is (re)presented. Australian history therefore dictates that many of these frames of reference are shaped by the colonial experience, which as we have clearly identified, has generally excluded, misunderstood and ignored Aboriginal people and culture. This creates a journalism industry that essentially provides representations of Australian society that are based on (as we have also identified) the misguided, ignorant and plain wrong assumptions and perceptions of our early settlers.

---

### **ANDREW BOLT COURT CASE (2009) AND THE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ACT**

In April 2009, Herald Sun columnist Andrew Bolt wrote a column and blog entitled ‘It’s Hip to be Black’, in which he openly questioned the Aboriginal identities of nine ‘fair-skinned’ Aboriginal people who had established successful careers for themselves in fields such as art, literature, academia and politics. Bolt’s contention was that each of these people, who had invariably occupied significant and influential occupational positions or were recipients of prestigious awards, had personally benefitted from claiming their Aboriginal identity. Bolt further suggested that each of them could “equally” claim a European heritage, and that “the choice to be Aboriginal can seem almost arbitrary and intensely political” (Bolt 2009).

Bolt’s column, and three other subsequent columns of similar content, challenged those named for their ‘decisions’ to claim Aboriginal identity in their professional careers. He was adamant in his argument that each could (and perhaps should) also identify with their European heritage (which he highlighted in each case). Bolt also justified his intentions:

*I'm not saying any of those I've named chose to be Aboriginal for anything but the most heartfelt and honest of reasons. I certainly don't accuse them of opportunism, even if full-blood Aborigines may wonder how such fair*

*people can claim to be one of them and in some cases take black jobs. I'm saying only that this self-identification as Aboriginal strikes me as self-obsessed and driven more by politics than by any racial reality*

However, Andrew Bolt was taken to court by the nine Aboriginal people he named, and the Federal Court found that he had breached the Racial Discrimination Act in Australia by writing an article that was “reasonably likely ... to (be) offended, insulted, humiliated or intimidated by the...articles” (Quinn 2011). In addition, the court found that Bolt had not been completely factual in his columns.

The issue stirred much debate in Australia around the issues of free speech, race and culture, and in particular has sparked a debate about the Racial Discrimination Act (RDA) in Australia, and specifically Section 18C. For some, the Federal Court decision was a ‘blow to free speech’, as journalists could no longer raise such questions of cultural identity in the public forum. For others, the case remained about racial and cultural identity and the ongoing impacts of colonial attitudes (that we have discussed throughout this book).

For me as an Aboriginal academic, the article represented a clear throwback to the colonial days of Aboriginality as constructed by non-Aboriginal people using exclusively non-Aboriginal criteria. It appeared to me to be a clear denigration of one’s right to identify as they see fit. For Bolt, it seems, race should not be a dividing issue in Australia, as long as you conform to the ‘white’ way.

In May 2013, three Queensland University of Technology (QUT) students were asked to leave a computer lab designated for Indigenous students when they acknowledged to an Indigenous staff member that they were non-Indigenous students (Thomas 2016). After a series of Facebook posts by the students denouncing the move, the Indigenous staff member complained to the University. She was ultimately unhappy with the University’s handling of the situation, and lodged a complaint with the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC). The dispute was unable to be resolved via an AHRC conciliation process, and wound up in Federal Court. While some of the nine total defendants (which included the University) settled the case, three students chose to contest the charges of breaching the RDA (Forrester, Zimmerman & Finley 2016). In November 2016, the judge found that the three students had not breached the Act and dismissed the proceedings.

The ensuing media scrutiny of the case again raised the spectre of racial discrimination in Australia and the perceived ‘threat’ to free speech that Section 18C, in particular, is

seen to pose. In short, Section 18C dictates that it is unlawful for a person to act in a way that is likely to “offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate another person or a group of people” that is based on their race, colour or national or ethnic origin (*Racial Discrimination Act 1975*). Such an act must only take place in public.

In both of these cases, the public debate has centred on the argument of free speech v racial discrimination, and has opened up a range of passionate views from members of the public, legal professionals and politicians.

Use the links in the Resources section to read through Bolt’s column, the QUT case, and the public debates that followed. What do you think?

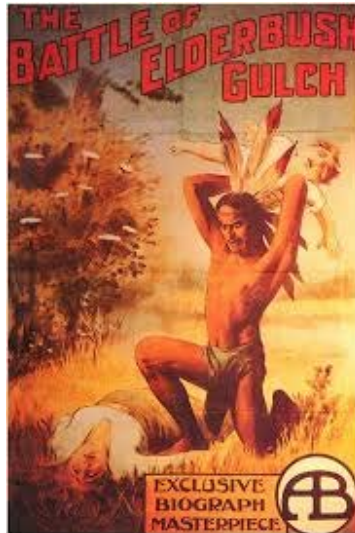
---

Many news reports around Aboriginal Australian politics represent Aboriginal people and communities as disjointed and unable to present a unified voice, or as inauthentic and not ‘real’ Aboriginal people. Conversely, Aboriginal people are shown as primitive, uneducated victims of colonisation, unable to survive in the contemporary world without the assistance of white Australia.

### **Stereotyping**

As we discussed in Chapter 3, stereotypes are those views or ideas we construct about people or groups. They have become an accepted part of contemporary society, as they can both help us to understand the behaviours of large groups of people, and give us false or misleading knowledge about them. In the modern business world, for example, stereotyping provides companies with (what they see as) cost-effective ways to cater to large target markets, by learning information about some of them, and using that information to make assumptions about the rest of the group.

In media representation, stereotypes are not necessarily true or false, but reflect a particular set of ideological values that are usually an expression of the dominant ideology. They may contain some elements of truthful representation which is then greatly exaggerated or universally applied to a particular group (Bainbridge 2008a). They therefore have a hegemonic function in that the views of the dominant group come to define ‘others’, and create the collective knowledge and understanding of them. Moreover, although stereotypes can change over time, once adopted they can have a long lasting impact on perception and representation.



**Figure 20:** Movie poster for ‘The Battle of Elderbush Gulch (1914) – Source (Vitcavage 2012)

Within the media, stereotypes were particularly predominant in past times (eg Hollywood Westerns), but are still far from a thing of the past.



**Figure 21:** Movie poster for ‘Yellowstone Kelly’ (1959) – taken at Warner Brothers Movie World, Gold Coast

The examples above provide an insight into the narrative that Hollywood pushed during its Western era, designed to portray the ‘frontiersman’ cowboys as brave, decent people trying to battle against the enemy, the ‘warrior’ Indian – who was more savage than human.

Does this sound familiar? It should – it’s the same colonial narrative that Australian history – including our literature, film and media - has espoused about Aboriginal

peoples here. British explorers and pioneers are portrayed as the brave souls battling the harsh, unknown landscape (think Burke and Wills), which include its native inhabitants. This narrative dominates the 'mainstream' thinking of Australian society, and shapes and creates our expectations of Aboriginal people.

These expectations, founded upon misinformation, conjecture, and often naivety and ignorance, becomes embedded in the national psyche as 'true' in place of real, lived experiences. Many white Australians don't experience Aboriginal people and culture first hand, and thus rely on these created perceptions of others to shape their own. The result of such narratives is a 'mainstream' expectation that all Aboriginal people, for example, share the same characteristics and behave in the same way - and thus, stereotypes are born.

In addition, stereotypes have become a particular element of news stories, constantly arising because time-poor journalists face constant deadlines. As Harding notes, "(r)eporters are not only under pressure to process vast quantities of Information rapidly, they also are charged with fashioning stories about people, issues and events" (Harding 2005 p. 325). Stereotyping becomes a handy way to compress these 'vast quantities' quickly into a 'usable' story. In developing ideas, reporters may rely more on secondary information – or their own frames of reference - rather than first-hand knowledge or direct contact with Aboriginal people.

The merging of these two conditions – that journalism and news media are mired in a neo-colonial mindset, and journalists rely on second-hand (stereotypical) knowledge – ensures that a great deal of the information that 'mainstream' Australia obtains from our media is based on stereotypes that our colonial society has perpetuated for over 200 years. In addition, constant use of stereotyping in our popular culture results in what Robert Harding calls "labelling theory" (2005 p. 326), where these names and labels become "self-fulfilling prophecies" for those subjected to them – 'if you hear it enough, you start to believe it'. (Harding 2006).

Of course, this is not always the case. Many media reports attempt to avoid such stereotypes and misinformation and the erroneous assumptions on which they are based. In dealing with stereotypes today, we should understand the distinction between *recognising* a stereotype and *believing* it (Lacey 2009). Rather than simply believing a stereotype that you hear, consider why it may have been constructed. Recognising stereotypes also allow us to address their degrees of truth and to challenge the inherent inferiority they presume. They have become a focus of academic analysis in



many school and university courses and, as such, the hegemonic capabilities and often erroneous basis of stereotypes are being challenged and questioned. This is part of the postcolonial shift that we have discussed in this book, resulting in a much wider choice of news sources from which we can obtain our news of the world today

## 21<sup>st</sup> Century Media

The postcolonial shift has brought with it change across many fields and media is no exception. Not only do most 'mainstream' media outlets now include Aboriginal issues or adopt a more inclusive approach to Indigenous stories, but a number of Indigenous-specific media outlets have emerged in the past decade that give us a clear indication of the shift in our collective thinking and attitudes. The proliferation of personal blogs and websites and the ability to share one's opinion quickly and easily are also symptomatic of not only the information technology age, but also the growing awareness and conscience of Australians on matters of race and culture. Multiple media platforms have, of course, also brought with them expressions of hegemonic, colonial attitudes to find greater audiences, with racist information more readily available than ever - but this is also countered by the large gains in public knowledge about such issues.

The following are a few examples of some of our 'new' Indigenous-specific media outlets:

**News media:-** Koori Mail; Launched in 1991 and known in some circles as 'the voice of Indigenous Australia', the Koori Mail is an Aboriginal-owned fortnightly publication that provides "news, advertisements and other material of vital interest to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and Australians interested in Indigenous affairs". ([www.koorimail.com](http://www.koorimail.com))

- National Indigenous Times; an online publication that has undergone a recent change in ownership, the NIT aims to use "fearless and impartial journalism" to address the "imbalance of negative stories" in Australian journalism, and provide an Indigenous voice to the landscape of news in Australia (Collins 2016).

**Radio:** - 3KND Melbourne; 3KND ("Kool 'n' Deadly") is a Melbourne based, Indigenous-owned radio station that "provides information and entertainment for our community and anyone else who wants to join in". Found at 1503 on the AM dial (<http://www.3knd.org.au/>)

- Larrakia Radio; The only Aboriginal radio community station in Darwin, Larrakia Radio is controlled by the Larrakia Aboriginal Traditional Owners and has as a primary objective the goal of “employing and skilling Larrakia and other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in all areas of broadcasting and personal development” (<http://www.radiolarrakia.org/AboutUs>).

**Television:** National Indigenous Television (NITV); Beginning in 2007, NITV “is a channel made by, for and about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people” that emerged from beginnings as part of the SBS network. NITV is a unique celebration of the Indigenous voice in media, and aims to educate all Australians through its broadcasting dialogue (<http://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2015/06/25/about-nitv>).

**Online:** There are also countless websites dedicated to the broader expression of diversity in the media, and Indigenous issues in particular. Examples here include:

- The Australian Independent Media Network: An online platform for non-professional journalists and bloggers to contribute and engage in an independent environment. - <http://theaimn.com/>
- The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies: - A world-renowned organisation for research, publishing and collections that promotes knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures, traditions, languages and stories, and history. - <http://aiatsis.gov.au/>

## Conclusion

Media representation in Australia has long been the domain of the Eurocentric white Australian male, whose experiences in colonial Australia shaped not only his worldviews, but of all those Australians who engaged with the media in its many forms. Representation has become our way of understanding the world around us through the ‘re-creation’ of events and issues. Our society, through the proliferation of popular culture and its inherent ability to shape and construct how we see ourselves and the world around us, has become reliant on these sources of information to reinforce for us ‘who we are’. It has helped forge our national identity through a number of avenues, including film and media, and informs us on issues that we may not experience first-hand for ourselves. We have seen, however a shift in how some of the representations of Indigenous peoples are shown. This chapter looked at not only examples of colonial media representations, but at the new postcolonial media that gives a voice to non-colonial, Indigenous cultures and helps better inform our society about all of our wonderful aspects.

Chapter 7 takes another look at an aspect of popular culture that has particular resonance for Australians – sport. We look at the unique and significant role that sport plays in our society, and how this role both shapes, and is shaped by, cultural understandings. In particular, we will look at the role of Australian football as a case study in how ‘mainstream’ Australians attempt to know and understand Aboriginal people through the field of sport.

Australia is a wonderfully unique and diverse country, and through an examination of sport we are able to examine a microcosm of the wider culture of nationhood.

## Discussion Questions

- 1) Think about the concept of intertextuality in media. Think of three (3) examples of intertextuality in the reporting of a recent issue in the news that relates to Indigenous peoples or culture.
- 2) Find three (3) newspaper articles that address Indigenous issues. For each of them, write down our initial perceptions – how have you interactive with this text? What were your frames of reference in shaping these perceptions? And what message do you think the journalist was trying to send? Were they successful?
- 3) For each of the issues you discovered in Discussion Question 2, find at least two alternative views from different media sources. How do the representations differ in the Indigenous-specific media from the 'mainstream' sources? To what do you attribute this difference?
- 4) Read the Andrew Bolt column discussed in this chapter. What are your initial responses to it? Do you agree with his contentions? Why or why not? Look also at the public reactions to the issue. To what would you attribute such responses?
- 5) List five (5) words you would use to describe the following:
  - Soccer fans
  - Indians
  - Aboriginal Australians
  - Girls on a shopping spree
  - Police

For each of them, identify if you have used any stereotypes. How many do you recognise, and how many do you believe? How have you come up with your words?

## Other Resources

### Books and Articles

Burke, P. (1978). *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. London, Temple Smith.

Moreton-Robinson, A., Ed. (2004). *Whitening Race: Essays in social and cultural criticism*. Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Pres

Williams, R. (1985). *Keywords : A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Cary, Oxford University Press, USA.

## Online

Andrew Bolt Herald Sun column – available at

[http://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/transcripts/1109\\_heraldsun09.pdf](http://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/transcripts/1109_heraldsun09.pdf)

See also <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/opinion/its-so-hip-to-be-black/story-e6frfhqf-1226154082090>

PRN Newswire Website - The 200 Greatest Pop Culture Icons Complete Ranked List -

<http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/the-200-greatest-pop-culture-icons-complete-ranked-list-70807437.html>

Popsugar website – Top 50 Australian Pop Culture Icons -

<http://www.popsugar.com.au/celebrity/Top-50-Australian-Pop-Culture-Icons-Film-TV-Music-More-26961220#photo-26961230>

Screen Australia - Australian Films - <http://www.screenaustralia.gov.au/fact-finders/cinema/australian-films>

QUT Discrimination Case:

Federal Court judgment -

<https://theaustralianatnewscorpau.files.wordpress.com/2016/11/prior-v-queensland-university-of-technology-ors-no-2-2016-fcca-2853.pdf> (accessed January 19, 2017)

Forrester, J, Zimmerman, A & Finley, L 2016, 'QUT discrimination case exposes Human Rights Commission failings', *The Conversation*, November 7,

<http://theconversation.com/qut-discrimination-case-exposes-human-rights-commission-failings-68235> – accessed January 19, 2017)

Thomas, H 2016, 'Judge dismisses case against QUT students over 18C', *The Australian*, November 5, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/judge-dismisses-case-against-qut-students-over-18c/news-story/cb6e6288f105f0820632733fd252d5fe>;

accessed January 19, 2017

## CHAPTER 7 – SPORT, CULTURE AND AUSTRALIA

### Introduction: Sport, Representation and Identity

In chapter 6 we looked at contemporary representations of Aboriginal people and culture and the ways in which these representations shape popular understandings of Aboriginality. Modern society has been transformed by the growth and development of popular culture in its many forms, resulting in masses of information being much more readily available to us, audiences. This information is available to each of us through television, radio, films, newspapers, magazines and the Internet, helping to create and shape our worldviews – how we make sense of the world we live in, and how we see ourselves within it. Anything that happens in the world, whether it may directly affect us or not, is often almost instantly displayed and represented to us in one of these forms. Global issues pertaining to political and/or economic events, terrorism, civil unrest and conflict, or religion are everyday occurrences. They have become an entrenched part of our lives here in Australia through the proliferation of popular culture and the media. The way we see ourselves and our place in the world – our collective worldview – is shaped by these popular representations.

An increasingly prominent aspect of popular culture today is sport. The growth of sport as both a pastime and a business has seen it assume a much greater role in the political agendas of many governments, and increasingly a part of the everyday lives of many people. Globally, sport is a multi-billion dollar industry, with higher end examples including the English Football Association (soccer), the National Football League (US – gridiron) and Major League Baseball (US). The revenues from 2015 of each of these competitions provide a clear example of the sheer size of these sporting organisations and confirmation of the now firm bonds between sport and business (all revenues in Australian dollars):

English Premier League:	\$6.34 billion	(Wilson 2015a)
National Football League	\$16 billion	(Isidore 2015)
Major League Baseball:	\$12.7 billion	(Brown 2015)

In Australia, the Australian Football League represents our major professional code, and although its revenues are relatively small on an international scale, it still saw an annual 7% increase to \$494 million for the 2015 season (Australian Football League 2016b). By almost any measure, sport has become an integral part of the global economy and thus global society.

Sport, particularly international competition, fosters a sense of nationalism among many people and assumes particular importance for postcolonial nations (Krüger 2015). For better or worse, it has become an ingrained part of our national identity in Australia, emphasised by the fact that for a time sport was controversially a part of our citizenship test. New immigrants were required to understand such sporting information as our 'greatest cricketer' (Sir Don Bradman) (Crawshaw 2008). This emphasis on sport has since been reduced in the test.

Australian national identity, which we discussed in Chapter 2, has become entwined with sports, sporting achievement and the culture of sport. As such, we often turn to sport as a microcosm of broader society when it comes to issues of culture. For Aboriginal Australians, it also provides a space in which to perform that at face value may appear to be 'safe' but when subjected to further analysis presents further a number of further challenges.

This chapter discusses the history and growth of sport in Australia, its role in our cultural development and the understanding, and role of Aboriginal people within it.

## **History of Sport in Australia**

*Sport was the first form of Australian foreign policy. Until the British got into some wars to which the Australians could send some volunteers, it was the only way in which Australians could prove they were best*

(Horne 1970 p. 156)

Depending of your perspective, sport has existed in Australia in various forms for hundreds - perhaps thousands - of years. The Aboriginal people engaged in various forms of sporting activities in different forms, including competitive versions of hunting and fishing, along with the more organised game of Marn Grook (see below).

Organised sport as we know it today originated with the arrival of colonisation and the First Fleet in 1788. At this time, sports such as cricket, horseracing, rugby and golf were growing in popularity in England, and the expansion driven by colonialism brought with it an enthusiasm for sport and physical activity.

Although horseracing had been conducted in Australia since the late 1700s, the organised sport and sporting clubs that had become prevalent in England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were not instantly transported here. It was not until the 1800s in Australia that many of our sporting institutions were established, including the Melbourne Cricket

Club (1838), Australian football (1858) and rugby clubs (1863). and the Melbourne Cup in 1861 (WebsterWorld 2006).

The steady growth of Australia has similarly seen our place on the international sporting stage shift from being a bit player moving out of the shadow of our imperial British ancestors' history and successes, to one of the key figures in the playing, operating and staging of some of the world's most popular sports. From our first hosting of the world's pre-eminent sporting event, the Olympic Games, in Melbourne in 1956, Australia has situated itself at the forefront of world sports through champion athletes, players and teams across a variety of sports including athletics, swimming, boxing, golf, cricket, rugby (both union and league), basketball, tennis, cycling, surfing and netball. In addition, Australia has hosted a variety of notable sporting events, including Olympic Games, the Formula One Grand Prix, Grand Slam Tennis, PGA Golf, and world championships including swimming, rugby, surfing, and cycling.

Today, sport is valued as a social, economic and cultural activity and an accepted and recognised government responsibility. The establishment of the Australian Institute of Sport in Canberra in 1981 marked the beginning of an era that has helped shape contemporary Australia. Latest ABS figures show that sport and recreation activities in Australia, which include participation, sporting goods and merchandise, generated \$12.8 billion in income and created approximately 134,000 jobs in 2011-12 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013b). Although some may criticise the vast amounts invested in sports by our state and federal governments, such investment is seemingly justified on a number of levels including health, the economy, and culture. Sport therefore remains at the forefront of the Australian psyche and a crucial element of our identity.

### **'Australianising' sport**

Although many Australians may claim that our sporting culture is 'uniquely Australian', evidence may suggest that our love of sports is yet another imported characteristic of what we claim as 'Aussie' culture. Adair and Vamplew (Adair & Vamplew 1997) confirm that early examples of sport in this country, including horseracing, cricket, soccer and the two rugby codes all emerged from Britain. Indeed, Australians clung onto our British ties when it came to sport, often competing in such sports as rowing, cricket and rugby during our colonising period in order to measure our sporting prowess against the British (Adair & Vamplew 1997; Horne 1970).



However, the way that we play, watch and organise sports in Australia has evolved into something that we may very well claim as uniquely Australian. Organised sport in Australia has grown to such an extent that it now commands a distinct department within state and federal governments, and has facilitated the development of the Australian Sports Commission and the Australian Institute of Sport, both created and designed to foster and develop internationally successful Australian athletes. This show of official support, plus the associated growth of spectatorship, has combined with a growing sense of nationhood to create an 'Australianising' of sports in this country (Adair & Vamplew 1997).

Adair and Vamplew suggest that this Australianising includes infusing our own norms and expectations of participation; a lack of class distinction within sporting roles; an Australian way of 'barracking' by spectators (that may also have been the impetus for the on-field 'art' of sledging); developing folklore and legends of sport, which often deviate from what may be understood as true and factual accounts of history; the lack of private ownership of most of our professional sporting teams; and the disproportionate representation of Australia(ns) on the international stage (eg Olympics) (Adair & Vamplew 1997). In addition, the hosting of world-class major events (Melbourne Cup, Grand Prix, and Australian Tennis Open etc.) has firmly entrenched sport into our national sense of self, as well as ensuring that we leave our national mark on the sporting world.

## **Sport and Culture**

Whether people agree with its status or not, sport has become one of the most important elements of contemporary Western society due to its ability to transcend religious, political, cultural and racial boundaries. People from different religious backgrounds can converse about their favourite basketball team; political foes can reach agreement on the fate of a Test cricket match; and Aboriginal, Chinese, Italian and Irish Australians can all get together and support the same AFL team. In this sense, participation in sport is not discriminatory –virtually anyone can play, watch or be involved in almost any sport, regardless of their individual beliefs or background.

However, there are certainly cultural issues involved in sport at almost all levels, and particularly professional sports. The involvement of modern media has seen scrutiny and critique of professional sport reach unprecedented levels, and aspects of race and culture have become a crucial tool of analysis and considered by many to be key indicators of both the sport itself and the society within which it exists.

There is a level of synergy in the relationship between sport and culture in Australia as sport has become a key element of our national cultural identity, and there is increased interest in the role of culture within our sporting identity. A number of authors have addressed these cultural aspects that include racial ideologies and racialising performances and abilities of non-White athletes (for example Coakley et al. 2009; Godwell 2000; Hoberman 1997; Hokowhitu 2004, 2009; Tatz 1995; Washington & Karen 2001), investigating how 'black' athletes (whether they be Aboriginal, Maori, Native North American or African American) are seen on the sporting arena. Racialising occurs when we make assumptions about the abilities or restrictions of athletes based on their appearance, and their racial and cultural background. Examples of these assumptions – the stereotypes we discussed in Chapter 6 – include black athletes being quicker, faster, more agile, and more instinctive than their white counterparts, and in Australia have become bound by the term 'black magic'.

---

### **'BLACK MAGIC'**

Although initially used as a positive endorsement of what was viewed as unique ability, the ways to describe Indigenous players (which in this sense includes athletes of Aboriginal, Maori, Native American and African descent) with phrases such as 'magic', 'intuitive' and 'naturally gifted' have shaped an entire discourse about race and sport. Many writers have used such adjectives to describe extraordinary athletic feats they have witnessed as an attempt to both provide a narrative for their story (and thus keep the audience interested) and to distinguish these athletes from others. And it is in regards to this distinction that criticism has been levelled.

While from one perspective such labels are seen as nothing but complimentary and used to highlight superior achievement, in many cases they simply distinguish the players as different, specifically in a physical and biological sense. The 'evident' superiority of black runners, the speed and power of black boxers, the quickness and agility of black footballers – each of these examples distinguishes these athletes as 'different' – but does it do so in a purely positive way? Many black athletes become typecast into certain positions on the field based on such assumptions (Cashmore 1982; Godwell 2000; Melnick & Thomson 1996), creating assumptions that they are skilled at the physical aspects of a game, but not so much the mental aspects. An assumption can also emerge that the natural ability of black players mean they don't have to – or choose not to – work as hard as white athletes..

Think about this - do you agree? Is this racialising of athletes simply a positive representation and an acknowledgment of ability, or are they perceptions based on racial stereotypes?

---

As we discussed in Chapter 6, such assumptions may have (some) basis in fact, or may not be considered derogatory, but they remain based in the colonial notions of racial difference that contain 'assumptive power dimensions' – that is, they are based on assumptions that one group is superior to another. In this case, this plays out through assumptions that black athletes are naturally gifted and therefore do not need to train or work as hard as white athletes. These assumptions also see black athletes becoming typecast in certain roles or positions – for example, Aboriginal players as small, quick forwards in the AFL, or African American players as wide receivers, but not the quarterback (see above).

Sport provides a number of positive benefits to both participants and audience at both the social (the thrill and excitement of victory), and the economic (and as we discussed above!) level. In addition, it provides cultural benefits to black performers. These can include affirmation of cultural pride (King 2005) and opportunities to improve social conditions (Godwell 2000). In a broader sense, sport also provides us with an opportunity to see our own society in a 'natural' habitat.

When people engage in sport, they are engaging in a chosen activity, doing something they really want to do (as opposed to 'having' to go to work each day). Although it has become a multi-billion dollar global industry, its performances remain part of a game. As such, we use sport as an outlet, a pastime to entertain us and distract us from our 'daily grind'. When we watch or play sports, we relax and react in a much more natural way than we might do in our normal job. It can therefore give us an idea of how our society really is, and how we react in certain situations.

Critically analysing sport enables deeper understandings of ourselves and the social intertwining of race, culture, identity and even gender (see below) in postcolonial societies and, as mentioned earlier, the expression of national identities in former (British) colonies. In this context, sport is viewed as a microcosm of broader society. How we treat each other on the sporting field, and how we react to that treatment, gives us an idea of how our society treats each other.

Or does it?

As we have discussed, the issue of culture and sport has become a legitimate area of inquiry, largely due to the sheer growth of sport on a global scale. In Australia, sport has reached unprecedented levels in terms of its social, cultural and economic impacts. However, does sport really provide us with a guide to Australian society? Does success of Aboriginal athletes on the sporting field reflect their success off the field? Does the treatment of Aboriginal athletes by our sporting landscape reflect the treatment of Aboriginal people in 'mainstream' Australian society?

Among many others, two questions still remain: What is the relationship between culture and sport? If a sporting code tackles racism on the field, does society tackle it off the field? They are not easy questions to answer, but they are important ones to ask.

## Indigenous peoples in sports

Historically, sport as an institution has existed as another form of colonisation, where non-white participants were often excluded, sometimes derided, but generally not accepted by white sportspeople. Almost every sport in the world has historical links to white domination and non-white exclusion, which for many people simply exemplifies the racism of sport (Bale & Cronin 2003a; Tatz & Tatz 2000). This racial exclusion is explored a little later, but remains an important part of a critical examination of sport and culture. Aboriginal people have a long history of involvement in sport in Australia – the first Australian international tour by *any* team was the 1868 Aboriginal cricket team's tour of England.



**Figure 22:** Aboriginal Cricket Team with Tom Wills, circa 1866

One of the key issues for non-white – what we will, for reasons of clarity, refer to as Indigenous – people, is the issue of overrepresentation. Overrepresentation refers to

the fact that the proportion of Indigenous people involved is higher than their proportion of the general population. Examples of overrepresentation are often found in areas such as incarceration and the legal system, unemployment statistics, school drop-out statistics, and sports. These areas are common to almost all colonised Indigenous groups throughout the world, and numerous studies have been conducted to try and explain them in Australia, England, the US, Canada, New Zealand (Cashmore 1982; Hallinan, Bruce & Coram 1999; Harrison & Harrison 2002; Te Puni Kokiri 2006). Although at face value having an overrepresentation in sports (particularly professional sports) may have positive implications, an investigation of the reasons for overrepresentation may uncover a slightly different story.

There are several social, educational and economic reasons for Indigenous overrepresentation in sports. These include a lack of emphasis at schools on academic achievement, combined with the ingrained practice of low expectations from teachers. Many students from disadvantaged and working class backgrounds also associate sport with higher academic achievement (Cashmore 1982), meaning that they only believe they will achieve academically if they are good at sports. Such groups are also faced with a lack of career opportunities within the 'mainstream' employment market (Coram 1999). Many young Indigenous people, and males in particular, turn to sports (and positive role models) when confronted with identity issues (Coram 1999; Hallinan, Bruce & Coram 1999) – and this is especially pertinent in Indigenous Australian communities – similar to the way that some people turn to religion at such times

Moreover, Indigenous people are overrepresented in (working class) sports such as football, rugby league and boxing, yet virtually absent in other elite sports (Cashmore 1982; Hallinan, Bruce & Coram 1999). Cashmore (1982) argues that it is no coincidence that sports requiring equipment (eg. rowing, swimming, skiing, and tennis) are not among those with overrepresentation, suggesting that the money required to obtain such equipment may deter Indigenous youths and those from disadvantaged backgrounds from participating.

## **The colonialism and imperialism of sport**

The history of sport in Australia mirrors our broader history – how we see it today can be traced directly to our British colonial heritage. The majority of our most popular sports today find their origins there, including cricket, rugby (league and union), horseracing, tennis, golf, netball, soccer, and football (although this is debateable – see below). Basketball and baseball began in the US. As such, the games we readily

recognise today have undeniable British roots that manifest themselves in how they are played today. Sport therefore might be considered an extension of the colonial/imperial paradigm that has dominated our culture and history.

To understand this context, let's reflect briefly on our discussion from Chapter 2 on colonialism and imperialism. Firstly, we defined imperialism as 'the policy of extending a nation's authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over other nations' and 'the control of one or a number of countries by a dominant nation'. Recognising colonialism as a subset of imperialism, we defined it as a 'the conquest and direct control of other people's land, and the system or policy by which a nation maintains or advocates such control or influence'. The key aspects of these theories are control and dominance of other groups and lands.

In a sporting sense, it is the notions of 'controlling' and 'other' that we are interested in here. The settler-colonial paradigm of Australian history has also created and shaped the vast majority of contemporary institutions, understandings, knowledges and attitudes in Australia. As such, our sporting organisations, the bodies that control all levels of sports, are established and operate *within* this paradigm. There is therefore a clear cultural distinction between performances *on* the field, and performances *off* the field. In any analysis of the link between sport and culture in Australia, we need to remain aware of this.

Moreover, cultural identity in sport is predominantly considered 'hidden' by 'mainstream' Australia. We continue to view sport through our imperial/colonial 'lens' and thus only recognise cultural diversity on the field. This on-field recognition also correlates to 'acceptance', where we understand that a player or athlete is from a 'different' cultural background and are happy for them to perform in this way and to be proud of that culture. For Aboriginal Australians, the stage of the sporting field becomes a place where we can show our sporting ability and our cultural pride at the same time, as it is somewhere recognisable to 'mainstream' Australia. Performing on this stage enables Aboriginal people to become 'legitimised', accepted or approved by the non-Aboriginal audience. This approval is similar to the notion of the 'white gaze' we discussed in Chapter 6, where the representation of Aboriginal people (in this case, on the sporting field) is perceived through predominantly 'colonial eyes'.

In addition, the massive investment in contemporary sport from modern media (a major reason for the enormous revenues we saw in the beginning of this chapter) has

presented it with not only a vested interest in the success of sport, but a controlling one. There are two important points to consider here as part of our discussion:

1. The huge level of investment by the media (and in particular, television rights) in sport results in the operations of the sports themselves, including game time and length, breaks, player information and even uniforms being virtually completely controlled by these broadcasters
2. Media management, as a colonial institution, is often responsible for representations of Aboriginal players that may misinform the audience, or perpetuate cultural stereotypes that reinforce the uninformed, colonial views of Aboriginal people and culture that have dominated Australian history.

In each case, the media has a role in contemporary sport that certainly aligns with the imperatives of control that underpin colonialism and imperialism. Although we have added a uniquely Australian flavour to all our sports and in most cases become the best in the world, the fact remains that the majority of our sporting landscape is, like 'mainstream' society, a colonial construct.

There is, however, one game that can lay claim to 'belonging' to Australia. Insofar as creating a uniquely Australian sport, however, our greatest success has been the game now recognised as Australian Rules football.

## **Australian Rules football**

Australian Rules football is easily our largest spectator sport with over 16% of Australians attending an Australian Football League (AFL) match in 2012 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012b). In addition, the average attendance at AFL games for the 2015 season was 32,242, easily the highest in Australia and the fourth-highest average attendance per game in world professional sporting competitions (Australian Football League 2016b). It has become a big part of the cultural landscape in many parts of Australia, and remains the preeminent sporting code in Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania.

Widely recognised as being initially devised as a way for cricketers to keep fit during summer, Australian football (or simply 'football') has been played in Melbourne since the 1840s. It has evolved over a number of years, but remains a game indigenous to our shores and "essentially an Australian invention" (Blainey 1990). Indeed, for the

recognised founders of the game it was to be “a game of our own” that for some people has tribal roots in Victoria (Poulter 2011).

Recent decades have seen an historical discourse emerge that appears to debate the origins of the game, but on further inspection serve to further emphasise the role of the colonial paradigm in shaping the game of Australian rules. Like many other aspects of contemporary societies in former colonies, this discourse appears based on differing perspectives of the world around us and its history.

### **‘Marn Grook’ and the ‘History wars’**

Much like the History Wars of Australia that we discussed in Chapter 1, the origins of Australian Rules football have also become a much-debated issue. The establishment of this historical discourse came with social worker, historian and author Jim Poulter, who first introduced the idea that Australian football was derived from an Aboriginal game called ‘Marn Grook’, a Woiwurrung word for ‘game ball’ (Poulter 2011). Marn Grook has been described as a game of football with up to 100 players at a time who toss and kick a ball made of opossum skin and kangaroo sinews, with two opposing sides based on clan totems – for example white cockatoo versus black cockatoo, quail versus snake (Dawson 1981).

Supporters of the Marn Grook influence, such as Jim Poulter, contend that Marn Grook was played at a young age by Tom Wills, the man generally credited as the father of Australian Rules football. Wills drafted a number of rules for the new game, and added rules and strategies not common in other ball sports of the time, such as the lack of an off-side rule, and jumping high to catch (or ‘mark’) the ball (Poulter 2011). As such, says Poulter, the game we have come to accept as Australian rules developed its unique attributes because of the Aboriginal influence on a young Tom Wills. In addition, the vast size of the playing fields, the totemic, tribal nature of team selection, and ‘keepings-off’ strategies were characteristics that distinguished Australian rules from prevailing codes at the time such as rugby and soccer (Flanagan 2010; Judd 2005).

To counter these claims, a number of authors and historians challenge them on the basis of a lack of written evidence. In the AFL’s official publication marking the game’s 150th anniversary, *The Australian Game of Football*, historian Gillian Hibbins rejects the Marn Grook version of this history, stating that, according to her research, Tom Wills does not mention Aboriginal football “in letters or in the two cricket guides he published... in existing family documents or in those of his fellow football founders” (Hibbins 2008).



Although there seems to be no dispute as to the role of Tom Wills in the creation of what is our national game, there remains disagreement over his influences. What becomes obvious when studying this discourse is the clear distinction between the ideological approaches of each side. Similar to other accounts of Australian history, we seem to have two views at opposite ends of the historical Indigenous-colonial continuum. At one end we have assertions based on piecing together written accounts and infusing them with knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal cultures, histories and peoples; and at the other, arguments based more on the European imperialist/colonialist belief in written evidence, and the power of the English language in the written form.

In analysing the history of Australian football we can see the influence of Australia's Indigenous and colonial histories. Again, this should sound familiar to you. We see here how sport (in this case, Australian rule football) provides a reflection of issues in broader society.

## **Colonialism/imperialism of football**

The history of the game is not the only contested area of football. As we discussed earlier, culture and sport have become intertwined to the point where we may not be able to 'see' sport without recognising its cultural elements. Football is no different – in fact, it is probably one of the best examples we have.

Players from all over Australia, and internationally, play the game of Australian football. In the professional ranks of the AFL in 2016, there were 20 players born overseas (Australian Football League 2016c), and 74 Aboriginal players (Australian Football League 2016a). Each of these players performs on the field, each week, under the watchful eye of the supporters, the media, their clubs and coaches, and their families and friends. Each of these groups will, in turn, have a different perception of what they are seeing on the field. Supporters and clubs want them to play well and win, the media wants to create a spectacle for its audience, and families and friends want to see the players enjoy themselves. For Aboriginal players in Australia, there can also be an expectation of showing pride in and representing your culture.

Essentially, those, each of these perceptions in the AFL environment emerge from the 'White gaze' – a viewing of the performance on the field that is created, shaped and influenced by the colonial world in which it is set (see Chapter 6). The game of Australian football is organised and conducted by organisations who work within the

colonial paradigm of business and capitalism. At the professional level, running an efficient, profitable business is paramount to achieving success. For the players, performing under this colonial/imperial paradigm creates an extra level of expectation that most of us do not consider, nor understand. It perhaps remains another example of our society viewing itself from only one perspective.

In addition, what I call 'media imperialism' in football plays a key role. As we have discussed, media involvement – in particular, broadcast rights – have created a type of imperialism in football where the owners of the broadcast rights start controlling aspects of the game, including the behaviours and actions of players. In 2015, The AFL signed a new \$2.5 billion broadcast rights deal, the largest in Australian history, that will give the AFL approximately \$418 million per year for around six years, and covers free to air and Pay TV, radio, internet and streaming services (Wilson 2015b).

In the quest to provide a quality TV viewing experiences, clubs are coerced to change traditional colours or the designs of their jumpers to avoid clashes on the TV screen. Player behaviour is so scrutinised by the media that natural reactions are generally discouraged by clubs and officials. The starting times and length of games is strictly controlled by the broadcasters to satisfy their own commercial requirements. Now receiving higher wages than ever for their participation, players become mere subjects of this imperialism and are required to sign strict employment contracts that ensure their compliance with such conditions. The financial profits of the broadcasters, the clubs, and the organisations become paramount in this imperial/capitalist game. The players simply provide the labour.

For Aboriginal players, this imperialism may merely be another hurdle to overcome in the quest for 'mainstream' acceptance, and just another necessary part of becoming successful in the contemporary world.

## **Race and Culture in Football**

As with all professional sports, Aboriginal players choose a career path in football for a variety of reasons, including what is perceived as natural abilities, a love of the game, and, importantly, opportunities to succeed in the colonial economic world. For these players, football not only offers an opportunity to improve their own social position (Godwell 2000), but that of their families as well. A professional sporting career also provides avenues for acceptance in the often exclusionary white world of Australia. Many successful Aboriginal footballers have not only been able to showcase wonderful

skills on the field, but have become cultural ambassadors for their people, highlighting ways for Aboriginal people to succeed in the White world.

However, such acceptance wasn't always forthcoming for Aboriginal players in the AFL. Throughout the history of the AFL (and its forerunner, the Victorian Football League, or VFL) from 1897 to the present, there have been hundreds of Aboriginal players. The first Aboriginal player in the then VFL, Joe Johnson, played for Fitzroy in 1904 (Tatz 1995). From then until 1968, there were only fourteen Aboriginal players in the VFL (Hallinan, Bruce & Coram 1999). The numbers began to improve from the late 1960s, with players such as Syd Jackson, Graham 'Polly' Farmer, Maurice Rioli, Jim & Phil Krakouer, Nicky Winmar, Michael Long, Adam Goodes, and Lance Franklin becoming household names within the sport, and in some cases, beyond.

Perhaps the historical developments in Australia from the 1960s onwards (see Chapter 3), including the Freedom Rides, Referendum, and Tent Embassy saw an increase in awareness and acceptance of Aboriginal people and culture by 'mainstream' Australia, which in turn enabled more Aboriginal players to be accepted in to the VFL/AFL. Perhaps this is another example of the intertwining of sport and culture in Australia.

### **Overrepresentation**

As we discussed earlier in this chapter, Australian football is just one of many examples of sports where Indigenous participation rates are higher than their population proportion. From the early low numbers we have just discussed, there are now over 70 players currently listed in the AFL, representing around 11% of all AFL players. In addition, roughly 10% of all new players drafted to clubs are Aboriginal. Both of these figures are a great deal higher than the Aboriginal proportion of the Australian population, which is approximately 3%.

Some of the reasons for this overrepresentation could include the enormous popularity of the game (again illustrated by the record \$2.5 billion dollar broadcast rights deal and subsequent media exposure); the lack of necessary equipment (you only need a ball and a bit of space); the sense of community that comes from a team sport; the positive role modelling that coaches can provide (for young men in particular), addressing identity issues that are prevalent in young Aboriginal Australians today (see Chapter 3); and perhaps the fact that the sporting field appears to be one arena where Indigenous people are almost universally 'accepted' by the Anglo-Australian-dominated society. In addition, I'd like to think that the evident link to Marn Grook, and thus Indigenous culture, provides an extra level of motivation for our young Aboriginal people.

Despite some of the negative issues associated with representations of Aboriginal people in football, the game itself still provides the potential for greater awareness and cross-cultural understanding in Australia.

## **Aboriginal people and postcolonial sport**

Today, sport represents a way for all people to express pride in themselves, in other people, and in our society. It has become a cultural 'artefact' today that symbolises characteristics, values and behaviours of a society. The time-honoured traditions of cricket, the brute strength of rugby, the brash showmanship of American football – each of them allows us a glimpse of the society in which they are played.

Bale and Cronin describe contemporary sport as a legacy of the process of colonisation, but one that also allows the colonised peoples to exercise some form of power over the colonising powers (Bale & Cronin 2003a). Postcolonial sporting forms therefore, are now played out under the rule of international bodies and in the context of a global sports business that remains symbolic of power and a form of continuing imperialism. They do, however, still provide an opportunity for Indigenous athletes to exert a degree of power on a shared stage. Playing sport allows Indigenous peoples to confidently display whom they are in a way they themselves can choose.

Australia has produced a number of amazingly talented Aboriginal sportspeople in the 'mainstream' fields of Olympic and Commonwealth Games, athletics, Australian football, boxing, cricket, rugby (both league and union), basketball, tennis and soccer, as well as sports such as cycling, hockey, wood-chopping and bowling. The names below indicate the success of Aboriginal people in sport in Australia and exemplify the power that Bale and Cronin refer to – how many names do you recognise?

Cathy Freeman  
Nova Peris-Kneebone  
Hector Thompson  
Lionel Rose  
Anthony Mundine  
Eddie Gilbert  
Johnny Mullagh  
Jason Gillespie  
Glen Ella

Mark Ella  
Gary Ella  
Arthur Beetson  
Laurie Daley  
Cliff Lyons  
Mal Meninga  
Greg Inglis  
Jonathon Thurston  
Frankie Reys

Evonne Goolagong  
Travis Dodd  
Patrick Mills  
Nathan Jawai

Kyah Simon  
Nicole Cusack

### **Aboriginal people in the AFL today**

In what is the Australian game, there have been a number of successful players, many of whom have become household names. Many of them have become leaders, not just on the field, but in their own communities and in the broader society as well.

In the case of Nicky Winmar and Michael Long, they have changed not only the game of football in Australia, but also the way we look at racism in sport. The iconic image of Nicky Winmar pointing proudly to his skin (Figure 23) in defiance of the racist taunts of the Collingwood supporters in 1993 remains one of the most famous sporting images in Australian history. His stand inspired Michael Long to similarly take action against on-field racism in 1995, which ultimately compelled the AFL to instigate its Racial Vilification Policy, the first of its kind for a major sporting code in Australia.



**Figure 23:** The Iconic image of Nicky Winmar in 1993 – Source (Ralph 2011)

The AFL's Racial Vilification Policy has undoubtedly had a marked impact on instances of racism on the field, and is influencing the behaviour of supporters. Many instances

have arisen of supporters condemning racist behaviour in the crowd, either directed at players or other supporters. It is an indication that we are perhaps becoming more educated on issues of race and racist behaviour.

---

### ADAM GOODES

In 2015, Sydney Swans player, and proud Adyathana/Ngarrindjeri/Narrunga man became the centre of what became known as 'The Adam Goodes Debate'. What began initially as 'normal' booing of an AFL player by the crowd continued for a number of weeks and grew into an intense national debate centred on the origins and justification of the booing. On one side, claims of a history of 'poor', 'unsportsmanlike' and 'divisive' behaviour by Adam Goodes was the reason behind the incessant crowd booing, which lasted many weeks. On the other side, claims that the booing was based on racial issues and proved that racism in sport, and indeed in Australia, was alive and well.



**Figure 24:** Adam Goodes in action

The issue consumed the vast majority of news services in Australia during 2015, including TV news, current affairs, talk shows, radio talkback and of course, sporting shows. It highlighted precisely what the issue of race in Australia addresses – disparate public views and opinions based on often limited understandings and knowledge.

Consider the sources in the References section (under the heading: 'Adam Goodes Controversy'). These present two opposing views of the issue, so have a look at them (and any others you can find) and decide for yourself – racist or not?

---

However, there are also incidents that again raise the spectre of racism in sport, and in our society. Have a look at the resources in the example about Adam Goodes above, and reflect upon your own experiences of racism. Regardless of your personal

viewpoint, it is clear that we all want to look forward to a society that treats people equally and fairly, and the arena of Australian football has genuine intentions and desire to achieve this both on and off the field.

A number of high profile Aboriginal role models have emerged in the past 40 years and they each have provided a link between Aboriginal and White Australia through their performances on the field. The AFL players named above and others including Andrew McLeod, Michael McLean, Gavin Wanganeen (the first Aboriginal Brownlow Medallist for fairest and best player in the AFL in 1993), Cyril Rioli, Shaun Burgoyne and David Worrupunda have paved the way for young Aboriginal people to be proud of their culture, and to reclaim and display this pride on the sporting field.

## **Women in sport**

Expanding on the issues of race and culture we have just examined will naturally take us to an investigation of women in sport. The scope of this book does not allow us to properly investigate the issue, but it is important to recognise here the role of gender issues.

As an important aspect of postcolonial analysis, exploring and understanding issues of gender is vital to a better understanding of the role of sport in contemporary society. Sports have predominantly been the domain of the male athlete for as long as they have existed, with a few sports (eg. netball) recognised as being dominated by female participation. As Appleby and Foster (2013) explain, stereotypical assumptions about what were 'appropriate' sports for women discouraged their participation

Recent decades, however, have seen a marked increase in sports participation by women in various on and off-field roles at recreational, school and college, and professional levels (Appleby & Foster 2013). Participation has also increased in Olympic Games, traditionally male-dominated sports such as soccer (Roper 2013), and off field roles including sports medicine, sports sciences and physiology (Drinkwater 2000).

Australian football has long had a relatively large female supporter base, despite much research to support the contention that it is a male domain (Hess 2000). Similar to its stance on Aboriginal players and culture, the AFL has long prided itself on its inclusion of women and the value it places on their involvement. In fact, on the international stage, Australian football is something of a leader, as "women have usually made up a greater proportion of the crowd at Australian Rules games than at any other football

code in the world” (Hess 2000 p. 114). As Nikki Wedgwood suggests, the increase in involvement of women in the Australian football has generally followed the path of “Western women’s participation in hyper-masculine sports” (2005 p. 397) that, charting a kind of postcolonial line, moved from early (eg. late 19<sup>th</sup> century) involvement to more large scale roles (Wedgwood 2005).

In the year 2016, the AFL is moving towards creating a national women’s competition, and there are just under 30 current female members of AFL club boards. In addition, 597,538 girls played in structured football competitions in 2015, and a further 650,072 participated in introductory programs (Phelan 2015). We still, however, have a great gap in our knowledge of Aboriginal women in sport. Perhaps this can be your next research project?

## **Conclusion**

Sport is an important element of the fabric of modern society and Australians take particular pride in our sporting culture. Sport, many suggest, provides a reflection of a society and its associated systems and institutions. While it remains entrenched in its colonial foundations in terms of operation, it also provides hope, excitement, happiness, inclusiveness and enjoyment on many levels. It provides health, social and cultural benefits to participants and audiences, and has undoubtedly become an important part of the modern economy in many countries.

It also reflects the experiences of members of a society, and for Australia it has long represented and reflected the experiences of Aboriginal people – accepted on some levels in Australian society, and rejected on others. As Tatz and Tatz suggest, “(w)hile playing fields are not places where people expect to find, or want to see, racial discrimination, sport is an important indicator of Australian racism” (2000 p. 7). We sometimes need to remind ourselves that our history is littered with examples of behaviour informed by misinformation and incorrect assumptions, and that our own viewpoints may be framed by such encounters.

In a contemporary sense, sport represents a postcolonial artefact of our modern world. The last couple of chapters of this book have addressed the ways that our contemporary society has been shaped by the colonial past, and the ways that this has been altered by our growing awareness of culture. Chapter 8 now takes this a step further, looking at the ways that Indigenous peoples are challenging history and reclaiming identity in a variety of ways. Similar to cultural expressions on the sporting



arena, areas such as literature and history are seeing a greater input from Indigenous peoples on their own terms. We are seeing efforts to critically examine the effects and policies of colonisation, and to try to revert them – a process that has become known as ‘decolonisation’.

## Discussion Questions

1. Consider the role of sport in your own life. Do you play, watch, both or neither? Whatever your own views, consider why this is the case? Was sport introduced to you at a young age? What were your influences in shaping your current views on sport?
2. Why are there two versions of the history of Australian football? Which do you think holds most merit? Why?
3. Select three names from the list of Aboriginal sportspeople on page 159. Write a brief biography of their lives, and explain how their own culture has shaped them both as a sportsperson and as an Aboriginal person.
4. Should sport be considered an ‘important’ part of contemporary society? Why or why not?

## Other Resources

### Books and Articles

Baker, A & Boyd, T (eds), 1997, *Out of Bounds: Sports, Media and the Politics of Identity*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Collins, T 2013, *Sport in capitalist society: a short history*, Routledge, Milton Park.

### Online

#### Adam Goodes Controversy:

Andrew Bolt Herald Sun column, July 30, 2015: -

[http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/opinion/reconciliation-movement-has-cast-us-as-enemies-in-senseless-adam-goodes-divide/story-fni0ffxg-1227462252618?sv=5c1d050bdb7df4f9da24d3fc4671e367&utm\\_source=Herald%20Sun&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=groupBeditorial](http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/opinion/reconciliation-movement-has-cast-us-as-enemies-in-senseless-adam-goodes-divide/story-fni0ffxg-1227462252618?sv=5c1d050bdb7df4f9da24d3fc4671e367&utm_source=Herald%20Sun&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=groupBeditorial)

ABC News, July 30, 2015: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-07-30/jason-akermanis-says-adam-goodes-is-a-sook/6659344>

You Tube Clip – TV show *The Weekly*, July 29, 2015:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vydY1UmWzAM>

Creative Spirits website – ‘Famous Aboriginal sportspeople’ – at

<http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/sport/famous-aboriginal-athletes#toc1> -

accessed 9/5/2016

## CHAPTER 8 – RESISTANCE AND DECOLONISATION

### Introduction: resisting historical colonisation and representation

The previous chapters of this book all examine the ways that contemporary Australian knowledge about Indigenous peoples and cultures have been created, maintained and shared, particularly the knowledge and understandings about our own Aboriginal people. We looked at the historical origins of this knowledge, based on early colonial perceptions of the Aboriginal people that were encountered and perpetuated through the dominant European paradigms of the era that saw the white European male as the centre of 'humanity', with other humans (including women at the time) considered an inferior 'Other'.

The result in Australia was a 'mainstream' society based almost entirely on these Eurocentric values, beliefs and attitudes and a large gap in our knowledge of what Aboriginal culture and people really are. This became symbolised in the construction and development of our major societal institutions. For example:

- Our political system is based almost exclusively on the British Westminster bi-cameral (two-house) system of an Upper and Lower House. This system, as we discussed in Chapter 5, preserves the interests of the dominant majority based on its 'one person one vote' premise that assumes a level playing field.
- Our education system is based on European models of positivist and constructivist methods that instruct and assess students. Typically, a Socratic method of teaching is utilised that relies on the Enlightenment principles of reasoning and logic (Paul & Elder 1997) that underpin Western scientific thought
- Our economic system of capitalism is, as we discussed in Chapter 1 and in additional detail in Chapter 9, the fundamental reason for colonial expansion. Its principles of individual success and exploitation of resources for profit are essentially at odds with Indigenous principles of sharing and reciprocity. Capitalist principles are also responsible for much of the motivations in broader contemporary society (as we will investigate in Chapter 9).

This produced a Western world where 'economic rationalisation' – the desire to reduce costs and increase profits - becomes a desired outcome that influences and shapes the decisions of almost every industry, sector and segment of contemporary society. We

have become a globalised society where many of our products and services are identical all over the world, and the corporations who manufacture and control them become larger and larger, and competition becomes smaller and smaller.

The victim of all of this is diversity; diversity of products and services, diversity of people and diversity of cultures. As we have identified, for the Indigenous groups of the world for whom diversity is an inherent aspect of identity, this creates a number of problems and issues. However, a growing global awareness of some of the pitfalls of globalised capitalism and institutionalisation has seen some resistance to its continued growth.

### **The postcolonial push - resisting colonialism**

The introduction of postcolonialism as a discourse and a theory has seen a number of alternatives emerge. Postcolonialism involves us looking at the impacts of colonisation upon not only those being colonised – the Indigenous peoples – but also on the members of the colonising group who live among and/or alongside them. It is about contemporary nations striving to establish, re-claim and/or define their own identities in the modern world of globalisation, and its associated Eurocentric paradigms (During 1995; Young 2001). Postcolonialism can help us identify and understand the cultural experiences of all people in the contemporary world.

Therefore in Australia, as we discussed in Chapter 2, postcolonial refers to not only the experience of Aboriginal peoples in dealing with, challenging and understanding colonialism and the ways that we respond to it, but also the ways that non-Aboriginal Australians learn to deal with and understand these Aboriginal experiences and their own reactions to them. In addition, it is about how Aboriginal culture is understood, represented and shared in contemporary Australian society.

As previously discussed, many believe that the current discourse on postcolonialism began with literary theorist Edward Said's 1978 book *Orientalism*. Said questioned how the United States ('the West') saw itself and its relationship to the Orient ('the East') that created what he called cultural 'Others'. This perception emerges from a position and sense of strength, authority and domination that, creates assumptions of cultural superiority by one group over another (Said 1978). These assumptions were a key factor in global imperialism and colonialism. Thus, ways of challenging these assumptions and the attitudes they brought emerged as postcolonialism.

The discourse of postcolonialism extends to many areas and has important links to such theoretical areas as feminism and critical race theory, both of which challenge the assumed superiority of the White European male (and associated 'Whiteness' – see below and Chapter 3). It contests the long-held assumptions that the imagery of the White male is the embodiment of 'normal' in contemporary society, and anything outside of this image is an outsider or different – the Other.

---

## WHITENESS

Edward Said's *Orientalism* introduced us to the concept of 'cultural othering', where we see people as different based on what are perceived to be predetermined characteristics. In most cases, these characteristics refer to the physical – and skin colour is the primary one. Skin colour has played a major role in shaping the knowledge that Europeans have about other cultures and therefore attitudes and behaviours. In Australia, for example, decisions on which Aboriginal people were placed in missions or reserves (see Chapter 5) were based almost exclusively on skin colour – the darker the skin, the more Aboriginal people were considered 'full bloods', and therefore 'eligible' to be placed on the mission or reserve. The 'lighter skinned' Aboriginal people were considered half-castes, and forced to assimilate into White culture – hence the 'White Australia Policy'.

This perception of white superiority has long underpinned attitudes of race and racism throughout history in all parts of the world – think about Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, and the history of slavery and civil rights in the US. Academic literature identifies such attitudes as 'Whiteness' – the assumptions of racial and cultural superiority, based on skin colour, that create and perpetuate the stereotypical attitudes and behaviour that we so often see in contemporary society. It then creates a perception of 'normal' that centres on the concept of (the) White (male) who belongs in this centre, and anyone outside of this centre is the 'other'.

As Yin Paradies suggests, these assumptions rely on a belief that the characteristics of 'belonging' in the world are "whiteness, Christianness, intelligence, inventiveness, and goodness" (2006 p. 22). Noted Australian Aboriginal scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson similarly notes that as a result, whiteness became the "representation of humanity" (2004 p. 77). Whiteness also extends beyond skin colour to include issues such as social class and gender; authors such as Moreton-Robinson have discussed the links between Whiteness and feminism for example.

---

Postcolonialism looks to provide Indigenous peoples in particular with a voice to express, educate and inform about their contemporary identities, and to acknowledge and celebrate their differences to 'Whiteness'. In contemporary society, this can be done in a number of ways, including through education, popular culture, sport, research and literature. We have discussed these first three areas in preceding chapters, so let's now take a look at how postcolonialism is expressed through research and literature.

## **Resistance writing, literature and research**

Writing has been an important part of the culture of Europe and thus spread throughout the Western world. Imperial powers have used the written word to record their histories, educate their members and express their power and control. For British imperialism, the written word became the symbol of success. Writing became the way for narratives of society – their stories – to be recorded and immortalised. It became a way to describe (or represent) a location, an environment, or a group of people. We no longer need to hear the voices of people who had experienced events because the writing that recorded them gave us their 'truths'. The written word informed about people, culture and history. Writing therefore removed and replaced the human element of these histories and cultures. Today we have come to accept the written word as an almost incontestable account of historical events, people, landscapes and environments (remember our discussion in Chapter 8 about the origins of Australian football?) and a powerful symbol of contemporary society.

In terms of the history of British imperialism and colonisation, writing narratives (through the 'novel') actually deployed a tool of communication as a powerful weapon. Stories of travel, fortune, distant lands and prosperity all created a level of knowledge and expectation among Europeans that fundamentally informed all colonial expansion. Edward Said, for example, suggests that the novel was *THE* cultural artefact of (European) imperialism and remains inseparable from both it and the social class distinctions it has created (Said 1993). Said also explains that imperial writing created narratives that informed the dominant colonial attitudes, while at the same time blocking any alternative narratives from forming. This saw alternative narratives become categorised as 'merely' storytelling and thus labelled fiction (Said 1993). For oral traditions such as Indigenous cultures, this simply supported the assumptions of the superiority of colonial cultures.

In contemporary society, this has created a paradoxical situation for Indigenous peoples – using non-Indigenous methods of writing and narrative to express and assert

our cultures and histories. It creates a situation where we can learn about our cultures from Elders (in many cases in a 'traditional' environment), but we preserve, promote and affirm these cultures through the Western method of writing (and particularly in English). Resistance writing provides one way for Indigenous peoples to do this.

Emerging from postcolonialism and its challenge to dominant systems, resistance writing offers a way to counter the inherent assumptions of colonial ways of thinking and writing. These colonial ways, as we have discussed throughout this book, are based on the scientific principles of universality that emerged from the Enlightenment (see Chapter 2) that not only form the basis for contemporary globalisation and capitalism, but also created the perceptions of Indigenous peoples being different, yet all the same.

Resistance (or postcolonial) writing) has also been termed 'writing back' to the dominant power (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). 'Writing back' addresses literature in historical periods both during and after European imperialism in places including Australia, Canada, the US, India, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Singapore, and African, Caribbean and South Pacific Island countries ((Ashcroft, Griffins & Tiffin 2002).

This postcolonial writing represents the ways that Indigenous peoples utilise Western literary methods to reclaim and reaffirm culture within the Western scholarly and literary world – a world that shapes the thinking of 'mainstream' society. It also provides a way to 'de-normalise' the practices of Western scholarship that display a sense of entitlement to know and learn about Indigenous peoples in a purely Western way. Postcolonial resistance in this context can make Indigenous writing a 'normal' part of the world of contemporary literature and writing.

For Aboriginal people in Australia, this writing has taken various forms, including writing about ourselves, and others writing about us. For example, Gillian Cowlishaw (1988) identified three approaches or themes that define the roles of Aboriginal people within literature:

1. Aborigines as victims of racism
2. Aborigines as victims of capitalism (being exploited etc)
3. Aborigines providing resistance to invasion and hegemony.

Each of these themes remains consistent with experiences of both colonialism and postcolonialism in Australia, and include Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal viewpoints and writing. Postcolonial, resistance writing in Australia attempts to provide a 'new' voice to

writing and literature and tackle the dominance of European writing in understanding and describing Aboriginal peoples, cultures and histories. It deals with issues that have been with us for over 200 years, but in a contemporary way. If producing such writing changes non-Aboriginal thinking about Aboriginal culture and people, it remains a critical part of the process of social change in Australia (Anderson 2003).

Postcolonial resistance writing, also known as Indigenous critical writing, is also a reflection of the ability of Aboriginal people to adapt to the new white ways much quicker than vice versa. Aboriginal people used their new knowledge to learn about the colonising culture but also to find ways to retain and maintain their traditional cultures. The written expression that was learned has also developed into areas of intellectual inquiry such as research. New, alternative research methodologies (see below) therefore emerged that challenged existing Western research methods that were again based on the European scientific assumptions of universality and cultural superiority. These alternative methodologies also challenged the very reasons for research, re-aligning the established desire to improve individual or institutional knowledge about other people to one where the impacts and effects upon those being examined – often referred to in research as the ‘subjects’ – becomes paramount.

As such, resistance research challenges the long-held principles of academic research that focus on testing scientific beliefs, and replaces and realigns them with principles that focus on mutual benefit and addressing social welfare issues of marginalised and disadvantaged groups in society. We will explore this concept in more detail later in the chapter.

---

## **EXAMPLES OF RESISTANCE LITERATURE IN AUSTRALIA**

Since what Philip Morrissey calls the ‘Aboriginal renaissance’ (2003) of the late 1980s there have been a number of Aboriginal authors who have produced this postcolonial resistance writing to try and ‘re-write’ the representations of Aboriginal people in Australian history. Producing works of both fiction and non-fiction, the following (short) list provides an example of the progress that resistance writing has made in this country. Prominent Aboriginal authors include such names as Larissa Behrendt, Lisa Bellear, Jack Davis, Marcia Langton, Ian Anderson, Martin Nakata, Richard Frankland, Kevin Gilbert, Mudrooroo, Anita Heiss, Lowitja O’Donoghue, Jackie Huggins, Sally Morgan, Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker), Tony Burch, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Margaret Tucker, Tara June Winch, Mick Dodson, Bruce Pascoe, and many others.



There have also been a number of prominent non-Aboriginal authors to produce insightful work of the experiences of Aboriginal Australians, including Henry Reynolds, Bain Attwood, Diane Bell, Gillian Cowlshaw, Anna Haebich and John Maynard (again, among many others). Although there is still debate about the legitimacy of non-Aboriginal people writing 'on behalf of Aboriginal peoples', such writing is nonetheless important in helping to develop a fuller understanding of postcolonial Australia.

Organisations such as the First Nations Australia Writers' Network (FNAWN) have also created a culturally safe space for Aboriginal people to engage in contemporary writing. Emerging from the Guwanyi Indigenous Writers' Festival in March 2011, FNAWN is "an advocacy and resources service for Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander writers and storytellers" that aims to "foster the development of skills in First Nations Australia writers, poets and storytellers, advocating and lobbying on their behalf, supporting ongoing development opportunities, in order to sustain and enhance First Nations Australians writing and storytelling" (FNAWN website – see <http://www.fnawn.com.au/about/>).

---

For Aboriginal people, culture represents systems of beliefs, ideologies and protocols that are common across the country, but with unique and specific ways to express and display them. Resistance literature, and specifically Aboriginal writing and scholarship, provides a way for us to do this in contemporary society, as well as challenge the dominant ideologies of imperialism and colonialism (Anderson 2003; Grossman 2003a; Harlow 1987). IN Australia, what Morrissey called the 'Aboriginal Renaissance' of the late 1980s produced a number of Aboriginal critical writers that produced, among many others, Jackie Huggins, Sally Morgan, Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker), Tony Burch, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, and Margaret Tucker (see above),

Resistance writing and research has created a space for further development and challenges to the dominant discourses we have already discussed in this book. Our next section looks at the concepts of Indigenous Knowledge and decolonisation, two closely aligned areas that expand on the work of resistance and introduce new ways of thinking about the world we live in.

---

## **BEING ABORIGINAL IN TODAY'S ACADEMIC WORLD**

Multiculturalism has created a number of issues for people to confront in the modern world today, many on a daily basis. No matter what your occupation, if you belong to a minority, 'ethnic' group in Australia today you can often be faced with challenges. As an Aboriginal man who works in the academic world, I've seen my share. "Why can't all black fellas be like you?" is a comment I have often heard from friends when they are

confronted with a difficult, awkward situation involving Aboriginal people. I have managed to negotiate my way through the colonial education system from primary school to postgraduate education, so in many eyes this clearly indicates that the problem lies with 'other' Aboriginal people, not the system. My experiences in contemporary Australia have been about trying to identify, reclaim and reaffirm MY culture in the face of the colonial world I know. It is easy for me to identify with the 'white' ways of Australia, as this is all I have known. However, understanding how to reconcile this with my cultural heritage is MY ongoing challenge. I am extremely proud of my Aboriginal heritage and the fact that I am descended from the oldest living culture on the planet. I should NEVER be made to feel ashamed of this fact. But neither should any Aboriginal person in Australia for being proud of themselves and their heritage, particularly those who haven't found living in the white world as easy as I have.

---

## **Decolonisation and Indigenous research methods**

As we have discussed in many sections of this book, colonial paradigms are buried very deeply into the fibre of contemporary society. We have also just discussed this in terms of (academic) writing and research, and how this is being resisted by Indigenous peoples (and others in some cases) to allow alternative perspectives to be recognised as legitimate in the contemporary world. We now discuss what has often been referred to as a necessary part of this process – decolonisation.

Decolonisation is defined as the releasing of a colony from its controlling power (the coloniser) and/or a colony gaining independence from such control. As with colonialism, imperialism and postcolonialism (discussed in earlier chapters), it is a complex and sometimes confusing concept. Historically, knowledge creation in colonial societies has rejected Indigenous ways of knowing, and this prevailing attitude still influences contemporary educational models and practice. The process of removing them has been widely labelled 'decolonisation' (Battiste 2009a; Kovach 2015; Rigney 2006; Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

In order to simplify it for the context we are using, it is defined as the removal of intellectual, cultural, and social control imposed by British imperialism and colonisation. In terms of education, research and scholarship, it is the removal of the existing paradigms that have constructed and shaped them in Australia. Collectively, education, research and scholarship will be referred to here as 'knowledge', even though we understand that all four are distinct areas.

---

## DEFINING 'KNOWLEDGE'

Discussions of decolonisation involve a number of complex issues. Education, research, scholarship, and knowledge are all words that are used when discussing decolonisation. Each has its own specifics and issues, and although each is also interdependent – they influence, and are in turn influenced by, each other – they are also distinct within this discourse. Education involves the creation and sharing of knowledge and the methods used; research involves applying existing methods and knowledge to create new knowledge; scholarship involves not only researching and contributing to new knowledge, but how that new knowledge is expressed and shared; knowledge itself remains at the centre of much debate and discussion in areas such as education and research. It is a rich tapestry of complicated concepts, terms, phrases and words that come together to interest and intrigue us. And it is part of the reason why you are reading this right now!

For the purposes of clarity for this chapter, however, we will refer to the phrase 'knowledge' to include all of the aspects of education, research and scholarship we have just discussed.

---

Decolonising knowledge therefore involves recognising the limitations of Western knowledge as it has been developed, and the existence and contribution of alternative (ie Indigenous) knowledge. Decolonisation allows us to develop a deeper understanding of Indigenous knowledge and how it can improve current methods. Decolonisation of knowledge can not only add value to our existing knowledge, but provide ways for our knowledge to expand beyond limitations that are often imposed by specific study areas, such as maths, English, science, or law.

The key elements of decolonisation in this context are narrativity and language. Narrativity, or storytelling, has always been a crucial element of Indigenous cultures the world over. The oral traditions of Indigenous peoples include a range of methods that underline the message or knowledge as well as become a part of the knowledge itself. The way stories are told is as important as the content they possess. Narrativity for Indigenous cultures often use metaphors, art, folklore, song and dance to embed knowledge and understanding (Dawson 1981; Nicholson 2007; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a; Sheehan 2011). Narrativity in turn relies a great deal on language for its power to inform. Language contains deep knowledge for Indigenous peoples (Yunkaporta 2010), and is vital for cultural strength (Bell 2003). The interrelationship between

language and narrativity connects the histories of Indigenous cultures with their present, and their importance cannot be understated. This is also explored a little further below.

Decolonisation is often identified as a link between resistance and sovereignty. Sovereignty is the condition of a group of people to control and make their own life decisions (Yazzie 2009). For Indigenous peoples throughout the globe, this is achieved through a range of mechanisms including treaty rights (eg. Canada, New Zealand - see Chapter 4) and effective decolonisation that results in sovereign independence (eg. India and many African and Pacific Island nations). In such countries, Indigenous groups have retained or regained control (and thus sovereignty) over land. For the Aboriginal people of Australia, however, sovereignty remains a much more complex, elusive issue. Political sovereignty is not possible, and thus sovereignty over land is tenuous. Intellectual sovereignty remains the brightest hope. As such, the decolonisation of knowledge remains a key aim.

The push for decolonisation and sovereignty of knowledge for Indigenous peoples has gained momentum globally in the past two decades. A key objective of this push has been the development of Indigenous ways of learning, teaching, and research and the associated development of Indigenous research methodologies. Academic literature today contains a rich collection of examples, thoughts and concepts of ways to introduce alternative Indigenous methodologies into the research world (including Agrawal 1995; Foley 2003b; Nakata 1998a; Rigney 1997b, 2006; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; West 2000).

In Australia, Lester-Irabinna Rigney was a pioneer with his suggestion of 'Indigenism', a concept that sees Indigenous ways of research (what he also calls 'Indigenist research') becoming an accepted, valued and normal part of academic life. Rigney looks at reverting the focus of research from the dominant colonial paradigms to those that focus on Indigenous perspectives. He uses an "anti-colonial critique" to develop his Indigenist research methodology that fundamentally sees research conducted *by* and *for* Indigenous peoples (Rigney 1997b). This emerges from his concept of Indigenism, which he describes as:

*a distinct Indigenous Australian academic body of knowledge that seeks to disrupt the socially constructed identity of the 'archetypal Aborigine' as a controlled and oppressed being, that informed the emergence of a distinct yet diverse Indigenist Research epistemological and ontological agenda*

In this context Indigenism is the discourse of resisting and decolonising the dominant knowledge and striving for intellectual Indigenous sovereignty. Lester-Irabinna Rigney is a pioneer of this movement in Australia, and provides an example of how many Aboriginal people in Australia today are striving to make inroads in the academic world in an attempt to not only reclaim and reaffirm their own cultures, but to embed their own cultural knowledge within the dominant western systems - thus creating a truly postcolonial system of knowledge in this country.

### **Decolonisation – is it possible?**

Today, although decolonisation seems an important step in the postcolonial journey, it remains a complicated issue that presents ongoing challenges. For example, is it even possible to ‘decolonise’ a colonised society or people? Given our earlier discussions on postcolonialism, where does ‘decolonisation’ fit in to the picture? Questions such as this form the basis of a great deal of academic literature and inquiry today. So if you are having difficulty coming up with answers, don’t despair – asking the questions is your first step towards a greater understanding!

Decolonisation and sovereignty (regardless of views on the likelihood of either) are both concepts based on the recognition of Indigenous ways. To this end, the notion of Indigenous Knowledge provides a foundation stone in the development of any intellectual resistance and or decolonisation.

### **Indigenous knowledge**

A fundamental requirement of resistance, decolonising knowledge, intellectual sovereignty and Indigenous research and methodologies is the acceptance and role of Indigenous Knowledge. It is, however, a complex notion that is not easy to define. It contains elements common to all Indigenous cultures such as connectedness and relationships, but is inherently tied up with local knowledges and histories and thus cannot be universally defined. It is distinct from concepts of Western knowledge (that we have discussed in this book), yet shares many similarities.

A thorough understanding of Indigenous Knowledge (we will refer to it as IK here) is not going to be achieved through reading this (or any other) book. However, learning about IK from many different sources provides a solid foundation from which to begin. IK is often expressed as a fluid, contemporary system that is connected to specific communities and locations, as well as reflective of them, and can be expressed in a

number of different ways (Aikman & King 2012; Nakata et al. 2005). These different expressions will depend on local land, knowledge, stories, history and tradition. IK challenges people to see the contemporary world from outside the 'comfort zone' of Western knowledge (that is, the way we learn about the world that makes us 'comfortable'). It examines how non-Western people construct their view of the world.

---

### **TERMINOLOGY OF 'INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE'**

The complexity of Indigenous Knowledge is not helped by the academic literature on it, with a great deal of discussion and debate on the terminology that is used. Although the term 'Indigenous' has become an almost globally accepted generic term for native populations (see Chapter 1), its use in this context is not universally agreed. The majority of the discussion centres on the use of the word 'Indigenous' as a prefix, as for some this simply categorises and marginalises yet another aspect of Indigenous culture. In particular, it can indicate a 'co-opting' of culture by non-Indigenous people that tries to make IK a universal concept (Wohling 2009). The discourse considers alternative prefixes to the concept, including words such as 'folk', 'traditional', and 'local' to describe this knowledge (Battiste 2002; Morris 2010). Brian Morris, for example, in an analysis of Malawi knowledge, suggests the term 'folk knowledge' as "knowledge that ordinary people have of their local environment" (2010 p. 1). Morris also avoids using the term 'traditional' as for him "science and Christianity are just as much a cultural tradition as is folk knowledge" (Morris 2010 p. 1)

Addressing the grammatical complexity, Martin Nakata provides a succinct explanation for the use of capital letters. Using a capital 'K', Nakata explains, denotes "an epistemological understanding of knowledge systems", or seeing Indigenous Knowledge as a collection of a number of systems of knowledge (Nakata 2004 p. 34). Indigenous knowledge with a lower case 'k' may be more broadly understood as the knowledge that local populations develop in response to specific conditions and problems faced, similar to what Morris and others describe as 'folk', 'local' or 'traditional' knowledge

Likewise in this book, Indigenous Knowledge refers to the broader, collective sense of (a number of) Indigenous knowledges, rather than an attempt to specify a particular Indigenous group or culture.

---

IK is required to develop methodologies and paradigms that not only challenge how we learn about Indigenous people, but how we learn about the world itself. It can provide a range of benefits to our current education system as well as reaffirm and strengthen

Indigenous cultures. In Australia, this allows us an opportunity to learn specific, relevant knowledge about our own land and country that can not only teach us about our past, but also inform our future.

### **Characteristics of Indigenous Knowledge**

Although IK remains essentially human-based and thus shares a number of characteristics with Western Knowledge, it also contains elements that make it unique. In particular, we can suggest that there are four main characteristics that both distinguish IK and are its essential elements: connectedness; reciprocity; context; and reflexivity.

**Connectedness** refers to how IK highlights relationships. Also referred to as relationality, this characteristic shows how all things around us are connected and that IK is a method of learning about and understanding your own connection to these things. Unlike Western science that recognises a clear distinction between the physical and the mind (which draws on the Cartesian dualism that emerged from the Enlightenment), IK recognises a connection between *all* things, including land, language, history and the environment. This also includes connections to living things such as plants and animals, as well as intangible things such as dreams, imagination and visions (Fixico 2003). Indigenous Knowledge not only recognises that we are connected to every part of the world around us, but helps us to identify these connections.

**Reciprocity** is the acknowledgment of a responsibility to community. It challenges the assumptions of scholarly ownership of knowledge, and sees knowledge as a shared responsibility. When conducting research on Indigenous peoples, for example, developing a mutual understanding of the aims for the research and the benefits to the Indigenous community is vital before the research takes place. Any knowledge derived therefore is shared between the researcher and the community and should remain part of ongoing and free dialogue. In this context IK isn't just about sharing data or information, but about sharing the theories, methods and analyses that help to inform the construction and representation of the knowledge itself (Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

**Context** refers to the locations of the knowledge (in a geographic sense) and the inherent specificity of it. Simply put, this means that Indigenous knowledge remains specific to certain groups and the land to which they are connected. Indigenous Knowledge reflects how Indigenous groups know themselves, each other and their environment. It is not static, however, as it changes over time to reflect the changing environment from

which it comes, while remaining specific to it (Battiste 2009b; Wane 2008). In Australia, it is traditionally transmitted through the stories, songs and animals that comprise our 'songlines' of communication (Nicholson 2007). It remains a crucial element of IK as a reflection of connections to country and land.

**Reflexivity** is the responsibility to ensure that knowledge is not only shared, but maintains the connections we discussed above. Research about Indigenous people that creates new knowledge should not be conducted as an end point, but become the starting point for a new cycle of knowledge. In this respect, the connections must be maintained and not only be informed by the knowledge, but inform it. Relationships must therefore remain fluid and ongoing and prioritise benefits to community above those of the individual or institution. Reflexivity ensures that knowledge and knowledge sharing is a never-ending story.

---

## SEPARATION OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE FROM WESTERN KNOWLEDGE

Probably one of the most fundamental distinctions between IK and Western knowledge are their respective underlying philosophies on 'connection'. The principles and attitudes of contemporary Western science and knowledge emerged from European Enlightenment (see Chapter 2). Drawing upon the philosophies of René Descartes' cogito ergo sum ('I think, therefore I am'), scientists developed a belief of the separation of human mind from the physical world. This belief, known as Cartesian dualism, separated the intellect, logic and scientific methodology as 'reason' and 'knowledge' alone. Scientists argued that researchers, disconnected from human perception or any processes of perceiving, could discover 'objective' truths and laws of the physical and social systems of humankind (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). This created a paradigm of science and knowledge being universal concepts that humans could 'conquer' or control. Indigenous beliefs, as we discuss here, see humans as merely one part of a much larger system and knowledge therefore comes from understanding where we fit within this system (our connections and relationships).

---

## Indigenous Knowledge and Western Knowledge

Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge have many differences and many similarities. Knowledge is a concept that we all deal with every day yet rarely analyse or investigate. Knowledge is not an account of 'how things are or how they should be', but represents an ability for us to respond and react to our environment. It is a social concept that is "a product of the past and a factor that determines the future" (Adolf &



Stehr 2014 p. 2). For both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, knowledge allows us to make sense of the world around us.

Indigenous Knowledge may well be considered an example of what Foucault calls the discontinuity or interruptions of knowledge (Foucault 1972a). IK is distinct from Western systems of knowledge for a number of reasons already stated, but perhaps its most significant difference is relationality. Western paradigms are based on the premise that knowledge is an individual entity that is obtained, owned and controlled by an individual. Indigenous paradigms come from the belief that knowledge forms relationships with all things, and is, as Shawn Wilson says, “shared with all of creation” (Wilson 2001 p. 176). Arun Agrawal cites three clear distinctions between the two:

1. substantive – there is difference in the subject matter;
2. methodological and epistemological – they are two forms of knowledge employing different methods and using and producing different worldviews; and
3. contextual – traditional knowledge is more deeply rooted in its context

(Agrawal 1995)

Indigenous Knowledge remains connected to its inherent relationships, and is therefore a shared system rather than ‘belonging’ to any one person, institution or entity (Battiste 2002; Janke 2009; Wane 2008; Wilson 2001). Its emphasis on relationships also sees forms of data and information as vital that are considered irrelevant in Western science, including such things as dreams, daydreaming, imagination and visions, as well as “arts, craft, dance, and cultural expressions, belief systems, customary laws, environmental knowledge of plants and animals and kinship systems” (Janke 2009 p. 8). Such forms become part of the logic and decision-making processes of Indigenous thought (Fixico 2003) and are considered as valid as forms of empirical data such as interviews, questionnaires and surveys.

Contemporary Western knowledge systems also categorise, compartmentalise and fragment knowledge into ‘recognised’ disciplines or terms – for example mathematics, accounting, science, psychology and history. Processes such as these undermine the holistic nature of Indigenous knowledge and worldviews (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a), which both perpetuates assumptions of superiority, and denies alternative ways of learning that can add wonderful new dimensions to contemporary knowledge.

However, Indigenous Knowledge also provides opportunities in the contemporary world. As part of legitimate contemporary practice, ‘hybrid’ (postcolonial) forms of

knowledge can contain many of the aspects of both Indigenous and Western systems, including academic rigour, reliability, fluidity, and mutual benefit.

Simply distinguishing between the two fails to acknowledge that there are similarities as well as differences. Both are dynamic, evolving systems reflective of environment and experiences and are not fixed in time and/or space. By highlighting distinctions we only tend to assume that one is based on culture (Indigenous knowledge) and the other is not (Western knowledge) (Agrawal 1995; Nakata 2004). This assumption is a prominent aspect of Western knowledge beliefs of Enlightenment that 'true' science was disconnected from culture and cultural aspects. This created assumptions that research and knowledge that engages with culture is inferior and lacking in the scientific merit of 'culture-less' knowledge and research.

Many people, however, have suggested that Western knowledge is not disconnected from culture at all, and that this attitude fails to recognise the culture of the European Enlightenment from which it emerged (Agrawal 2002). Any form of knowledge creation or research necessarily engages culture at some level, and thus becomes a cultural production. Western knowledge, therefore, is produced from within one culture, while Indigenous knowledge is produced from within another. It is interesting to note the role of Foucault's power of knowledge here, as one form of knowledge assumes a position of superiority over the other.

## **Is Indigenous Knowledge important today?**

In the contemporary world, it can be very easy to be distracted by the colonial lens that so shapes our worldviews. With this lens, we consider a concept such as Indigenous Knowledge to be connected to the stereotypical past that we have discussed throughout this book. It involves traditional, spiritual and cultural elements that do not fit within our contemporary knowledge paradigm, so get tossed in the 'Too Hard To Understand' basket, or the 'Not Relevant To The Real World' basket (this latter basket is a very popular one for many issues involving Indigenous peoples today!).

But as we have highlighted in this chapter, Indigenous Knowledge can have a place in our contemporary world of education and research. Although it is a complex concept, it is certainly not a concept that is 'unknowable' to us. Much like the other issues we have examined, it simply requires a shift in the way we look at ourselves and the contemporary world we live in, and accept that it can add value to our existing systems of knowledge.

Is it something you could use in your life?

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has looked at some of the ways that Indigenous peoples have resisted the ongoing effects of colonisation and looked to perhaps 'undo' some of them. Colonial knowledge and representations of Indigenous people have been based upon Western concepts of knowledge and understanding which have stemmed from the European Enlightenment and its scientific development. This saw a belief in the separation of the human mind over body and the physical environment, and lead to attitudes of knowledge being an 'object' that could be controlled. In addition, it created notions of power that saw Western knowledge become 'privileged' as superior to other forms of knowledge – which were largely disregarded.

Resistance and decolonisation remain important parts of the postcolonial discussion in Australia today. For many Australians, however, they may seem irrelevant or unimportant. For all of us, however, they can become extremely powerful tools to create a more knowledgeable, more culturally aware society. For Aboriginal Australians, resistance and decolonisation don't necessarily mean a complete rejection of our colonial history or ways. It is simply an acknowledgment that many of our past practices have created current systems of inequity – and education, research and scholarship is one of these areas.

If we can find ways to incorporate locally relevant, historically significant knowledge into our everyday lives we will not only be engaging with our own history and culture in a meaningful way, but we will be adding a richness to the knowledge of our society that simply cannot be gained elsewhere.

Chapter 10 of the book brings many of these discussions together to examine how Indigenous people are engaging with 21<sup>st</sup> century society. In particular, we will look at three key areas:

- Indigenous Enterprise
- Indigenous Tourism
- Bringing aspects of our history into contemporary society.

Each section will include examples of how resistance to colonialism has created for us a postcolonial society that can, and indeed does, include Indigenous culture and peoples.

## Discussion Questions

1. Describe the difference between written histories and oral histories? Which one holds more value for you?
2. Can non-Indigenous people write about Indigenous issues? Are there any circumstances where you think this is appropriate?
3. In your own words, explain 'decolonisation'. Is it a realistic proposition, or is it unrealistic for Indigenous peoples?
4. Locate three (3) examples of Aboriginal resistance literature or writing. Briefly describe each one and comment on the connections and intersections between colonialism and Aboriginal history in these works.
5. How would you define Indigenous Knowledge? How could Indigenous Knowledge assist you in your life today, either in your studies, or perhaps a job?

## Other Resources

### Books and Articles

Davis, J, Muecke, S, Narrogin, M & Shoemaker, A (eds), 1990, *Paperbark: a collection of Black Australian writings*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.

Grossman, M (ed.) 2003, *Blacklines: contemporary critical writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

Kovach, M 2015, 'Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies ', in S Strega and L Brown (eds), *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, Canadian Scholars' Press, Toronto, pp. 43 - 64.

Macedo, D 1999, 'Decolonizing Indigenous Knowledge', in LM Semali and JL Kincheloe (eds), *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, Routledge, New York, pp. xi - xvi.

Moreton-Robinson, A 2015, *The White Possessive: Property, Power and Indigenous Sovereignty*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

### Online

First Nations Australia Writers' Network - <http://www.fnawn.com.au/about/> - accessed 12/5/2016

Smith, S 2006, *Race, class, and 'whiteness theory'*, *International Socialist Review*, vol. 46, March – April; viewed at <http://www.isreview.org/issues/46/whiteness.shtml>

Swinburne University Indigenous Knowledge Hub –

<http://danielgreen.com.au/Web%20Storage/IKHUB/index.html>

The World Bank Group: Sub-Saharan Africa: What is Indigenous Knowledge -

<http://www.worldbank.org/afr/ik/basic.htm>

# **CHAPTER 9 – INDIGENOUS CULTURE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

## **Introduction: The survival of Indigenous cultures**

For Indigenous peoples, and Aboriginal Australians in particular, the present-day represents triumph, hope, sadness and struggle all at once. Centuries of global European colonialism have left us with an increasingly globalised world filled with paradoxes - and one very interesting paradox in particular. While the globalised world threatens the uniqueness of Indigenous cultures, it also gives us access to the tools and connections to become more aware and knowledgeable than ever about the histories and values of these Indigenous cultures.

Of course, colonialism also left a relative trail of destruction on all the Indigenous cultures with which it came into contact. Loss of land (through either takeover or treaty), displacement of clans and tribes, loss of native languages and lack of 'mainstream' knowledge and understanding about cultural heritage and traditions are just some of the symptoms of colonisation around the world. Yet, despite many 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century predictions of doom for the world's native populations, most still stand strong and firm into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

For Australia's Aboriginal populations, this struggle for survival has been constant. Unlike our counterparts of British colonisation in New Zealand, the US and Canada, Aboriginal Australians were not afforded the respect and recognition that the offer of treaties presented (see Chapter 5). Instead, a deep-seated belief in the inevitable extinction of Aboriginal people, fuelled and justified by their scientific theories of social evolution, saw the native peoples ostracised and marginalised from almost all forms of 'mainstream' life (see Chapter 3, for example). Australian history is littered with such examples.

However, Aboriginal culture did not die and Aboriginal people have not become extinct. In fact, Aboriginal culture is arguably stronger in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Australia than it has ever been. This chapter takes a look at some of the ways that Aboriginal culture is expressed in our contemporary world.

## Aboriginal Culture Today

For many Australians, the notion of Aboriginal culture is inevitably tied up in the stereotypical colonial images that have dominated our representations. Not sure what I mean? Type “Aboriginal Australians” into a Google Images search and see the majority of results. However, any type of real investigation or study into Aboriginal culture in Australia will reveal a diverse, strong, proud group of people who come from and represent the many different aspects of contemporary Australia. Young, old, fit, disabled, sports-mad, intellectual, unemployed, professional, poor, wealthy, light-skinned, dark-skinned and virtually everything in between – the composition of the population of Aboriginal Australia is almost a reflection of the broader Australian population. Each of us has our own connection, our own way of learning, sharing, expressing, and showing pride in our culture.

The Aboriginal story in Australia is much the same as the broader ‘Australian’ story – one of struggle and hardship, of being at the mercy of our landscape and climate, of beating the odds when it seemed all was lost and of immense pride in who we are. It is the Australian way and the Aboriginal culture always was and always will be a part of that.

This chapter will now look specifically at some examples of how Aboriginal culture is expressed in contemporary Australia and in particular at the ways that Aboriginal people are engaging in the modern world of capitalism.

---

### THE ROLE OF CAPITALISM

Put simply, capitalism is a political, economic and legal system that has become the dominant economic system of the Western world. Based on market-led supply and demand, capitalism emerged from the periods of Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution in Britain in particular, and was a driving force behind British imperialism. Capitalism is a social system based on the principle of individual rights and the free market system (*What Is Capitalism?* 2016). In addition, capitalism promotes the rule of ‘laissez-faire’ where “investment in and ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth is made and maintained chiefly by private individuals or corporations” (*Capitalism* 2016), free from state or government control. By its nature, capitalism promotes the exploitation of resources to maximise profit and accumulate private (individual) wealth.

---

---

Capitalism was a catalyst for the expansion of British imperialism as it contained the suitable conditions of a uniform monetary system, the use of natural resources (eg land), and the ability to purchase (cheap) labour. Such conditions have enabled capitalism to become the favoured system among global powers as well as enabled the creation of a global economic system. However, they have also led to massive inequities in global wealth distribution. Many remain critical of the way capitalism continues to contribute to this inequity in all societies where it exists.

---

Capitalism as an economic and political system has shaped the modern world as we know it, and created our contemporary globalised society. In particular, its European colonial foundations have also seen it appear at odds with many traditional Indigenous concepts of sustainability of land and culture. We will now look at two specific areas of Indigenous involvement in the area of capitalism – Indigenous Enterprise and Entrepreneurship and Indigenous Tourism.

## **Indigenous Enterprise and Entrepreneurship**

*\*Author's note: The vast majority of the literature on Indigenous Enterprise and Entrepreneurship uses the term 'Indigenous' to refer to the native groups under discussion from various parts of the globe. In addition, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) records all use 'Indigenous' in publications. As such, this section of the book will use the phrase 'Indigenous' in all cases.*

### **Background, Motivations and History**

The introduction of the economic system of capitalism in Australia was yet another aspect of British colonisation that had devastating effects on existing Indigenous cultures. The introduction of private enterprise saw a massive shift in the ideology towards, among many things, 'land ownership'. For many thousands of years, Indigenous culture dictated that people were just a part of the larger system of ecology, and so 'owning' land wasn't recognised as we do today. This ideological shift created immediate problems in the relationship between the British and the Indigenous people. The private nature of capitalism was at odds with the traditional Indigenous values of sharing and community.

The resultant cultural divide, a symptom of all European expansion, was particularly noticeable in Australia. Indigenous Australians have occupied the lowest rungs of the social ladder in Australian virtually since British occupation, and our national statistics



(kept since the 1967 referendum – see Chapter 3) confirm this. Lower rates of income, education, wealth, and health combine with higher rates of preventable disease and unemployment – a cocktail for failure in the Western world of capitalism. And these issues have been recognised on a global scale.

To address these issues and tackle such statistics, enabling Indigenous peoples to engage in the world of capitalism is seen as a vital step. The United Nations has recognised the value of such an approach, acknowledging in 2003 that:

*...local entrepreneurs have the power to create the greatest change for their own countries. Basic enterprise (is) everywhere and (does) not need to be imported.*

(Paul Martin, in United Nations 2003)

This desire to engage directly in the world of capitalism has seen the development of what has become known as 'Indigenous Enterprise and Entrepreneurship' – what we will call here IE. IE is seen as a key to addressing the many issues of disadvantage that confront Indigenous groups and are at the heart of the damning social welfare statistics we identified. IE also has the potential to not only maximise the potential for economic self-determination for Indigenous peoples, but simultaneously reducing their reliance on government welfare programs, which are widely considered ineffectual anyway (Wood & Davidson 2011). This can create an economic 'win-win' situation, as not only are Indigenous peoples given greater opportunities to achieve financial self-determination and independence, but also it greatly reduces the government's financial obligations and thus ongoing budget pressure.

Additionally (as we discuss below), the capability is readily available within communities as the requisite knowledge is there and does not need to be brought in from elsewhere. IE is therefore seen as a vital tool in addressing the global inequities that capitalist expansion has created.

### **Definition**

Indigenous Enterprise and Entrepreneurship, as a relatively new field of social, economic and cultural inquiry, remains a bit of a mystery to many people. It draws on 'mainstream' fields of enterprise and entrepreneurship to include Indigenous culture and cultural knowledge in contemporary business practices. The concepts of enterprise and entrepreneurship, while distinct and individual, have a relationship that can be recognised when considered in the context of Indigenous culture.

Enterprise is defined in the dictionary as:

- a project undertaken or to be undertaken, esp. one that is important or difficult or that requires boldness or energy: To keep the peace is a difficult enterprise.
- a plan for such a project.
- participation or engagement in such projects: Our country was formed by the enterprise of resolute men and women.
- boldness or readiness in undertaking; adventurous spirit; ingenuity.
- a company organized for commercial purposes; business firm

(Enterprise 2016).

Each of these elements can be applied to the notion of IE. In utilising each of these, we can suggest that enterprise is undertaking a project that requires boldness, energy and ingenuity, and/or a business established for this purpose.

Entrepreneurship is an emerging field of academic inquiry with a range of definitions and areas of discourse, but it is fundamentally the process of identifying, shaping and pursuing market opportunities (Tapsell & Woods 2008). James Tiesen further suggests that entrepreneurship is generally associated with the three desirable economic outcomes of growth, innovation and flexibility (Tiessen 1997). It becomes clear that in the context of economic entrepreneurship then involves the key areas of opportunities (identifying and utilising), and exploitation (of available resources). Extending on this definition, social entrepreneurship is not solely concerned solely with economic concerns, being “the construction, evaluation and pursuit of opportunities for transformative social change carried by visionary, passionately dedicated individuals” (Tapsell & Woods 2008 p. 195). Such a definition introduces the social dimension of entrepreneurship, highlights the broadening horizons of the contemporary business world, and has similarities to concepts that can be identified within Indigenous cultures (including the utilisation of Indigenous Knowledge).

This subsequently leads us to a definition of Indigenous Entrepreneurship that embraces both economic and social objectives we have just discussed. As such, Indigenous Entrepreneurship can be defined as:

*...The creation, management and development of new ventures by Indigenous people for the benefit of Indigenous people. The organizations thus created can pertain to either the private, public or non-profit sectors. The desired and achieved benefits of venturing can range from the narrow view*

*of economic profit for a single individual to the broad view of multiple, social and economic advantages for entire communities. Outcomes and entitlements derived from Indigenous entrepreneurship may extend to enterprise partners and stakeholders who may be non-Indigenous.*

(Hindle & Lansdowne 2005 p. 9)

Or to provide a more simplistic definition, it is “the enterprise-related activities of (I)ndigenous people in pursuit of their social/cultural self-determination and economic goals” (p 57) that operates at the intersection of social and economic entrepreneurship (Anderson et al 2006, cited in Tapsell & Woods 2008). It seeks to embrace ‘traditional’ cultural aspects and utilise them in contemporary Western business society. As such, there are characteristics of entrepreneurs that are seemingly required for success, and culturally there are some additional characteristics of Indigenous entrepreneurs.

### **Characteristics of IEs**

In a general sense, entrepreneurs possess a set of characteristics or skills that may differentiate them from other people. Such characteristics include:

- Identifying and seeking relevant business opportunities and markets
- Having relatively high levels of education, industry experience, or both
- Being highly self-motivated and capable of the much-needed ability to motivate themselves
- Possessing the ability to create and maintain business networks

In addition, research indicates some distinct characteristics of Indigenous entrepreneurs (IEs) as including:

- Positivity and using positive energy as a key motivator and to combat the effects of racism in entrepreneurship
- Statistically, as more IEs have children than non-Indigenous entrepreneurs , their obligation to children and providing for family is a major motivator
- Kinship ties that ensure – more IEs feel a pressing need to ensure business success in order to share benefits with a wider community group (family or non-family)
- Profit as a success measure is a lower priority than for non-Indigenous entrepreneurs
- Connection to culture through Elders, family or both
- Most IEs are considered to be role models within their communities

Sources: (Foley 2000, 2003a, 2010; Frederick 2008; Hindle & Lansdowne 2005).

In addition, Dennis Foley indicates that Indigenous Australian entrepreneurs alter what have been perceived as 'traditional' patterns of behaviour, utilising their resources seeking self-determination and economic sustainability. This is achieved by their entry into self-employment, "forcing social change in the pursuit of opportunity beyond the cultural norms of their initial economic resources" (Foley 2000 p. 25).

At a fundamental level, Indigenous entrepreneurs differ from their non-Indigenous counterparts by their connection and utilisation of culture in business operations, and how they determine or measure success. For non-Indigenous business people, success is dominated by profit levels. For Indigenous people, profit is a relatively minor consideration. Of course, running a profitable organisation is paramount to any business success, but for Indigenous people considerations of family and kin, sharing good fortune, and remaining 'true' to culture (or maintaining this perception) can be equally as important. These traditional Indigenous values of community and sharing underpin much of our contemporary value system, even in business.

### **Issues and barriers**

There are, of course, many barriers to success for Indigenous entrepreneurs. These barriers appear both before and during any engagement with entrepreneurship and enterprise and stem from both historical and contemporary issues. They include issues of social class and its associated perceptions and expectations, political preferences, and culture.

For many Indigenous Australians, the historical and perpetual position in the lower social classes has denied opportunities in many areas, including education, employment and thus income. Lower levels of education lead to lower levels of employment and income. This socio-economic position has meant long-lasting exclusion from the cash economy and the financial institutions that control it, meaning that obtaining finance for such things as a business start-up becomes extremely unlikely. This is reflected in the position of Indigenous Australians within the Australian property market.

**Table 3** – proportion of Australians with no school qualification living in owned or rented housing - Source: (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009)

	Indigenous Australians	Non-Indigenous Australians
% living in owned house	28	72
% living in rented house	69	26

For example, only 12% of Indigenous Australians own their home outright (without a mortgage secured against the dwelling) with a further 24% owning their home with a mortgage. In comparison 36% of non-Indigenous households are owned outright and 35% owned with a mortgage (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013a). In addition, Table 3 above shows the living status for Australians with no school qualification:

Such a situation makes it very difficult for Indigenous Australians to obtain capital and the financial resources and support to operate a business (Foley 2003a; Frederick 2008; Wood & Davidson 2011). To emphasise the importance of this prior to 2000, the average start-up capital required for a small business was approximately \$13,000 and it is now over \$25,000 (Foley 2010).

Government support also favours organisations and community groups when it comes to Indigenous issues in Australia, further exacerbating the difficulties that entrepreneurs face. In addition, Indigenous people are more likely to have a lack of relevant work experience when it comes to entrepreneurship, which is also highlighted by the lack of Indigenous role models to support and encourage them (Foley 2003a). This proves to be a significant barrier for Indigenous people as the building of professional networks is such a crucial ingredient to business success.

A major barrier that faces Indigenous people in particular is one of culture. For many Indigenous peoples, engaging in the world of Western contemporary capitalism is viewed as counter to the ideals of Indigenous culture in the eyes of our communities. As such, Indigenous people who succeed in this world often face being ostracised by their own communities for ‘selling out’ their culture and behaving more like ‘white fellas’. This is a complicated, inherently tied to issues of identity politics that we discussed in Chapter 3, and further highlight the impacts of colonisation in Australia.

---

## THE CULTURAL CONFLICT OF IE

Despite all of the benefits of entrepreneurship, business success does not always equate to a successful outcome for Indigenous entrepreneurs. The marker of success in the non-Indigenous context (ie profit) is often seen within the Indigenous community as a loss of Aboriginal values. Dennis Foley's 2003 study *An Examination of Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs* supported such an issue, stating that the increase in personal wealth that comes with 'success' conflicted with cultural values of sharing wealth, underlined by confirmation from 80% of respondents (Foley 2003a).

For these entrepreneurs, who most often feel uncomfortable discussing their own success, profits are generally reinvested in the business rather than themselves. Business success can also result in social and cultural alienation (either temporary or permanent) from one's Indigenous community. Indigenous community members often do not understand the nature of credit in business, and make assumptions that any material possessions (eg stock) indicate individual wealth, rather than a necessary aspect of the operation of the business that in most cases has been obtained via credit. For example:

*I had to buy a reliable motor vehicle for the business. With 95% bank finance I purchased a small Korean sedan, straight away family stopped talking to me. They thought I was rich all of a sudden and was rude in not sharing this fictional wealth with them. The trouble was I was the first person in my entire family to purchase a new car and they [the wider family] could not understand it. Even today, things are strained. They see me as no longer Aboriginal as I wear a tie, a suit, and drive a new vehicle. They don't understand.*

(Foley 2003a p. 146)

---

These barriers are certainly not limited to issues of race either, as Dennis Foley also discusses the gender specific barriers that Indigenous woman face in contemporary business, including the common challenges family-business balance, difficulties in accessing capital, a "lack of information and business/management assistance, and financial discrimination" (Foley 2006 p. 21).

Although the literature in Indigenous Enterprise and Entrepreneurship addresses a number of other barriers such as the geographic isolation of those in remote locations, language and communication barriers, and the partisan nature of our political system

(where successive governments can have widely varying policies and therefore levels of support)(Foley 2003a), Foley suggests that “racial discrimination is perhaps the greatest hurdle that Indigenous Australian entrepreneurs must address” (Foley 2003a p. 148). Based on his research, Foley claims that in general, Australian Aboriginal business people commonly experienced regular incidents of discrimination and racism. It was a daily occurrence to many, and to some it is a way of life. Others didn't even notice it until it became exclusionary of their physical self (ie to them, staff, or their business); those in the retail trades tended to suffer more than others; in general, many Indigenous business people commonly experienced regular incidents of discrimination and racism on a daily basis (Foley 2003a).

However, it is clear that the development of Indigenous Entrepreneurship and enterprise is a further move into a postcolonial Australia that not only makes room for our Aboriginal people, but also adds dimensions to our contemporary world that we may not have considered earlier. Utilising Indigenous culture and knowledge in contemporary business practices can provide wonderful, unique ways to improve our society in many ways. In particular, it provides another way for Indigenous people to reclaim and reaffirm culture, whilst engaging with and contributing to an economic system that historically has caused almost nothing but damage. In terms of ‘cross-cultural awareness’ in our modern, multicultural society, this seems to be a very positive, much needed step.

---

## **EXAMPLES OF INDIGENOUS ENTERPRISE AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP**

There are numerous past and present examples of successful Indigenous enterprise and entrepreneurship. In particular, evidence exists of Aboriginal groups being involved in types of ‘commercial’ trade well before the British arrival, also challenging long held assumptions of Aboriginal groups being merely ‘hunter-gatherer’ nomads (Foley 2010; Tibbet 2005).

Here are two examples of pre-contact Aboriginal enterprise and trade:

The **Gunditjmara** people of south western Victoria created a series of artificial ponds, wetlands and network of channels that allowed water flows between dams, as well as modified other natural features to accommodate the farming of eels (*Angilla australis*). Monash University palynologist, Prof Peter Kershaw, found areas of southwest Victoria had undergone change approximately 8000 years ago from plant-dominated to aquatic species. In addition, the Gunditjmara also built substantial stone structures close to

work sites to shelter from chilly southerly winds, and evidence suggests they often value added to their eel 'products' to facilitate trade with other groups (Foley 2010).



Foundation of Gunditjmara Stone Home



Former canal joining two dam sites to a weir at Lake Condah

**Figure 25:** Gunditjmara stone structures - Source: (Foley 2010pp. 88 - 89)

In northwest Queensland, the [Kalkutungu/Kalkadoon](#) are believed to have created stone axe quarries where they would produce stone axes at levels well beyond their estimated population numbers. Axes may have been produced exclusively for exchange, as there is archaeological evidence supporting the theory of “inter-group economic exchange in northwest Queensland” (Tibbet 2005 p. 32). There appears to have been two modes of production and a community based specialised system for exchange. In addition, ‘spear points’ were found to have been exchanged at Georgina River markets (Tibbet 2005).

Today there are hundreds of Indigenous businesses operating in a variety of fields, including accommodation, tourism, information and communication technologies, and retail trade, just to name a few. For a list of Victorian businesses, see the Victorian Aboriginal Business Directory link in Resources at the end of the chapter.

---

## Indigenous Tourism

Another way that Indigenous cultures throughout the world are engaging in capitalism – and perhaps the most widely known example of Indigenous enterprise – is the field of Indigenous tourism. Emerging in the early 1990s, this field looks at how Indigenous cultures and peoples are being utilised to attract visitors, and how increasingly the world’s tourists are looking for not only new and unique experiences, but to learn about cultures different from their own.

Tourism has seen phenomenal growth over the past 20 years, with international tourist numbers increasing from 435 million in 1990 to 1.13 billion in 2014 (UNWTO 2015). This growth and spread can be attributed to a number of factors, including the increase



in globalisation and commercialism throughout the world. This globalisation, which we also discussed in Chapter 9, creates 'globalised' products – those that are essentially the same no matter where they are produced or consumed. Globalised tourism products, such as accommodations, tours and theme parks, therefore seek to appeal to a mass market and it is often possible to replicate the visitor experience at each of them.

Examples include large international hotel chains such as Hilton and Hyatt, organised tours such as Contiki Tours (that are usually conducted exclusively in the English language) and attractions such as Disneyland or the Gold Coast theme parks. Each of these examples will provide the same experience whether someone is travelling in Europe, North America, Asia or Australasia. In addition, each visitor receives the same service no matter where they are from. This 'sameness' is a feature of globalisation and has been a major contributor to the large growth of global tourism.

In a similar way to some of the other issues we have considered in this book, tourism can also be considered an example of imperial/colonial expansion in a modern context – virtually all of the emerging destination countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have been colonised at some point in their history. This is particularly true in the Asia Pacific region which has developed into a key destination for world travellers over the past two decades and is projected to grow in the future (UNWTO 2015). Indigenous tourism has therefore emerged as an important sector in creating a point of difference for tourists in this increasingly globalised world.

### **Definition and History**

A large portion of the early literature was concerned with a definition of the phrase 'Indigenous Tourism', and in particular clarifying the term 'Indigenous' (Hinch & Butler 2007; Ryan & Aicken 2005). Early research referred to a number of prefixes that signified essentially the same concept - words such as Aboriginal, Native, First Nations, Cultural and Ethnic were all used to describe tourism that focused on local, Indigenous cultures and peoples. Although part of this 'confusion' is due to the lack of broader knowledge and awareness of Indigenous cultures and histories in the early 1990s, much of it reflected the immense diversity of Indigenous cultures and peoples all over the world. Some early work focused on culture as the attraction (Ryan & Huyton 2002), on any 'use' of Indigenous culture at all (Zeppel 1999) and more broadly ethnology as the focus (for example, Smith 1996) as ways to define Indigenous Tourism.

However, probably the most widely used (and useful) definitions comes from Hinch and Butler who suggest that:

*Indigenous tourism refers to activities in which Indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction*

(Hinch & Butler 2007 p. 5)

## **Benefits**

Much like our earlier discussion of Indigenous entrepreneurship, tourism brings a range of benefits to Indigenous peoples. Increased exposure to positive Indigenous experiences can enhance non-Indigenous understanding and respect for Indigenous cultures. This has the power to not only create greater non-Indigenous cultural awareness, but to reaffirm cultural knowledge and pride for Indigenous peoples themselves, particularly for younger Indigenous people who have really only experienced the colonised (postcolonial) 'version' of their culture. In addition, this can increase the knowledge and understanding of western ways for Indigenous people, particularly in terms of 21<sup>st</sup> century capitalism & politics.

From an economic point of view, increased demand for Indigenous experiences can raise the value of Indigenous-controlled land in tourist regions, especially in cases where such land is relatively 'untouched' by Western development (Hinch & Butler 2007). Examples include the tracts of land protected by Land Rights Acts in Australia and sovereign land on reservations in the US and Canada.

The development of Indigenous tourism enterprises also often sees collaborative efforts from both Indigenous people (as the 'owners' and experts of culture) and non-Indigenous people (with appropriate business skills and qualifications). These partnerships tend to allow both parties to learn from each other in a mutually beneficial business relationship and can contribute to a more sustainable operation. Many ventures today are controlled and operated, and in some cases owned, by a majority of Indigenous people, ensuring not only greater authenticity of the tourism product (see below), but greater opportunities for economic benefits for Indigenous people.

In these cases, the successful operation of Indigenous tourism ventures creates a symbiotic relationship where cultural awareness, understanding and pride is increased, and in turn the economic benefits of running a successful business provide self-determination opportunities for Indigenous peoples, as well as opportunities to re-invest

in cultural awareness and strengthening. The potential for everyone to benefit – Indigenous and non-Indigenous – is significant.

### **Issues today**

There are, however, cautionary issues that also must be addressed in Indigenous tourism. Valene Smith's seminal 1996 work discussed the four central issues that she identified as crucial for Indigenous tourism as potential for marginalisation, authenticity, concerns of commercialisation of culture and risks of cultural contamination (Smith 1996). In each of these cases the fundamental cultural divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures is prevalent. Indigenous tourism operators, as with many other Indigenous operations, remain marginalised from the 'mainstream'. Any representation of Indigenous – or non-Western – cultures runs the risk of cultural alteration by the mere presence of the dominant colonial culture that has pervaded the world. As such, an 'authentic' representation of Indigenous culture is at the mercy of the perceptions of the 'viewer' (see Chapter 6). The mix of Indigenous culture and capitalism is, as we have already discussed in this chapter, a delicate one.

Indigenous tourism is also exposed to external factors that shape and influence its future.

By their very nature even unique Indigenous cultures are constantly evolving in the face of change within the environments in which they exist. It is this evolution that has sustained Indigenous cultures all over the world for many thousands of years, but it also creates issues when it is transformed into a capitalist enterprise. For example, authenticity can become much more difficult to define, there are constant dichotomies between the priorities & directions of governments, tourism operators and cultural owners, and there can be problems of both presentation and benefit within Indigenous communities.

Secondly, there are ongoing concerns with the contradictory views of Indigenous culture and non-Indigenous capitalism in terms of the physical environment. European ethnocentric perspectives see the natural environment as a resource base for the use of all mankind and have an emphasis on the built environment and how it can generate profits. Indigenous viewpoints consider earth and self as inseparable rather than a resource to be used for short-term advantage. In this view, the natural environment is much more significant than man-made landscapes.

Thirdly, the tourism development goals of Indigenous communities frequently vary from those of non-Indigenous communities in that they are less likely to be necessarily profit driven, less emphasis on promotional initiatives and much more likely to identify tourism development objectives that contribute to community benefit rather than profit.

The political environment also influences the development of Indigenous tourism. Greater Indigenous political activism, increasing awareness of Indigenous rights, legislation on land rights, and internal political issues all have a bearing on the success of Indigenous tourism.

Of course, there are many other issues that affect not only tourism but Indigenous involvement in capitalist operations that cannot be covered in an introductory book such as this one. However, the common issues we have identified in this chapter should give you a good foundational understanding of the potential and challenges that Indigenous peoples face when engaging in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world of capitalism.

---

## **EXAMPLES OF INDIGENOUS TOURISM IN AUSTRALIA**

There have been literally hundreds of examples of Indigenous Tourism ventures in Australia, many of which have been successful and many that have not. These ventures occur on both large and small scales, but all seek to embrace historical and contemporary aspects of Aboriginal culture to inform, educate and entertain domestic and international visitors. Some of these examples include:

**Uluru/Kata Tjuta National Park** – one of Australia's most famous and iconic attractions, Uluru remains a symbol of culture and pride, and a popular place for tourists to visit. Located approximately 450kms from Alice Springs in the heart of the lands of the Anangu people, Uluru is arguably THE Australian icon.

See <http://www.parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/index.html>

Interactive cultural centres such as Brambuk Aboriginal Cultural Centre near Halls Gap in western Victoria and the Dreamtime Cultural Centre near Rockhampton in Queensland offer visitors an insight into local cultures, opportunities to speak with community members and Elders, and a range of Aboriginal foods, drinks, activities and artefacts.

See Brambuk Aboriginal Cultural Centre – <http://www.brambuk.com.au/>

Dreamtime Cultural Centre - <http://www.dreamtimecentre.com.au/>

---

## Indigenous Cultures in ‘Your’ World

While we have focused so far on the business side of the modern world, we will close this chapter with a broader look at the ways that Indigenous cultures are expressed, represented and shared in the contemporary world.

### Sites of significance

Throughout this book we have looked at the important aspects of Indigenous cultures that have sustained them globally for thousands of years. At the forefront of these aspects is the connection to land or country. Nothing is more important to Indigenous culture than this connection.

Of course, colonisation has seen disruptions to these connections that range from interruption (in some cases of negotiated treaties) to complete disconnection (in the case of the majority of Aboriginal groups in Australia). This disconnection causes not only the physical removal of people from ancestral homelands, but a spiritual and intellectual removal, resulting in a great many Aboriginal people in Australia disconnected from their homelands, their people, their ancestors and thus their culture.

However, contemporary recognition of the importance of land can go *some* way toward repairing this damage. Recognising the history and importance of specific sites creates not only a growing awareness of our collective history, but also a growing sense of pride in all Indigenous people.

---

### SITES OF SIGNIFICANCE IN MELBOURNE

Like all cities in Australia, Melbourne contains a wealth of history of its Aboriginal peoples. The arrival of John Batman, the first British man to ‘settle’ in 1835, saw a rapid decline in visible Aboriginal culture, but it has remained strong and vibrant, even if largely out of the gaze of the white population. Some examples of significant sites in Melbourne include:

- The city itself which has sites such as Queen Victoria Market, Flagstaff Gardens, and Enterprize Park
- Birrarung (Yarra River); including specific points at Bolin Bolin (Bulleen); Yarra Flats (Heidelberg); and Yarra Park (home of the MCG)
- Nerm (Port Phillip Bay), including the ancient ‘Ngargee Tree’ (or Corroboree Tree) in St. Kilda; Black Rock Springs; Mordialloc Creek Aboriginal Reserve;

- Maribyrnong River, including Lily Street Lookout, Brimbank Park Kulin Wetlands, and Taylors Creek Quarry

Other significant sites can be found in or near Healesville (Coranderrk Reserve), Tooradin, Corinella, Philip Island, Keilor, Mt. Macedon and Bulleen.

Everywhere we walk in Australia today was once traversed by Aboriginal ancestors thousands and thousands of years ago. Think about this history the next time you travel home, to work or to university. You are possibly replicating the journeys of Aboriginal Australians that pre-date *any* part of history that you have learned about so far.

And you are now a part of that history.

Sources: (Eidelson 1997; Stewart 2016)

---

Try to locate such a site near your home – you may be surprised at how many there are. Check with your local council or Reconciliation group, or any Indigenous community members you may know. Consider how important these sites are considered in your local area compared to some of the old buildings. Which history do we value more? Why do you think this is the case?

### **Indigenous names**

Place names have become an important part explaining who we are, who we were, and where we might be going. In Chapter 3, we looked at the ways that the landscape was shaped, mapped and labelled by the British to help them understand the new world around them. We also touched on the ways that the Aboriginal past has been maintained in the face of colonialism in Melbourne. All over Australia, countless cities, towns, suburbs, streets, mountains, rivers, hills, and waterways bear names that have been used here for thousands and thousands of years. Many of these names are in daily use by millions of Australians, yet many people may not even know their Aboriginal origins.

Names such as Canberra, Kirribilli, Tullamarine, Geelong, Warragul, Warrandyte, Mooroolbark, Warrnambool, Wagga Wagga, Wangaratta, Goondiwindi, Coolangatta, Taree, Oodnadatta, Benalla, Echuca, Cowra, Euroa, Oodnadatta and Yarrowonga. These are just some of the hundreds (possibly thousands) of Aboriginal names for places and things we see every day of our lives.

The next time you get in our car, or take public transport, take note of the signs you pass and see how much Aboriginal culture and history you see every day.

## **Elders**

Elders have always been the source of culture and knowledge for Indigenous peoples. In 'traditional' pre-contact times, Elders were responsible for the sustainability of the clan, which involved teaching the arts of hunting, fishing, and reaping, ensuring that the group had enough sustenance for the upcoming conditions. Elders understood landscape changes, weather patterns and movements of animals. All of this knowledge, passed down to them by their Elders, was gained from years and years of lived experiences and listening to the world around them.

Today, our Elders serve an almost identical purpose. They are revered for their knowledge, and for their wisdom of the world around us, gained from years and years of lived experiences and listening to the world around them. In particular, Aboriginal Elders in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are admired, respected and acknowledged as survivors of colonisation. In many cases, these Elders are our only connection to a history that Australia has ignored for so long. Their stories are therefore vital in ensuring our collective history.

Elders today perform Welcomes To Country (see below), and act as counsellors, mediators and sages for our young people. The Uncles and Aunties we are blessed with today remind us of our ancestors, the struggles they endured and the strength they have passed on.

## **Ceremonies**

An important part of the celebrations of all cultures is their ceremonies. Even today, our society is filled with examples of ceremonies remaining steeped in their tradition in order to add symbolic meaning to our contemporary world. Weddings, funerals, graduations, birthdays, sporting events – the list goes on – all have an important role in our contemporary society. It is no different for Indigenous peoples.

Ceremonies such as pow-wow and sweat lodge, the haka and the pōwhiri, have been an important part of Native American and Maori cultures respectively for thousands of years. In Australia, celebrations such as tanderrum (and what we now call corroborees) formed the foundation for much happiness, sadness, knowledge sharing and inter-group exchange. For the Kulin people, tanderrum was the ceremony that welcomed

visitors to the land and permitted them access to all it provided. Today, a few of these celebrations remain.

### **Welcomes to Country, Acknowledgments and Flags**

Almost all major Australian organisations today conduct either a Welcome To Country or an Acknowledgment of Country before their major events. Both of these events are a way for us to try to make connections with the history and culture of the people who came before us on the very land on which we operate today.

In the lands of the Kulin a traditional tanderrum is symbolised by the Welcome to Country. Welcome to Country is a ceremony conducted only by an Elder of the traditional owners. Welcomes are an attempt to replicate the symbolism behind the traditional, pre-contact tanderrum of our ancestors. During the tanderrum, music would be played, dances conducted and gifts exchanged to symbolise the good will between clans, and the welcoming of one group by another. Absolutely no business could be conducted on someone else's land until you had been 'officially' welcomed. In addition, all Aboriginal people knew the boundaries of their clan and would not traverse on the land of another clan without this welcome at the risk of severe punishment. Traditional Welcomes could often take days to complete and involved a very strict schedule to ensure that all of the cultural and spiritual protocols were followed. Today, Welcomes To Country last from between 10 and 30 minutes and range from simple speeches to more elaborate celebrations of culture that include dance and exchanges. In any case, Welcomes reflect our connection to our ancestors and pay homage to their work that has allowed us to carry on with our lives today.

An Acknowledgment to Country is, put simply, a condensed version of a Welcome. It is designed to simply acknowledge the historical connection to the Aboriginal people of the area and to respect the ways that they conducted their business, honouring to do the same today. Unlike a Welcome, an Acknowledgment does not necessarily need to come from an Elder of the traditional owners and can be performed by anybody (Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal). Acknowledgments have simply become a way for all of us to recognise and respect our contemporary connection to a millennia-old tradition.

### **Spirituality today**

As we have discussed throughout the book, spirituality remains an important part of all Indigenous cultures today. It is an inherent part of the connections of Indigenous cultures, linking all the things that make up our world.



For Aboriginal people, this was based fundamentally on totemic symbols. These symbols, known as moieties in Australia, reflected the beliefs, knowledge and future of all Aboriginal people and symbolised our connection to the land, the landscape and the animals, as well as our ancestors. In many cases, each group had two main moieties – a creator spirit and a protector spirit.

For a number of clans in the south east of Australia, including the Woiwurrung, these were Bunjil and Waa.

Bunjil is the Creator Spirit of many clans, including the Woiwurrung and is embodied by the wedge-tailed eagle. Bunjil is the creator as well as a protector, has responsibilities for the knowledge, beliefs and behaviours of all his people. Bunjil is the spiritual guide, and protects and guides the children. Waa is a protector of the Woiwurrung and other clans and is embodied as the black raven or crow. Waa visits many people on Kulin country every day, and his distinctive call – ‘waa, waa, waa’ – indicates to us that he is watching and protecting.

For many Aboriginal people today, these symbols remain strongly connected to the ancient stories through which our ancestors brought them to life. Bunjil is not seen often, but when he is, it is considered very significant and symbolic. Waa can often be seen and heard in contemporary society, watching over us.

Although spirituality is a very personal, subjective concept, it remains an integral part of Aboriginal culture. Spirituality is based on beliefs and for many of us today those beliefs are connected to those of our ancestors. For some, they are very strong, very direct connections. For others, this connection may be less obvious as the impacts of the colonial world impose their own viewpoints on us. However, it is important to consider the long-lasting, ongoing role of spirituality in our world today. And in particular, think about the moieties of the local Aboriginal people.

If you live in Melbourne, look out your window. You may just see Bunjil soaring high in the sky, or see and hear Waa making his daily observations.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter looked at some of the ways that Indigenous people throughout the world are not only engaging with the contemporary world of capitalism but also finding ways to express, reassert and reaffirm their own cultures within it.

Although in many respects the values that emerge in contemporary society as the ones that ‘drive’ us – materialism, finding a high-paying job, accumulating wealth, buying property etc. – are seemingly at odds with some of the traditional Indigenous values of sharing and reciprocity (that have sustained these cultures for many thousands of years), we can see ways that these two opposing forces may be able to coexist. Mixing culture and profit is a difficult challenge, but it is one that many Indigenous people all over the world are willingly accepting.

Finding ways to be true to culture and heritage while succeeding in the modern world of materialism and capitalism remains challenging. Our world of capitalism is designed to reward the strong and challenge the not-so-strong (remember our discussion about social evolutionary theories – eg. Darwinism - in Chapter 4). However, it is also a world of opportunity, and for Indigenous peoples, as it is for all cultural groups, opportunities do exist.

However, one of the keys to our success in the modern world is a ‘mainstream’ recognition that our cultures have value in the modern world. Finding ways to utilise Indigenous culture in the world today cannot only reaffirm cultural identity for Indigenous peoples, it can provide new ways for the contemporary world to operate. Innovation and entrepreneurship may be relatively new words to the business vocabulary of the West but they are ancient concepts to the oldest known cultures on the planet. Finding ways to bring these two worlds together can only improve contemporary society.

*My father was born at Cummeragunja, my mother was born at Coranderrk, and I was born in a Women’s Hospital. That’s diversity right there. We need to respect and care for each other, the land, and the animals, because it’s the only choice we have for a peaceful happy life.*

Aunty Dot Peters, Healesville, 2008.

## Discussion Questions

1. In your own words define capitalism, and explain its role in your society today. List at least three positive and three negative aspects of this role.
2. Find examples of five (5) Indigenous businesses in operation today (including tourism). Identify the ways that culture is utilised in each case, and comment on your perceptions of their authenticity. What specific promotional methods do they use?
3. Identify three (3) significant sites near your home/workplace/university. Discuss their history, and why they are seen as significant to local Aboriginal groups.
4. In what ways do you think your new knowledge and understanding of Indigenous culture help you in your daily life?

## Other Resources

### Books and Articles

Foley, D. (2003) Foley, D. (2010). Hindle, K. and M. Lansdowne (2005). Tapsell, P. and C. Woods (2008). Wood, G. J. and M. J. Davidson (2011)

Butler, R & Hinch, T 2007, *Tourism and Indigenous peoples: issues and implications*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford.

### Online

Brambuk Aboriginal Cultural Centre; Victoria – <http://www.brambuk.com.au/>

Dreamtime Cultural Centre; Queensland - <http://www.dreamtimecentre.com.au/>

Uluru/Kata Tjuta National Park - <http://www.parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/index.html>

Victorian Aboriginal Business Directory -

<http://directory.business.vic.gov.au/aboriginal#.Vz0iGJVf0dU>

## CONCLUSION

*Well, you see, Aborigines don't own the land. They belong to it. It's like their mother. See those rocks? Been standing there for 600 million years. Still be there when you and I are gone. So arguing over who owns them is like two fleas arguing over who owns the dog they live on.*

(Mick Dundee, in Faiman 1986)

One of Australia's most successful and iconic movies has produced one of our most profound lines. Mick Dundee, outback adventurer, succinctly summarises not only how Aboriginal people see the land and their connections to it, but how differently the West sees the world. The connections are there – we just need to find them.

You have now begun your own journey into connections. Each of the chapters in this book addresses particular aspects of the way that Indigenous peoples of the world and Aboriginal Australians in particular, live in modern societies. The book makes a deliberate attempt to provide a narrative, or a story, of the existence, resilience, power and value of Indigenous culture to the broader world in a way that mirrors the experience of an undergraduate student in Australia. Early chapters introduce some of the key concepts and address issues that may be new to many Australian students. Later chapters build upon this knowledge and information and prepare students for more in-depth, rigorous analysis of these issues. Central to all of this is the role of you, the reader.

### **The role of history**

We simply cannot underestimate or understate the importance of knowing our history. The great American civil rights activist Martin Luther King once told us “We are not makers of history; we are made by history”. In Australia, we often either disregard this notion completely, or embrace selected elements of our history as influential.

Consider for a moment current attitudes towards ANZAC Day. April 25 each year is a national celebration that we share with our cousins in New Zealand, commemorating the ill-fated landing of troops at Gallipoli Cove in Turkey in 1915. Thousands of lives were lost and the bravery of those involved has become a legendary part of Australian folklore and history. Today, ANZAC Day celebrations honour and remember the sacrifice and contributions of all Australians and New Zealanders who have served, and continue to serve, in our armed forces. The day is revered for its role in not only

shaping our national identity, but its continued contribution to 'Australianness'. Similarly, the arrival of the First Fleet on January 26, 1788 and the Federation of Australia on January 1, 1901 are celebrated each year with January 26 becoming our national holiday and a day for us all to express our pride in being Australian. Yet even a quick examination of these three events shows us that they specifically reflect our colonial heritage and history.

This is certainly not to denigrate or discount the significance of each of them to us as a nation – indeed, we would not be who we are today without them. We should acknowledge, however, that these events alone have not created 'Australia', yet they are the ones that receive our national attention. Our nation began its political life in 1901 and our contemporary economic life in 1788, but socially and culturally we have a history that pre-dates any other group currently on the planet.

It is this part of our history that we have ignored, disregarded and/or undervalued. Our Aboriginal history is as culturally rich as any in the world and should be an enormous source of pride for all of us. We should not and cannot continue to focus on our colonial heritage alone. Our national identity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is shaped by our national identity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which in turn was shaped by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and so on. To emphasise how important this is, I often use the analogy of a single-parent child.

Consider that Australia as a nation is this child. We know we have two parents, but we are only aware of one - the one who 'raised' us, the one we know and are familiar with, who has shaped who we understand ourselves to be. We are shaped in their mould, and can clearly see their influence on our lives. However, there are certain traits and characteristics about us that we find hard to explain. Perhaps these traits and characteristics have come from our other birth parent?

For Australia as a nation, this other birth parent is our Aboriginal culture and history. Maybe, just maybe, we share more than we realise. And remember, this 'parent' isn't listed on our birth certificate, our Constitution.

Think about some of our traits and characteristics that comprise our identity. In Chapter 2 we looked at a list from an Australian government website, which included mateship, the beach, the bush, and the outback. Each of these elements is vital part of Aboriginal culture, and with the possible exception of mateship, were not transported here by the British. Think also about our uniquely Australian accent (also discussed in Chapter 3). Why is it that our accent is so clearly different from those of other former British

colonies? Maybe we have inherited more from our Aboriginal culture and history than we realise.

## **The narrative of the book**

This book has also followed the narrative of an educational journey that proceeds from early knowledge and understandings to a deeper awareness of self and others. It explores how all of the external influences of this journey of knowledge remain connected to it and each other and become part of the journey itself. In this sense, these influences also become part of the new knowledge learned.

For me, the journey of knowledge involves childhood, school, sport, culture and family. Each of these external aspects of my life have influenced by journey and added to the knowledge and understandings I have gained. They are connected to me as experiences and to each other through their positions as part of Australian culture. Each continues to inform me about who I am and what I know about the world around me.

These connections are symbolic of how Indigenous Knowledge connects all things. It is a reflexive, ongoing journey of learning that not only adds new knowledge to me as an Aboriginal man, a lecturer, a husband, father, relative and friend, but becomes my knowledge that is in turn shared with the people in my life – including students. Recognising these connections helps me to better understand myself, the world around me and my place within it.

For each of us, there will be different factors in learning about and understanding these connections. For me, it is sport. I encourage each of you to find your own connections to the world around you. What are the things that connect you to your family, your work, and your friends? You may be surprised by how all of these things are connected to not only you, but also each other.

This book's narrative looks to highlight the ways that Indigenous cultures exist and thrive in the world today and how they remain connected to past, present and future. In addition, it is hoped that as the reader you are now more aware of where you fit within this broader world.

## **The missing discussion**

A book such as this, however, cannot possibly adequately address all of the issues that relate to Indigenous Australians. There are many aspects of contemporary culture that

are not included but remain as vital to Indigenous Australians as those we have discussed. These include issues of health, incarceration and language.

Consider these statistics:

In terms of health:

- Indigenous Australians are twice as likely as non-Indigenous Australians to have asthma
- Indigenous Australians are three times as likely as non-Indigenous people to have diabetes or high sugar levels
- Indigenous Australian males are four times as likely as non-Indigenous males to have kidney disease, while Indigenous females are three and a half times as likely as non-Indigenous females

Source: (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013a)

Incarceration:

- In 2012, Indigenous Australian adults were imprisoned at a rate 15 times higher than non-Indigenous Australians
- 26% of those imprisoned in Australia are Indigenous
- The proportion of Indigenous Australians in prison has almost doubled since 1991
- Indigenous juveniles are 31 times more likely to be in detention than non-Indigenous juveniles

Source: (Law Council of Australia 2014)

Education:

- In 2013, the national apparent retention rate for Indigenous Australian students from Year 7/8 to Year 12 was 55% compared to 83% for non-Indigenous students, although this indicates a rise from 39% in 2004.
- Although the number of Indigenous Australians enrolled at school is at a record number, the proportion of Indigenous students in Victorian schools is only approximately 1 – 2%.

Source: (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014)

Statistics such as these, while heartening in many ways, still point to the difficulties that face Indigenous Australians in contemporary society. The rapid introduction of colonial

ways brought many significant changes to Aboriginal people that linger today. For example, the introduction of modern food production methods that create today's processed foods not only directly affects our dietary habits, but had a significant impact on the natural metabolism and physiological makeup of Indigenous Australians – remember many of us are only 2 or 3 generations removed from ancestors who lived off the land on a completely natural diet. Changes such as this can take a number of generations of natural modification for our bodies to be able to cope. The higher rates of diet-related diseases, obesity and other similar issues for Indigenous Australians exemplify this. Many Indigenous Australians, therefore, are still trying to overcome effects of colonisation today, over 200 years after colonisation and with little 'natural' help.

One of the key areas not fully addressed in this book is that of language. The reasons for such an omission are twofold:

- 1) The full engagement with the issues and complexities of language that is required is beyond the scope of this textbook, and
- 2) My own experiences have not enabled me to learn about language in an authentic, 'traditional' way, and thus I don't feel I could do justice to any effective, mutually beneficial teaching in this area.

I feel, however, that it is vital for students of Indigenous Studies to begin to engage with language, and feel that 'beginner's' use of terminology in this context is both important and appropriate

In my opinion, the complete loss of so many Aboriginal languages from the effects of colonisation is probably the saddest aspect of our history. These unique words, phrases and expressions came from the land and country, and reflected the particular ways that ancestors lived and saw the world. They distinguished us from the rest of the world, and enabled the sustainability of a culture for thousands and thousands of years. The policies of colonial governments, driven by the misguided belief of superiority, soon saw their demise. And it is something that we cannot retrieve. This language destruction is also common in countries such as Canada, the US and New Zealand.

However, a few native languages have survived in Australia. They are a reminder of the proud, resilient cultures that belong to this land. In addition, there are numerous language reconstruction programs in urban areas of the country. Such programs embrace all of the cultural aspects we've pointed to in this book as being the strength



of a society – connections, respect, and finding contemporary ways to embrace our Indigenous heritage.

In Melbourne, for example, there are Woiwurrung language programs that are constructing postcolonial dialects that are based on the traditions of our ancestors. The Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages has launched a number of such programs and produced numerous resources to assist young people in particular in learning about this vital part of Australian history (see the Resources section).

To get you started, here is a list of a few Woiwurrung words and their (approximate) English translation:

Womin je ka	Welcome	Bargruk	woman
Ky	Hi/Hello	Djerri	spear
Triganin	See you again/see you later	Mirrum	kangaroo
		Wallert	possum
Koondée bik	Our land	Guyip-guyip	bird
Ngon Godgin	Thank you	Bunjil	wedge-tailed eagle
Kirrip	Friend	Waa	Black raven
Tarnuk	Bowl/vessel	Djirri djirri	Willy wagtail (bird)
Kulin	man		

## The future – what can you do?

So this is the conclusion to the beginning of our journey. Reading through this book has enabled you to learn about, understand and contemplate issues from perhaps a different perspective to the one you had at the beginning. This book is not intended to change your view of the world, or to convince you that Australian history is wrong – far from it. The book *is* intended to give you access to information that you may not have heard before so that you can work out for yourself *where* in Australia's history it should fit. Remember, in the context of Indigenous Knowledge, everything is connected. My challenge to you now is to find how you are connected to all of this.

My own lived experiences in Australia have taught me that the vast majority of Australians are sympathetic to history and empathetic of the present – what they know of our history brings sympathy and empathy for the past mistreatment of Indigenous peoples and they understand the contemporary struggles that many Indigenous Australians face. The problem as I see it is that most Australians are removed from any of these issues. History is viewed as something from the past (that should stay here), while the issues of today have little or nothing to do with them or their daily lives. My journey has brought me to the point where I seek to change these perceptions.

We are ALL part of contemporary Australia. We are all, then, a part of Australian history, for one day that is all we will all be. We need to find ways to see how we fit into this bigger picture. In my view this can be simplified to one key realisation.

If you were born in Australia, you were born on Aboriginal land.

This is a simple, yet important realisation and connection. In pre-contact times, anyone born onto country automatically become part of that country, its history, its Dreaming, and its future. They became part of the culture, and had rights and responsibilities to that land. Today, there is no reason why we cannot adopt the same viewpoint. When you are born on country, you become part of it, and its history, and it becomes part of you. This connection is part of what sustained Aboriginal cultures here for thousands of years, and it can benefit us in the same way today.

For those not born here, the situation is slightly different, yet the same. In pre-contact times, once you were welcomed onto the land of others, you became part of that land as well, and inherited rights and responsibilities to it. Today, we can very easily adopt

the same approach – once welcomed, you are part of the land, its history and its future, and have rights and responsibilities to it.

Adopting a viewpoint such as this does not require payment, nor does it generate any revenue or profit. It is not a capitalist pursuit, and it probably won't generate jobs or bring the government more tax revenue. Nevertheless, it may shift our collective attitudes towards Indigenous peoples, cultures and history in this country. It belongs to us all, so why shouldn't we all embrace and protect it? It can be an easy way for us all to identify our own connections, and how we fit into the world around us. It is an approach that embraces aspects of Indigenous Knowledge that we have discussed in this book, and can perhaps help create a postcolonial worldview that is inclusive of all of our past, our present and our future.

As an individual, educating yourself is your greatest weapon. Never assume that what you are told is the 'truth', for there may be other perspectives that haven't been considered. And remember that although you may only be one part of the 'worldview', you are a vital part – for without you, there is no view of the world.

## **Other Resources**

### **Books and Articles**

Eidelson, M 1997, *The Melbourne Dreaming: A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

### **Online**

Creative Spirits - <http://www.creativespirits.info/#axzz4AaOnkCBg>

Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages (VACL) - <http://vaclang.org.au/Core-Articles/home.html>

Yarra Healing - Catholic Education website - <http://www.yarrahealing.catholic.edu.au/>

## REFERENCES

- Aboriginal Schools 1876-c.1979*, 2003, NSW Government, viewed 14/5/2016, <<https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/archives-in-brief/archives-in-brief-44>>.
- Aboriginalart.com.au n.d., *The Dreamtime*, Aboriginal Australia Art & Culture Centre - Alice Springs viewed 24/8/2015, <<http://aboriginalart.com.au/culture/dreamtime.html>>.
- Adair, D & Vamplew, W 1997, *Sport in Australian History*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Adolf, M & Stehr, N 2014, *Knowledge*, Taylor and Francis
- Agrawal, A 1995, 'Dismantling The Divide Between Indigenous And Scientific Knowledge', *Development and Change*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 413 - 439.
- Agrawal, A 2002, 'Indigenous knowledge and the politics of classification', *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 54, no. 173, pp. 287-297.
- AIATSIS n.d.-a, *Aboriginal Australia Map*, AIATSIS, viewed September 12, <<http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research/language.html>>.
- AIATSIS n.d.-b, *Day of Mourning and Protest Aborigines Conference - 75th anniversary*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, viewed 20/11/2015, <<http://aiatsis.gov.au/collections/collections-online/digitised-collections/day-mourning-and-protest-aborigines-conference-75th-anniversary/26th-january-1938>>.
- AIATSIS n.d.-c, *Mission Days*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, viewed 14/9/2015, <<http://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/mission-days>>.
- Aikman, S & King, L 2012, 'Indigenous knowledges and education', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, vol. 42, no. 5, 2012/09/01, pp. 673-681.
- Anderson, I 2003, 'Introduction: the Aboriginal critique of colonial knowing', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 17 - 24.
- Appleby, K & Foster, E 2013, 'Gender And Sport Participation', in E Roper (ed.) *Gender Relations in Sport*, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam, pp. 1 - 20.
- Argus, T 1934, 'How Batman Bought Melbourne', *The Argus*, Thursday 6 December, p. 3.
- Ashcroft, B, Griffins, G & Tiffin, H 2002, 'Introduction', *Empire Writes Back*, pp. 1-13.
- Attwood, B 1992, 'Power, Knowledge and Aborigines - Introduction', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 35, pp. i-xvi.
- Attwood, B & Markus, A 2007, *The 1967 referendum: race, power and the Australian Constitution*, 2nd edn, Aboriginal Studies Press

Atwell, D 2011, *Makarrata - The Legacy of Windradyne : The Parramatta Treaty Between the British Empire & the Aboriginal Peoples of Australia 1827*, viewed 24/11/2014, <<http://www.changingthetimes.net/samples/18th/makarrata.htm>>.

Australia, Co 2010, (ed PEOaAG Solicitor) Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.

Australia, HCo 1992, *MABO AND OTHERS v. QUEENSLAND (No. 2) (1992) 175 CLR 1 F.C. 92/014* viewed 26/10/2015, <<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/cases/cth/HCA/1992/23.html>>.

Australia.gov.au 2007, *Film in Australia*, Australian Government, viewed 11/2/2016, <<http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/film-in-australia>>.

Australia.gov.au n.d., *Australian identity*, Australian Government, viewed 12/9/2015, <<http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-stories/australian-identity>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population* ABS, viewed 21/10/2015, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/066409495ff5247ca256dea00053a04!OpenDocument>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Home Ownership: A snapshot, 2006* ABS, viewed 23/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4722.0.55.005>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012a, *Indigenous disadvantage and selected measures of wellbeing*, ABS, viewed 25/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1301.0Feature+Article9012009%E2%80%9310>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012b, *Sport and physical recreation: Adult participation in sport and physical recreation*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, viewed 13/10/2015, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/1301.0~2012~Main%20Features~Sports%20and%20physical%20recreation~116>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013a, *Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey*, ABS, viewed 23/9/2015, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/4727.0.55.001Main%20Features12012-13?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=4727.0.55.001&issue=2012-13&num=&view=>>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013b, *Sport scores goals for Aussie economy*, ABS, viewed 12/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/4156.0.55.002Media%20Release12013?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=4156.0.55.002&issue=2013&num=&view=>>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014, *STUDENTS*, ABS, viewed 17/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4221.0main+features42013>>.

Australian Film Commission 2005, *Early History of the Australian Film Industry*, Canberra, Screen Australia,

Australian Football League 2016a, *2016 Indigenous Players in the AFL*, Australian Football League, viewed 13/5/2016,  
<<http://www.aflcommunityclub.com.au/index.php?id=790>>.

Australian Football League 2016b, *Australian Football League Annual Report 2015*, Australian Football League, viewed 12/5/2016,  
<<http://s.afl.com.au/staticfile/AFL%20Tenant/AFL/Files/Annual%20Report/AFLAnnualReport2015.pdf>>.

Australian Football League 2016c, *Current AFL Players with a Multicultural Background*, Australian Football League, viewed 13/5/2016,  
<<http://www.aflcommunityclub.com.au/index.php?id=27>>.

Australian Law Reform Commission 1977, *Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Law (ALRC Report 31)*, Canberra, ALRC,

Ayre, M & Mackenzie, J 2013, "'Unwritten, unsaid, just known": the role of Indigenous knowledge(s) in water planning in Australia', *Local Environment*, vol. 18, no. 7, pp. 753-768.

Bainbridge, J 2008a, 'Audiences and Representations', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 174 - 194.

Bainbridge, J 2008b, 'Media Texts', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 155 - 173.

Bainbridge, J 2008c, 'The Public Sphere', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 3 - 18.

Bainbridge, J, Goc, N & Tynan, L 2008, 'Introduction', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and Journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. xiv - xxv.

Bale, J & Cronin, M 2003a, 'Introduction: Sport and Postcolonialism', in J Bale and M Cronin (eds), *Sport and Postcolonialism*, Berg, Oxford, pp. 1-13.

Bale, J & Cronin, M (eds), 2003b, *Sport and Postcolonialism*, Berg, Oxford.

Banner, S 2005, 'Why Terra Nullius? Anthropology and Property Law in Early Australia', *Law and History Review*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 95 - 131.

Barwick, D 1998, *Rebellion at Coranderrk*, Aboriginal History Inc., Canberra.

Battiste, M 2002, *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education: A Literature Review with Recommendations*, Ottawa, Canadian Government,

Battiste, M 2009a, 'Introduction: Unfolding the Lessons of Colonization', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. xvi - xxx.

Battiste, M 2009b, 'Maintaining Aboriginal Identity: Language and Culture in Modern Society', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. 192 - 208.

Bayly, CA 1999, 'The Second British Empire', in RW Winks (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. V, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 54 - 72.

Bell, J 2003, 'Australia's Indigenous Languages', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians* Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 159 - 170.

Benedict, R 1961, *Patterns of Culture*, Routledge, London.

Bennett, S 1985, 'The 1967 referendum', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, pp. 26 - 31.

Bennett, T 2004, *Pasts beyond memory: Evolution Museums Colonialism*, Routledge, London.

Bhatia, S 2002, 'Orientalism in Euro-American and Indian psychology: Historical representations of "natives" in colonial and postcolonial contexts', *History of Psychology*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 376-398.

Blainey, G 1990, *A game of our own: the origins of Australian football*, Information Australia, Melbourne.

Bolt, A 2009, 'It's so hip to be black', *Herald Sun*, April 15,

Bourke, C, Bourke, E & Edwards, B (eds), 1998, *Aboriginal Australia: an Introductory Reader in Aboriginal Studies*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.

Bourke, E 1998, 'Australia's First Peoples: Identity and Population', in C Bourke, E Bourke and B Edwards (eds), *Aboriginal Australia: An introductory reader in Aboriginal Studies*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, pp. 38 - 55.

boyd, d 2009, 'Social Media is Here to Stay... Now What,' *Microsoft Research Tech Fest*,

Brewer, A 1990, *Marxist theories of imperialism: a critical survey*, 2nd edn., Routledge, London.

Broome, R 2010, *Aboriginal Australians: A history since 1788*, 4th edn., Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

Brown, M 2015, *MLB Sees Record Revenues For 2015, Up \$500 Million And Approaching \$9.5 Billion*, Forbes, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://www.forbes.com/sites/maurybrown/2015/12/04/mlb-sees-record-revenues-for-2015-up-500-million-and-approaching-9-5-billion/#6e8abc712307>>.

Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre 2015, Museum Victoria, viewed 28/12/2015, <<http://museumvictoria.com.au/bunjilaka/>>.

Butlin, NG 1993, *Economics and the Dreamtime: A hypothetical history*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Byrnes, P 2006, 'Ten Canoes', *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 1, pp. 1-2.

*Capitalism*, 2016, Dictionary.com, viewed 26/5/2016, <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/capitalism?s=t>>.

- Cartwright, RLCFpdO 1968, 'Some Remarks on Essentialism', *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 65, no. 20, pp. 615-626.
- Cashmore, E 1982, *Black Sportsmen*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Césaire, A 1972, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Champagne, D 1996, 'American Indian Studies is for everyone', *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter, pp. 77 - 83.
- Chandra, J 2015, *National Treasures: 50 Australian Pop Culture Icons Allure Media*, viewed 18/2/2016, <<http://www.popsugar.com.au/celebrity/Top-50-Australian-Pop-Culture-Icons-Film-TV-Music-More-26961220#opening-slide>>.
- Coakley, J, Hallinan, C, Mewett, P & Jackson, S 2009, *Sports in Society: issues and controversies in Australia and New Zealand*, McGraw-Hill, North Ryde.
- Cohen, L, Manion, L & Morrison, K 2011, *Research methods in education*, 7th edn, Routledge
- Collins, B 2016, *National Indigenous Times acquired by Wayne Bergmann's 'pro-business' syndicate*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, viewed 2/5/2016, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-01-21/national-indigenous-times-acquired-wayne-bergmann/7105588>>.
- Colman, F 2009, *Film, Theory and Philosophy*, Acumen, Durham, GBR.
- Coram, S 1999, 'Reclaiming Aboriginal Identity through Australian Rules Football: A Legacy of the 'Stolen Generation'', *First International Conference on Sports and Human Rights*, 159-164.
- Cowlishaw, G 1988, *Black, white or brindle: race in rural Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Crawshaw, D 2008, 'Sports trivia in citizenship test: govt', *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 29,
- Culture*, 2016a, Oxford Dictionaries, viewed 11/1/2016, <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/culture>>.
- Culture*, 2016b, Dictionary.com, viewed 14/1/2016, <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/culture?s=t>>.
- Darwin, C & Beer, G 1996, *The Origin of Species*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Davis, T 2010, 'Beyond good/should/bad: Teaching Australian Indigenous film and television', *Continuum*, vol. 24, no. 5, pp. 799 - 804.
- Dawson, J 1981, *Australian Aborigines: The language and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*, Facsimile edn., Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Department of Premier and Cabinet 2015, *Registered Aboriginal Parties*, State Government of Victoria, viewed 4/12/2016, <<http://www.dpc.vic.gov.au/index.php/aboriginal-affairs/registered-aboriginal-parties> >.



Department of Social Services 2007, *Fact Sheet - Australia's Multicultural Policy*, Commonwealth of Australia, viewed 2/12/2015, <<https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/publications/fact-sheet-australias-multicultural-policy>>.

Dodson, M 2003, 'The end in the beginning: re(de)finding Aboriginality', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blakclines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton pp. 25 - 42.

Dow, C & Gardiner-Garden, J 2011, *Overview of Indigenous Affairs: Part 1: 1901 to 1991*, Parliament of Australia, viewed 2/11/15, <[http://www.aph.gov.au/about\\_parliament/parliamentary\\_departments/parliamentary\\_library/pubs/bn/1011/indigenousaffairs1](http://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/bn/1011/indigenousaffairs1)>.

Drinkwater, B (ed.) 2000, *Women in Sport*, Blackwell Science, Oxford.

Duncan, S 1977, 'The discovery of Australia: the Portuguese priority reconsidered', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 64 - 78.

During, S 1995, 'Postmodernism or Postcolonialism Today', in B Ashcroft, G Griffiths and H Tiffin (eds), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, Routledge, London, pp. 125-129.

Eidelson, M 1997, *The Melbourne Dreaming: A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Elder, C 2007, *Being Australian: Narratives of National Identity*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Elkin, AP 1958, 'Anthropology in Australia', *Mankind*, vol. 5, no. 6, October

Ellingson, TJ 2001, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

*Enterprise*, 2016, Dictionary.com, viewed 13/5/2016, <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/enterprise?s=t>>.

Crocodile Dundee 1986 Hoyts Distribution/Paramount Pictures, April 24, 1986.

Ferguson, N 2004, *The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, Basic Books

Fixico, DL 2003, *The American Indian Mind In A Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge*, Taylor and Francis, Hoboken.

Flanagan, M 2010, 'Searching for marngrook', *The Age*, Sunday May 22,

Foley, D 2000, 'Successful indigenous Australian entrepreneurs: A case study analysis',

Foley, D 2003a, 'An Examination of Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs', *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, vol. 8, no. 2, August, pp. 133 - 151.

Foley, D 2003b, 'Indigenous Epistemology and Indigenous Standpoint Theory', *Social Alternatives*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2003 First Quarter, p. 44.

- Foley, D 2006, *Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs: Not all Community Organisations, Not all in the Outback*, Canberra, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Discussion Paper No. 279/2006.
- Foley, D 2010, 'Enterprise and Entrepreneurship and Australian Aborigines', *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 85 - 93.
- Forrester, J, Zimmerman, A & Finley, L 2016, 'QUT discrimination case exposes Human Rights Commission failings', *The Conversation*, November 7
- Foucault, M 1972, *The archaeology of knowledge*, Tavistock Publications, London.
- Franklin, MA 1976, *Black and white Australians: An inter-racial history 1788 - 1975*, Heinemann Educational Australia, South Yarra.
- Frederick, HH 2008, 'Introduction to special issue on indigenous entrepreneurs', *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 185-191.
- Fuchs, C 2014, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, SAGE Publications
- Gandhi, L 1998, *Postcolonial theory: a critical introduction*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest.
- Germain, E 1955, *The Marxist Theory of Imperialism and its Critics*, viewed 22/6/2015, <<https://www.marxists.org/archive/mandel/1955/08/imp-crit.html> >.
- Godwell, D 2000, 'Playing the game: is sport as good for race relations as we'd like to think?', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, vol. 1 & 2, pp. 12 - 19.
- Goodall, H, Jakubowicz, A, Mitchell, T, Randall, L & Seneviratne, K 1994, *Racism, ethnicity and the media*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards.
- Grossman, M 2003, 'After Aboriginalism: power, knowledge and Indigenous Australian critical writing', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 1 - 14.
- Hall, CM & Tucker, H (eds), 2004, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, Routledge.
- Hallinan, CJ, Bruce, T & Coram, S 1999, 'UP FRONT AND BEYOND THE CENTRE LINE: Australian Aborigines in Elite Australian Rules Football', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 34, no. 4, December 1, 1999, pp. 369-383.
- Harding, R 2005, 'THE MEDIA, ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND COMMON SENSE', *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 311-335.
- Harding, R 2006, 'Historical representations and aboriginal people in the Canadian news media', *Discourse and Society*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 205 - 235.
- Harlow, B 1987, *Resistance Literature*, Methuen, New York.
- Harrison, L & Harrison, C 2002, 'African American racial identity: Theory and application to education, race, and sport in America', *African American research perspectives*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 35-46.

- Henrikson, AK 1999, 'The Power and Politics of Maps', in GJ Demko and WB Wood (eds), *Reordering the world: geopolitical perspectives on the twenty-first century*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 94 - 116.
- Herbert, J 2012, "'Ceaselessly circling the centre": Historical contextualization of indigenous education within Australia', *History of Education Review*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 91-103.
- Hess, R 2000, "'Ladies are specially invited': women in the culture of Australian rules football", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 17, no. 2-3, pp. 111-141.
- Hewson, MG 2015, *Embracing Indigenous Knowledge in Science and Medical Teaching*, Springer
- Hibbins, G 2008, 'Wills and the Aboriginal Game: A Seductive Myth', in G Slattery (ed.) *The Australian Game of Football: Since 1858*, Slattery Media Group, Richmond, pp. 45.
- Hinch, T & Butler, R 2007, 'Introduction: revisiting common ground', in R Butler and T Hinch (eds), *Tourism and Indigenous peoples: issues and implications*, Elsevier, Oxford, pp. 2-12.
- Hindle, K & Lansdowne, M 2005, 'Brave spirits on new paths: towards a globally relevant paradigm of Indigenous entrepreneurship research', *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship*, vol. 18, no. 2, Spring, pp. 131 - 142.
- Hoberman, J 1997, *Darwin's Athletes: How Sport Has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race*, Houghton Mifflin, New York.
- Hobson, JA 1965, *Imperialism*, University of Michigan Press, USA.
- Hokowhitu, B 2004, 'Tackling Māori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport', *The Contemporary Pacific*, vol. 16, no. 2, Fall, pp. 259 - 284.
- Hokowhitu, B 2009, 'Māori Rugby and Subversion: Creativity, Domestication, Oppression and Decolonization', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 26, no. 16, December, pp. 2314 - 2334.
- Hollinshead, K 1992, "'White' gaze, 'red' people - shadow visions: the disidentification of 'Indians' in cultural tourism", *Leisure Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 43-64.
- Horne, D 1970, *The Next Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.
- Huijser, H & Collins-Gearing, B 2007, 'Representing Indigenous Stories in the Cinema: Between Collaboration and Appropriation', *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 1 - 9.
- Hume, L 2002, *Ancestral power: the Dreaming, consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South.
- in *Imperialism* 2009, (ed B Moore) Oxford University Press, Canberra
- Imperialism*, 2015, Oxford Dictionaries, viewed 22/10/15,  
<<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/imperialism> >.

*Imperialism*, 2016, Dictionary.com, viewed 24/1/2016, <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/imperialism?s=t>>.

Isidore, C 2015, *NFL revenue: Here comes another record season*, CNN, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://money.cnn.com/2015/09/10/news/companies/nfl-revenue-profits/>>.

Janke, T 2009, *Writing up Indigenous Research: authorship, copyright and Indigenous knowledge systems*, Sydney, Terri Janke and Company Pty Ltd.,

Jellie, D 2016, *Oh we're from Tigerland: Andrew Peters*, Richmond Football Club, viewed May 25, <<http://www.richmondfc.com.au/news/2016-05-25/oh-were-from-tigerland-andrew-peters>>.

Jhally, S & Lewis, J 1992, *Enlightened racism : the Cosby show, audiences, and the myth of the American dream* Westview Press, Boulder.

Johnston, LF 1951, 'Native Welfare: Meeting of Commonwealth and State Ministers,' *Native Welfare Conference*,

Judd, B 2005, 'Australian Rules Football as Aboriginal Cultural Artifact', *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. XXV, no. 1, pp. 215-237.

King, CR 2005, 'Identities, Opportunities, Inequities: An Introduction', in CR King (ed.) *Native Athletes In Sport and Society*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, pp. xi - xxxiii.

Kovach, M 2015, 'Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies ', in S Strega and L Brown (eds), *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, Canadian Scholars' Press, Toronto, pp. 43 - 64.

Krüger, M 2015, 'Global Perspectives on Sports and Movement Cultures: From Past to Present – Modern Sports between Nationalism, Internationalism, and Cultural Imperialism', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2015/03/18, pp. 1-17.

Lacey, N 2009, *Image and Representation: key concepts in Media Studies*, 2nd edn., Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Lange, M & Dawson, A 2009, 'Dividing and Ruling the World? A Statistical Test of the Effects of Colonialism on Postcolonial Civil Violence', *Social Forces*, vol. 88, no. 2, pp. 785 - 818.

Law Council of Australia 2014, *Indigenous Imprisonment Fact Sheet*, Law Council of Australia, viewed 2/5/2016, <[https://www.lawcouncil.asn.au/lawcouncil/images/LCA-PDF/Briefs\\_Fact\\_Sheets\\_and\\_Publications/IndigImprisonmentStats.pdf](https://www.lawcouncil.asn.au/lawcouncil/images/LCA-PDF/Briefs_Fact_Sheets_and_Publications/IndigImprisonmentStats.pdf)>.

Lewis, GD 2016, *History of Museums*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, viewed 21/12/2015, <<http://www.britannica.com/topic/history-398827>>.

Loomba, A 2005, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd edn., Routledge, Milton Park.

Love, RS 2008, *The Enlightenment*, Greenwood Publishing Group

Lowe, P 2002, *Hunters and trackers of the Australian desert*, Rosenberg Publishing, Sydney.

- MacIntyre, S 2009, *A Concise History of Australia*, 3rd edn., Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne.
- Maddison, S 2009, *Black Politics: Inside the complexity of Aboriginal political culture*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.
- Mapedzahama, V & Kwansah-Aidoo, K 2010, "'Where are you from?' The Paradox of African Identity and Belonging in Australia,' *TASA Conference*, The Australian Sociological Association,
- Marshall, PJ 1999, 'The First British Empire', in RW Winks (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 43 - 53.
- McCorquodale, J 1986, 'The Legal Classification of Race in Australia', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 7-24.
- McGregor, R 1997, *Imagined destinies : Aboriginal Australians and the doomed race theory, 1880-1939* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
- McIntyre, K 1977, *The Secret Discovery of Australia: Portuguese Ventures 200 Years Before Captain Cook*, Souvenir Press, Adelaide.
- McKenna, M 1997, (ed P Library) Parliament of Australia, Canberra.
- Melnick, MJ & Thomson, RW 1996, 'The Maori People and Positional Segregation in New Zealand Rugby Football: A Test of the Anglocentric Hypothesis', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 31, no. 2, June 1, 1996, pp. 139-154.
- The Man From Snowy River 1982 Hoyts Distribution/21st Century Fox, March 25, 1982.
- Mission Voices n.d., *Missions and Reserves Map*, ABC Online on Wayback Machine, viewed 12/6/2013,  
<[https://web.archive.org/web/20040914083159/http://www.abc.net.au/missionvoices/geral/missions\\_and\\_reserves\\_map/default.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20040914083159/http://www.abc.net.au/missionvoices/geral/missions_and_reserves_map/default.htm)>.
- Moreton-Robinson, A (ed.) 2004, *Whitening Race: Essays in social and cultural criticism*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Morris, B 2010, 'INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE', *Society of Malawi Journal*, vol. 63, pp. 1-9.
- Mulvaney, DJ 1990, 'Spencer, Sir Walter Baldwin (1860–1929)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*,
- Mulvaney, DJ 1993, 'Australian Anthropology: Foundations and Funding', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 105 - 128.
- Nakata, M 1998, 'Anthropological texts and Indigenous standpoints', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, vol. 1998, no. 2, 2015/9/23, pp. 3 - 12.
- Nakata, M 2004, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Cultural Interface: Underlying issues at the intersestion of knowledge and information systems', in A Hickling-Hudson, J Matthews and A Woods (eds), *Disrupting Preconceptions: Postcolonialism and Education*, Post Pressed, Flaxton, Qld., pp. 19 - 38.

Nakata, M 2006, 'Australian Indigenous studies: A question of discipline', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 265 - 275.

Nakata, M 2007, *Disciplining the savages, savaging the disciplines*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Nakata, M, Byrne, A, Nakata, V & Gardiner, G 2005, 'Indigenous Knowledge, the Library Information Service Sector, and Protocols', in M Nakata and M Langton (eds), *Australian Indigenous Knowledge And Libraries*, Australian Academic and Research Libraries, Canberra, pp. 9 - 24.

Native Welfare Conference 1961, 'The Policy of Assimilation: Decisions of Commonwealth and State Ministers,' *Native Welfare Conference*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra, pp.

Nicholson, J 2007, *Songlines and stone axes*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

Northern Land Council n.d., *Land Rights*, NLC, viewed 4/12/2015, <<http://www.nlc.org.au/articles/info/aboriginal-land-rights-northern-territory-act-1976/>>.

*Notes Concerning the British Empire*, n.d., BirtAm.org, viewed 12/9/2015, <<http://www.britam.org/BritishE.html>>.

Nowra, L 2008, 'Indifference has robbed generations of our history', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27/12/2008,

Ogleby, CL 1993, 'Terra Nullius, the High Court and Surveyors', *The Australian Surveyor*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 171 - 189.

Paradies, YC 2006, 'Beyond black and white: essentialism, hybridity and indigeneity', *Journal of sociology*, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 355-368.

Paul, R & Elder, L 1997, *Socratic Teaching*, Foundation for Critical Thinking, viewed 10/05/2016, <<http://www.criticalthinking.org/pages/socratic-teaching/606>>.

Phelan, J 2015, *Women's participation soars in 2015*, Australian Football League, viewed 2/6/2016, <<http://www.afl.com.au/news/2015-10-13/womens-participation-in-afl-soars-in-2015>>.

Poulter, J 2011, *Sharing Heritage in Kulin Country: Lessons in Reconciliation from our First Contact History*, Red Hen, Melbourne.

Presland, G 2001, *Aboriginal Melbourne: The lost land of the Kulin people*, Harriland Press, Forest Hill.

Presland, G 2010, *First people: the Eastern Kulin of Melbourne, Port Phillip, and Central Victoria*, Museum Victoria Publishing, Melbourne.

Price, K 2015, 'A brief history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education in Australia', in K Price (ed.) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education: an introduction for the teaching profession*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne, pp. 1 - 20.

Quinn, K 2011, 'Bolt loses high-profile race case', *The Age*, September 28,

*Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cwlth), Federal Register of Legislation, viewed January 19, 2017, <<https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2014C00014/Download>>.

Raheja, MH 2011, *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Ralph, J 2011, *It took two brave men to change footy's racial horizons*, viewed 12/11/2014, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/afl/it-took-two-brave-men-to-change-footys-racial-horizons/story-fn8ymmuy-1226083697370>>.

Reed, L 2009, "'A Voice in Modern Australia": Songs of Australian Indigenous Women', in A Sarwal and R Sarwal (eds), *Creative Nation: Australian Cinema and Cultural Studies Reader*, SSS Publications, New Delhi, pp. 468 - 488.

Reynolds, H 1998, *The whispering in our hearts*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards.

Reynolds, H 2003, *The Law of the Land*, 3rd edn., Penguin Books, Camberwell.

Rigney, L-I 1997, 'Internationalisation of An Indigenous Anti-Colonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies: A guide to Indigenist Research Methodology and its Principles,' *Annual International Conference - Research and Development in Higher Education: Advancing International Perspectives*, Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia (HERDSA),

Rigney, L-I 2006, 'Indigenist Research and Aboriginal Australia', in JE Kunnie and NI Goduka (eds), *Indigenous Peoples' Wisdom and Power: Affirming Our Knowledge Through Narratives*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Hampshire, pp. 32 - 48.

Walkabout 1971 2st Century Fox/Siren Entertainment, October 1971.

Roper, EA 2013, *Gender Relations in Sport*, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam.

Rose, M 2015, 'The 'silent apartheid' as the practitioner's blindspot', in K Price (ed.) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne, pp. 66 - 82.

Rosenberg, A 2005, *Philosophy of Science : A Contemporary Introduction*, 2 edn, Taylor and Francis

Ryan, C & Aicken, M (eds), 2005, *Indigenous Tourism: The commodification and management of culture*, Elsevier, Oxford.

Ryan, C & Huyton, J 2002, 'Tourists and Aboriginal people', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 631 - 647.

Said, EW 1978, *Orientalism*, Random House, New York.

Said, EW 1993, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1st edn., Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York.

The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith 1978 Hoyts Distribution, June 22, 1978.

Semali, LM & Kincheloe, JL 1999, 'What is Indigenous Knowledge and Why Should We Study It?', in LM Semali and JL Kincheloe (eds), *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, Routledge, New York, pp. 3 - 57.

- Sheehan, NW 2011, 'Indigenous knowledge and respectful design: an evidence based approach', *Design Issues*, vol. 27, no. 4, Autumn 2011, pp. 68-80.
- Smith, GH 2009, 'Protecting and Respecting Indigenous Knowledge', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. 209 - 224.
- Smith, VL 1996, 'Indigenous tourism: the 4 Hs', in R Butler and T Hinch (eds), *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*, International Thomson Business Press, London, pp. 283-307.
- Spivak, GC 1990, *The post-colonial critic*, Routledge, New York.
- St. Germain, J 2009, *Broken Treaties: United States and Canadian Relations with the Lakotas and the Plains Cree, 1868 - 1885*, University of Nebraska Press
- Stanner, WEH 1979, 'After The Dreaming (1968)', in *White man got no dreaming: essays 1938 - 1973*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, pp. 198 - 248.
- Stewart, D 2016, (eds), N Blake and Boon Wurrung Foundation) Boon Wurrung Foundation and Port Phillip EcoCentre.
- Stocking, GW 1985, *Objects and Others : Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis.
- Stone, G 1965, 'Violence explodes in racist town', *Daily Mirror*, 21/2/1965,
- Strinati, D 2004, *Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture*, 2 edn, Taylor and Francis
- Stuchtey, B 2011, *Colonialism and imperialism 1450 - 1950*, Inst. f. Europ. Geschichte, viewed 24/10/2012, <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/stuchteyb-2010-en>>.
- Tapsell, P & Woods, C 2008, 'Potikitanga: indigenous entrepreneurship in a Maori context', *Journal of Enterprising Communities*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 192 - 203.
- Tatz, C 1995, *Obstacle Race: Aborigines in sport*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.
- Tatz, C & Tatz, P 2000, *Black gold: the Aboriginal and Islander sports hall of fame*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Te Puni Kokiri 2006, *Te Maori i Te Whutuporo: Maori in Rugby: Fact Sheet 23*, Te Puni Kokiri, viewed 13/5/2016, <<https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/.../tpk-maoriinrugby-2006-en.pdf>>.
- Thomas, H 2016, 'Judge dismisses case against QUT students over 18C', *The Australian*, November 5,
- Tibbet, K 2005, *Community specialisation, standardisation and exchange in a hunter-gatherer society: a case study from Kalkadoon country, northwest Queensland, Australia*, thesis, School of Anthropology, Archaeology, and Sociology, James Cook University, Townsville.
- Tiessen, JH 1997, 'Individualism, collectivism, and entrepreneurship: A framework for international comparative research', *Journal of Business Venturing*, vol. 12, no. 5, pp. 367-384.



Tindale, NB & George, B 1979, *The Australian Aborigines*, Budget Books, Windsor, Vic.

*Top 100 Australian feature films of all time*, 2016, Screen Australia, viewed 10/2/2016, <<http://www.screenaustralia.gov.au/research/statistics/boxofficeaustraliatop100.aspx>>.

Torgovnich, M 1990, *Gone primitive: savage intellects, modern lives*, University of Chicago Press

Tuhiwai Smith, L 1999, *Decolonizing methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin.

Tylor, EB 1889, *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art and custom*, 3rd edn., Henry Holt and Company, New York.

United Nations 2000, *Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Resolution 2000/22*, United Nations Division for Social Policy Development Indigenous Peoples, viewed 31/05/2016, <<https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us/resolution-e200022.html>>.

United Nations 2003, *Secretary-General Launches Commission On Private Sector And Development At Headquarters Press Briefing*, United Nations, viewed 14/5/2016, <<http://www.un.org/press/en/2003/UNDPbrf.doc.htm>>.

UNWTO 2015, *UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2015 Edition*, United Nations World Tourism Organisation, viewed 16/5/2016, <<http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284416899>>.

Urry, J 1990, *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*, SAGE Publications, London.

VACL 2016, *Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages - All 38 Languages*, viewed 20/5/2016, <<http://www.vaclang.org.au/>>.

Vitcavage, A 2012, *The 100 Best Movie Posters of the Past 100 Years*, Paste Magazine, viewed 21/2/2016, <<https://www.pastemagazine.com/blogs/lists/2012/02/the-best-movie-posters-of-the-past-100-years.html>>.

Waitangi Tribunal 2015, *The Meaning of the Treaty* New Zealand Ministry of Justice, viewed 30/11/2015, <<http://www.justice.govt.nz/tribunals/waitangi-tribunal/treaty-of-waitangi/the-meaning-of-the-treaty>>.

Wane, NN 2008, 'Mapping the field of Indigenous knowledges in anti-colonial discourse: a transformative journey in education', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2015/08/10, pp. 183-197.

Ward, JR 1994, 'The Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, 1750-1850', *The Economic History Review*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 44-65.

Washington, RE & Karen, D 2001, 'SPORT AND SOCIETY', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2016/5/3/, p. 187.

WebsterWorld 2006, *Origins of Sport in Australia*, WebsterWorld, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://www.websterworld.com/websterworld/websport/o/originsofsportinaustralia853.html>>.

Wedgwood, N 2005, 'Doin' It for Themselves! A Case Study of the Development of a Women's Australian Rules Football Competition', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 396-414.

Gallipoli 1981 Paramount Pictures, August 13, 1981.

West, BJ & Griffin, LA 2005, 'Ways of Knowing', in *Biodynamics*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp. 3-26.

West, EG 2000, *An alternative to existing Australian reserach and teaching models - The Japanangka teaching and research*

*paradigm - an Australian Aboriginal model*, PhD thesis, Southern Cross University, Lismore NSW.

West, G 2013, *Mr. Pop Culture*, Man From Yesterday Productions Inc, viewed 13/2/2016, <<http://www.mrpopculture.com/>>.

*What Is Capitalism?*, 2016, Capitalism.org, viewed 26/5/2016, <<http://capitalism.org/capitalism/what-is-capitalism/>>.

Wildcat, D & Pierotti, R 2000, 'Finding the Indigenous in Indigenous Studies', *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring, pp. 61 - 70.

Williams, P & Chrisman, L 1994, 'Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: An Introduction', in P Williams and L Chrisman (eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hertfordshire, pp. 1-20.

Wilson, B 2015a, *Premier League football club revenues and profits soar*, BBC News, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/business-32931345>>.

Wilson, C 2015b, 'AFL chief Gillon McLachlan's legacy secure with \$2.5bn TV rights deal', *The Age*, August 19, 2015,

Wilson, S 2001, 'What is indigenous research methodology?', *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 175-179.

Wohling, M 2009, 'The Problem of Scale in Indigenous Knowledge: a Perspective from Northern Australia', *Ecology and Society*, vol. 14, no. 1 C7 - 1

Wolfe, P 2003, 'The World of History and the World-As-History', in P Duara (ed.) *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then*, Routledge, London, pp. 101 - 117.

Wood, GJ & Davidson, MJ 2011, 'A review of male and female Australian indigenous entrepreneurs: disadvantaged past, promising future?', *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 311 - 326.

Woodward, I 2007, *Understanding Material Culture*, SAGE Publications

Woolmington, J 1988, *Aborigines in Colonial Society: 1788 - 1850 - From 'Noble Savage' to 'Rual Pest'*, 2nd edn., University of New England Press, Armidale.

Yazzie, R 2009, 'Indigenous Peoples and Postcolonial Colonialism', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. 39 - 49.

Young, RJC 2001, *Postcolonialism: an historical introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Yunkaporta, TK 2010, 'Our ways of learning in Aboriginal languages', in J Hobson, K Lowe, S Poetsch and M Walsh (eds), *Re-Awakening Languages: Theory and Practice in the Revitalisation of Australia's Indigenous Languages*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, pp. 37 - 49.

Zeppel, H 1999, *Aboriginal tourism in Australia: a research bibliography*, CRC Tourism Research Report Series, 2, Gold Coast, Griffith University,



**Aboriginal Culture, Knowledge and  
Education in Contemporary Australia:  
Exegesis**

**Andrew Peters**

# EXEGESIS TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>MY VOICE</b>	<b>240</b>
Terminology	242
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>243</b>
<b>SECTION 1 – INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE STRUCTURES</b>	<b>248</b>
Colonialism, Culture and Scholarship	249
The Cultural Interface and Narrative Knowledge	254
Indigenous Knowledge: A Legitimate Research Model	255
<b>SECTION 2 – INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTY</b>	<b>258</b>
Capitalism and Indigenous Sovereignty	259
Universality, Language and Communication	261
Resistance Research/Literature and Decolonisation	264
Indigenist Research	268
Alternative Methodologies and the Role of Indigenous Critical Writing	272
<b>SECTION 3 – RESEARCH DECOLONISATION</b>	<b>276</b>
Western Ways of Knowing and Indigenous methodologies	278
Indigenous Methodologies Today	286
<b>SECTION 4 – THEORY</b>	<b>289</b>
The Postcolonial, Critical Reflexivity and Indigenous Identity	289
Relatedness Theory	296
Indigenous Standpoint Theory	299
Indigenous Knowledge and Contemporary Research	302
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>309</b>
The 21st Century Academy in Australia	309
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>314</b>

## TABLE OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 26:</b> An Indigenous Research Agenda.....	283
<b>Figure 27:</b> The Eight Ways of Learning).....	285
<b>Figure 28:</b> Foley’s Indigenous Philosophy Modelt .....	300
<b>Figure 29:</b> Foley’s Indigenous Standpoint Theory Model.....	301

## MY VOICE

My academic journey began many years ago. Like almost all Indigenous scholars today, I had begun the journey long before I entered the academy, and long before I realised it. I have learned a little about Indigenous Knowledges<sup>1</sup> and Ways of Thinking, Being and Doing, and just enough to recognise their role in my life to this point. Everything was connected, and all things remain connected. This realisation has opened up a whole new world of academic thinking for me, one that I hope to be able to share with many others as I continue my journey.

In no particular order I am an Aboriginal Australian, a university lecturer, a husband, father, son, uncle, cousin, mate, friend and colleague. I have established many relationships throughout my life, and each one has contributed to my story, my narrative – and they continue to do so. I am a descendent of Woiwurrung (as Mum always taught me, Yarra Yarra), Yorta Yorta, and Taungerong. If you don't know what that means look it up – it should be as clear to all Australians as being a Victorian, a Melbournian. This ancestry ties me to country, to kinship, to 'home'. I was born in Eora country in Sydney, NSW, but have no real cultural ties there. I was raised in Healesville, Victoria, in Woiwurrung Wurundjeri country, and it is here that I feel my ties. My Aboriginal ancestry comes from my mother's side, and she has always, as long as I can remember, been a very proud, very well respected Aboriginal woman. Mum used to tell me a few stories of her grandmother, Gran (Lizzie) Davis, who was born in the very early years of colonisation in Victoria, and lived to the ripe old age of 104. Gran instilled in Mum a deep love and respect not only for our culture, but in having *pride* in that culture. It is this cultural legacy that stays with me today.

I did not learn traditional language or customs as a young boy, so I cannot lay claim to 'land ownership', or having a deep knowledge of 'traditional' ways – nor do I wish to. My voice in this exegesis comes from my experiences as a young boy growing up in Healesville, almost painfully aware of my Aboriginal heritage, and struggling to find ways to express my pride without being ostracised in the white world I knew. I saw racism in my town, but was very rarely ever a victim of it. I grew up with many friends, played a lot of sport, and never felt judged on my skin colour – which, while darker than

---

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this exegesis, I refer to Indigenous Knowledge (capitalised) as an epistemological system, as opposed to knowledge (lower case) that refers to 'fragments' of a system. Please refer to page 71 for further explanation.



most, was certainly lighter than a lot of other brothers and sisters. I was an emblem of the cultural hybrid, accepted in both worlds, but conscious that I may not really belong to either.

For me, sport proved my 'homeland'. When I played sport, at which I was reasonably skilled, I was accepted by everyone involved regardless of skin, culture or background. In particular, (Australian) football provided a 'safe space'. The football field became my performative space, where culture was allowed, and acceptance given. I played over 400 games of football at senior and junior level, almost all of them at Healesville, and over this time I found my knowledge and pride of my cultural heritage steadily increased. The fact that the 'issue' of racism entered the public sphere via the AFL and its resultant programs to tackle racial vilification certainly contributed to this, but it was also my own journey that, by the time my career ended, had transplanted me into academia.

This exegesis, and to a degree the artefact, therefore follow a narrative through education much like the performance of Aboriginal players on the sporting field. In the early days of Joe Johnson in the then VFL in 1904, through the racially divided times of the 30s to the 60s and the emergence of players such as Syd Jackson and Graham Farmer, Aboriginal players struggled to find a position of equity with white footballers, and in society in general. The late 60s and early 70s saw an influx, and by the era of Jim and Phil Krakouer, Maurice Rioli, Nicky Winmar and Michael Long of the 80s and 90s, Aboriginal players were lauded as champions and heroes. Underlined by exquisite skills and unrivalled pace, they laid the foundation for a 'sea change' in the game, which led to a growing awareness in broader society. Essentially, the Aboriginal players learned to play the game in such a way that 'mainstream' Australia just had to sit up and take notice.

In 21<sup>st</sup> century Australia, we Aboriginal scholars now need to learn the academic game so well, that the 'mainstream' academy just has to sit up and take notice. We are using our intellects, drawn from our ancestries and shaped by our colonial heritages and upbringings, to change the way that the academy understands, sees, and responds to our culture.

This is the voice I bring to this project, and with my ancestors, Uncles and Aunties, brothers and sisters alongside me, the voice I bring to the academy.

## Terminology

Throughout this exegesis I refer to both 'Indigenous' and 'Aboriginal' as cultural markers. For contextual clarity, I have endeavoured to use 'Indigenous' when referring to a broader concept of Indigeneity and culture that can be read as global, including the experiences of countries such as Canada, the United States and New Zealand. I use the term 'Aboriginal' when referring specifically to Australian experiences. In reality, the terms are interchangeable, and represent identical cultural, social and political positions. Recent developments in Australia see an increasing desire to revert to the use of 'Aboriginal' in reference to our 'pan-identity' rather than the Federal Government ascribed 'Indigenous'.

In addition, the exegesis uses the term 'mainstream' at various times. This term is contested in many respects as it remains a representation of 'cultural othering' (see pages 65 and 255) and its concomitant hegemonic 'drift' that causes contemporary society to marginalise these other cultures. It also reinforces the power of the English language to classify and demean. However, in the context of this book it is used to refer to the dominant colonial culture of Australia (although not necessarily referring exclusively to British heritage) and its use, while far from ideal, seeks to maintain a level of clarity for the reader. As such, the term will appear in singular quotation marks throughout, with the hope that this thesis contributes to ongoing discussions about culture, whiteness and 'normal' in contemporary society

## INTRODUCTION

This exegesis develops from my work in the artefact: a tertiary textbook for undergraduate Indigenous Studies students. The artefact aims to provide an honest, accurate and authentic account of an Indigenous story in contemporary Australia that will inform non-Indigenous Australians of an Indigenous perspective, as well as provide an affirmation and validation of the lived experiences of other Indigenous people in urban Australia. Together the artefact and exegesis develop a theoretically sound, academically rigorous body of work that adds to the existing body of knowledge on contemporary Indigenous culture and identity in Australia that conforms to the specified parameters of the academy. In addition, the exegesis will highlight the ways that Indigenous culture and cultural knowledge can enrich (what I call) postcolonial Australian knowledge and education through a recognition of alternative knowledge systems that have always been present, but often overlooked within the Western academy.

This exegesis follows the model of Practice Led Research (PLR) that draws together ways of knowing and doing that I discuss throughout my work. PLR describes the ways that contemporary researchers who build knowledge from their practicum can bring practice into the scholarly knowledge domain (Arnold 2007). PLR bridges the gap between theory and practice utilising the artefact as the starting point for identifying issues of scholarship. It is an appropriate method for this project as it presents over 10 years of experience as an Indigenous academic to an intended audience – Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in multicultural Australia. The artefact and exegesis attempt to synthesise the various academic theories and methodologies I have learned, the cultural knowledge I have acquired, and the teaching and learning style I have developed into a resource suitable for a contemporary tertiary pedagogy.

This work complements Indigenous Knowledge (IK) practices as it moves the production of a PhD from a narrow research-based concept dominated by Western, science-based models to models more appropriate for a wider range of major contributions to knowledge. In this sense, what may be regarded as individual components of the work are in fact intrinsically connected as part of a symbiotic relationship, where each aspect is informed by, and informs, the other. This challenges the Cartesian mind/body binary that has acted to reject the connected nature of Indigenous Knowledges. Drawing on elements of autoethnography, my aim here is to explain and describe contemporary identity issues from a critical ethnographic

standpoint that utilises multiple epistemologies (Foley & Valenzuela 2005). Autoethnography also allows an acknowledgment that this work is not created for “knowledge and theory (to) become disembodied words on the page”, but as a connection for the reader to engage with and experience (Ellis & Bochner 2006 p. 431). In this sense it can become part of the reader’s own ‘journey’ as they follow mine.

The exegesis does not act as academic justification for the creative work, but as a complementary framework with(in) it. Drawing upon the nature of connectedness within Indigenous Knowledge, in the artefact and exegesis model, practice and theory ‘talk to one another’.

In discussing the need to readdress and essentially redress the Cartesian binary that underpins exclusionary Western knowledge practices, Mary Midgley contends that: “all reasoning is powered by feeling and all serious feeling has some reasoning as its skeleton. Thought and feeling are not opponents, any more than shape and size” (2011 pp. 12 - 13). Midgley sees traditional research based on the natural sciences as one of the myths that we live by that produce “patterns of thought that are really useful in one age [but] can make serious trouble in the next one” (2011 p. 5). This project therefore draws upon more ‘Indigenous’ elements of contemporary research such as Indigenous Knowledge, relatedness theory and Indigenous Standpoint Theory to create a body of work that engages directly with discourses of postcolonialism and contemporary Indigenous identity.

The methodology for this artefact/exegesis project draws upon Lester-Irabinna Rigney’s ‘Indigenist Research’, which utilises ‘traditional’ Western research methodologies on a foundation of an underlying narrative of Indigenous epistemologies. In this fashion my research and my experiences as an Indigenous Australian in contemporary Australia provide the narrative that draws together these experiences and shapes them to construct a Western research tool – the artefact/exegesis in written form – that attempts to satisfy the two overarching requirements of my research.

In adopting an autoethnographic and semibiographical method for this project, I also draw on a number of dimensions of Errol West’s eight Japanangka paradigms to help both my understanding of my position and role, and my articulation of this positioning (REF). In particular, these sub-paradigms/dimensions are utilised as follows:

- Cultural – allowing me to define and articulate my own responses to global factors of culture, including organisational culture within the academy, my own

family cultural guides, and importantly how I am able to analyse and frame my cultural responses within them;

- Spiritual – negotiating the tensions between the Indigenous schema of spirituality that explains *all* things and shapes my own beliefs, and the Western, colonial schema of knowledge that values intellect, the physical world and scientific universality.
- Personal – our own, individual manifestations of cultural pluralism in the world today; the selection and use of cultural artefacts, both real and abstract, to help negotiate the innumerable challenges to our cultural identities that confront us every day.
- Political – as West explains, seeking the greater good for ‘brothers and sisters’, but within a realm that is neither natural nor supportive. The political aspects of our contemporary lives are heavily imposed upon us by historical and contemporary colonisation and its myriad assumptions of cultural superiority.

(from West 2000)

Each of these dimensions produce a daily challenge to the Indigenous researcher about how they negotiate the terrain of academia and continue their own search for their cultural space within the “set of diverse and sophisticated cultural norms and practices” (West 2000 p. 114) that are recognised as integral to our success – or survival. For me, this process ensures an ongoing dialogue with my cultural, spiritual, personal and political dimensions to maintain cultural integrity, academic achievement and success and, perhaps most importantly, personal fulfilment. This also provides a dynamic methodological approach that enables me to at once embrace and challenge current practices and join the movement to ‘decolonise’ the process itself.

In contemporary academia, both in Australia and internationally, there is a movement towards decolonisation of knowledge structures in order to develop (within the academy) a deeper understanding of and reference to Indigenous ways of knowing. Because the dominant white Eurocentric groups control the knowledge structures, Indigenous people are excluded from power and more often than not occupy the lowest rungs on the social ladder (Semali & Kincheloe 1999b). This results in a gap in scholarship as “(r)acial differences and prestige prerogatives have so merged among Anglo-Saxon peoples that we fail to separate biological racial matters from our most socially conditioned prejudices” (Benedict 1961).

Western science is driven by the dominant ideology – the metanarrative – of universal truth, and it is this scientific ‘truth’ that shapes our concept of ‘normal’. What we see as ‘normal’ in contemporary society is created by our own understandings of knowledge, and how we see it – our construction of knowledge invokes a power relationship that compels us to ‘know’ and therefore to ‘control’ the unknown. In this sense, Western scientific research has constructed our view of ‘normal’ in the world around us.

Further, we have normalised ‘Whiteness’ as a culture, with its dominant embedded ideologies of capitalism and paternalism, to such a degree that we don’t see this as ‘culture’ at all. When we hear the word ‘culture’, we think of the exotic ‘Other’ people whom are, or have, ‘culture’. In Australia, this is the Indigenous people. Anything cultural from the Indigenous people of Australia is predetermined as non-white, and outside of our ‘normal’ everyday existence. It then has diminished value in our contemporary society. Colonisation in Australia saw the destruction of Aboriginal customs and traditions as they contradicted those of the colonising British, who imposed their own social norms of behaviour (Fanon 2008). This project examines these concepts in detail throughout both the artefact and the exegesis, bringing forth a narrative of lived experiences from an Indigenous perspective – that of an Aboriginal man living in urban Australia.

Such work is earning increased attention in almost all aspects of contemporary Australian society, as education and interest in Indigenous Australian culture grow. In addition, the number of Indigenous people in Australia continues to rise, with the final estimated population of Indigenous Australians at the 2011 census being 669,900 people, or 3% of the total Australian population (ABS 2011). However, engagement within the academy is still very new, as the emergence of the Indigenous Australian scholar is a very recent historical phenomenon (Rigney 2006).

The artefact works to address the use of an Indigenous educational text and the exegesis brings to life my dialogue with both the artefact and the scholarship in which it is involved. Both pieces utilise, and are informed by, my own narrative and experiences. In many fields of ‘traditional’ research, results and findings are presented as detached from the researchers themselves. Still today, the use of ‘I’, ‘my’ or ‘mine’ or any personal pronouns or references remains prescribed in many areas of knowledge production within the academy.

Anna Essén and Sara Värlander address the divergence of the ‘self’ within traditional and alternative research methods, citing the tendency for Western scientific knowledge

to rely on abstract analysis and intellectual capacity which sees “academic practice as [a] detached, non-emotional and objective activity” (2013 p. 395). In challenging this “one sided (disembodied) view” (p. 396), Essén and Värlander aim to “change the theoretical approach taken in studies of scientific practices, academic work, and writing” (Essén & Värlander 2013 p. 397). This project seeks to adopt this change as my own narrative remains connected throughout the entire work.

## SECTION 1 – INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE STRUCTURES

Indigenous knowledge structures are based upon dialogic narrativity. The work of Noonuccal woman Karen Martin (2008) explicates this, asking researchers to *'Please Knock Before You Enter'*. This acts to remind all researchers that Indigenous research must be based on cultural respect and "Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being, and Ways of Doing" (2008 p. 9). Acknowledging Indigenous ways of knowing and doing "works towards achieving Aboriginal sovereignty in research" (2008 p.10). Martin describes such Indigenous knowledge methodology as 'storywork'. This methodology is a qualitative one that accords with narrativity and autoethnography as I discuss later in this exegesis.

The exegesis also focuses on concepts of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) that centre on relationality, culture, and identity. An understanding and appreciation of IK is vital for the academic development of our whole society. Losing control of knowledge is tantamount to allowing someone to "tell your story" (Kovach 2015), which then opens itself up to the great risk of inaccuracy, inconsistency, and lack of integrity. To this point, the 'story' of Indigenous Australians has largely been told by non-Indigenous Australians. Indigenous knowledges allow an alternative narrative to be brought to bear that reclaims, reaffirms and values vital elements of Indigenous culture, as well as adding depth and richness to our existing colonial knowledge bases.

Martin's research schema was motivated by a desire to address inequities in research design. She discovered that a research paradigm was required that looked beyond the existing theoretical frameworks and methodologies for ways that Aboriginal knowledges, beliefs, morals and behaviours can be embedded. Martin then developed her research framework "containing theory, methodology and methods informed by Aboriginal worldview or ontology, knowledges or epistemology and models of axiology... that developed as her study of the Burungu & Kuku-Yalanji progressed" (2008 p. 32). Such methodologies inherently include the role of culture and language, leading to epistemological challenges to the assumptive universality of Western knowledge and science.

In the academic world of today, numerous examples exist of praxis that privileges colonial methodologies above, and to the exclusion of, others. For example, the Swinburne University Indigenous Education website features a list of current research



projects and partnerships with a variety of Indigenous community groups. The list includes:

Arnhem Land Progress Aboriginal Corporation, Northern Territory  
Carers NT, Northern Territory  
Carpentaria Disability Services, Northern Territory  
Council for Aboriginal Alcohol Program Services, Northern Territory  
Goolarri Media Enterprises, Broome, Western Australia  
Healesville Community Services Association, Victoria  
Human Services Training Advisory Council, Northern Territory  
Warmun Arts Centre, Western Australia  
Yorta Yorta Nation Aboriginal Corporation, Yenbena RTO, Victoria  
  
(Swinburne University website)

What is notable here is that the name of each organisation or group on the list refers to their geographic location, rather than a clan name. By addressing and referring to 'partner' Indigenous communities by their geographic location, we perpetuate the colonial paradigm of 'Anglicising' our knowledge and understanding. Our knowledge of such Indigenous groups is prefaced on us connecting them to a geographic place on a map we understand – a map that was constructed with colonial understandings of topography, labelled in English, and disseminated through a colonial education system.

Using the traditional clan names in such examples acts to reject this ongoing colonisation of our knowledge of Indigenous people and establishes a connection to culture that more accurately reflects the lived experiences of Indigenous groups. This allows the construction of a deeper system of knowledge and understanding of our contemporary world, one that engages with such concepts as Martin's 'storywork', Rigney's Indigenist research, and (to be discussed later) Martin Nakata's 'cultural interface'.

## **Colonialism, Culture and Scholarship**

Cultural exclusion, particularly in the academy, is challenged by Indigenous First Nation people's ideas about the decolonisation of knowledge. In this challenging venture, it is essential that alternative knowledge structures be recognised within the academy: "it is the claim of this research study that an Aboriginal research paradigm based on Aboriginal worldviews, knowledges, values and behaviours will afford greater agency for Aboriginal peoples as both researchers and research participants" (Martin 2008 p.

51). This is a challenging venture because, while Enlightenment practices and models may have evolved, they remain enshrined in Western theories and frameworks. This means that, while the data gathering methods may have had evolved, the tools of analysis and representation continue the colonial paradigm, as well as the subsequent subjugation of Aboriginal people and culture.

An interesting and informative example of this is seen in Martin's observations regarding her involvement in developing a Native Title claim for her people, the Quandamooopah people of Queensland, in the early 1990s. The entire process of gathering information and data to be presented and assessed under colonial legal definitions and principles, presented her with major concerns as she "first watched with interest and then with curiosity that changed to anxiety and then anger at the ways in which our Stories, our knowledges, and beliefs were collected, interpreted and presented for this claim" (2008 p. 30). She further notes:

"I became increasingly aware of how my knowledge and experiences were measured against pre-determined categories of culture to which it was determined that I could provide no new or convincing examples. I didn't speak Jandai (our Ancestral language), I hadn't grown up on the island, nor had I at that time, lived on the island. I was not regarded as a strong witness according to these criteria. Deliberate or not, this experience made me question who I was, my rights, my knowledges, and my role as Noonuccal, Quandamooopah woman. I was made to feel that I didn't belong because my experiences were not 'valid' or valued in this form of Aboriginal research and that I didn't measure up against the criteria" (2008 p. 30).

Three things came out of this experience for Martin:

- 1 – This form of 'Aboriginal research' is wrong and dangerous, interpreted and misused, and those who have misinterpreted and misused are protected by colonial copyright laws.
- 2 – Deep within herself, she knew she was not an outsider.
- 3 – Based on the first two, she needed to challenge this new form of dispossession in order to change it.

Many other Quandamooopah people and other Aboriginal groups with land claims shared the same experience. Today there is a growing interest in reclaiming and reaffirming culture through and within scholarship.

For Indigenous peoples culture is not a field of inquiry, but a collective of lived, shared experiences that at once reflect and inform past, present and future. Indigenous peoples' view of culture accords with one of its earliest definitions:

Culture... taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society

(Tylor 1924, p. 1).

In the artefact and in this exegesis, I confront hitherto narrow views about culture and its associated exoticism. I discuss how my own culture, ever-changing and being shaped by my own lived experiences as an academic, a father, a son, a relative, and a friend, has equipped me with skills and abilities to challenge the academic and societal structures placed before me, and find my own ways to explore, affirm, and share it. Throughout the work I follow the premise that studying humans, or human behaviour, is not a predictable, natural science and cannot be treated as homogeneous though placed in different grades of civilisations. At the same time, I acknowledge that the decolonisation of knowledge does not reach back to some idyllic natural past, but is contemporaneously apposite. As Semali and Kincheloe state:

The possibility of some magical return to an uncontaminated pre-colonial past, however, does not exist. Thus, the use of (I)ndigenous (K)nowledge as the basis of local problem solving strategies will always have to deal with the reality of colonisation, not to mention the effects of the economic globalisation that will continue to challenge indigenous peoples in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

(1999b p. 19).

Semali and Kincheloe's 1999 anthology *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy* brings together a number of perspectives on IK and its relationship to Western systems of thought and knowledge. Discussing the Cartesian theory of the mind and the physical world being "forever separate" (1999a p. 26), they highlight the distinction between Western and Indigenous knowledge forms through a connection-fragmentation nexus. Here, Western scientific methods tend to categorise knowledge into such segments as biology, literature, mathematics and biology, subverting the holism of Indigenous methods and ways of knowing the world. Indigenous methods, on the other hand, focus on the relationships and connections between humans and *their* ecosystems.

Consuelo Quiroz (in Semali & Kincheloe 1999a) further contends that most Western modernist knowledges are “situated in written texts, legal codes and academic canons” (1999a, p. 41), as distinct from Indigenous knowledge methods that are embedded in stories, dance and art. Semali and Kincheloe also acknowledge that whilst all knowledges can be shown to relate to specific contexts and peoples, the key question is to identify those specific contexts and peoples (1999a).

Modernist science not only decontextualises knowledge from the human-physical world, but also the spiritual world. Indigenous methods, however, see human beings, and everything constructed by them, as unable to be separated from either their own culture or the natural world that they inhabit. These methods are also embedded in culture and cultural experiences and contexts, and distinguish themselves as ‘holistic knowledge’ via this inherent connectedness to all things (Battiste 2009b; Fixico 2003; Nakata 2004; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a; Wilson 2001).

Such distinctions highlight the value of alternative (eg. Indigenous) methodologies within the academy. Valuing and including culture within academic inquiry presents opportunities that lie beyond the extent of understandings of Western knowledge. Sandra Harding (1996, in Semali & Kincheloe 1999a p. 52) describes the valuing of different cultural understandings within this realm as ‘borderlands epistemology’. Such valuing of difference acts to enrich scholarship through culture, as I show in both the artefact and this exegesis

Although not universal in nature, Indigenous knowledge practices need not be precluded from contemporary scholarship. Brian Morris talks about his notion of ‘folk knowledge’ (his term for Indigenous knowledge) being comparable to modern science, as both are based on “empirical observations and experiments” and may simply be “refined form(s) of common sense understandings’ (2010 p. 9). In a case study of the African country of Malawi, Morris asserts their folk knowledge is local, empirical, and practical; and as “the basis of human livelihood over many centuries”, “forms the underlying basis for other forms of cultural knowledge” (Morris 2010 p. 9). Although not universal, such knowledge is clearly both valued, and heavily based on culture.

European colonisation has created societal institutions that privilege cultural binarism, materialism and universalism above all else. Knowledge arises from cultural practices. It is recorded through the prism of the viewer within the paradigms of the culture from which it arises and in which it resides. In her seminal work on culture in contemporary societies, Ruth Benedict suggests that our views of the world around us, our concepts

of right and wrong, true and false, are all referenced by our own customs and traditions (Benedict 1961). “No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes”, according to Benedict, and until we become intelligent to culture and its diversity of customs, we cannot understand the “complicating facts of human life” (1961 p. 2).

Moreover, she argues that standardisation is an inherent element of Western civilisation and this is still the core of knowledge practices:

Western civilisation... spread itself more widely than any other local group... it has standardised itself... and we have been led, therefore, to accept a belief in the uniformity of human behaviour that under other circumstances would not have arisen

(Benedict 1961 p. 4).

Such colonisation of knowledge continues to lead us into a critical and cultural blindness, denying us access to fuller and richer knowledge.

The psychological consequences of this spread of white culture produce a disproportionate societal emphasis on the materialistic over the cultural. Colonisation produced a worldwide cultural diffusion that protected the white notion of ‘mankind’ from taking other cultures seriously, and produced an accepted cultural universality that was always considered “necessary and inevitable” (Benedict 1961 p. 5)

A key element of this colonisation of culture was the imposition of cultural binarism that simultaneously situated the European self-concept as ‘normal’, and the non-whites as the Other (Benedict 1961; Moreton-Robinson 2004; Said 1978). Many have historically located this practice of binarism within the realm of religion, and particularly Christianity, where the distinction between self and others – those ‘inside’ and those ‘outside’ – becomes that of the “true believers and the heathen” (Benedict 1961 p. 6), and where ‘white civilisation’ equals Christianity and non-white ‘savagery’ equals paganism (Césaire 1972). Colonisation produced no meeting point between these two groups, so that no values, ideas or institutions of one had any validity in the other. All were seen as opposing each other, and were mutually exclusive. On one side it was the Divine Truth of the true believers and God, and on the other, mortal error, fables and devils.

Defining and understanding culture, then, perhaps allows us to reconcile this conceptual polarity. Culture involves the ideas, behaviours and standards that a group have in common, and is relevant to the whole wonderfully diverse gamut of human

existence. Diversity within and between cultures, according to Benedict, produces the possibility of many different forms, even in the same locale (1961). For Indigenous cultures within the realm of 'modern' Western science, this involves the emerging realisation of studying the whole configuration of culture vis a vis the continued analysis of its parts (Benedict 1961). Thus, a study of the 'whole configuration' of Indigenous cultures is an essential analytical tool –and perhaps an appropriate first step – for Western researchers hoping to understand Indigenous knowledge.

## **The Cultural Interface and Narrative Knowledge**

Understanding cultural difference is vital in contemporary sociocultural knowledge and understandings. Moreover, recognising diverse forms of knowledge has emerged as an important and valid tool of scholarship. Within this project (and indeed my broader work within academia) I have attempted to synthesise Indigenous and Western knowledge structures to produce work that reclaims and reaffirms my own culture within a contemporary postgraduate framework. To do this, one must understand and be comfortable in 'performing' in a variety of cultural spaces.

Nakata (2004) writes of the intersection of culture faced by Indigenous Australians every day – the need to negotiate their own Indigenous culture and history with the contemporary reality of the modern, Western world we live in. Nakata describes and defines his own experiences in this space where Indigenous and Western domains meet – the Cultural Interface.

For Nakata, this involves his entire life experience within the dominant Western culture. It is particularly appropriate to a critique of scholarship within the academy. "For Indigenous peoples, our context, remote or urban, is already circumscribed by the discursive space of the Cultural Interface. We don't go to work, or school, enter another domain, interact and leave it there when we come home again" (Nakata 2004 p. 27). This cultural interface, then, remains a means of separation for Indigenous peoples both from and within the dominant Western culture.

Noted French philosopher Michel Foucault (1972b) reminds us that the construction of knowledge occurs within privileged Western scholarship. Nakata sees knowledge construction of the 'new' or 'unknown' world within the Western schema of privilege as achieving two things:

- "knowledge of Others remains coherent and continuous within Western systems of thought and brings these understandings into a realm of the common-sense";

- “Particularly in the case of my own people, it forms knowledge of Others that is quite discontinuous with Indigenous historical contexts” (Nakata 2004 p.29 ).

Narrative knowledge processes are common to Indigenous peoples, and stories and storytelling have been embedded within Indigenous knowledge frameworks for millennia. Eber Hampton, a Chickasaw educator, and President of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC) in Saskatchewan, Canada, recalls the story of the elders’ box:

He told of an elder who asked him to carry a box. Thinking well of his own youthful stature, he felt proud to be chosen and agree willingly. The elder then thrust forward what appeared to be an empty box, which puzzled him: His question came from behind the box. ‘How many sides do you see?’ ‘One’, I said.

He pulled the box towards his chest and turned it so one corner faced me. ‘Now how many do you see?’

‘Now I see three sides.’

He stepped back and extended the box, one corner towards him and one towards me. ‘You and I together can see six sides of this box’, he told me

(Hampton 1995 pp. 41-42).

This reminds us of the holism, collaboration, and culture co-existing within Indigenous knowledge systems, and reiterates the fundamental condition of connectedness and relationality of IK. Both Battiste and Hampton talk of our tendencies to subjectively only see one side of the box, and that we often need more than one perspective to view a box as a whole (Battiste 2009a; Hampton 1995). “As in all conversations”, Hampton continues, “it is the difference in our knowledge and language that makes the conversation difficult and worthwhile” (Hampton 1995 p. 42). Many contemporary Indigenous methodologies use similar storytelling to inform, reinforce and validate knowledge and education (Cowlshaw 2004; Fixico 2003; Kunnie & Goduka 2006; Martin 2008; Sheehan 2011; Yunkaporta 2010). The cultural interface allows such Indigenous narrative knowledge to inform and contribute to Western epistemologies.

## **Indigenous Knowledge: A Legitimate Research Model**

The prevailing hegemonic authority of Eurocentric discourses, and the institutions that nourish them, create a hitherto systematic intolerance and misunderstanding of other knowledge models, as I discuss here and in the artefact. Many scholars have discussed the need to ‘fundamentalise’ Indigenous Knowledge as a legitimate research

model, method and methodology (Agrawal 2005; Battiste 2009a; Martin 2008; Nakata 1998b, 2007; Rigney 1997a). Battiste argues for the transformative potential of Indigenous knowledge discourse, as “Indigenous scholarship”, she contends, “is the foundation for postcolonial transformation” (Battiste 2009a p. xx).

Taking a slightly more pragmatic approach, Tyson Yunkaporta (2010) discusses the validity of Indigenous ways of learning in contemporary education systems. He explains that language contains deep knowledge, and that patterns in “stories, phrases, songs, kinship and even in the land can show us the spirit of learning that lives in our cultures” (2010 p. 37). Language is also recognised as a key element of Indigenous knowledge, and the destructive role of colonisation in language is a lasting legacy. “In the loss of language is the loss of knowledge and wisdom” (Wane 2008 p. 192). In most neo-colonial societies, English has become the measure of intelligence and potential for career advancement, and the determinant of success in education for children. It is also used to remove people further from the (inferior) native languages and hence, knowledge (Wane 2008).

Jeanie Bell suggests that use of native languages is vital for cultural strength, as they are able to relate to and describe the landscapes and environment to which they belong, and are “much more descriptive of relationships in our culture. We have whole kinship systems in Aboriginal society that English just doesn’t have accurate terminology for” (Bell 2003 p. 169). Aboriginal languages have the potential to provide a richness to our current systems of knowledge and education that simply cannot ever be replicated within the colonial paradigm.

Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2004) looks at the relationship between knowledge, representation and whiteness, asserting that “Whiteness [is] an epistemological *a priori* [that] provides a way of knowing that is predicated on superiority, which becomes normalised and forms part of one’s taken-for-granted knowledge” (2004 pp. 75-76 ). The powerful white colonial grasp on cultural institutions, language and research models has also led to what Agrawal labels the ‘scientisation’ of Indigenous knowledge and its resultant control that occurs through its collection, translation, and categorisation into English-language databases (Agrawal 2005). Such processes, Agrawal states, go through stages where the data on Indigenous knowledges are filtered, categorised, and tested through Western scientific methods. The knowledge is then catalogued so it becomes generalised and validated, allowing Western scientific methods to reuse the knowledge in other contexts (Agrawal 2005). This third stage, a



key element of Western science, also sees the knowledge extricated from its specific cultural context (Agrawal 2005).

Such scientism leads to what Moreton-Robinson confirms as dismissal of Indigenous knowledge: “as being implausible, subjective and lacking in epistemological integrity” (Moreton-Robinson 2004 p. 85). The cultural richness of elements such as narrative discussed earlier is thus devalued within the hegemonic colonial knowledge systems. Aboriginal people have always been questioned in terms of their knowledge of ‘mainstream’ society, but – as Moreton-Robinson points out – the accepted Western research practice of Participant Observation was the key method for Indigenous people to acquire knowledge about the environment around us that became the basis for empowerment of the settler/invader-colonists (Moreton-Robinson 2004).

This artefact and exegesis, reflective of my own professional practice, draw upon extant IK literature and personal experiences to produce a work that allows the reader to identify and acknowledge how their own culture can inform and enrich contemporary scholarship.

## SECTION 2 – INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTY

The push for legitimisation of Indigenous Knowledge in the academy is commensurate with challenges to colonial scholarly sovereignty. As with all aspects of life for Indigenous peoples under European imperialism, autonomy of decision-making around knowledge and education of younger generations was removed through policies designed to assimilate, and operated to dominate.

Sovereignty is the ability of a group of people to control and make their own life decisions (Yazzie 2009). This is clearly not the case for colonised Indigenous peoples in the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. We are controlled by (neo) colonial governments and institutions in all aspects of our contemporary lives. Thus, says Yazzie, “we must exercise internal sovereignty, which is nothing more than taking control of our personal lives, our families, our clans, and our communities. To do that, we must return to our traditions, because they speak to right relationships, respect, solidarity, and survival” (2009 p. 47). To revert to this may be appealing, but extremely difficult in the contemporary postcolonial world. As I reflect on my own cultural experiences, I see great merit in learning of pre-contact customs and traditions that are inherently tied to the land I now work in, but am also cautioned by the experiences of living in a white Australia that has hitherto failed to ascribe any cultural worth to these aspects of a rich, wonderful history.

Indigenous Australians struggle to establish social capital that may today be used as the basis of sovereignty. According to Schwab and Sutherland, social capital development resides in empowerment and the capability of Indigenous peoples to feel valued and that they can make a difference (2001). Social capital for Indigenous Australian scholars within the academy is clearly lacking, as our under-representation and minimal impact would attest. Although Indigenous Australians currently make up some 3% of the population, there are approximately 250 Indigenous academics in Australian Tertiary institutes, representing less than 1% of all academics, most of them siloed in Indigenous schools, units or centres (Asmar & Page 2009 p. 388).

In both the artefact and exegesis I address the colonial and postcolonial practice, in Australia and elsewhere, of establishing a one-way relationship of Indigenous knowledge to the academy where such knowledge has remained the object of academic research and discourse rather than an active agent and informant within it (Davis 2007; Rose 2015; Russell 2010).

It is widely held within scholarly circles that Indigenous Australians are (one of) the most researched group of people on earth. Today, research about Aboriginal people cannot be conducted without their permission, consultation or involvement (Martin 2008). As Martin writes about the protocols that exist within an Indigenous framework of research, she indicates also the ways that social capital and sovereignty might be built (Martin 2008).

Drawing on the work of Lester-Irabinna Rigney (see below), Karen Martin uses principles of emancipatory resistance, political integrity, and the privileging of Indigenous voices to develop her own Indigenist paradigm that draws together Quandamookah ontology and epistemology to produce a culturally specific and appropriate methodology (Martin 2008).

Martin introduces us to the 'Quandamookah First Story', an ontology that explores the relationships between the ancestral core, spirits, entities, and filter of this Story (Martin 2008). This is portrayed in Martin's work through a painting that highlights the value of non-written expression to Indigenous narrative and knowledge

Such methodologies provide examples of scholarly sovereignty, and further evidence of reclamation and reaffirmation of culture through scholarship.

## **Capitalism and Indigenous Sovereignty**

One of the most lasting legacies of European (and in Australia, specifically British) colonisation is the imposition of the capitalist economic system.

Capitalism is an economic system in which investment in and ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth is made and maintained chiefly by private individuals or corporations, especially as contrasted to cooperatively or state-owned means of wealth. Emerging in Europe from the 16th century Enlightenment, capitalism flourished during the Industrial Revolution and is the dominant economic system of the contemporary world. It relies on the free-market system of supply and demand and lends itself to colonial expansion through its uniform monetary systems and laws, use of natural resources, and ability to buy (cheap) labour. It became the catalyst for imperialism and imperial expansion, specifically the expansion of the British Empire.

Historically in Australia, this effectively resulted in the emergence of private enterprise and an expansionism that is at odds with traditional Indigenous values of community and sharing. In a contemporary context, economic opportunities are difficult for

Indigenous Australians to access or to participate in (Agrawal 2005). Agrawal discusses the role of capitalism in this environment as an “antagonistic relationship where development processes produce usually harmful changes... seen to be true of market-led changes, as well as situations where nation states initiate programs of development” (2005 p. 74). He identifies legal, political and market structures within capitalism as isolating Indigenous peoples and leading to an inexorable deterioration of their social, economic and even ecological positions within the dominant cultural structures (Agrawal 2005). In this argument, the powerful, wealthy groups are viewed as better able to appropriate the opportunities and resources created by government (institutional) processes. As Indigenous people are further isolated from these economic opportunities, their once viable ‘traditional’ knowledge systems become less viable and are threatened with obsolescence and irrelevance.

Such cultural diminution and even breakdown is discussed by Agrawal in terms of Foucault’s contention of *power to* and *power over*. *Power over* is relational and *power to* is self-directed. *Power over* can contribute to *power to*, and vice versa (2005). Indigenous Australians today find themselves facing multiple challenges at Nakata’s cultural interface, and negotiating and reconciling capitalist and cultural imperatives proves extremely difficult. Agrawal emphasises the institutional power of the state in this context, as “power is exercised upon actions through actions, not by a person over another person” (2005 p. 81).

Nakata (2004) articulates the role of capitalism here, where Indigenous Knowledge is seen as simply another resource for profit. Here, Nakata says, the conceptualisation of IK has “become an umbrella term not limited to Indigenous peoples” (2004 p. 21), which further emphasises Western hegemony. Indigenous Knowledge becomes in a sense a material commodity that is categorised, labelled, and ascribed value according to capitalist laws of supply and demand. Its documentation and storage, particularly within academic institutions, becomes “remarkably similar to former colonial enterprises which co-opted land, resources and labour in the interest of their own prosperity through trade and value-adding” (Nakata 2004 p. 21).

In recent decades, Indigenous people in various parts of the world have entered this realm in a concerted effort to address and redress many of these hegemonic colonial practices. Assuming the label ‘Indigenous Entrepreneurship’, this move has expanded the scope of the cultural interface to allow Indigenous peoples to engage and perform in the contemporary business space, long seen as yet another exclusionary colonial institution. Seeking goals that include cultural affirmation and economic self-

determination, Indigenous Entrepreneurship also aims to reduce Indigenous reliance on state financial assistance, and to challenge societal norms and expectations about the socio-economic experiences of Indigenous peoples (Foley 2003a, 2010; Tapsell & Woods 2008; Wood & Davidson 2011). Chapter 10 of the artefact addresses this in detail.

For Indigenous Australians, developments such as Indigenous Entrepreneurship present another opportunity to broaden the cultural interface and allow us to reclaim and reaffirm culture in a contemporary context. Indigenous Entrepreneurship utilises a number of aspects of Indigenous Knowledge systems to further engage Indigenous peoples with contemporary society. The devastating effects of the imposition of capitalism – economic, social and cultural – have long been an overlooked element of colonisation in this country. Greater investigation into ways that Indigenous Australians can reconcile culture and business is vital to addressing the myriad social issues that colonisation created in this country.

## **Universality, Language and Communication**

Indigenous scholarly sovereignty and Indigenous knowledge systems are drawn from and connected to specific places, and thus challenge the universality that underpins Western scientific knowledge (Battiste 2002; Briggs 2013; Fixico 2003; Martin 2008; Muir, Rose & Sullivan 2010; Sheehan 2011; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Wane 2008). Today this is based upon a geographic, cultural and institutional neo-imperialism within what I call a postcolonial world system. In this context, the postcolonial world system is not yet removed from colonialist influence (or indeed intent), but is also entering an Indigenous discourse that is only beginning to hear the Indigenous voice.

Here, language assumes a role of critical importance. In many parts of the world, native language remains the key form of communication. For others, such as urban colonised areas, native language was an early casualty of the violence of colonisation. I, for example, am aware of a few phrases, words and terms of local Woiwurrung language, and there are language reconstruction programs in place to address the shortfall. However, this language has not been taught within its intended, historical context. The role of traditional language in places like urban Australia is thus negated by this history. In addition, within our educational institutions, it struggles to reassert its vital place in communication.

Native languages provide further affirmation of culture for Indigenous peoples, and are vital for cultural strength. In Australia, they provide a much deeper and much more

accurate representation of culture and people, as they “are much more descriptive of the environment and the landscape they developed in. And they’re much more descriptive of relationships in our culture. We have whole kinship systems in Aboriginal society that English just doesn’t have accurate terminology for” (Bell 2003 p. 169). Without language, there is no culturally relevant memory or data storage system for the protection of cultural knowledge (Aikman & King 2012).

This is important, as language re-contextualises knowledge. For example, the English language re-imagines Indigenous words, objects and concepts to fit within its own dominant epistemology. We then run the risk of losing what we inherit from our ancestors. For all Indigenous peoples, this is a crucial element of cultural survival and identity. My connection to my ancestors is just as important to me living in urban Melbourne as it may be to an Arrernte man who has just been initiated. My expression of culture is done in contemporary, predominantly English-speaking ways, but I also understand the crucial need to use language to reclaim and reaffirm my culture in my own contexts.

Naohiro Nakamura provides an example of the lived experiences of many Indigenous peoples who negotiate the space of culture and education in the (post)colonial world. In researching his Ainu people, Nakamura identifies problems with methodologies when researching the Indigenous people of Japan: “I wrote my dissertation in English, a language which most people who supported my research could not read” (2010 p. 101). Nakamura highlights the dilemma facing Indigenous researchers today, where our research emerges from and informs our people and communities, but must be conducted, assessed, and presented within the Western colonial research paradigm. As such, the relevance to our people upon which much of this research is derived and predicated becomes diluted. Nakamura is aware, however, that in conducting research for a Canadian institution, for his needs, only in English will research on the Ainu such as this reach an international audience, and become part of a truly international discourse on Indigenous issues (Nakamura 2010).

This paradoxical situation emphasises the need for Indigenous research methods to not only enter the academy, but to actively challenge the collective current worldviews that ‘traditional’ Indigenous culture is static and lacks contemporary relevance. Such views condemn Indigenous culture (and by extension, Indigenous scholarship) to a past that perpetuated us as nomadic, irrelevant creatures, closer to nature than modern man, and the exotic Other, performing a role as “noble environmentalists living in harmony with the non-human environment” (Muir, Rose & Sullivan 2010 p. 260).

This exclusionary, hegemonic nature of Western knowledge – universal knowledge – also heavily influences contemporary understandings and perspectives of society. I have often been questioned “how much Aboriginal language can you speak?”, and “is that traditional language you are speaking?” when conducting talks and Acknowledgments of Country at events. The tendency to continually associate ‘traditional’ culture with the past forces us to negate the value of Indigenous language in our contemporary world today.

Tony Birch (2003) illustrates this remarkably dominant paradigm of British colonisation as it relates to the reverting of the ‘Grampians’ to their Indigenous name, Gariwerd. In this chapter, Birch quotes a number of ‘ordinary’ Australians in letters to the editor type comments who vehemently opposed it. This, Birch contends, supports the myopic historical view of Australia as “(c)ontrol of the Australian landscape is vital to the settler psyche” (2003 p. 152 ). Similarly, Nakata’s insight into the Torres Strait Islands experience emphasises the deeply embedded colonisation of the English language:

...a single name for all the islands effectively silenced territorial boundaries and political affiliations between and among the different tribal groups of the various islands. The imposition of a collective identity has made it increasingly difficult for anyone, including the native Islander, to recall what the traditional names for the boundaries were before the introduction of the name ‘Torres Strait Islands’. Today the many islands are the collective ‘Torres Strait Islands’, (named after the Spanish explorer Luis Valez de Torres)

(Nakata 2003 p. 133).

Such hegemonic, colonial histories either completely ignore Indigenous peoples, cultures and histories, or devalue and discard them as irrelevant. Marcia Langton (1993) supports this contention in suggesting that Australians don’t know and relate to Aboriginal people, but to the stories they know, as told by colonisers. Thus, we are left with a contemporary society where, according to Mudrooroo, many white settlers in Australia have only a sense of their own history and culture .and “methods of Aboriginal story telling are edited out and the content forced into forms akin to the fairy tale” (Mudrooroo 1995 p. 229).

The role and importance of our oral traditions are therefore negated when they are translated into the written English word. For Indigenous peoples, an important ideology of communication is the premise that method and content are inextricable – the form of

communication is as important as the message itself. We should be mindful of the corrupting nature of the written word in replacing these traditional forms of communication. Mudrooroo (1995) again highlights this through our contemporary tendency to interpret Dreaming stories as nothing more than 'child-like fairy tales', when in fact they represent a temporally holistic interpretation of cultures and peoples. The written forms of such stories, told in English, cannot capture their full meaning, history and embeddedness into all things.

The use of Indigenous words, names and phrases both within the academy and in the broader 'mainstream' community is vital to addressing this historical neglect. Understanding and embracing Indigenous language in contemporary society not only broadens our scholarly capabilities and potential, but infuses elements of Indigenous knowledge into our 'normal' everyday lives by emphasising connectedness and relationality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, historical and contemporary, material and cultural. My work in both teaching and research seeks to build upon this foundation, and contribute to a scholarly methodology that reclaims and reaffirms my own culture within the work, and allows a sharing of these elements for other teaching, learning and research practices within our institutions.

My project investigates and interrogates the unequal value judgments placed on written histories in Australia that far outweigh alternative histories. Such disproportionate perspectives further shift the power of scholarship into the colonial corner, whilst denying all of us the opportunities to enrich our own lives with these 'alternative' perspectives. My artefact specially looks at the ways that history in Australia has been presented, and thus interpreted, through the myopic colonial lens, and highlights the immense value and potential for recognising and using a 'postcolonial' lens that is based upon Indigenous knowledge, history, and perspectives.

## **Resistance Research/Literature and Decolonisation**

Resistance research and literature challenges and rejects the literary and cultural subjugation of colonised peoples who have been dispossessed of land, culture and language, and seeks to achieve political, economic and scholarly liberation from imperialist control (Harlow 1987). It emerges from the notions of 'writing back' and 'researching back' as well as 'talking back' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 p. 12), where Indigenous peoples enter and engage in critical discourse. Indigenous perceptions of research do not delineate between 'scientific' research and 'amateur' data collection, such as oral traditions and stories, writing, films and similar 'anecdotal evidence' that



has existed for centuries. Such forms are as much a part of Indigenous knowledge as recorded, 'scientific' methods that constitute contemporary Western definitions of 'primary' or 'secondary' data. Foucault reminds us that 'travellers' tales' have "contributed as much to the West's knowledge of itself as has the systematic gathering of scientific data" (from Tuhiwai Smith 1999 p. 2).

Historically, writing about or on marginalised groups is conducted by members of the dominant society, where their work reinforces established scientific myths about the exotic Other, and at once preserves the researchers from cultural scrutiny, and protects them under the veil of neutrality or objectivity (Strega & Brown 2015b). Because the sense of entitlement of the West to know the colonised groups is so widely accepted, active resistance is required to 'de-normalise' and decentralise this practice. These Western methods created a 'biased' science that had no Indigenous input and was created in non-Indigenous language (Foley 2003b), yet observed, interpreted and represented Indigenous Australians.

As an Indigenous academic today, I find myself situated as an 'outsider within' (Collins 1986), which sees one as part of a minority group of 'mainstream' society, but placed in a position of relative power within it. This positioning is representative of the condition of Indigenous researchers who work within Western institutions and their associated colonial paradigms. I experience the contrast of this with the realities I encounter within my own, and other, communities. Indigenous academics work as insiders of our own communities, and are often employed at an institution for this purpose, but also as outsiders because of our Western education and/or because we work across clan, linguistic, age, and gender boundaries that are the contemporary cultural reality. At the same time we work within our own institution as an insider within a particular paradigm (for example in my case, the three disciplines of Indigenous Studies, Education and Tourism) or research model, and are outsiders because we are marginalised or seen as representative of a minority or special interest group. While this creates clear tensions for Indigenous academics, the late, great Japanangka Errol West reminds us of the necessity of resistance: "if you are not fighting you are submitting" (2000 p. 109)

The tensions that are created from this culture-scholar contested space are illustrated by Said (1993) in his analysis of cultural imperialism within literature. The novel, as Said suggests, was *THE* cultural artefact of (European) imperialism and remains inseparable from it, and its development saw storytelling placed within the genre of fiction (Said 1993). The novel (or 'writing narrativity' as it is now known) was immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes as the power to narrate, or importantly to

block other narratives from forming and emerging, was vitally important for cultural imperialism. Paradoxically, using Western narrative/stories become the method colonised people use to assert their own identity and existence of their own history (Said 1993).

Thus, what I call postcolonial writing – the ways that Indigenous peoples utilise Western narrative and literature – has become a crucial vehicle for reclaiming and reaffirming our culture within the academy and the broader literary canon. This challenge to literary (and fundamentally cultural) imperialism has created a slow moving shift that fits within the realm of resistance literature.

For Aboriginal people in Australia, this has taken various forms. Gillian Cowlshaw (1988) identified three approaches or themes that define our role(s) within literature:

4. Aborigines as victims of racism
5. Aborigines as victims of capitalism (being exploited etc.)
6. Aborigines providing resistance to invasion and hegemony.

Cowlshaw contends that Aboriginal cultures are dynamic cultural responses to external pressures and inevitable change. Culture is a creation, an expression of a group's responses to its social situation. Therefore changing this social situation and its conditions doesn't mean the loss of the culture (Cowlshaw 1988). At the same time, we need to be mindful of the contemporary condition of postcoloniality in which we find ourselves. Once we see one culture influence another, they cannot be separated – thus any contemporary representations of Indigenous peoples must recognise the imperial/colonial influence (Said 1993), or run the risk of what Langton cautions as censorship of non-Aboriginal representations (Langton 1993).

This move towards our contemporary condition of postcoloniality is not, as noted, a one-sided shift. It is true that white people began early to translate elements of oral culture and traditions (often inaccurately) for the written form, including translating the tradition of language into one informed by their own culture. In much the same way, this can be seen as a postcolonial attempt to reconcile our Indigenous culture and history with contemporary Australia – albeit from the white viewpoint. However, as we have noted earlier, the majority of 'settler-Australia' has a sense only of its own history and culture and has pushed Aboriginal narratives of culture, spirituality and history into the realm of literary (written) fiction (Mudrooroo 1995; Said 1993).

While the development of postcolonial critique in Australia has seen a growth in Indigenous engagement in the academy, this engagement has been largely expressed

through the ever-present white gaze of colonisation. These hegemonic, colonial histories either completely ignore Indigenous peoples, cultures and histories, or, as previously mentioned, devalue and discard them as irrelevant. (Birch 2003). Australian histories “celebrate a hybridised Australian male: fiercely independent, but imbued with just enough British heritage to remain above the ‘natives’, who hover around the fringe of such histories or are disposed of in the pre-history of the text” (Birch 2003 p. 152). This exclusion creates a need for Indigenous authors to seek ways to cross the literary cultural divide towards ‘mainstream’ acceptance and scholarly validation. Sonja Kurtzer, emphasising this point, offers the three criteria for white acceptance of Aboriginal writing as validity, authenticity, and being non-threatening (Kurtzer 2003). Thus, Aboriginal people cannot contribute to the scholarly discourse from a “free space”, as the previous Western-based “discourse constrains and defines the Indigenous response” (Kurtzer 2003 p. 188).

The move to ‘resistance’ writing and research emerged from postcolonial, postmodernist, and poststructuralist challenges to the epistemologies that emerged from the European Enlightenment. Talking about the development of Canadian Indigenist methodologies, Strega and Brown (2015b) assert that social justice can only come from cognitive resistance. Exploring this assertion, they suggest that resistance to colonial hegemony in research comes in ‘waves’ that “are powerful forces that carve deep channels in bedrock and create new routes” (Strega & Brown 2015b p. 3). This provides encouragement for Indigenous scholars to continue the battle within the dominant institutional paradigms we occupy.

Within the realm of Resistance literature, literature itself represents “an arena of struggle” (Harlow 1987 p. 2). Harlow describes resistance literature as extremely significant in form and impact as, in the cultural battle of colonisation, “the struggle over the historical record is seen from all sides as no less crucial than the armed struggle” (1987 p. 7). As imperialism can still be perceived as existing there remains a need for cultural resistance so as to achieve personal, cultural, political and economic liberation. Resistance literature rises from the need to challenge the ongoing assumptive nature of cultural capitalism and globalisation (Harlow 1987). Resistance literature, and specifically Aboriginal writing and scholarship, is charged with challenging the hegemonic ideologies and cultural productions of imperialism and colonialism (Anderson 2003; Grossman 2003b; Harlow 1987).

Resistance narratives act to attack and critique Western-led creations of metanarratives as master narratives produce and participate in oppressive, hegemonic

paradigms. Resistance narratives expose hegemonic societal structures, perhaps even attempting to realign them or redress their inherent power imbalances. As Ian Anderson notes, even though Indigenous critical writing is a relatively new cultural practice for Indigenous Australians, the issues it addresses have been with us since the beginning of colonisation in Australia. If black fellas writing in this way changes non-Aboriginal thinking about us and our culture, then such writing is critical in the process of social change (Anderson 2003).

Entering the space of resistance literature allows us to draw on our culture, with all its temporal dimensions, to engage in a discursive arena that has historically been an exclusive one. For Aboriginal Australians, culture remains both subjective and objective, representing a common set of beliefs, systems, ideologies and protocols, and unique and personal ways to express them. Much like the face of Australia since colonisation, it has changed markedly to reflect the environment in which it exists. It is this dynamic, multifaceted nature that ensures and endures. It is an ever-changing phenomenon that will always remain the same. For us as Aboriginal people in Australia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it provides a connection to an ancient past that has outlasted all others on Earth; to a present that involves identifying our positions in the contested cultural spaces of contemporary society, and a future that holds promise and potential for even greater expressions of both.

The political activism of the 60s, 70s and 80s has paved the way for the intellectual and scholarly activism of today, where we challenge the rationalism of dominant discourses and highlight the potential of alternative paradigms. Much like on the football field, we will gain respect and attention when we change the academic game to suit our strengths.

## **Indigenist Research**

As discussed in previous sections, Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous scholarly sovereignty and resistance literature have a number of points of connectedness, and both inform and are informed by each other. Postcolonial challenges to the hegemony of Eurocentric 'modernism' have brought with them many advances for groups previously subjugated and viewed as inferior or subaltern. As I have advanced in this exegesis, such postcolonial challenges within scholarship allow Indigenous people to reclaim and reaffirm their culture in ways that are chosen, not imposed, and that reflect the subjective, fluid nature of contemporary Indigenous culture in a multicultural world.

A key plank for the further advancement of postcolonial shifts within the academy is the development, recognition and growth of Indigenous ways of developing, conducting, implementing, and monitoring research.

In Australia, much of the early work on Indigenous knowledges, methodologies and research is attributed to noted academics and authors Lester-Irabinna Rigney and Martin Nakata. The following discussion relies heavily on their work as I see both as providing seminal work that informs how we address the issues today. I acknowledge here that there are a number of prominent and emerging Aboriginal authors in this field, but I have chosen to establish my discussion from the aforementioned earlier work.

Lester-Irabinna Rigney (1997a) provides a good starting point for an engagement with Indigenous research methods. Rigney's work fundamentally looks at reverting the dominant colonial paradigms of research in Australia to those that are from an Indigenous perspective, and using an "anti-colonial cultural critique" to develop an 'Indigenist' research methodology (1997a p. 110). At a fundamental level, this is research that is conducted by Indigenous people for Indigenous people. It is inherently political, as it constantly addresses the political struggle of Indigenous Australians and the uneven power relationships that define Indigenous people in the world today (Rigney 1997a).

Rigney's early work in this area created a discourse that allowed Indigenous people to openly challenge the paradigms that had completely dictated research agendas around the world, a discourse he calls 'Indigenism':

a distinct Indigenous Australian academic body of knowledge that seeks to disrupt the socially constructed identity of the 'archetypal Aborigine' as a controlled and oppressed being, that informed the emergence of a distinct yet diverse Indigenist Research epistemological and ontological agenda

(Rigney 2006 p. 37).

Rigney also highlights the control that Western non-Indigenous research agendas have over Indigenous involvement and the inherent race and cultural bias that they bring (Rigney 2006). Such domination and exclusion has led a number of Indigenous scholars, including Rigney and Martin Nakata, to postulate on potential remedies, including the development of an Indigenous Standpoint Theory, (Foley 2003b; Nakata 1998a; Rigney 2006) which is discussed on page 66.

Rigney (2006 p. 42) suggests that there are three key, interrelated principles that inform Indigenous research:

- resistance as an emancipatory imperative
- political integrity in Indigenous Research and
- privileging Indigenous voices in Indigenist research.

Such research should be conducted as part of the resistance struggle of Indigenous Australians for self-determination and decolonisation. It functions as intellectual criticism that is embedded in the experiences of Indigenous Australians, but that also recognises the role of the dominant culture and language. Indigenism seeks to build a robust discourse that challenges and amends, but does not totally reject, existing ethics, narratives, epistemes and methodologies. For Rigney, “Indigenist research acknowledges Indigenous peoples as resisters to racialisation not victims of it” (2006 p. 43). It challenges the power and control over Indigenous people that traditional research exerts and seeks methods that include and value Indigenous worldviews. In this context, resistance narratives provide us with the tools to reject this power and reclaim culture.

For an Indigenous academic in Australia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this provides an exciting and challenging path for the future. Not only must we negotiate our own cultural terrain and balance our cultural knowledge and education with our contemporary experiences, but we must attempt to disrupt the well-established research paradigms and praxis that have become the foundations of the very institutions in which we work. These foundations have progressively created a programming of academic and intellectual minds that has universalised and regulated scholarly activity.

The postcolonial shift at the end of the 20th century has seen scholars critical of the ‘scientific establishment’ and thus engaging in critical cultural studies of science and scientific knowledge (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). These types of critical discourses have addressed areas including culture, gender and race inscriptions on scientific methods, as well as philosophical criticism of the notion of scientific objectivity (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). Graham Hingangaroa Smith similarly challenges Western science modalities and domination of knowledge construction through discussing the need to be critical when dealing with it, as, he suggests, not doing so promotes “the reification of Western thought” (2009 p. 211). He notes that scientific models of positivism frame the world and social relations in ways that are at odds with Indigenous ways of thinking.

However, this postcolonial shift has not brought a necessary breaking of colonial scholarly tradition. Nakata (2004) suggests that the construction of knowledge of Indigenous peoples in 'colonial times' was assigned to, and understood within the cultural framework of the 'primitive'; perceived then as inferior, and contemporaneously as merely 'diverse' or 'different'. As such, many centres of Indigenous Studies and scholarship within Australian universities are seemingly marginalised from the "mainstream" areas of study, and are often promoted to students as 'worthwhile' or 'interesting' electives or ancillary study areas.

As an Indigenous academic, I seek to participate in a kind of 'decolonising' of knowledge by introducing elements of Indigenism into historically colonial academic areas, attempting to shift their colonising lens of scientific rationality to a more Indigenous perspective that considers Indigenous knowledge as a valid and viable alternative. In this context, defining Indigenous Knowledge can become an issue (see discussion on page 69) as many non-Indigenous scholars view Indigenous Knowledge as only that which might be considered 'traditional'. This also raises the question – who owns Indigenous cultural knowledge? In her discussion of the copyright issues, Janke (2009) asks whether or not traditional owners need to give permission for their knowledge-sharing. This also highlights the cultural gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge and research, and reverts back to one of the fundamental starting points of Indigenous research – why is it being conducted, and how will it benefit Indigenous people?

The conducting and recording of Indigenous research presents a number of challenges, particularly for the Indigenous researcher. Whilst Indigenous knowledge itself is presented as a legitimate field of inquiry, the recording of IK is derivative knowledge – in many cases, publication of Indigenous knowledge may be the first time it has been written down, as IK is transferred orally between generations (Janke 2009; Nakata et al. 2005). The cultural gap is indeed laid bare here, as writing down this oral history essentially dilutes it, yet the paradox is that the documentation of IK is "critical for its retention and for the protection of Indigenous intellectual property" (Nakata et al. 2005 p. 12).

Regardless, the recognition of an Indigenous research methodology and agenda is crucial for the continued development of Indigenous peoples. The limitations of the dominant Western research paradigms should be obvious in the contemporary world, and there may not be a discipline within Australian universities today that would not

benefit from at least engaging with, if not adopting, some alternative methodologies in order to add a cultural richness to their knowledge bases.

## **Alternative Methodologies and the Role of Indigenous Critical Writing**

The paradox of research into Indigenous people and communities is that, at the academic level, research is often charged with addressing the social problems that face Indigenous Australians today (including issues of health, income and education), but through its fundamental doctrines of objectivity and impartiality, remains disconnected and sees the community as Other. Hart and Whatman suggest that research institutions can employ alternative methodologies to collect, conduct and analyse data and knowledge, as:

the design and methodology of research that either covertly or overtly focuses on Indigenous Australians can no longer presume that all research will naturally follow protocols that are culturally appropriate as this appropriateness is usually defined by the institution

(1998 p. 1).

Australian universities, as subjects of government educational policy and support, tend to adopt a default position of self-protection in the face of growing economic pressures. In this sense, we are left with the 'silo effect' of faculties, schools and/or departments basing critical strategic decisions about research and teaching on almost exclusively economic considerations. This produces what Hart and Whatman have called "self-governing academics" whose research is driven by their desire for "secure monopolies of knowledge" rather than expanding knowledge horizons (1998 p. 4). This presents challenges for an Indigenous academic, as our research is most often guided by community concerns and desires rather than institutional parameters, and most of our colleagues are 'trained' vice versa. In a 'cross-disciplinary' area such as Indigenous Studies, it offers added layers of complexity for any collaborative projects.

It is difficult to resist the historical oppression of colonisation in Australia, particularly in terms of research, but equally important to actively challenge this by establishing methodologies and practices that ensure continued resistance and change in the future (Rigney 1997b). This is particularly important when we consider the proliferation within the academy of Moreton-Robinson's 'Whiteness' and its normalising of hegemonic colonial education (2015). This presents opportunities for academic expansion through alternative methodologies.



As noted in the discussion on narrativity earlier, qualitative research methodologies enable resistance writing. However, extant methodologies remain embedded within the dominant, rigid Western paradigms (Kovach 2015; Martin 2008; Moreton-Robinson 2015; Rigney 1997b; Smith 2009; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Wilson 2001). This presents an opportunity – and perhaps a need – for alternative methodologies

‘Resistance writing’ has provided a platform for such alternative methodologies.

However, such writing and methodologies – whether termed resistance, anticolonial, or postcolonial – still face stiff opposition from the academy as being implausible and lacking in intellectual critique (Grossman 2003a; Moreton-Robinson 2004), and remain academically marginalised. Indigenous critical writing, for example, is prevalent in creative fields, but not considered as valid as writing within fields of academic rigour and critical, theoretical analysis.

In discussing the emergence of Indigenous critical writing as resistance to hegemonic colonial knowledge and structures within the academy, Michele Grossman identifies the nexus between the ‘creative’ (eg. cultural) and the ‘critical’ (eg. ‘academic’) existing as Harlow’s resistance literature (Grossman 2003a). This involves “creative and aesthetic genres animated by the imperatives of radical critique, political action and social change” (Grossman 2003a p. 2). Such work challenges the hegemony of colonial intellectual control and creates a critical space for Aboriginal people to become active in the conceptualisation and analysis of our own history and culture (Grossman 2003a). Indigenous creative writing also challenges the dominant and long held assumptions about the ‘exoticism’ and Otherness of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal critical writing and research methodologies confront and ‘speak back’, as well as ‘write back’ to the dominant representations of Indigenous cultures and peoples (Kurtzer 2003; Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

The concept of Indigenous Critical Writing as a resistance discourse and methodology emerged early in Australia’s colonial history “as a mode of political and cultural self-representation” (Anderson 2003 p. 18). Adapting much quicker to the white ways than vice versa, Aboriginal people sought ways to learn about the colonising culture while still striving to maintain their own cultural base. For some, Aboriginal writing became about addressing the narrative of loss that Australian literature on Aboriginal people and culture was based (Nakata 2003), although Matthews sees this as an opportunity to broaden our intellectual insights and understandings (2013). Aboriginal writing emerged from the political movements of the 1960s that played out in social action

issues such as land rights and cultural heritage, and aspects of disadvantage including housing, education and health (Anderson 2003). Cultural debate has gained traction within many of our institutions, including the academy, and as such more Aboriginal people are empowered to challenge the dominant methodologies of critical inquiry – as Ian Anderson suggests, if black fellas writing in this way changes non-Aboriginal thinking about us and our culture, then such writing is critical in the process of social change (Anderson 2003).

A challenge for the Indigenous critical writer, synonymous with almost all other experiences of Aboriginal people in Australia, has been the continued hegemony over Aboriginal writing through Anglicising of terms and stories to conform to the expectations and tastes of the non-Aboriginal audience (Huggins 2003). Huggins' caution here highlights a long-lasting, ongoing struggle for Indigenous people to gain legitimacy and acceptance in the contemporary colonial world, and not just within the academy. This 'whitewashing' of our writing, as Huggins describes it, ensures that only Aboriginal writing that conforms to expectations of the non-Indigenous audience (ie the academy) will be published and accepted, as it is not considered 'threatening' (Kurtzer 2003). Such selective acceptance of expressions of Aboriginal culture and identity has long been a part of Australian colonial society, and spread to almost all areas – particularly sport (Hallinan 2015; Hallinan & Judd 2009; White 2008).

The marginalisation of Aboriginal people has been as much a part of colonisation in Australia as *terra nullius*. For those of us who were raised in urban areas and who were enculturated into colonial society from birth, adapting to 'white society' has rarely been an issue. In many areas of our lives, we are accepted and celebrated as role models, as fine examples for young Aboriginal people for our ability to 'succeed' in the 'modern world'. We are lauded for our cultural stance, and praised for our capacity and tendency to not 'rock the boat' of 'mainstream' society. However, such celebration masks the deeply entrenched attitudes of assimilation that pervaded colonial Australian society from early colonial times.

"Why can't all black fellas be like you?" is a comment I have often heard from friends when confronted with a difficult, awkward situation involving Aboriginal people. My experiences in contemporary Australia have been about trying to identify, reclaim and reaffirm MY culture in the face of the colonial world I know. It is easy for me to identify with the 'white' ways of Australia, as this is all I have known. However, understanding how to reconcile this with my cultural heritage is an ongoing challenge. I am extremely

proud of my Aboriginal heritage, and the fact that I am descended from the oldest living culture on the planet. I should NEVER be made to feel ashamed of this fact.

As Aboriginal Australians, we have every right to challenge dominant paradigms of the academy that have historically dictated how we see, know, understand and relate to Aboriginal people, and indeed other cultures. There is a lot we can learn from tens of thousands of years of learning, teaching and research in our own back yard.

## SECTION 3 – RESEARCH DECOLONISATION

As discussed earlier, European colonial methodologies are deeply embedded in the knowledge structures of the academy, and exclude Indigenous scholarship. Rejection of Indigenous ways of knowing still shadows the postcolonial movement and still influences teaching, learning and research models and structures. In order to effectively embrace and utilise alternative forms of knowledge and research, we must find ways to remove these models and structures from the foundations of European imperialism and colonialism with which they are inextricably linked (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). This process has been widely labelled ‘decolonisation’ (Battiste 2009a; Kovach 2015; Rigney 2006; Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

Decolonising knowledge means recognising how both dialogic and narrative discourses are important both for Indigenous well-being and to enrich the academy itself, and utilising Indigenous knowledge and research to challenge dominant paradigms and enrich and improve epistemologies and methodologies.

By broadening our understanding of knowledge structures within the academy, we allow ourselves the opportunity to engage with and embrace the much broader range of experiences that Indigenous knowledges encompasses, including personal and community experiences, historical and contemporary knowledge, and spiritual elements including stories. For Indigenous peoples, education is not just confined to the resources and information that a teacher shares.

Kovach asserts that research decolonisation involves the formulation and application of “ethical, epistemological, and methodological inclusion of Indigenous voice, understandings, and practices” (2015 p. 50). It can add value to scholarship itself, Kovach adds, by filling the “need for Indigenous presence within the academy that places value upon Indigenous knowledges, (and) to provide a stewardship role for those knowledges” (2015 p. 50). Decolonisation also recognises the ongoing existence and contribution of Indigenous knowledge and discourse. Throughout the history of Australia’s colonial discourse, Aboriginal people have always had our own discourses that produce our own representations and identities, and that come from “our experience of ourselves and our communities” (Dodson 2003 p. 38).

Investigating the notion of decolonising research leads to an important understanding of the role of narrative and dialogue within the project of recognising and valorising Indigenous knowledge. Dialogue has historically been the key communication tool for

Indigenous communities, and continues to be so. Dialogue is an essential element of narrativity and can become an important resource in a variety to areas of inquiry. For Aboriginal Australians, dialogue is often referred to as 'yarning', a 'yarn up', or conducted as 'yarning circles'. Addressing the use of yarning circles in design methodology, Sheehan identifies certain conditions – each person speaks in turn, has authority while speaking, and does not speak on behalf of anyone else (Sheehan 2011). The embedded values of respect, caring and sharing, fundamental to Indigenous communities, are clearly evident in these yarning circles. The decolonisation of research can not only add value to the scholarship itself, but provide ways for knowledge and learning to transcend the academic limitations of a specific discipline or study area.

Narrative expression also emerges as an important space for decolonising research and scholarship. The ways that Indigenous people communicate can bring fresh new dimensions to the research arena. While verbal dialogue remains the major way that people represent their experiences and interactions of social life, Cowlshaw asserts, there is a recognition that writing then 'disembodies' the talk, creating a need to fill in the blanks regarding body language and physical representations (Cowlshaw 2004). This, Cowlshaw continues, presents a need for a counter discourse to the dominant white paradigms and conventions and develops further the essential ingredients of dialogue, storytelling and performance in narrativity (2004).

For Indigenous peoples, narrativity often uses metaphors to emphasise important life lessons, including song and dance, and to embed skills and understandings necessary to improve life (Sheehan 2011). It provides a vehicle to not only share culture, but, as Semali and Kincheloe highlight, preserve it through stories, folklore, art, song and dance, rather than through Western writing systems (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). Aboriginality is a deep, complex connection of multiple elements and temporalities, and "is expressed in a range of performative responses, dramatic fabulations which are characteristic of contemporary Aboriginal narratives, and are generated as a counter discourse to conventional white norms" (Cowlshaw 2004 p. 97).

In contemporary society, Elders still maintain a key role in both knowledge and expression. Elders, as the repositories of our stories, hold the key to the continued survival of this vital element of Indigenous knowledge and culture. Storytelling reclaims culture, languages, significant lands, and wisdom, emphasising their spiritual significance (Kunnie & Goduka 2006), and reaffirming their vital importance to contemporary Indigenous peoples. Nakata brings this element of decolonisation almost

full circle, asserting that narrative/story telling provides an ability for non-Indigenous Australians to self-reflect on their position and actions (2003). In this view, all scholars can utilise Indigenous methods to not only enrich their professional practice and knowledge, but enrich their lives as well.

For the Indigenous academic today, decolonisation of research remains a very challenging yet significant aspect of balancing culture with the Western paradigms that define our working positions. We are not only faced with the ongoing pressures of an academic life, including ideological shifts within management regimes, uncertainty over government policy and funding, and the ever-present environment of change, but we do so while negotiating with our Elders and communities to remain 'true' to our culture and people. Decolonising research is not just about challenging methods of data collection, analysis and dissemination, but about challenging the very parameters of academia so that they may be inclusive of some of the wonderful aspects of Indigenous culture that are the bedrock of our millennia-old history.

## **Western Ways of Knowing and Indigenous methodologies**

The concept of narrativity/dialogue is not only key to the decolonisation of knowledge; it is also important for academic methodology to expand. It offers creative, personal and social cultural contributions and need not be isolated as something set outside the general parameters of Western ways of knowing that dominate academic institutions. If this can be recognised and utilised within the academy, the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge methods will only enrich it. Academic structures within disciplines often fail to allow any alternative models, which instead acts to further subjugate such knowledges and methodologies (Chan-Tiberghien 2004).

These structures and the ideologies that inform them are based upon attitudes to science and knowledge that emerged from European Enlightenment. Drawing upon the philosophies of Renee Descartes' *cogito ergo sum* ('I think, therefore I am'), scientists developed a belief of the separation of human mind from the physical world. This, belief, known as Cartesian dualism, acted to isolate the intellect, logic and scientific methodology as reason and knowledge alone. Scientists argued that researchers, disconnected from human perception or any processes of perceiving, could discover 'objective' truths and laws of the physical and social systems of humankind (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). This, Descartes theorised, separated the internal world of mind and the external physical world where "one could never be shown to be a form of the other" (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a p. 26)

Mind, then, was to be privileged over body in the dominant colonial knowledge models. This Western, 'white' science is viewed as an objective, rational tool of analysis rather than a cultural construction, and so fails to recognise the cultural knowledge that it creates. It also fails to acknowledge the privileged, white male position at its power centre (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). Whiteness, therefore, became universality, to represent the normal, orderly, rational self; and non-whiteness was represented as its binary Other, representing chaos, unscientific irrationality, and lawlessness (Moreton-Robinson 2015; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). Science has centralised the creation of knowledge to a power elite, thus making it, according to Semali and Kincheloe, the most powerful cultural production of Western society (1999a).

The colonial history of Western education has created a system of pedagogies and research that struggles with alternative methodologies. Engaging with Indigenous methodologies can be a difficult proposition for researchers, particularly if their own educational experiences have provided limited opportunities to learn about and engage with Indigenous peoples and cultures (Nakamura 2010). The ideologies of this scientific Cartesian dualism created a condescending attitude towards Indigenous groups that espoused cultural and intellectual superiority. In addition to informing and justifying colonial expansion (what became known as 'the white man's burden'), such attitudes have endured throughout the colonial and postcolonial experiences of almost every former colony, particularly the former British colonies of Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada. The cultural and intellectual hegemony that fuelled expansion has remained an ingrained part of Western science and its episteme

Providing hope for alternative methodologies, however, is the fact that the key method in the dominant research culture remains evidence-based research (Sheehan 2011). Evidence-based research can accept methodological diversity, so that no one approach should be used over others. Alternative methods are enabled when we acknowledge that, contrasting Cartesian dualism, we recognise that any form of research engages culture, and thus becomes a cultural production. Sheehan highlights the fact that "bias is more or less present in all data" (Sheehan 2011 p. 78). The use of the prefix 'Indigenous' in terms of knowledge only further highlights the cultural blindness of Western science. As Morris suggests, science and Christianity are just as much part of cultural traditions as 'traditional', 'Indigenous' or what he calls 'folk knowledge' (Morris 2010). Western science and scientific methods, examined closely, cannot be extricated from culture. Once we accept this key realisation, research

becomes decolonised in terms of its 'pure science', and enables alternative ways and methods.

Decolonising the academy and introducing alternative methodologies is certainly not an easy project given the strict adherence to the colonial structures discussed earlier by not only the academy itself as an institution, but the institutions that control and define it. However, the benefits it will derive are certainly laid bare when we examine Indigenous methodologies.

Literature on Indigenous methodologies and knowledge is growing, and a number of authors (Agrawal 1995; Foley 2003b; Kovach 2015; Macedo 1999; Nakata 1998b; Rigney 1997a, 2006; Smith 2009; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; West & Griffin 2005; West 2000) have identified a number of areas of strength that can be leveraged in order for such alternative methodologies to make a meaningful contribution to scholarship. I now focus this discussion on what I see as four key areas of focus for Indigenous research methodologies; relationality/connectedness, mutual sharing and reciprocity, context and location specificity, and reflexivity.

### **Relationality/Connectedness**

Indigenous Knowledges and methodologies require recognition of the connections between all things. As distinct from the Cartesian model of mind-physical separation, Indigenous methods see all aspects of our world as being relevant to academic inquiry. Examples include connections to land, language, history, environment, and other areas of study. For Indigenous peoples, connections remain a vital aspect of culture, particularly connections to land and country. However, connections to a place (whether it be a purely natural environment, man-made, or somewhere in between – a 'hybrid') is a human trait, and not necessarily exclusive to Indigenous cultures and people. A good example here is cases of non-Indigenous Australians feeling the sense of loss associated with being removed or losing their environment (and thus this sense of place). The recent devastation of the Victorian bushfires, and the loss that all Australians have felt, exemplifies the human aspect rather than cultural. As such, understanding notions of connection to land and country should not be completely foreign to non-Indigenous peoples.

Strega and Brown address the epistemological value of identifying one's location within research (Strega & Brown 2015b). Donald Fixico describes the 'Internal Model' which necessitates all members of a group to understand their own connection to a thought, issue, group or event – what he calls the 'focal point' (Fixico 2003). These relationships



include recognition of our connection to animals, language, kinship and ancestors, and spirits (Fixico 2003; Janke 2009; Martin 2008; Martin 2001; Yunkaporta 2010). All relationships are considered valid and important, and all can (and do) inform the research – we just need to learn how to identify these relationships. Such relationality is certainly not buried deeply in an Indigenous past, as contemporary sociological theories espouse the value of relationships, particularly Jean Baker Miller's seminal Relational-Cultural Theory that suggests that all people "grow through and toward relationships" and connections (Jordan 2008 p. 2). For Indigenous people, knowledge is relational and "shared with all creation" (Wilson 2001 p. 176).

### **Mutual Sharing and Reciprocity**

Another fundamental aspect of Indigenous knowledge methodology is the notion of mutual sharing and benefit, or reciprocity. No research should be conducted on Indigenous peoples until the mutual benefit has been identified and articulated. Community is central to Indigenous Knowledge and this concept confronts Westernised systems of scholarly ownership. In many cases, the contemporary research and recording of such knowledges may be the first time they have ever been recorded in the written form ((Janke 2009; Nakata et al. 2005), and as such proper care and respect should be afforded. Assumption of authorship or copyright ownership of material should also not be assumed, as this knowledge may hold sacred significance (Janke 2009). Instead, a mutual understanding and agreement should be considered a priority. This attitude should also extend to the recording and dissemination of any data collected based on Indigenous knowledge. In particular, two ways not always addressed by scientific research are to do with 'reporting back' to the people and 'sharing knowledge', both of which assume a principle of reciprocity and feedback (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Reporting back sees knowledge production as never a one-off exercise or a task to be signed off, but involving producing and presenting information and data in culturally, socially and ethically accepted ways. These can include presenting reports to families, at conferences, in pictures, or even at a funeral. Sharing knowledge means engaging in continual and continuous open and free dialogues and is what is expected of us as Indigenous researchers as we live and move within community. It is more than just sharing data or information: it's about sharing theories and analyses that inform knowledge construction and representation (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Within my own creative process for this project, this included presenting learning materials to community groups and Elders for approval before the full development of learning materials occurred. As such, the writing of the artefact for this

project was implicit in this process of ensuring these materials remained true to cultural integrity, accuracy and authenticity.

### **Context and Location Specificity**

Indigenous cultures all around the world draw strength from the connections they have established with all things. Such things include family and kinship systems, ancestral bloodlines, animals and plants, and spiritual beings. However, arguably the greatest and most important connection is to land and country. Connection to the physical environment is crucial to the fabric of Indigenous culture. For Aboriginal Australian people, these connections remain an essential element of contemporary culture. Indigenous Knowledge, therefore, not only thrives because of relationality to all things, but specifically to land and country. Indigenous knowledge is a systemic, holistic epistemology of how Indigenous groups throughout the world understand, know and share knowledge of the world around them (Agrawal 1995; Benedict 1961; Macedo 1999; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a; Sheehan 2011). Different Indigenous groups, therefore, have different perspectives as they belong to different parts of the world. Indigenous knowledge changes over time according to the changing environmental conditions (Battiste 2002), and so must reflect and remain informed by its environmental context. Indigenous knowledge “is transmitted through stories that shape-shift in relation to the wisdom of the storyteller at the time of the telling” (Kovach 2015 p. 53). It is unlike Western methods where data can be extracted and reapplied where and when required (Muir, Rose & Sullivan 2010), rather it remains fluid and contextual, and specific to specific groups and specific locations (Muir, Rose & Sullivan 2010; Wane 2008).

### **Reflexivity**

Research on or about Indigenous peoples should not have an end point. Rather, any research project becomes the starting point for a (new) branch of discourse that recognises and respects the three elements referred to above. Researchers should understand and embrace that the knowledge created from a research project, much like Indigenous knowledge, is not only contextual (as within our Western paradigm it is required to address a specific research question or problem), but it is fluid and changing, reflecting and informing the environment in which it was created. It remains connected to not only the researchers involved, but the stakeholders who may have commissioned it, to the communities it addresses, and the audience who read its results. It satisfies administrative and funding requirements of the academy, but also informs colleagues, students, communities and families of new knowledge. This new

knowledge then informs new generations, and prompts new questions and crucial inquiry.

The priority here, though, is ensuring that the Indigenous community(ies) involved are kept up to date and informed, and are free to express concerns, doubts, worries, and successes. Indigenous research enters the realm of the Indigenous world, where all things are connected, and fundamental concepts of respect, caring and sharing remain at the fore. As such, research relationships remain ongoing and fluid, and must always privilege community benefit above individual, academic achievement.

### Example 1 – An Indigenous Research Agenda

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) discusses a ‘new’ agenda for Indigenous research, based on a grounded theory approach, in which she articulates a number of emergent themes from the postcolonial social movement of Indigenous peoples that originated in the 1960s and 1970s . This agenda connects local, regional and global efforts towards seeking Indigenous self-determination as its strategic principle through the processes of transformation, healing, decolonisation, and mobilisation (see diagram below). The agenda sits outside the current structure of nation-state politics as, Tuhiwai Smith notes, the operations of multinational corporations and global interest groups cut across this nation-state structure. This, she says, presents a potential space for Indigenous research

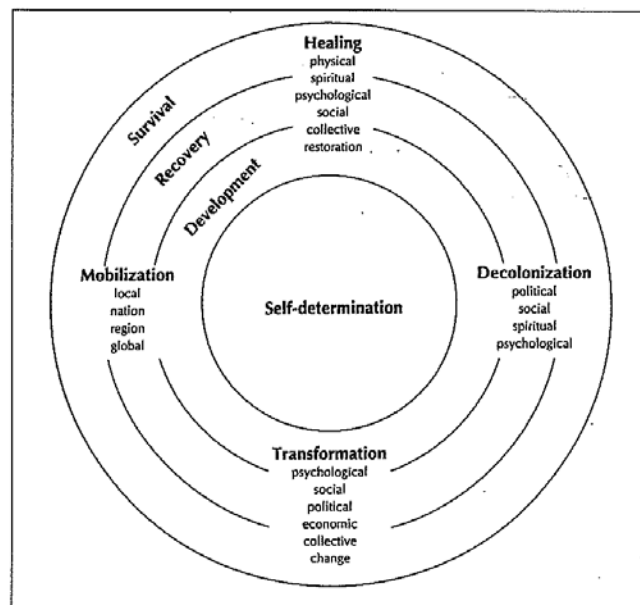


Figure 6.1 The Indigenous Research Agenda

Figure 26: An Indigenous Research Agenda (from Tuhiwai Smith 1999 p. 121)

Smith uses the example of what Maori researchers in New Zealand call Kaupapa Maori research, or Maori-centred research (Smith 2009; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Kaupapa Maori is a localised theorising that “is the modality through which the emancipatory goal of critical theory, in a specific historical, political and social context, is practiced” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 p. 188). It is an Indigenous ‘methodology’ that seeks to empower Indigenous knowledge through its local historical, political and social contexts.

Although acknowledging that Kaupapa Maori must involve Maori researchers, Tuhiwai Smith warns about such identity politics, as debates around cultural authenticity and authorship can paralyse the development of Indigenous research (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Today, research remains within a system of power that has acted to exclude Aboriginal knowledge in Australia. The history of Indigenous research has yet to properly effect any significant, positive change for Indigenous Australians.

### **Example 2 – The Eight Ways model**

Adopting a more pragmatic approach to Indigenous knowledge and education, Tyson Yunkaporta (2010) developed a pedagogical model that utilises language and culture to underpin knowledge construction and delivery. Labelled the ‘Eight Ways’ model, Yunkaporta led a research project conducted by and for Aboriginal people within their communities, and drawing on “knowledge and protocol from communities, Elders, land, language, ancestors and spirit” to form the methodology – what he calls “the ways and rules for working in research” (2010 p. 38).

The Eight Ways model seeks to identify the common space between different Aboriginal communities, as well as the common and contested space between Aboriginal and Western systems of knowledge and learning, a key aim of the project. The result was a model (depicted as a map) that follows kinship systems to show “dynamic and interactive processes” (p. 40) of learning, and that follow the principles of traditional songlines that connect land, people and culture (2010 p. 40).

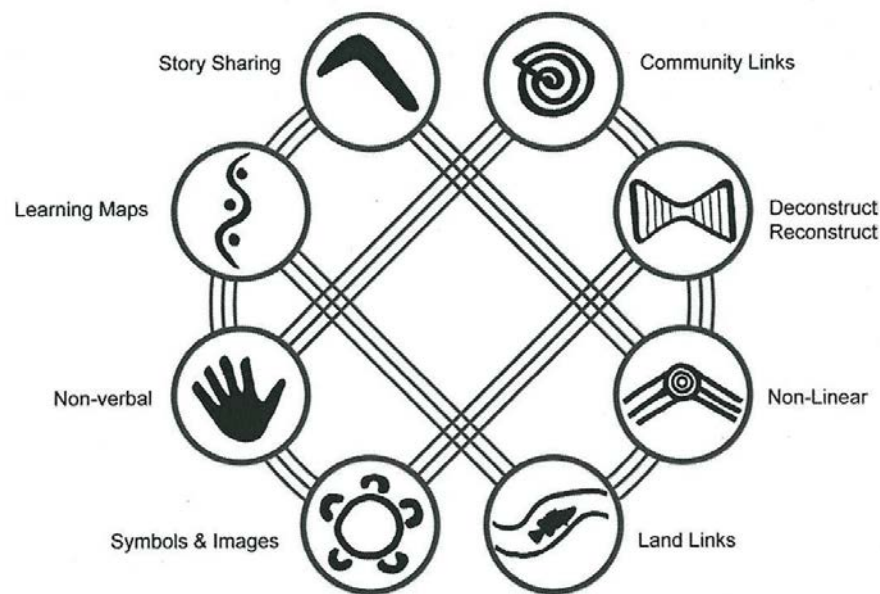


Figure 2. The eight ways as symbols.

**Figure 27:** The Eight Ways of Learning (from Yunkaporta 2010 p. 40)

Yunkaporta's eight ways revolve around:

- The story – the value of storytelling and narrative
- The map – identifying and investigating the spaces within which learning can occur
- The silence – the value of deep listening, and non-cluttered noise
- The signs – visualising the learning
- The land – remaining connected to country
- The shape – moving away from Western, linear patterns of learning
- Back-tracking – the deconstruction and reconstruction of learning as an ongoing process; conceptually similar to 'mainstream' concepts of 'scaffolded learning'
- Home-world – remaining connected and contextual to country

(Yunkaporta 2010)

Designed as a practical tool for the classroom, the model emphasises learning and hence research through and not just about culture. It places Indigenous knowledge at the centre and not the periphery. For Yunkaporta, the eight-ways model can help utilise local cultural knowledge in both what and how we teach. It provides a way to both engage with and be informed by Aboriginal culture, which is currently considered 'extra-curricular', rather than 'centro-curricular'.

## Indigenous Methodologies Today

Examples such as these provide us with an impetus to investigate our own possibilities for developing alternative methodologies. Grounded in local culture and knowledge and informed by thousands of years of history, Indigenous methodologies can only add value and richness to contemporary scholarship in any field of study.

Developing Indigenous methodologies and epistemologies acts as a way of moving beyond simply having “an Indigenous perspective in research to researching from an Indigenous paradigm” (Wilson 2001 p. 175).

Indigenous knowledges and methodologies also challenge the deeply entrenched practice in Western research of academic language. Kovach (2015) questions the practice within institutions of putting the word Indigenous in front of a concept and claiming that it has been ‘Indigenised’. Further, she takes particular aim at the tendency for experienced researchers to simply use an Indigenous colleague as the ‘face’ of an ‘Indigenous’ research project in order to satisfy personal or institutional criteria.

Such practices not only perpetuate extant colonial attitudes and practices, but also place an added layer of pressure onto Indigenous academics. In such cases, these Indigenous academics are confronted with a number of questions about the research, and their role within it. According to Kovach (2015 p. 53), these questions must necessarily be faced by the Indigenous researcher, and include:

1. Is the research goal manipulative or helpful for my community?
2. Is the methodology respectful to culture and community?
3. Do the methods meet cultural protocols?
4. What are the research’s collectivist ethical considerations?
5. Who is driving the research and what is the purpose?

Such self-questioning is symptomatic of the difficulties facing an Indigenous academic in contemporary education. What become automatic assumptions for us in terms of culture, respect, and community are often either unknown to non-Indigenous colleagues, or rendered unimportant and irrelevant. The development of institution-wide alternative methodologies that recognise, value and normalise Indigenous methods and knowledges will go a long way to addressing this intellectual and cultural gap.

In this context, however, we must remember the limitations of the Western knowledge canon. Some knowledge is unreachable and unable to be developed in terms of

research however broad its context and methodology. Ian Anderson concurs that “(s)ome truths may be unreachable, no matter how deeply we dig with tools provided by ‘western’ thinking since the ‘enlightenment’ ” (Anderson 2003 p. 23).

As previously stated, Indigenous Knowledges and methodologies require recognition of the connections between all things. Within the academy, this signifies an acknowledgment of connections between disciplines, faculties, schools and departments; between research centres, communities and industry; between governments, schools and local councils. We are all connected through our existence in the contemporary society we have created, and to continually deny and ignore these connections, in the name of Western capitalism and education, denies us the opportunity to expand our scholarly capabilities in so many ways.

This project investigates how an Indigenous epistemology involves thinking about how Indigenous people can maintain a strong, Indigenous identity while finding success in the academic world that is largely controlled and dominated by Western methods and epistemologies. Like much of the literature, it has not attempted to develop specific strategies for introducing Indigenous knowledge and methodologies within an institution, but rather suggests ways that scholars might begin an epistemological shift within their own realm to recognise and benefit from these alternative forms of knowledge and knowledge creation.

As an Indigenous academic in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, I am regularly confronted with many of the conditions addressed above – balancing academic and community expectations, negotiating my own cultural knowledge within my discipline areas, and dealing with the large number of requests to collaborate on ‘Indigenous projects’ that are invariably and constantly sent to a solitary Indigenous academic within an institution. Wilson poses questions he asks himself when evaluating methodologies, and these are significant for me as an Indigenous scholar; “What is my role as a researcher, and what are my obligations?” (Wilson 2001 p. 178). Such self-questioning drives Wilson to adopt a suitable methodology. The challenge for us is to gain ‘mainstream’ acceptance of such methodologies and the knowledge used to construct them.

For the Indigenous researcher, merely functioning can be a complex task – we perform a number of roles, including activist, researcher, family member, community member/leader, as well as the ‘day job’ – and the nexus between all of these, as in my case, often falls to one individual academic. An academy that accepts and promotes alternative methodologies will go a long way to helping scholars like me to help

populate the cultural interface of knowledge and epistemology within the academy today.



## SECTION 4 – THEORY

Largely associated with Western epistemology, theory is essentially the underpinning philosophy of science and education. Theories of natural science, developed through the European Enlightenment discussed earlier, predominate our attitudes towards theories as they are largely seen as infallible, or ‘facts’. I have had many robust discussions with friends about their fervent belief in science being ‘factual’, as opposed to a determined and categorised set of beliefs. This Western scientific basis has enabled theory, including the development of many sociological and cultural theories from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to assume a central, normalised role within the Western academy (Hunter 2006). As such, theory is often discussed as the ‘enemy’ of Indigenous methodological and epistemological development. However, at its simplest level, theory is also seen as important for Indigenous people as it helps make sense of reality (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). As Linda Tuhiwai Smith suggests theory:

allows us to make assumptions and predictions about the world we live in.... Theory enables us to deal with contradictions and uncertainties.... (and gives us space to plan, to strategize (sic), to take greater control over our resistances.... Theory can also protect us because it contains within it a way of putting reality into perspective

(Tuhiwai Smith 1999 p. 40).

Graham Hinangaroa Smith provides a caution, however, as many Indigenous people may not only be dismissive of academic theory, they are “anti-theory”, as they see it as part of the colonising agenda. He suggests, therefore, a “need to develop theoretical understandings and practices that arise out of our own Indigenous knowledge” (Smith 2009 p. 214). A discussion of theory therefore may not only be very useful in the discourse of Indigenous knowledge and epistemology, but also necessary.

### **The Postcolonial, Critical Reflexivity and Indigenous Identity**

Contemporary Australia is almost classically symptomatic of a British-colonised nation emerging from its early grasp. In many senses, we are still firmly entrenched in the British tradition, and both this exegesis and artefact highlight the many ways that this manifests itself today. A considerable amount of my first year teachings to students involves highlighting for them the number of areas where our British history is explicitly and implicitly displayed in our everyday lives and, by extension, therefore how they have become so entrenched and normalised that most Australians are not cognisant of

their impacts. Our political, legal and educational institutions, our industrialisation, and of course our language, are probably the three most glaring examples.

However, a deeper examination of our contemporary culture, sadly lacking in our education system today, highlights the myopia and narrow-mindedness of such an approach. Within the Indigenous Studies program at Swinburne University, I have endeavoured to begin this examination for students with a summary investigation of British imperialism and colonialism.

### **Imperialism, Colonialism and Postcolonialism in Australia Today**

Both imperialism and colonialism have emerged as key theoretical concepts in any cultural examination of Australia. Although there is a great deal of common ground, they each have distinct features worthy of individual academic examination.

Discourse on imperialism has existed since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the concept of 'modern' imperialism was first advanced, although some have suggested it wasn't until the Marxist developments of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Brewer 1990; Rees 2006). Historical examples of imperial nations include Great Britain, France, Germany, Turkey, and more recently the United States. General consensus is that imperialism is a socio-political theory that has a clear connection to the emergence of global capitalism, and a distinctive hand in its inherent economic disparity. Hobson has suggested that imperialism is a "deliberately chosen line of public policy" motivated by members of certain classes in society (Hobson 1965 p. 356). Imperialism both permits and encourages a wealth and income disparity that has permeated geographical, cultural and historical sectors of the globe. This inequality is a hallmark of imperialist development throughout history and has been a common thread in imperialist discourse. Extending this economic line of thought, Williams and Chrisman define imperialism as "the globalisation of the capitalist mode of production" (1994, p. 2), as well as the penetration and destruction of pre- and non-capitalist societies (1994). Such economic emphasis has particular resonance with the Australian experience as much of the colonial attitude towards capitalism and its expansionist influence has dominated contemporary society, including, as we have discussed in detail, within the academy.

Within this discursive space, colonialism occupies an interesting position of "within and without" imperialism. Where imperialism situates itself as a socially stratifying socio-political theory that imposes itself as a dominant paradigm, colonialism can be argued to define the conquest and direct control of other people's land, and what I consider a 'subset' of imperialism – that is, a particular phase in the history of imperialism. One

can conclude that both imperialism and colonialism are both driven by the economic imperative of capitalism, and the need to find more land and raw materials to feed it (and deny them to competitor empires).

The discourse on colonialism negotiates its way through both economic and cultural factors. Discussion of its origins includes its racial connotations (Césaire 1972; Gandhi 1998), its links to the control imperative of imperialism (Torgovnich 1990; Williams & Chrisman 1994), and the economic rationale of capitalism (Loomba 2005). Aimé Césaire, in his seminal *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972), established a basis for its study and analysis by pointing to its origins in Christianity. Christian pedantry, he offers, is the father, or 'chief culprit' of colonialism, by producing for us the dishonest equations of Christianity equalling civilisation, and paganism equalling savagery. This introduces us to the racist paradigm and subsequent white superiority beliefs. Due to its inherent characteristic of labelling and "Othering" Césaire suggests that rather than be a product of humanism (as it traditionally has claimed), colonialism is closer to the notion of 'pseudo-humanism' – that is, it objectifies people of other races, and dehumanises them in a way that is "narrow and fragmenting, incomplete and biased, and... sordidly racist" (Césaire 1972 p. 14).

Colonialism is often regarded as the theoretical 'ground zero' for Aboriginal Australians, but its role in Australia's history cannot be critically discussed in full if its relationship to imperialism is not also investigated. I often state that simply put, we wouldn't have had the policies and practices of colonisation in Australia without the underlying assumptions of imperialist theory. For Indigenous peoples, this theoretical distinction is both redundant and arbitrary, for it is the actions of colonial governments that matter. However, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith suggests, understanding theory allows us to deal with contradictions and uncertainties, control our resistances, and help put our reality into a contemporary perspective (1999).

By extension, our contemporary condition sees us free of many of the elements of early imperialism/colonialism, but still largely controlled by their legacies. This condition represents, for Indigenous peoples, a situation of strength and pride, and concomitant confusion. Our cultural pride, the growing awareness and understanding of Indigenous cultures and peoples, and the increase in Indigenous 'performances' in all areas of society indicate a clear move towards postcolonialism, despite equally clear evidence of continued colonial hegemony. As such, the term postcolonial triggers critical debate on its applicability to Australia.

As an interdisciplinary field of inquiry, postcolonialism negotiates itself between and within binaries of colonised/coloniser, and local/global (among others), but paradoxically often homogenises the colonial experiences of its subjects (Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; Young 2001). It is generally associated with nations striving to reclaim and re-ascribe their identity in the face of globalisation and Eurocentric and universalist concepts and images (During 1995; Young 2001). The tensions produced from this cultural duality are, for me, the definitive elements of contemporary postcolonialism in Australia today. Rather than imposing temporal dimensions on the concept by suggesting that it address the condition AFTER colonialism (ie post-colonialism), the non-hyphenation of postcolonial indicates the condition of being “inaugurated with the onset rather than the end of colonial occupation” (Gandhi 1998 p. 3). Adopting such a temporally linear stance denies not only the experiences of the colonised in terms of current political, economic and intellectual inequities (Mongia 1996), but the new cultural experiences of the colonisers. Postcolonialism identifies social and historical markers of decolonisation and sovereignty, and “constitutes a critical response” to the conditions of capitalist imperialism (Young 2001 p. 59). There remains a duality of existence for colonial and postcolonial subjects (Gandhi 1998), and response and reactions to that form of contemporary postcoloniality.

In Australia, therefore, postcolonial refers to not only the experience of Aboriginal peoples in dealing with, challenging and understanding colonialism, and the ways that we respond to it, but also the ways that non-Aboriginal Australians learn to deal with and understand these Aboriginal experiences, and their own reactions to them. In addition, it is about how Aboriginal culture is understood, represented and shared in contemporary Australian society.

### **The Role of Critical Reflexivity and Inquiry**

Critical reflexivity offers a space in which Indigenous methodology can grow as “socially just research”, as its primary focus is on the underlying assumptions within the research process (Strega & Brown 2015a). It confronts politics, ideologies, and power structures in scholarship itself. In doing so it:

...requires that we intentionally, consciously, and repeatedly bring our awareness to the question of what influences our perceptions, conceptions, and responses (internal and external) throughout the research process, from inception to dissemination. The intention is twofold: to uncover and challenge the power relations embedded in research, and to uncover and

challenge hegemonic assumptions about the nature of the world, the self,  
and research

(Strega & Brown 2015a p. 8).

As an ongoing, continuous process, Strega and Brown assert, critical reflexivity enables insights into the researchers' positioning and how this is informed and even shaped by ideology. These hegemonic assumptions come from our embedded defining ideologies of the West – white supremacy (through processes of imperialism and colonisation), capitalism, and patriarchy (Strega & Brown 2015a).

Critical reflexivity has emerged from the growing field of resistance literature that challenges the hegemony and oppression of colonial ideologies within the academy, and draws on other anti-oppressive, anti-colonial theories such as feminism and critical race theory (Bell 1995; Delgado & Stefancic 2012; Martin 2008; Strega & Brown 2015b). These ideologies challenge dominant discourses by reclaiming culture and voice within the methodologies, making accountable the researcher for all aspects of scholarship and including the voice of the researched as a legitimate research tool.

Exploring this history further, Kovach suggests that there are three identifiable phases of the history of critical inquiry in research. Firstly, the extension of the Enlightenment's positivism into 'modernity' in the early 1920s; the emergence of social research in the 1960s, symbolised by the development of Glaser and Strauss's Grounded Theory; and thirdly, the expansion of research paradigms in the 1970s and 80s that included interpretative and critical approaches (Kovach 2015). From this, participatory research methodology developed and emerged as an example of a critical approach that sought voice and involvement in the research process from those being researched (Kovach 2015), culminating with the emergence of Indigenous methodologies in the 1990s and the seminal works of Russell Bishop, Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Lester-Irabinna Rigney.

A true understanding of Western scientific methods must necessarily appreciate the central role of colonialism and imperialism in the formation of knowledge construction, epistemologies and research methodologies. Similarly, a grasp of new methodologies requires an engagement in postcolonial discourse, regardless of one's perspective. We must become clearly cognisant of the historically colonialist structure of the academy and the concomitant marginalisation of various Indigenous groups under its gaze. This leads to a recognition and understanding of the role of culture, and that discourses of colonialism (and indeed postcolonialism) may be described as subjective narratives of cultural experiences.

Culture has long been the subject of academic inquiry and investigation, particularly in regards to identifying human difference. As a product of Western thought, culture is identified and defined through these differences to the Eurocentric West and its institutions and structures. Cultural exchange – discussed in its contemporaneous context here as postcolonialism – has compelled us to examine culture in new ways. If, as Césaire suggests, cultural exchange is a good thing in that it provides ‘oxygen’ to civilisations (1972), why has colonial Australia so strongly resisted Indigenous ways for so long? It appears that Western constructs of culture remain firmly and rigidly grounded in notions of Other, and all that it represents. In the Western paradigm culture has become synonymous with race, and with neither studied or understood in any depth within our educational system, our collective understandings of these concepts are limited. Our confusion of race and culture has been articulated by a number of authors, including Gillian Cowlishaw’s assertion that “racial categories are socially constructed” (1988 p. 268), not genetically.

### **Identity**

Postcolonial theory, through its designation to deconstruct the ideological history of colonialism in both decolonised AND Western countries, provides us with a good introduction into the realm of decolonisation, and thus a greater understanding of issues of contemporary Indigenous identity. Cultural decolonisation follows political decolonisation – “decolonise the west, deconstruct it” (Young 2001 p. 65). What then follows is the ‘decolonising’ of Western knowledge, shifting the centre of Western knowledge away from its dominant European position. For example, Bain Attwood’s ‘Aboriginalism’ is the Western construction of Aboriginal knowledge, culture, history and identity, which wrests control of this from Aboriginal people (Attwood 1992). These constructs, as mentioned earlier, were based on stereotypical images and characteristics (such as the Dreaming/Dreamtime), artefacts (eg. boomerangs, didgeridus), and appearance (dark skin, flat nose, curly black hair), and remain fixed in history (Attwood 1992). As a result, Indigenous peoples have identified themselves, their identities and their place in society through their relationship with the colonisers (King 2004). Aboriginality is more than a label relating to skin colour or perceptions of Aboriginal culture, it is a social ‘thing’ It is not fixed, it comes from our histories, and from the black/white dialogue (Langton 1993 p. 31).

For Aboriginal Australians, as with other Indigenous groups around the world, the postcolonial tensions of identity remain, in many cases, a daily struggle. In Australia, constructing and defining Aboriginal identity was another element of colonial

hegemony. For the majority of Australia's colonial history, the identity politics of Aboriginal people was exclusively the domain of White Australia. Discourse on Aboriginal identity was a complicated and complex issue. In a 1986 analysis of Australian legislation, John McCorquodale found "no less than 67 identifiable classifications, descriptions, or definitions... used from the time of European settlement to the present" (1986 p. 9). Some definitions were so legally complicated that it was possible for someone to be Aboriginal in one state but not in others (Anderson 1997). Even in our contemporary society, such confusion and imposition remain, as evidenced by the Andrew Bolt court case of 2009 and associated public comment (Bolt 2009).

Although a complex concept, I contextualise 'Identity' here (and in the classroom) as 'who we are and who we are meant to be'. Identity is (and should remain) a personal construction and we position ourselves according to our context (Garvey 2007). For Aboriginal Australians, this context has always been defined by colonisation and, as a result, our cultural identity has always been brought into question – particularly for those of us in urban areas of Australia. In addition, colonisation brought with it the notion of cultural hybridity, a condition that has dominated the discourse on Aboriginal identity (Anderson 1997; Garvey 2007; Judd 2007; Loomba 2005; Paradies 2006; Said 1993; Tatz 1995). Cultural hybridity refers to the 'mixing' of two or more cultures, creating a resultant culture that is a hybrid of all its contents. Cultural hybridisation is a global phenomenon, and one that, like race and culture in Australia, receives attention in research, but not in earlier education. The postcolonial condition of Australia suggests that cultural hybridity presents the most productive method for exploring contemporary identity (Judd 2007).

Paradies argues that hybridity and hybrid identity is a result of the disconnection that contemporary Indigenous people have suffered from aspects of traditional culture, and indeed, from their ancestors and relatives (Paradies 2006). Cowlshaw suggests that for young Aboriginal Australians, identity is "purchased with the guilt of stigma, the shame of derogation, the awareness of inferior status" (2004 p. 83) that cultural hybridity brings. For Ian Anderson, being an Aboriginal person of 'mixed blood' meant being labelled a 'hybrid' and 'half-caste' when it suited but also without tradition and culture (1997).

Cultural hybridisation has also added a layer of marginalisation that is neither desired nor fully recognised in contemporary society. It has reinforced the binary of Whiteness/normal and non-White/Other; where this Other remains marginalised and outside of all societal expectations of behaviour, appearance, and potential. For

Indigenous Australians, everyday life remains on the outskirts of contemporary society, in multiple ways. We are marginalised from society because of our darker skins and connections to community and culture, and marginalised from our communities for 'living like white fellas'. If we manage to negotiate the uneven path of Western education, become employed, 'contributing', law-abiding citizens of Australia, we face often intense scrutiny from our Aboriginal communities for 'abandoning' our culture and people. If we remain loyal to our cultural traditions and history, we are seen as outsiders in Australia – not part of the 'normal' cultural centre.

Contemporary Indigenous identity remains a complex, diverse and challenging issue. We might draw an analogy with Battiste's 'Mystery of the Box', in that we know there are multiple ways to 'be' Indigenous in today's world, but we might not be able to see them all at once unless we turn the 'box'. Together, though, we are able to see all sides. A multi-layered approach to contemporary identity such as this also allows a crucial discussion of the value of relatedness to identity and, as discussed below, Indigenous knowledges and methodologies. As Mick Dodson states, "we must continuously subvert the hegemony over our own representations, and allow our visions to create the world of meaning in which we relate to ourselves, to each other, and to non-Indigenous peoples" (Dodson 2003 p. 33), that also provides a greater non-Indigenous understanding of *their* relationship to us, Aboriginal Australians.

## **Relatedness Theory**

As I have discussed in this exegesis – and indeed, has almost every author referenced here – relationships are crucial in Indigenous systems of knowledge, and are central to all concepts of Indigenous identity and culture. However, acknowledgement of the importance of relationships is not just confined to the 'primitive' Indigenous knowledge and beliefs.

Jean Baker Miller's important 1976 book "Toward a New Psychology of Women" highlighted the exclusionary nature of Western theory in regards to the lived reality of women, and led to the development of Relational-Cultural Theory (RCT) (Jordan 2008). Essentially a critical examination of the ontology of psychological theory, Miller's book rejected the hitherto assumptions of models of human development, which suggested that people naturally progress from dependence to autonomy. RCT thereby asserts that all people "grow through and toward connection" (Jordan 2008 p. 2). RCT highlights the role of mutuality in such relationships where power is an issue – as in the colonised-coloniser relationship. RCT provides for an aspect of empathy from the



power agent to counter assumptive notions of superiority. This also opens up an examination of social and cultural disconnection within societies that result from Eurocentric class distinctions. As Jordan explains:

RCT also makes explicit the ways in which power dynamics in the culture... affect people's well-being. Disconnections occur at the societal level when there is a stratification of differences and when the group at the centre denigrates and shames the groups at the margin

(Jordan 2008 p. 3).

Relational-Cultural Theory, therefore, provides a contemporary Western theoretical framework to a millennia-old concept. It challenges the hitherto human development models that promoted the "separate self" paradigm (Jordan 2008). Within this paradigm, the 'separate self' suggests that we get stronger and healthier by building firm boundaries and being more independent, and that power over others is what leads to a sense of safety or well-being (Jordan 2008). Further, within this paradigm "(p)eople are silenced, isolated and shamed as a way of exercising power over them and weakening the representation of their reality in the dominant discourse" (Jordan 2008 p. 3). Clearly, such a paradigm directly follows the colonialist, capitalist ideology that I have outlined in Section 2, where protection of self-interest at the exclusion of others is the vehicle to 'success'. A postcolonial analysis here clearly suggests that RCT addresses the inequities that result from this premise, and identifies the importance of relationships at all stages of human development.

If we are to identify a distinction here, however, it may be that for Indigenous peoples, the importance lies within such connections to ALL things in the natural world, not just the human. Plants, animals, lakes, rivers, oceans, and mountains, and everything that lives through them, as well as spirits, dreams, intuition and senses all have a role in the establishment and maintenance of these relationships, and as such are essential elements of understanding them.

Hence, much like Indigenous Knowledge, RCT offers a chance for the academy to create 'hybrid' systems of knowledge that utilise contemporary Western paradigms and long-standing Indigenous principles. Establishing relationships is crucial, even in contemporary Western research paradigms. No research can be successfully conducted without them. Relational-Cultural Theory gives us a theoretical basis for examining relationality and particularly Indigenous theories of relatedness.

Within an Indigenous paradigm, relationships have multiple layers that include land, people, nature and spirit. For example, Strega and Brown highlight the value of personal and geographical positionality within the Indigenous knowledge paradigm. “The naming of one’s location has epistemological value for Indigenous peoples and communities because it establishes relationships” (Strega & Brown 2015a p. 10). Moreover, Indigenous knowledge arises in partnership with patterns of relationships (Sheehan 2011) and is inherently entwined within them. For Indigenous people, IK reflects the way the residents of an area understand themselves in terms of their relationship to their surrounding environment, and how they organise their knowledge of flora, fauna, cultural beliefs and history to enhance their lives (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a).

IK has a focus on the relationships that exist between humans, and between themselves and their ecosystem, a focus that has been conspicuously absent in Western science for 400 years (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). Indigenous knowledge is substantively about relationships in their many forms, rather than the Cartesian/Enlightenment knowledge epistemologies that focus on knowledge as a tool of control. This paradigm sees the world around us as something to be ‘tamed’ or ‘controlled’, and the construction of scientific knowledge facilitates this objective. Indigenous epistemologies, however, see us as merely one part of a much larger system of multiple parts, each with multiple relationships within – and it is in these relationships that Indigenous knowledge exists.

In her excellent discussion on epistemologies Karen Martin draws on a number of significant works, but it is Wilson’s summation that, for me, provides clarity:

An Indigenous paradigm comes from the fundamental belief that knowledge is relational. Knowledge is shared with all of creation... It is with the cosmos, it is with the animals, with the plants, with the earth that we share this knowledge. It goes beyond the idea of individual knowledge to the concept of relational knowledge

(Wilson 2001, in Martin 2008 p. 176 - 177).

Martin provides a model of relatedness theory that includes three bands, and is based on the ancestral core, spirits, entities, and filter of what she calls the Quandamoo pah First Story (which she represents as a painting) of her own Quandamoo pah culture (Martin 2008 p. 67). The three bands, which she labels “Ways of Knowing”, “Ways of Being” and “Ways of Doing”, provide a theoretical framework of an Indigenist research

paradigm, with each containing a set of inbuilt conditions through which relatedness is known, respected and lived (Martin 2008):

- The first condition is coming to know your Stories of relatedness to Creators and Ancestors, Spirits, the Entities of Country and the Filter; in other words, what can be known.
- The second condition is knowing how to respect these Stories of relatedness in order to maintain relatedness. In other words, how this can be known.
- The third condition is knowing how to live Stories of relatedness. In other words, the purpose for knowing anything.

In this sense, 'understanding' relationships isn't just about 'knowing what they are', it's about maintaining and building them. Knowledge in this sense is not an individual right, but a collective responsibility you have with all things. When researching, the questions are not about validity, or making judgments of one over another, but about how to fulfil your relationships with the world around you. "I am gaining knowledge to fulfil my end of the research relationship. This becomes my methodology, by looking at relational accountability or being accountable to *all my relations*" (Wilson 2001, in Martin 2008 p. 177).

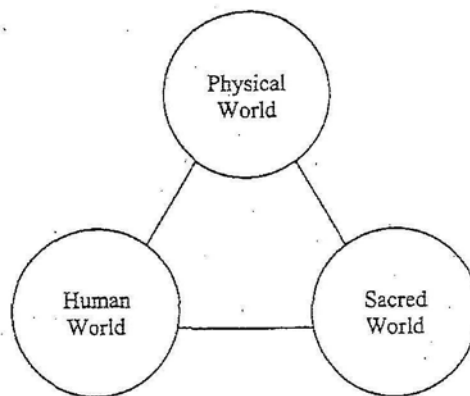
## **Indigenous Standpoint Theory**

Another epistemological 'tool' for the recognition of alternative paradigms within the academy to emerge is 'Indigenist Standpoint Theory'. Indigenist Standpoint Theory seeks to challenge 'traditional' Western theories that racialise, subjugate and devalue Indigenous intellectualism, and privilege the Indigenous voice within the academy. It provides a point within the broader research paradigm to develop an Indigenous intellectual standpoint that helps Indigenous scholars understand Western systems of knowledge. Taking this further, Dennis Foley suggests that Indigenous Standpoint Theory provides a discourse that privileges the research needs and priorities of Indigenous peoples within a paradigm of Western research. It must, however, be flexible to benefit multiple groups/nations, emancipatory to provide freedom and motivation, and not merely reproduce or replicate existing discourse (Foley 2003b; Nakata 1998a). Indigenous Standpoint Theory therefore seeks to disrupt and alter the existing research paradigms to recognise, include and value Indigenous viewpoints, but allow for such viewpoints to be critically and intellectually recognised within the academy. It enables us as Indigenous scholars to not only critically reflect on existing and dominant practices of knowledge production, but to also understand where we are positioned in terms of how knowledge is produced, allowing us to look at positive

aspects of knowledge production that may be altered for our own benefit (Rigney 2006).

Foley's interpretation of Indigenous Standpoint Theory (IST) also provides an historical platform for its development. Offering an overview of three extant 'theories' of Indigenous/Indigenist discourse – Errol West's Japanangka Teaching and Research Paradigm from 2000, Rigney's 1997 Indigenist Research Agenda and Manulani Aluui Meyer's 1998 Native Hawaiian Epistemology – Foley draws attention to the premise of racial superiority that underpins Western methods, where European scientists determined the legitimacy of alternative knowledge forms (Foley 2003b). Foley also locates the origins of IST within post-modernism, through its roots in feminist theory and post-structuralism, that opened the critical discourse on Western scientific methods (2003b), while still acknowledging that much of this critical discourse literature is dominated by "a white Anglo Euro-centric and middle class voice" (2003b p. 45).

IST draws on critical theory, feminism, and insider-outsider theory in challenging premises of 'positivistic colonialism', neo-colonial, white-male power positions within research, and the assumptions of observation-based scientific methods (Foley 2003b). It becomes grounded, Foley suggests, in what he calls 'Indigenous Philosophy' that has three intersecting worlds (see Figure 3 below)



**Figure 28:** Foley's Indigenous Philosophy Model (from the Institute For Aboriginal Development, in Foley 2003b p. 46)

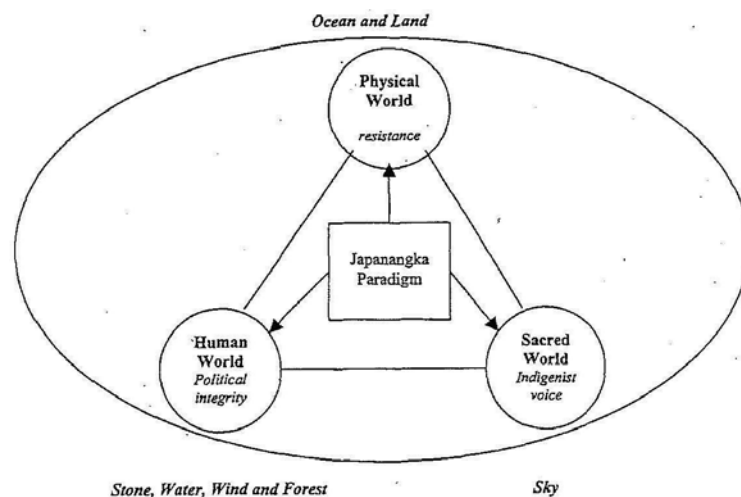
Within this model:

The physical world is the base that is land, the creation; the land is the mother, and we are of the land. We do not own the land, the land owns us. The land is our food, our culture, our spirit and our identity. The physical world encapsulates the land, the sky and all living organisms. The human

world involves all the knowledge, approaches to people, family, rules of behaviour, ceremonies and their capacity to change. The sacred world is not based entirely in the metaphysical, as some would believe. Its foundation is in healing (both the spiritual and physical well-being of creatures), the lore (the retention and re-enforcement of oral history), care of country, the laws and their maintenance

(Foley 2003bpp. 46 - 47).

The Aboriginal (Indigenous) Philosophy is the triangulation of these three worlds. Foley takes this concept one step further, and incorporating the positions of West, Rigney and Alui Meyer, develops a graphic interpretation of his IST (Figure 3 below). This model, Foley suggests, shows how Alui Meyer's spheres of Ocean and Land, and Stone, Water, Wind and Forest encapsulate the three worlds of Indigenous Philosophy, West's Japanangka paradigm and Rigney's elements of Resistance, Political Integrity and Voice.



**Figure 29:** Foley's Indigenous Standpoint Theory Model (Foley 2003b p. 49)

Such a model is useful in identifying and articulating the role of relationality in this alternative paradigm. Foley's work is drawn from discussions with community and Elders, and in particular, Grandmothers and Grandfathers who want to teach their culture to the young: The philosophy is based on oral traditions, and "the contemporary Indigenous scholar should never trivialise this" (Foley 2003b p. 50). IST can not only help communities to be empowered to protect and preserve their own knowledges and knowledge systems, but also encourage the academy to learn and embrace such alternative methodologies and praxis.

Any alternative paradigm will also come with its own set of cautions and caveats. The successful development of Indigenous methodologies within an institution will depend upon having appropriately skilled, experienced Indigenous scholars involved. In this context, appropriate research and academic skills are required. Experience comes from living and/or dealing with, and/or developing a deep understanding of local communities, their members, structures, wants and needs. It is about understanding the complexities of that community, and the contemporary challenges they face. In many cases, the use of traditional language is also seen as crucial to effective research (Foley 2003b; Martin 2008; West 2000; Yunkaporta 2010), if not a prerequisite.

As an Indigenous academic in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, I am greatly heartened by the emergence of alternative paradigms within the academy and the potential they represent. Of course, they bring with them a great deal of expectation and responsibility. Having been raised without any real 'traditional' knowledge, my challenge is to balance these expectations and responsibilities as best I can. I am expected by my community to represent our culture within the dominant system, and find ways of challenging (if not changing) it. Equally, I am expected by my institution to follow the accepted protocols, policies and procedures that define the working life of an academic.

I have responsibilities to my culture, my community, and my family to always represent their best interests in any dealings between them and the academy, particularly in research. I also have responsibilities to my institution to abide by the 'rules' of research, strictly guided by financial, resource, and time parameters. My own cultural background ensures that my academic role is a multi-faceted, multi-layered one that presents both ongoing pressures, expectations and responsibilities, and a wonderful, unique and fantastic opportunity to shape the course of future education. How I manage to develop and utilise my own alternative paradigms to achieve this is something I look forward to with much eagerness and great anticipation.

## **Indigenous Knowledge and Contemporary Research**

### **Development and Scope**

As I have discussed throughout this exegesis, the notion of Indigenous Knowledge, while complex, remains a central part of developing any Indigenous methodologies or paradigms within the academy.

IK is often expressed as a fluid, contemporary system that is not only reflective of, and inherently connected to, specific communities and locations, but can be expressed in multiple ways (Aikman & King 2012; Nakata et al. 2005). The exclusion of Indigenous methods from the academy has hence denied all researchers of a dynamic, rich body of knowledge that provides not only new knowledge, but a uniqueness to research that has been missing. Indigenous Knowledge is not tied to the past, and it also allows for the development of relationships with dominant (Western) knowledges through contemporary channels, for example the use of IT and social media (Aikman & King 2012). The adaptability of Indigenous Knowledge remains an untapped resource for the academy.

According to Rigney, the development of Indigenous Knowledge through alternative research methodologies relies upon three key principles: Resistance; where resistance serves as the intellectual criticism that is embedded in the experiences of Indigenous Australians, but that also recognises the role of the dominant culture, and language. Indigenism seeks to build a robust discourse that merely challenges and amends, but not totally rejects, existing ethics, narratives, epistemologies and methodologies; Political Integrity; where the intellectual sovereignty of Indigenous Australians maintains our political integrity, and Indigenous philosophies, languages, and cultural and spiritual values and beliefs are the foundation of ontologies and epistemologies; and Privileging voice; where the voices of Indigenous researchers are valued due to the unique perspective that can be introduced as an Indigenous Australian (Rigney 1997a).

To this point, the academy has seen Indigenous ways of understanding the world extracted in areas such as maths, astronomy, mythology, art, environmental knowledge and religion – all to fit within the existing curriculum areas (Nakata 2004). Within the academy, therefore, Nakata argues that any reference to culture refers to a WHOLE SYSTEM of understanding, knowing, being and acting (Nakata 2004).

Battiste (2002) suggests that there have been three broad approaches to IK:

1 – Taxonomic studies that attempt to define IK using elements of Western frameworks and methodologies, and highlight differences between IK and Western knowledge – while always asserting the superiority of Western knowledge and its methods and frameworks.

2 – A Eurocentric definition of IK that sees it as a unique, localised knowledge, and utilises Indigenous people as agents of data collection – again, all the while interpreting and analysing within Western frameworks.

3 – Treating IK systems as purely normative or spiritual, and ignoring the diversity of knowledge systems among different Indigenous groups.

Indigenous Knowledge, therefore, provides the academy with a unique opportunity to produce locally supported and relevant research, and ways for all scholars to identify and recognise the connections and relationships that underpin their work.

### **Terminology**

The terminology of Indigenous Knowledge in itself remains something of a contested discursive space. The discourse also considers alternative prefixes to the concept, including using words such as ‘folk’, ‘traditional’, and ‘local’ to describe this knowledge (Battiste 2002; Morris 2010). While most authors allude to the concept itself, Nakata has addressed the grammatical implications (see below), and Brian Morris presents a very critical view of the concept of Indigenous Knowledge:

Personally, I dislike the term ‘indigenous knowledge’ and never use it, and there has been a great debate amongst anthropologists regarding the usefulness of the concept ‘indigenous’ given its reactionary implication in some contexts

(Morris 2010 p. 1).

Morris prefers to use the term ‘folk knowledge’, as he sees it, which he contends is “knowledge that ordinary people have of their local environment” (p. 1). Morris also avoids using the term ‘traditional’ as well, as for him “science and Christianity are just as much a cultural tradition as is folk knowledge” (Morris 2010 p. 1). Morris’ critique, based on his experiences in Malawi, can be viewed as an attempt to ‘de-distinguish’ notions of Indigenous and Western systems of knowledge.

Addressing the grammatical complexity, Nakata provides a succinct explanation for the use of capital letters within the discourse. Using a capital ‘K’, Nakata explains, denotes “an epistemological understanding of knowledge systems. Indigenous knowledge with a ‘k’ in the lower case is to identify fragmented articles of a knowledge system – items of knowledge that are described and documented without any view to an epistemological context” (Nakata 2004 p. 34). In this context, I similarly refer to the holistic epistemological context of Indigenous Knowledge in capital letters, and its requisite components with lower case.



## **Indigenous Knowledge and Western Knowledge**

Debate continues around the merits of distinguishing between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems.

The differences between these Western paradigms and an Indigenous paradigm show Western paradigms to be based on the premise that knowledge is an individual entity that is gained and 'owned' by an individual. An Indigenous paradigm comes from the belief that knowledge is relational: "knowledge is shared with all of creation" (Wilson 2001 p. 176). It is relational, but to all things.

Arun Agrawal identifies three dimensions of difference between IK and Western knowledge: 1) substantive – difference in the subject matter; 2) methodological and epistemological – two forms employing different methods and having different worldviews; and 3) contextual – traditional knowledge is more deeply rooted in its context (Agrawal 1995).

Western scientific methods can discursively situate indigenous knowledge systems as a way of knowing that is culturally grounded, which simultaneously displays Western science as not grounded in culture (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a). An acknowledgment of IK also challenges Western scientific claims of universality and objectivity by inscribing a context and recognising it as cultural knowledge. As previously mentioned, this permits recognition that the colonial scientific paradigm is not the only lens through which the world can be seen and understood. It then allows a postcolonial shift, as I have discussed there, that incorporates both Indigenous and Western knowledge methods. This, according to Semali and Kincheloe, allows an empowering of scientific understanding rather than a narrowed focus (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a).

Indigenous Knowledge remains connected to its inherent relationships, and is therefore a shared system rather than 'belonging' to any one person, institution or entity (Battiste 2002; Janke 2009; Wane 2008; Warren 1996; Wilson 2001). Although Indigenous Knowledge surfaces in and is relevant to a number of academic fields, including "ecology... veterinary medicine, forestry, human health... botany, zoology... rural sociology, mathematics, management science... information science, wildlife management, and water resource management" (Warren et al, in Nakata 2002 p. 282), such categorisation and fragmentation of knowledge into 'recognised' disciplines or terms such as these "subverts the 'holism' of (I)ndigenous ways of understanding the world" (Semali & Kincheloe 1999a p. 21).

However, Nakata and Agrawal, among others, also caution us about the tendency to distinguish, and thus segregate, Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. Such distinctions fail to acknowledge that there are similarities as well as differences, that both are dynamic, evolving systems reflective of environment and experiences (and not fixed in time and/or space), and by distinguishing the two, we make assumptions that one is based on culture (Indigenous knowledge) and the other is not (Western knowledge) (Agrawal 1995; Nakata 2004). For Agrawal, the building of new epistemologies relies on the ability of any innovation to bridge the gap between Indigenous and Western systems, rather than delineate them (1995). Nakata adds that a simple separation and delineation between IK and Western knowledge may be risky, arguing that principles of duality further confine Indigenous peoples as “Other”, as they continue to reify the denigrating categorisation of Indigenous peoples within Western frameworks as inferior, primitive, and less intelligent (Nakata 2002).

In Australian education, Indigenous Knowledge allows Aboriginal peoples to reclaim and reaffirm our own cultures, and to help identify the benefit that the Western world can derive from this culture. Scholars are now realising the importance of IK, and the importance of not letting IK be subverted by the dominant extant paradigms.

### **Indigenous Knowledge Today**

Today, most non-Indigenous people are unaware of any potential value of IK in their own lives. It is confronting to people as it represents a move away from the colonial paradigm that has not only created racialising, stereotyping, cultural difference and assumptive superiority – Whiteness – in contemporary society, but presents them as the ‘comfort zone’. As such, IK challenges people to see the world from outside this comfort zone. It is an examination of how different people construct their view of the world. It brings up profound political, cultural, pedagogical and moral questions that don’t lend themselves to easy or concise answers.

In a contemporary sense, the challenge is for us to take advantage of a unique opportunity to improve our own systems of knowledge. Brush (1996) reminds us that Indigenous knowledge today can include elements from Western culture, and vice versa. A diverse range of areas of Western knowledge can benefit greatly from expert, specific, and contextual Indigenous knowledge including education, health, botany and ecology (Agrawal 2002; Nakata 2006; Semali & Kincheloe 1999a), as well as psychology, mathematics, engineering, business and tourism. As part of legitimate contemporary scholarly practice ‘hybrid’ (postcolonial) epistemology can contain many

of the aspects of both Indigenous and Western systems of knowledge, including academic rigour, reliability, fluidity, and mutual benefit.

Indigenous knowledge can provide a much deeper, richer base of knowledge from which the academy can draw for a variety of purposes. Fixico (2003) emphasises how dreams, daydreaming, imagination and visions become part of the logic and decision-making process of Indigenous thought. Indigenous thinking remains an “inquiry into relationships and community, and it bears reminding us that community extends beyond human relationships” (Fixico 2003 p. 17). Such a perspective holds value for contemporary scholars. No research we conduct in the world today can be separated from its context, and thus its connections and relationships remain a key element.

Indigenous Knowledge also challenges the written textual discourse of much academic debate as Indigenous knowledge systems:

contain a wealth of information including traditional knowledge of arts, craft, dance, and cultural expressions, belief systems, customary laws, environmental knowledge of plants and animals and kinship systems

(Janke 2009 p. 8).

For Indigenous people, and particularly in the case of the Aboriginal people of Australia, losing control of knowledge is tantamount to allowing someone else from a different cultural and social background to tell your story (Kovach 2015), which presents a range of issues including accuracy, and cultural integrity. For Indigenous people, maintaining cultural accuracy and integrity is crucial in reclaiming and reaffirming our culture in the contemporary world. Thus, IK is vital in ensuring accurate narratives of Indigenous culture, no matter who tells them.

As Indigenous scholars, we need to identify our own position that both embraces and valorises our cultural identity and heritage (both historical and current, as they cannot be separated), but that also has a place in the Western academy. In addition, the postcolonial shift has also seen a greater recognition of the ethical responsibility of research, particularly when Indigenous peoples are the participants (more traditionally referred to as ‘subjects’). Improved protocols now place the welfare of these marginalised groups at the forefront of the researcher’s considerations, rather than as an afterthought. As such, the relationship of the researcher to the participants becomes an important part of the methodology, no matter what the project. This ensures that the researcher engages with this relationship, and thus is an important part of Indigenous methodology.

For Rigney, Indigenous Knowledge, methodologies and paradigms are required to develop “a distinct Indigenous Australian academic body of knowledge that seeks to disrupt the socially constructed identity of the ‘archetypal Aborigine’” (1997a p. 37). This, he continues, will inform an ‘Indigenist’ research agenda that is founded upon unique and diverse epistemologies and ontologies that privilege local knowledges (Rigney 1997a).

The real benefit from all this is the contribution that IK can make to contemporary society. The public school curriculum is limiting the knowledge base of our children, as they are not learning about knowledge that is based in and on nature, which was a proven sustainable knowledge base.

## **CONCLUSION**

### **The 21st Century Academy in Australia**

For Indigenous peoples the world over European colonisation has had a deep and lasting impact. From a range of geographical and intellectual positions, these peoples have variously welcomed, rejected, endured, challenged, fought, resisted, altered, criticised, embraced, opposed and outlasted colonisation in its various forms. The fact that Indigenous Knowledge is even considered within the academy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century speaks to the strength of Indigenous cultures, peoples and histories, and to the misguided, erroneous assumptions upon which colonialist expansion relied. Although most certainly a debatable point, the intended domination and removal of Indigenous cultures throughout Europe's new colonies failed to eventuate, and has imbued Indigenous descendants with cultural strength, pride, and a new-found understanding of Western intellectualism.

For the Aboriginal people of Australia, the small gains we have made within the educational and scholarly sphere are but a step in a positive direction. While many suggest that we still exist within exclusionary, racist paradigms – and there is indeed compelling evidence and examples all over the nation to support this – we should consider ourselves to be making positive progress. As an Indigenous academic in the year 2017, I am filled with an enormous sense of pride and hope that the future of education in Australia will be one of much greater inclusion and acknowledgment of Aboriginal culture than education of the past. I am confident that my two sons will be educated in a system where their heritage is displayed as an inherently proud aspect of 'Australian culture' rather than its hitherto position of exotic diversity.

I know my optimism isn't shared by a number of academic colleagues, community members and even politicians – both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal – but it is based on the huge strides we have made as a nation since colonisation was introduced/imposed here. The legacies of our ancestors created the foundations for a positive future.

Consider the evidence of early colonial attitudes towards not only Aboriginal people, but cultural difference as it pertained to the European centres of 'Whiteness'. Mick Dodson brilliantly articulates the hope for a future that emerges from a dark past as he investigates early colonial perceptions of Aboriginal people and Aboriginality. Dodson's examples of colonial records show early assumptions of Aboriginal people that defined

early understandings. For example, constructions of the 'noble savage' and 'prehistoric beasts' often based on religion:

"the poorest objects on the habitable globe" – George Clark Church  
Missionary Society 1825

"blood thirsty, cunning, ferocious, and marked by black ingratitude and base treachery..." – Boyd 1882

"The Australian nigger is the lowest type of human creature about... But having one splendid point in which he is far ahead of the chinkie. He'll die out and the chinkie won't" – Inson and Ward 1887

"degraded as to divine things, almost on a level with a brute... In a state of moral unfitness for heaven... And as incapable of enjoying its pleasures as darkness is incapable of dwelling with light" – John Harper (as cited in Woolmington 1973)

"without God in the world... entirely lost to all moral and spiritual perceptions" – Dredge 1845

(Dodson 2003pp. 25 26)

To add to this degrading, colonising narrative, Western scientific methods of racial classification came to further define Aboriginal people and culture exclusively in their own context:

"Their Aboriginal blood is remotely the same as that of the majority of the white inhabitants of Australia, for the Australian Aboriginal is recognised as being the forerunner of the Caucasian race" – Tindal 1941

"showing anatomical characters very rare in the white races of mankind, but at the same time normal in ape types" – Duckworth 1904

"Regarding early perceptions of 'half-caste': 'There is no biological reason for the refection of people with a dilute strain of Aboriginal blood. A low percentage will not introduce any aberrant characteristics and there need be no fear of reversions to the dark Aboriginal type.'" – Tindale 1941

(Dodson 2003 p. 26)

James Cook, the famed British explorer often credited as the 'discoverer' of Australia, also recorded similar observations of the Aboriginal people he encountered, although

he may also have been the first of the colonisers to recognise value in the Aboriginal culture and lifestyle:

From what I have seen of the Natives of New-Holland they may appear to some to be the most wretched People upon the Earth: but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans; being wholly unacquainted not only with the Superfluous but the necessary Conveniences so much sought after in Europe, they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a Tranquillity – which is not disturb'd by the Inequality of Condition: The Earth and Sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for Life...

Journal of Captain James Cook, 1770 (in Woolmington 1988 p. 13)

Dodson explains that each of these verbatim extracts, “made with a confidence exceeded only by their ignorance”, is a tiny piece of what Aboriginal people have faced in Australia since colonisation (Dodson 2003 p. 27). There would be few urban Aboriginal people who have not had their identities questioned in terms of ‘quantifiable blood’ or so-called ‘traditional experiences, and/or been labelled ‘inauthentic’ or ‘not real’. My own experiences, while limited relative to other Aboriginal Australians, also reflect this. Public debates around racism – and specifically the Adam Goodes case from 2013-2015 – provide palatable examples of how these early colonial attitudes have endured and continue to play a role in contemporary society. They also clearly indicate not only ongoing colonialism, but the continued need for greater recognition and understanding of this.

Throughout Australia’s colonial discourse, Aboriginal people have always had our own discourses that produce our own representations and identities. These emerge from our own experiences, our communities, our families and our ancestors (Anderson 1997; Dodson 2003; Huggins 2003; Nakata 2004), and remain connected to our past, our present and our future. They also remain “a private source of spiritual sustenance” for Aboriginal people today (Dodson 2003 p. 39).

Expressions of Aboriginal/Indigenous identity maintain these connections and serve as both reminder and informer. Aboriginal people in Australia never acceded to European colonialism, and continue to completely reject any notions that our culture is, or was ever, ‘lost’ (Dodson 2003; Huggins 2003; Nakata 2003). This should serve as a constant reminder to the academy, and by extension our education system, that inclusive (ie Aboriginal/Indigenous) education must become the norm, not the

exception. In emphasising the aggressive nature of colonisation in this country and the deliberate attempts to quell, eliminate and dissuade the cultural practices of Indigenous Australians, Nakata reminds us that any educational programs developed as a response to this are doomed to fail, as while they address the culture of education, they do not address the colonial politics of our education system (Nakata 2003).

We remain a nation deeply immersed in our colonial history, and blissfully unaware of the cultural destruction that it wrought. We have a unique opportunity to acknowledge this past in order to inform a richer, more educationally diverse future – in much the same way that Indigenous Knowledge recognises past as an element of present and future. In addition, the globalisation of societies has seen a proliferation of pop culture that serves as our contemporary social backboard. The institutionalisation of society underpins this to the point where virtually everything we do is controlled, or at least influenced by, these institutions. In particular, as I address in the artefact, our political and educational systems shape almost all of us as modern, global citizens. Pop culture, in its many guises, pervades each of these institutions and remains almost a ‘modern day Dreaming’, where young people in particular are almost compelled to adhere to the social norms, trends and behaviours they see on television, film, the Internet, and increasingly social media.

So what does this mean for our future in Australia? It should mean connections. For me, the first step is making connections to Elders and community members and leaders. I hope to be able to learn as much Woiwurrung knowledge as I can that will enable me to not only add value and richness to my own classroom, but to the academic lives of all the people here at Swinburne University. The artefact I have produced provides undergraduate students with a foundational understanding of how Indigenous culture and knowledge cannot only fit within their current education, but how it can help inform and enrich their daily lives.

Additionally, the fundamental principle of connection and relationality that underpins notions of Indigenous Knowledge can provide exciting new possibilities in research. The political influence on the parameters of academia, particularly in terms of resources and funding, present an opportunity for paradigms from outside the colonial, capitalist world that created them. As such, an appreciation and acceptance of Indigenous Knowledge principles allows us to enhance and perhaps improve current processes, and increase the knowledge base of the academy. For each individual institution, this may be a different, unique process. There will be elements of similarity, of course, particularly given the nature of academia. But an acknowledgment of the



value of connecting with local Aboriginal culture, knowledge, and communities can not only provide a fascinating, exciting future for Australian education, but allows Aboriginal scholars to finally reclaim and reaffirm their *OWN* culture through research, scholarship, knowledge and narrative.

In the words of Mick Dodson (2003 p. 42):

Our peoples have left us deep roots, which empowered us to endure the violence of oppression. They are the roots of survival, but not of constriction. They are roots from which all growth is possible.

They are the roots that protected our end from the beginning.”

## REFERENCES

- Aboriginal Schools 1876-c.1979*, 2003, NSW Government, viewed 14/5/2016, <<https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/archives-in-brief/archives-in-brief-44>>.
- Aboriginalart.com.au n.d., *The Dreamtime*, Aboriginal Australia Art & Culture Centre - Alice Springs viewed 24/8/2015, <<http://aboriginalart.com.au/culture/dreamtime.html>>.
- Adair, D & Vamplew, W 1997, *Sport in Australian History*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Adolf, M & Stehr, N 2014, *Knowledge*, Taylor and Francis
- Agrawal, A 1995, 'Dismantling The Divide Between Indigenous And Scientific Knowledge', *Development and Change*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 413 - 439.
- Agrawal, A 2002, 'Indigenous knowledge and the politics of classification', *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 54, no. 173, pp. 287-297.
- Agrawal, A 2005, 'The Politics of Indigenous Knowledge', in M Nakata and M Langton (eds), *Australian Indigenous Knowledge and Libraries*, Australian Academic & Research Libraries, Canberra, pp. 62 - 71.
- AIATSIS n.d.-a, *Aboriginal Australia Map*, AIATSIS, viewed September 12, <<http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research/language.html>>.
- AIATSIS n.d.-b, *Day of Mourning and Protest Aborigines Conference - 75th anniversary*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, viewed 20/11/2015, <<http://aiatsis.gov.au/collections/collections-online/digitised-collections/day-mourning-and-protest-aborigines-conference-75th-anniversary/26th-january-1938>>.
- AIATSIS n.d.-c, *Mission Days*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, viewed 14/9/2015, <<http://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/mission-days>>.
- Aikman, S & King, L 2012, 'Indigenous knowledges and education', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, vol. 42, no. 5, 2012/09/01, pp. 673-681.
- Anderson, I 1997, 'I, the `hybrid' Aborigine: film and representation', *Australian Aboriginal studies*, no. 1, pp. 4-14.
- Anderson, I 2003, 'Introduction: the Aboriginal critique of colonial knowing', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 17 - 24.

Appleby, K & Foster, E 2013, 'Gender And Sport Participation', in E Roper (ed.) *Gender Relations in Sport*, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam, pp. 1 - 20.

Argus, T 1934, 'How Batman Bought Melbourne', *The Argus*, Thursday 6 December, p. 3.

Arnold, J 2007, *Practice Led Research: A dynamic way to knowledge*, Rock View Press, Camberwell.

Ashcroft, B, Griffins, G & Tiffin, H 2002, 'Introduction', *Empire Writes Back*, pp. 1-13.

Asmar, C & Page, S 2009, 'Sources of satisfaction and stress among Indigenous academic teachers: findings from a national Australian study', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 387-401.

Attwood, B 1992, 'Power, Knowledge and Aborigines - Introduction', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 35, pp. i-xvi.

Attwood, B & Markus, A 2007, *The 1967 referendum: race, power and the Australian Constitution*, 2nd edn, Aboriginal Studies Press

Atwell, D 2011, *Makarrata - The Legacy of Windradyne : The Parramatta Treaty Between the British Empire & the Aboriginal Peoples of Australia 1827*, viewed 24/11/2014, <<http://www.changingthetimes.net/samples/18th/makarrata.htm>>.

Australia, Co 2010, (ed PEOaAG Solicitor) Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.

Australia, HCo 1992, *MABO AND OTHERS v. QUEENSLAND (No. 2) (1992) 175 CLR 1 F.C. 92/014* viewed 26/10/2015, <<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/cases/cth/HCA/1992/23.html>>.

Australia.gov.au 2007, *Film in Australia*, Australian Government, viewed 11/2/2016, <<http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/film-in-australia>>.

Australia.gov.au n.d., *Australian identity*, Australian Government, viewed 12/9/2015, <<http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-stories/australian-identity>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population* ABS, viewed 21/10/2015, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/06e6409495ff5247ca256dea00053a04!OpenDocument>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Home Ownership: A snapshot, 2006* ABS, viewed 23/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4722.0.55.005>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012a, *Indigenous disadvantage and selected measures of wellbeing*, ABS, viewed 25/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1301.0Feature+Article9012009%E2%80%9310>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012b, *Sport and physical recreation: Adult participation in sport and physical recreation*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, viewed 13/10/2015, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/1301.0~2012~Main%20Features~Sports%20and%20physical%20recreation~116>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013a, *Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey*, ABS, viewed 23/9/2015, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/4727.0.55.001Main%20Features12012-13?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=4727.0.55.001&issue=2012-13&num=&view=>>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013b, *Sport scores goals for Aussie economy*, ABS, viewed 12/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/4156.0.55.002Media%20Release12013?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=4156.0.55.002&issue=2013&num=&view=>>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014, *STUDENTS*, ABS, viewed 17/5/2016, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4221.0main+features42013>>.

Australian Film Commission 2005, *Early History of the Australian Film Industry*, Canberra, Screen Australia,

Australian Football League 2016a, *2016 Indigenous Players in the AFL*, Australian Football League, viewed 13/5/2016, <<http://www.aflcommunityclub.com.au/index.php?id=790>>.

Australian Football League 2016b, *Australian Football League Annual Report 2015*, Australian Football League, viewed 12/5/2016, <<http://s.afl.com.au/staticfile/AFL%20Tenant/AFL/Files/Annual%20Report/AFLAnnualReport2015.pdf>>.

Australian Football League 2016c, *Current AFL Players with a Multicultural Background*, Australian Football League, viewed 13/5/2016, <<http://www.aflcommunityclub.com.au/index.php?id=27>>.

Australian Law Reform Commission 1977, *Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Law (ALRC Report 31)*, Canberra, ALRC,

Ayre, M & Mackenzie, J 2013, "Unwritten, unsaid, just known": the role of Indigenous knowledge(s) in water planning in Australia', *Local Environment*, vol. 18, no. 7, pp. 753-768.

Bainbridge, J 2008a, 'Audiences and Representations', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 174 - 194.

- Bainbridge, J 2008b, 'Media Texts', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 155 - 173.
- Bainbridge, J 2008c, 'The Public Sphere', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 3 - 18.
- Bainbridge, J, Goc, N & Tynan, L 2008, 'Introduction', in J Bainbridge, N Goc and L Tynan (eds), *Media and Journalism: new approaches to theory and practice*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. xiv - xxv.
- Bale, J & Cronin, M 2003a, 'Introduction: Sport and Postcolonialism', in J Bale and M Cronin (eds), *Sport and Postcolonialism*, Berg, Oxford, pp. 1-13.
- Bale, J & Cronin, M (eds), 2003b, *Sport and Postcolonialism*, Berg, Oxford.
- Banner, S 2005, 'Why Terra Nullius? Anthropology and Property Law in Early Australia', *Law and History Review*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 95 - 131.
- Barwick, D 1998, *Rebellion at Coranderrk*, Aboriginal History Inc., Canberra.
- Battiste, M 2002, *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education: A Literature Review with Recommendations*, Ottawa, Canadian Government,
- Battiste, M 2009a, 'Introduction: Unfolding the Lessons of Colonization', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. xvi - xxx.
- Battiste, M 2009b, 'Maintaining Aboriginal Identity: Language and Culture in Modern Society', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. 192 - 208.
- Bayly, CA 1999, 'The Second British Empire', in RW Winks (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. V, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 54 - 72.
- Bell, DA 1995, 'Who's Afraid of Critical Race Theory?', *University of Illinois Law Review*, no. 4, pp. 893 - 910.
- Bell, J 2003, 'Australia's Indigenous Languages', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians* Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 159 - 170.
- Benedict, R 1961, *Patterns of Culture*, Routledge, London.
- Bennett, S 1985, 'The 1967 referendum', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, pp. 26 - 31.
- Bennett, T 2004, *Pasts beyond memory: Evolution Museums Colonialism*, Routledge, London.
- Bhatia, S 2002, 'Orientalism in Euro-American and Indian psychology: Historical representations of "natives" in colonial and postcolonial contexts', *History of Psychology*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 376-398.

- Birch, T 2003, 'Nothing has changed': the making and unmaking of Koori culture', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: contemporary critical writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 145 - 158.
- Blainey, G 1990, *A game of our own: the origins of Australian football*, Information Australia, Melbourne.
- Bolt, A 2009, 'It's so hip to be black', *Herald Sun*, April 15,
- Bourke, C, Bourke, E & Edwards, B (eds), 1998, *Aboriginal Australia: an Introductory Reader in Aboriginal Studies*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.
- Bourke, E 1998, 'Australia's First Peoples: Identity and Population', in C Bourke, E Bourke and B Edwards (eds), *Aboriginal Australia: An introductory reader in Aboriginal Studies*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, pp. 38 - 55.
- boyd, d 2009, 'Social Media is Here to Stay... Now What,' *Microsoft Research Tech Fest*,
- Brewer, A 1990, *Marxist theories of imperialism: a critical survey*, 2nd edn., Routledge, London.
- Briggs, J 2013, 'Indigenous knowledge: A false dawn for development theory and practice?', *Progress in Development Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, July 1, 2013, pp. 231-243.
- Broome, R 2010, *Aboriginal Australians: A history since 1788*, 4th edn., Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.
- Brown, M 2015, *MLB Sees Record Revenues For 2015, Up \$500 Million And Approaching \$9.5 Billion*, *Forbes*, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://www.forbes.com/sites/maurybrown/2015/12/04/mlb-sees-record-revenues-for-2015-up-500-million-and-approaching-9-5-billion/#6e8abc712307>>.
- Brush, SB 1996, 'Whose Knowledge, Whose Genes, Whose Rights?', in SB Brush and D Stabinsky (eds), *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People And Intellectual Property*, Island Press, Washington, pp. 1 - 21.
- Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre 2015, Museum Victoria, viewed 28/12/2015, <<http://museumvictoria.com.au/bunjilaka/>>.
- Butlin, NG 1993, *Economics and the Dreamtime: A hypothetical history*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Byrnes, P 2006, 'Ten Canoes', *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 1, pp. 1-2.
- Capitalism*, 2016, Dictionary.com, viewed 26/5/2016, <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/capitalism?s=t>>.
- Cartwright, RLCFpdO 1968, 'Some Remarks on Essentialism', *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 65, no. 20, pp. 615-626.
- Cashmore, E 1982, *Black Sportsmen*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Césaire, A 1972, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Monthly Review Press, New York.

- Champagne, D 1996, 'American Indian Studies is for everyone', *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter, pp. 77 - 83.
- Chan-Tiberghien, J 2004, 'Towards a 'global educational justice' research paradigm: cognitive justice, decolonizing methodologies and critical pedagogy', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 191-213.
- Chandra, J 2015, *National Treasures: 50 Australian Pop Culture Icons* Allure Media, viewed 18/2/2016, <<http://www.popsugar.com.au/celebrity/Top-50-Australian-Pop-Culture-Icons-Film-TV-Music-More-26961220#opening-slide>>.
- Coakley, J, Hallinan, C, Mewett, P & Jackson, S 2009, *Sports in Society: issues and controversies in Australia and New Zealand*, McGraw-Hill, North Ryde.
- Cohen, L, Manion, L & Morrison, K 2011, *Research methods in education*, 7th edn, Routledge
- Collins, B 2016, *National Indigenous Times acquired by Wayne Bergmann's 'pro-business' syndicate*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, viewed 2/5/2016, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-01-21/national-indigenous-times-acquired-wayne-bergmann/7105588>>.
- Collins, PH 1986, 'Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought', *Social Problems*, vol. 33, no. 6, pp. S14-S32.
- Colman, F 2009, *Film, Theory and Philosophy*, Acumen, Durham, GBR.
- Coram, S 1999, 'Reclaiming Aboriginal Identity through Australian Rules Football: A Legacy of the 'Stolen Generation',', *First International Conference on Sports and Human Rights*, 159-164.
- Cowlishaw, G 1988, *Black, white or brindle: race in rural Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Cowlishaw, G 2004, *Blackfellas, whitefellas, and the hidden injuries of race*, Blackwell Publishing, Carlton.
- Crawshaw, D 2008, 'Sports trivia in citizenship test: govt', *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 29,
- Culture*, 2016a, Oxford Dictionaries, viewed 11/1/2016, <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/culture>>.
- Culture*, 2016b, Dictionary.com, viewed 14/1/2016, <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/culture?s=t>>.
- Darwin, C & Beer, G 1996, *The Origin of Species*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Davis, M 2007, *Writing Heritage: The Depiction of Indigenous Heritage in European-Australian Writings*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Kew.
- Davis, T 2010, 'Beyond good/should/bad: Teaching Australian Indigenous film and television', *Continuum*, vol. 24, no. 5, pp. 799 - 804.

Dawson, J 1981, *Australian Aborigines: The language and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*, Facsimile edn., Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Delgado, R & Stefancic, J 2012, *Critical Race Theory : An Introduction*, NYU Press, New York.

Department of Premier and Cabinet 2015, *Registered Aboriginal Parties*, State Government of Victoria, viewed 4/12/2016, <<http://www.dpc.vic.gov.au/index.php/aboriginal-affairs/registered-aboriginal-parties>>.

Department of Social Services 2007, *Fact Sheet - Australia's Multicultural Policy*, Commonwealth of Australia, viewed 2/12/2015, <<https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/publications/fact-sheet-australias-multicultural-policy>>.

Dodson, M 2003, 'The end in the beginning: re(de)finding Aboriginality', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blakclines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton pp. 25 - 42.

Dow, C & Gardiner-Garden, J 2011, *Overview of Indigenous Affairs: Part 1: 1901 to 1991*, Parliament of Australia, viewed 2/11/15, <[http://www.aph.gov.au/about\\_parliament/parliamentary\\_departments/parliamentary\\_library/pubs/bn/1011/indigenousaffairs1](http://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/bn/1011/indigenousaffairs1)>.

Drinkwater, B (ed.) 2000, *Women in Sport*, Blackwell Science, Oxford.

Duncan, S 1977, 'The discovery of Australia: the Portuguese priority reconsidered ', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 64 - 78.

During, S 1995, 'Postmodernism or Postcolonialism Today', in B Ashcroft, G Griffiths and H Tiffin (eds), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, Routledge, London, pp. 125-129.

Eidelson, M 1997, *The Melbourne Dreaming: A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Elder, C 2007, *Being Australian: Narratives of National Identity*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Elkin, AP 1958, 'Anthropology in Australia', *Mankind*, vol. 5, no. 6, October

Ellingson, TJ 2001, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Ellis, CS & Bochner, AP 2006, 'Analyzing Analytic Autoethnography: An Autopsy', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 35, no. 4, August 1, 2006, pp. 429-449.

*Enterprise*, 2016, Dictionary.com, viewed 13/5/2016, <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/enterprise?s=t>>.



Essén, A & Värlander, SW 2013, 'The mutual constitution of sensuous and discursive understanding in scientific practice: An autoethnographic lens on academic writing', *Management Learning*, vol. 44, no. 4, September 1, 2013, pp. 395-423.

Crocodile Dundee 1986 Hoyts Distribution/Paramount Pictures, April 24, 1986.

Fanon, F 2008, *Black skin, white masks*, Grove Press, New York.

Ferguson, N 2004, *The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, Basic Books

Fixico, DL 2003, *The American Indian Mind In A Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge*, Taylor and Francis, Hoboken.

Flanagan, M 2010, 'Searching for marngrook', *The Age*, Sunday May 22,

Foley, D 2000, 'Successful indigenous Australian entrepreneurs: A case study analysis',

Foley, D 2003a, 'An Examination of Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs', *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, vol. 8, no. 2, August, pp. 133 - 151.

Foley, D 2003b, 'Indigenous Epistemology and Indigenous Standpoint Theory', *Social Alternatives*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2003 First Quarter, p. 44.

Foley, D 2006, *Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs: Not all Community Organisations, Not all in the Outback*, Canberra, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Discussion Paper No. 279/2006.

Foley, D 2010, 'Enterprise and Entrepreneurship and Australian Aborigines', *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 85 - 93.

Foley, D & Valenzuela, A 2005, 'Critical Ethnography: The Politics of Collaboration', in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp. 217 - 234.

Forrester, J, Zimmerman, A & Finley, L 2016, 'QUT discrimination case exposes Human Rights Commission failings', *The Conversation*, November 7

Foucault, M 1972a, *The archaeology of knowledge*, Tavistock Publications, London.

Foucault, M 1972b, *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*, Pantheon Books, New York.

Franklin, MA 1976, *Black and white Australians: An inter-racial history 1788 - 1975*, Heinemann Educational Australia, South Yarra.

Frederick, HH 2008, 'Introduction to special issue on indigenous entrepreneurs', *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 185-191.

Fuchs, C 2014, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, SAGE Publications

Gandhi, L 1998, *Postcolonial theory: a critical introduction*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest.

- Garvey, DC 2007, *Indigenous Identity in Contemporary Psychology: Dilemmas, Developments, Directions*, Thomson, South Melbourne.
- Germain, E 1955, *The Marxist Theory of Imperialism and its Critics*, viewed 22/6/2015, <<https://www.marxists.org/archive/mandel/1955/08/imp-crit.html> >.
- Godwell, D 2000, 'Playing the game: is sport as good for race relations as we'd like to think?', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, vol. 1 & 2, pp. 12 - 19.
- Goodall, H, Jakubowicz, A, Mitchell, T, Randall, L & Seneviratne, K 1994, *Racism, ethnicity and the media*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards.
- Grossman, M 2003a, 'After Aboriginalism: power, knowledge and Indigenous Australian critical writing', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 1 - 14.
- Grossman, M (ed.) 2003b, *Blacklines: contemporary critical writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
- Hall, CM & Tucker, H (eds), 2004, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, Routledge.
- Hallinan, C 2015, 'Assessing the sociology of sport: On indigeneity, politics of identity and Australian sports', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 50, no. 4-5, June 1, 2015, pp. 448-453.
- Hallinan, C & Judd, B 2009, 'Race relations, Indigenous Australia and the social impact of professional Australian football', *Sport in Society*, vol. 12, no. 9, pp. 1220 - 1235.
- Hallinan, CJ, Bruce, T & Coram, S 1999, 'UP FRONT AND BEYOND THE CENTRE LINE: Australian Aborigines in Elite Australian Rules Football', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 34, no. 4, December 1, 1999, pp. 369-383.
- Hampton, E 1995, 'Towards a redefinition of Indian education', *First Nations education in Canada: The circle unfolds*, pp. 5-46.
- Harding, R 2005, 'THE MEDIA, ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND COMMON SENSE', *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 311-335.
- Harding, R 2006, 'Historical representations and aboriginal people in the Canadian news media', *Discourse and Society*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 205 - 235.
- Harlow, B 1987, *Resistance Literature*, Methuen, New York.
- Harrison, L & Harrison, C 2002, 'African American racial identity: Theory and application to education, race, and sport in America', *African American research perspectives*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 35-46.
- Hart, VG & Whatman, SL 1998, 'Decolonising the concept of knowledge,' *Higher Education Research and Development Studies Association [HERDSA] Annual International Conference*,

- Henrikson, AK 1999, 'The Power and Politics of Maps', in GJ Demko and WB Wood (eds), *Reordering the world: geopolitical perspectives on the twenty-first century*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 94 - 116.
- Herbert, J 2012, "Ceaselessly circling the centre": Historical contextualization of indigenous education within Australia', *History of Education Review*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 91-103.
- Hess, R 2000, 'Ladies are specially invited': women in the culture of Australian rules football', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 17, no. 2-3, pp. 111-141.
- Hewson, MG 2015, *Embracing Indigenous Knowledge in Science and Medical Teaching*, Springer
- Hibbins, G 2008, 'Wills and the Aboriginal Game: A Seductive Myth', in G Slattery (ed.) *The Australian Game of Football: Since 1858*, Slattery Media Group, Richmond, pp. 45.
- Hinch, T & Butler, R 2007, 'Introduction: revisiting common ground', in R Butler and T Hinch (eds), *Tourism and Indigenous peoples: issues and implications*, Elsevier, Oxford, pp. 2-12.
- Hindle, K & Lansdowne, M 2005, 'Brave spirits on new paths: towards a globally relevant paradigm of Indigenous entrepreneurship research', *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship*, vol. 18, no. 2, Spring, pp. 131 - 142.
- Hoberman, J 1997, *Darwin's Athletes: How Sport Has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race*, Houghton Mifflin, New York.
- Hobson, JA 1965, *Imperialism*, University of Michigan Press, USA.
- Hokowhitu, B 2004, 'Tackling Māori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport', *The Contemporary Pacific*, vol. 16, no. 2, Fall, pp. 259 - 284.
- Hokowhitu, B 2009, 'Māori Rugby and Subversion: Creativity, Domestication, Oppression and Decolonization', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 26, no. 16, December, pp. 2314 - 2334.
- Hollinshead, K 1992, 'White' gaze, 'red' people - shadow visions: the disidentification of 'Indians' in cultural tourism', *Leisure Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 43-64.
- Horne, D 1970, *The Next Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.
- Huggins, J 2003, 'Always was always will be', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: contemporary critical writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 60 - 65.
- Huijser, H & Collins-Gearing, B 2007, 'Representing Indigenous Stories in the Cinema: Between Collaboration and Appropriation', *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 1 - 9.

- Hume, L 2002, *Ancestral power: the Dreaming, consciousness, and Aboriginal Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South.
- Hunter, I 2006, 'The History of Theory', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 78-112.
- in *Imperialism* 2009, (ed B Moore) Oxford University Press, Canberra
- Imperialism*, 2015, Oxford Dictionaries, viewed 22/10/15,  
<<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/imperialism> >.
- Imperialism*, 2016, Dictionary.com, viewed 24/1/2016,  
<<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/imperialism?s=t>>.
- Isidore, C 2015, *NFL revenue: Here comes another record season*, CNN, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://money.cnn.com/2015/09/10/news/companies/nfl-revenue-profits/> >.
- Janke, T 2009, *Writing up Indigenous Research: authorship, copyright and Indigenous knowledge systems*, Sydney, Terri Janke and Company Pty Ltd,.
- Jellie, D 2016, *Oh we're from Tigerland: Andrew Peters*, Richmond Football Club, viewed May 25, <<http://www.richmondfc.com.au/news/2016-05-25/oh-were-from-tigerland-andrew-peters> >.
- Jhally, S & Lewis, J 1992, *Enlightened racism : the Cosby show, audiences, and the myth of the American dream* Westview Press, Boulder.
- Johnston, LF 1951, 'Native Welfare: Meeting of Commonwealth and State Ministers,' *Native Welfare Conference*,
- Jordan, JV 2008, 'Recent Developments in Relational-Cultural Theory', *Women & Therapy*, vol. 31, no. 2-4, 2015/09/16, pp. 1-4.
- Judd, B 2005, 'Australian Rules Football as Aboriginal Cultural Artifact', *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. XXV, no. 1, pp. 215-237.
- Judd, B 2007, *Australian Game, Australian Identity: (Post)Colonial Identity in Football*, PhD thesis, Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies, Monash University, Melbourne.
- King, C 2004, 'Race and Cultural Identity: Playing the Race Game Inside Football', *Leisure Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, January, pp. 19-30.
- King, CR 2005, 'Identities, Opportunities, Inequities: An Introduction', in CR King (ed.) *Native Athletes In Sport and Society*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, pp. xi - xxxiii.
- Kovach, M 2015, 'Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies ', in S Strega and L Brown (eds), *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, Canadian Scholars' Press, Toronto, pp. 43 - 64.
- Krüger, M 2015, 'Global Perspectives on Sports and Movement Cultures: From Past to Present – Modern Sports between Nationalism, Internationalism, and Cultural Imperialism', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2015/03/18, pp. 1-17.

- Kunnie, JE & Goduka, NI (eds), 2006, *Indigenous Peoples' Wisdom and Power: Affirming Our Knowledge Through Narratives*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Hampshire.
- Kurtzer, S 2003, 'Wandering Girl: who defines 'authenticity' in Aboriginal literature? ', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writings By Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 181 - 188.
- Lacey, N 2009, *Image and Representation: key concepts in Media Studies*, 2nd edn., Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Lange, M & Dawson, A 2009, 'Dividing and Ruling the World? A Statistical Test of the Effects of Colonialism on Postcolonial Civil Violence', *Social Forces*, vol. 88, no. 2, pp. 785 - 818.
- Langton, M 1993, *"Well I heard it on the radio and I saw it on the television...": An essay for the Australian Film Commission on the politics and aesthetics of filmmaking by and about Aboriginal people and things.*, Australian Film Commission, North Sydney.
- Law Council of Australia 2014, *Indigenous Imprisonment Fact Sheet*, Law Council of Australia, viewed 2/5/2016, <[https://www.lawcouncil.asn.au/lawcouncil/images/LCA-PDF/Briefs\\_Fact\\_Sheets\\_and\\_Publications/IndigImprisonmentStats.pdf](https://www.lawcouncil.asn.au/lawcouncil/images/LCA-PDF/Briefs_Fact_Sheets_and_Publications/IndigImprisonmentStats.pdf)>.
- Lewis, GD 2016, *History of Museums*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, viewed 21/12/2015, <<http://www.britannica.com/topic/history-398827>>.
- Loomba, A 2005, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd edn., Routledge, Milton Park.
- Love, RS 2008, *The Enlightenment*, Greenwood Publishing Group
- Lowe, P 2002, *Hunters and trackers of the Australian desert*, Rosenberg Publishing, Sydney.
- Macedo, D 1999, 'Decolonizing Indigenous Knowledge', in LM Semali and JL Kincheloe (eds), *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, Routledge, New York, pp. xi - xvi.
- MacIntyre, S 2009, *A Concise History of Australia*, 3rd edn., Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne.
- Maddison, S 2009, *Black Politics: Inside the complexity of Aboriginal political culture*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.
- Mapedzahama, V & Kwansah-Aidoo, K 2010, "'Where are you from?' The Paradox of African Identity and Belonging in Australia,' *TASA Conference*, The Australian Sociological Association,
- Marshall, PJ 1999, 'The First British Empire', in RW Winks (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 43 - 53.
- Martin, KL 2008, *Please Knock Before You Enter: Aboriginal regulation of outsiders and the implicaiton for researchers*, Post Pressed, Teneriffe.

- Martin, R 2001, 'Native Connection to Place: Policies and Play', *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter, pp. 35 - 40.
- Matthews, S 2013, 'Reflections on the Appropriate Use of Unjustly Conferred Privilege', *Theoria: A Journal of Social & Political Theory*, vol. 60, no. 135, pp. 23-41.
- McCorquodale, J 1986, 'The Legal Classification of Race in Australia', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 7-24.
- McGregor, R 1997, *Imagined destinies : Aboriginal Australians and the doomed race theory, 1880-1939* Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
- McIntyre, K 1977, *The Secret Discovery of Australia: Portuguese Ventures 200 Years Before Captain Cook*, Souvenir Press, Adelaide.
- McKenna, M 1997, (ed P Library) Parliament of Australia, Canberra.
- Melnick, MJ & Thomson, RW 1996, 'The Maori People and Positional Segregation in New Zealand Rugby Football: A Test of the Anglocentric Hypothesis', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 31, no. 2, June 1, 1996, pp. 139-154.
- Midgley, M 2011, *The Myths We Live By*, 1 edn, Taylor and Francis
- The Man From Snowy River 1982 Hoyts Distribution/21st Century Fox, March 25, 1982.
- Mission Voices n.d., *Missions and Reserves Map*, ABC Online on Wayback Machine, viewed 12/6/2013,  
 <[https://web.archive.org/web/20040914083159/http://www.abc.net.au/missionvoices/genera/missions\\_and\\_reserves\\_map/default.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20040914083159/http://www.abc.net.au/missionvoices/genera/missions_and_reserves_map/default.htm)>.
- Mongia, P (ed.) 1996, *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Arnold, London.
- Moreton-Robinson, A (ed.) 2004, *Whitening Race: Essays in social and cultural criticism*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Moreton-Robinson, A 2015, *The White Possessive: Property, Power and Indigenous Sovereignty*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Morris, B 2010, 'INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE', *Society of Malawi Journal*, vol. 63, pp. 1-9.
- Mudrooroo 1995, 'White Forms, Aboriginal Content', in B Ashcroft, G Griffiths and H Tiffin (eds), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, Routledge, London, pp. 228-231.
- Muir, C, Rose, D & Sullivan, P 2010, 'From the other side of the knowledge frontier: Indigenous knowledge, socio-ecological relationships and new perspectives', *The Rangeland Journal*, vol. 32, pp. 259 - 265.
- Mulvaney, DJ 1990, 'Spencer, Sir Walter Baldwin (1860–1929)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*,
- Mulvaney, DJ 1993, 'Australian Anthropology: Foundations and Funding', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 105 - 128.

- Nakamura, N 2010, 'Indigenous Methodologies: Suggestions for Junior Researchers', *Geographical Research*, vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 97-103.
- Nakata, M 1998a, 'Anthropological texts and Indigenous standpoints', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, vol. 1998, no. 2, 2015/9/23, pp. 3 - 12.
- Nakata, M 1998b, 'From the other side of the knowledge frontier: Indigenous knowledge, socio-ecological relationships and new perspectives', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, vol. 2, pp. 3-12.
- Nakata, M 2002, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Cultural Interface: underlying issues at the intersection of knowledge and information systems', *IFLA Journal*, vol. 28, no. 5-6, October 1, 2002, pp. 281-291.
- Nakata, M 2003, 'Better', in M Grossman (ed.) *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 132 - 144.
- Nakata, M 2004, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Cultural Interface: Underlying issues at the intersection of knowledge and information systems', in A Hickling-Hudson, J Matthews and A Woods (eds), *Disrupting Preconceptions: Postcolonialism and Education*, Post Pressed, Flaxton, Qld., pp. 19 - 38.
- Nakata, M 2006, 'Australian Indigenous studies: A question of discipline', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 265 - 275.
- Nakata, M 2007, *Disciplining the savages, savaging the disciplines*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Nakata, M, Byrne, A, Nakata, V & Gardiner, G 2005, 'Indigenous Knowledge, the Library Information Service Sector, and Protocols', in M Nakata and M Langton (eds), *Australian Indigenous Knowledge And Libraries*, Australian Academic and Research Libraries, Canberra, pp. 9 - 24.
- Native Welfare Conference 1961, 'The Policy of Assimilation: Decisions of Commonwealth and State Ministers,' *Native Welfare Conference*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra, pp.
- Nicholson, J 2007, *Songlines and stone axes*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.
- Northern Land Council n.d., *Land Rights*, NLC, viewed 4/12/2015, <<http://www.nlc.org.au/articles/info/aboriginal-land-rights-northern-territory-act-1976/>>.
- Notes Concerning the British Empire*, n.d., BirtAm.org, viewed 12/9/2015, <<http://www.britam.org/BritishE.html>>.
- Nowra, L 2008, 'Indifference has robbed generations of our history', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27/12/2008,
- Ogleby, CL 1993, 'Terra Nullius, the High Court and Surveyors', *The Australian Surveyor*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 171 - 189.

- Paradies, YC 2006, 'Beyond black and white: essentialism, hybridity and indigeneity', *Journal of sociology*, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 355-368.
- Paul, R & Elder, L 1997, *Socratic Teaching*, Foundation for Critical Thinking, viewed 10/05/2016, <<http://www.criticalthinking.org/pages/socratic-teaching/606>>.
- Phelan, J 2015, *Women's participation soars in 2015*, Australian Football League, viewed 2/6/2016, <<http://www.afl.com.au/news/2015-10-13/womens-participation-in-afl-soars-in-2015>>.
- Poulter, J 2011, *Sharing Heritage in Kulin Country: Lessons in Reconciliation from our First Contact History*, Red Hen, Melbourne.
- Presland, G 2001, *Aboriginal Melbourne: The lost land of the Kulin people*, Harriland Press, Forest Hill.
- Presland, G 2010, *First people: the Eastern Kulin of Melbourne, Port Phillip, and Central Victoria*, Museum Victoria Publishing, Melbourne.
- Price, K 2015, 'A brief history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education in Australia', in K Price (ed.) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education: an introduction for the teaching profession*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne, pp. 1 - 20.
- Quinn, K 2011, 'Bolt loses high-profile race case', *The Age*, September 28, *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cwlth), Federal Register of Legislation, viewed January 19, 2017, <<https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2014C00014/Download>>.
- Raheja, MH 2011, *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Ralph, J 2011, *It took two brave men to change footy's racial horizons*, viewed 12/11/2014, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/afl/it-took-two-brave-men-to-change-footys-racial-horizons/story-fn8ymmuy-1226083697370>>.
- Reed, L 2009, "'A Voice in Modern Australia": Songs of Australian Indigenous Women', in A Sarwal and R Sarwal (eds), *Creative Nation: Australian Cinema and Cultural Studies Reader*, SSS Publications, New Delhi, pp. 468 - 488.
- Rees, J 2006, *Imperialism and Resistance*, Routledge, Milton Park.
- Reynolds, H 1998, *The whispering in our hearts*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards.
- Reynolds, H 2003, *The Law of the Land*, 3rd edn., Penguin Books, Camberwell.
- Rigney, L-I 1997a, 'Internationalisation of an anti-colonial cultural critique of research methodologies: a guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles', *Journal for Native American Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, Fall, pp. 109 -121.
- Rigney, L-I 1997b, 'Internationalisation of An Indigenous Anti-Colonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies: A guide to Indigenist Research Methodology and its Principles,' *Annual International Conference - Research and Development in Higher*



*Education: Advancing International Perspectives*, Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia (HERDSA),

Rigney, L-I 2006, 'Indigenist Research and Aboriginal Australia', in JE Kunnie and NI Goduka (eds), *Indigenous Peoples' Wisdom and Power: Affirming Our Knowledge Through Narratives*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Hampshire, pp. 32 - 48.

Walkabout 1971 2st Century Fox/Siren Entertainment, October 1971.

Roper, EA 2013, *Gender Relations in Sport*, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam.

Rose, M 2015, 'The 'silent apartheid' as the practitioner's blindspot', in K Price (ed.) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne, pp. 66 - 82.

Rosenberg, A 2005, *Philosophy of Science : A Contemporary Introduction*, 2 edn, Taylor and Francis

Russell, L 2010, 'Indigenous Victorians : repressed, resourceful and respected', *The La Trobe Journal*, vol. 85, May, pp. 3 - 12.

Ryan, C & Aicken, M (eds), 2005, *Indigenous Tourism: The commodification and management of culture*, Elsevier, Oxford.

Ryan, C & Huyton, J 2002, 'Tourists and Aboriginal people', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 631 - 647.

Said, EW 1978, *Orientalism*, Random House, New York.

Said, EW 1993, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1st edn., Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York.

The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith 1978 Hoyts Distribution, June 22, 1978.

Schwab, J & Sutherland, D 2001, *Building Indigenous learning communities*, Australian National University, Discussion Paper No. 225.

Semali, LM & Kincheloe, JL 1999a, 'What is Indigenous Knowledge and Why Should We Study It?', in LM Semali and JL Kincheloe (eds), *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, Routledge, New York, pp. 3 - 57.

Semali, LM & Kincheloe, JL 1999b, *What is Indigenous Knowledge? : Voices from the Academy*, 1 edn, Taylor and Francis

Sheehan, NW 2011, 'Indigenous knowledge and respectful design:an evidence based approach', *Design Issues*, vol. 27, no. 4, Autumn 2011, pp. 68-80.

Smith, GH 2009, 'Protecting and Respecting Indigenous Knowledge', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. 209 - 224.

Smith, VL 1996, 'Indigenous tourism: the 4 Hs', in R Butler and T Hinch (eds), *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*, International Thomson Business Press, London, pp. 283-307.

Spivak, GC 1990, *The post-colonial critic*, Routledge, New York.

St. Germain, J 2009, *Broken Treaties: United States and Canadian Relations with the Lakotas and the Plains Cree, 1868 - 1885*, University of Nebraska Press

Stanner, WEH 1979, 'After The Dreaming (1968)', in *White man got no dreaming: essays 1938 - 1973*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, pp. 198 - 248.

Stewart, D 2016, (eds), N Blake and Boon Wurrung Foundation) Boon Wurrung Foundation and Port Phillip EcoCentre.

Stocking, GW 1985, *Objects and Others : Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis.

Stone, G 1965, 'Violence explodes in racist town', *Daily Mirror*, 21/2/1965,

Strega, S & Brown, L 2015a, 'From Resistance to Resurgence', in S Strega and L Brown (eds), *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, Canadian Scholars' Press, pp. 1 - 16.

Strega, S & Brown, L (eds), 2015b, *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, Canadian Scholars' Press, Toronto.

Strinati, D 2004, *Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture*, 2 edn, Taylor and Francis

Stuchtey, B 2011, *Colonialism and imperialism 1450 - 1950*, Inst. f. Europ. Geschichte, viewed 24/10/2012, <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/stuchteyb-2010-en>>.

Tapsell, P & Woods, C 2008, 'Potikitanga: indigenous entrepreneurship in a Maori context', *Journal of Enterprising Communities*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 192 - 203.

Tatz, C 1995, *Obstacle Race: Aborigines in sport*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

Tatz, C & Tatz, P 2000, *Black gold: the Aboriginal and Islander sports hall of fame*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Te Puni Kokiri 2006, *Te Maori i Te Whutuporo: Maori in Rugby: Fact Sheet 23*, Te Puni Kokiri, viewed 13/5/2016, <<https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/.../tpk-maoriinrugby-2006-en.pdf>>.

Thomas, H 2016, 'Judge dismisses case against QUT students over 18C', *The Australian*, November 5,

Tibbet, K 2005, *Community specialisation, standardisation and exchange in a hunter-gatherer society: a case study from Kalkadoon country, northwest Queensland, Australia*, thesis, School of Anthropology, Archaeology, and Sociology, James Cook University, Townsville.

Tiessen, JH 1997, 'Individualism, collectivism, and entrepreneurship: A framework for international comparative research', *Journal of Business Venturing*, vol. 12, no. 5, pp. 367-384.

Tindale, NB & George, B 1979, *The Australian Aborigines*, Budget Books, Windsor, Vic.

*Top 100 Australian feature films of all time*, 2016, Screen Australia, viewed 10/2/2016, <<http://www.screenaustralia.gov.au/research/statistics/boxofficeaustraliatop100.aspx>>.

Torgovnich, M 1990, *Gone primitive: savage intellects, modern lives*, University of Chicago Press

Tuhiwai Smith, L 1999, *Decolonizing methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin.

Tylor, EB 1889, *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art and custom*, 3rd edn., Henry Holt and Company, New York.

United Nations 2000, *Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Resolution 2000/22*, United Nations Division for Social Policy Development Indigenous Peoples, viewed 31/05/2016, <<https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us/resolution-e200022.html>>.

United Nations 2003, *Secretary-General Launches Commission On Private Sector And Development At Headquarters Press Briefing*, United Nations, viewed 14/5/2016, <<http://www.un.org/press/en/2003/UNDPbrf.doc.htm>>.

University], *S Community partnerships*, Swinburne University of Technology, viewed February 19, <<http://www.swinburne.edu.au/about/strategy-initiatives/indigenous-australians/research-and-partnerships/partnerships-projects/>>.

UNWTO 2015, *UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2015 Edition*, United Nations World Tourism Organisation, viewed 16/5/2016, <<http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284416899>>.

Urry, J 1990, *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*, SAGE Publications, London.

VACL 2016, *Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages - All 38 Languages*, viewed 20/5/2016, <<http://www.vaclang.org.au/>>.

Vitcavage, A 2012, *The 100 Best Movie Posters of the Past 100 Years*, Paste Magazine, viewed 21/2/2016, <<https://www.pastemagazine.com/blogs/lists/2012/02/the-best-movie-posters-of-the-past-100-years.html>>.

Waitangi Tribunal 2015, *The Meaning of the Treaty* New Zealand Ministry of Justice, viewed 30/11/2015, <<http://www.justice.govt.nz/tribunals/waitangi-tribunal/treaty-of-waitangi/the-meaning-of-the-treaty>>.

Wane, NN 2008, 'Mapping the field of Indigenous knowledges in anti-colonial discourse: a transformative journey in education', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2015/08/10, pp. 183-197.

Ward, JR 1994, 'The Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, 1750-1850', *The Economic History Review*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 44-65.

Warren, DM 1996, 'Indigenous knowledge systems for sustainable agriculture in Africa', in VU James (ed.) *Sustainable development in third world countries: applied and theoretical perspectives*, Praeger, Westport, CT, pp. 15 - 24.

Washington, RE & Karen, D 2001, 'SPORT AND SOCIETY', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2016/5/3/, p. 187.

WebsterWorld 2006, *Origins of Sport in Australia*, WebsterWorld, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://www.websterworld.com/websterworld/websport/o/originsofsportinaustralia853.html>>.

Wedgwood, N 2005, 'Doin' It for Themselves! A Case Study of the Development of a Women's Australian Rules Football Competition', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 396-414.

Gallipoli 1981 Paramount Pictures, August 13, 1981.

West, BJ & Griffin, LA 2005, 'Ways of Knowing', in *Biodynamics*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp. 3-26.

West, EG 2000, *An alternative to existing Australian reserach and teaching models - The Japanangka teaching and research paradigm - an Australian Aboriginal model*, PhD thesis, Southern Cross University, Lismore NSW.

West, G 2013, *Mr. Pop Culture*, Man From Yesterday Productions Inc, viewed 13/2/2016, <<http://www.mrpopculture.com/>>.

*What Is Capitalism?*, 2016, Capitalism.org, viewed 26/5/2016, <<http://capitalism.org/capitalism/what-is-capitalism/>>.

White, L 2008, 'One Athlete, One Nation, Two Flags: Cathy Freeman and Australia's Search For Aboriginal Reconciliation', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 25, no. 2, November, pp. 1 - 19.

Wildcat, D & Pierotti, R 2000, 'Finding the Indigenous in Indigenous Studies', *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring, pp. 61 - 70.

Williams, P & Chrisman, L 1994, 'Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: An Introduction', in P Williams and L Chrisman (eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hertfordshire, pp. 1-20.

Wilson, B 2015a, *Premier League football club revenues and profits soar*, BBC News, viewed 4/05/2016, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/business-32931345>>.

Wilson, C 2015b, 'AFL chief Gillon McLachlan's legacy secure with \$2.5bn TV rights deal', *The Age*, August 19, 2015,

- Wilson, S 2001, 'What is indigenous research methodology?', *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 175-179.
- Wohling, M 2009, 'The Problem of Scale in Indigenous Knowledge: a Perspective from Northern Australia', *Ecology and Society*, vol. 14, no. 1 C7 - 1
- Wolfe, P 2003, 'The World of History and the World-As-History', in P Duara (ed.) *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then*, Routledge, London, pp. 101 - 117.
- Wood, GJ & Davidson, MJ 2011, 'A review of male and female Australian indigenous entrepreneurs: disadvantaged past, promising future?', *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 311 - 326.
- Woodward, I 2007, *Understanding Material Culture*, SAGE Publications
- Woolmington, J 1988, *Aborigines in Colonial Society: 1788 - 1850 - From 'Noble Savage' to 'Rural Pest'*, 2nd edn., University of New England Press, Armidale.
- Yazzie, R 2009, 'Indigenous Peoples and Postcolonial Colonialism', in M Battiste (ed.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, UBC Press, Vancouver, pp. 39 - 49.
- Young, RJC 2001, *Postcolonialism: an historical introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
- Yunkaporta, TK 2010, 'Our ways of learning in Aboriginal languages', in J Hobson, K Lowe, S Poetsch and M Walsh (eds), *Re-Awakening Languages: Theory and Practice in the Revitalisation of Australia's Indigenous Languages*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, pp. 37 - 49.
- Zeppel, H 1999, *Aboriginal tourism in Australia: a research bibliography*, CRC Tourism Research Report Series, 2, Gold Coast, Griffith University,