

## **Chapter One:**

### **Exploring an Indigenous Epistemology**

Central to the theoretical framework that supports this thesis are the tenets of an Indigenous epistemology that are explored throughout the work. Nakata (2007, 2002) suggests that it is important to understand that entering into this explanation requires patience, and a listening heart. It is not as simple as saying up front that an Indigenous epistemology is x, y, z. We wish to at least in-part enter into an Indigenous way of learning by suspending judgement and learning as we go. The author also suggests that there is a politics in how the mainstream needs to come to terms with Indigenous epistemology. This thesis draws together a complex integration from an Aboriginal perspective that combines the social, political and spiritual elements of Indigenous epistemology (Nakata 2007, 2002, Baskin 2005). This approach explains why we begin with a pictorial image as an integrative metaphor for the real and symbolic meanings this thesis conveys.

As expansive and vast as an Indigenous way of knowing must surely be; because this way of life and being (ontology) represents the whole of

Indigenous science, art, humanities, economy, ecology, belief, value and spirituality (Wilson 2008, Bowers 2007b, Antone 2005); the best approach to introducing this study arises from sharing one central metaphor. This metaphor has become a symbol of a very real social, communal, and cultural heritage. In saying this, it is also important to note that this study is focused on the confrontation of issues of violence among Aboriginal Australian societies (Turgeon 2001, Egger 1995, Chappell 1995, de Rome and Cunneen 1995). This story of violence is in large part based on the crisis of identity emerging within colonial hegemonic masculinity (Panelli 2009, Engebretson 2006, Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, Donaldson 1993, Connell 1993). As we will see, this story has been internalised among Aboriginal Nations. Art is later explored as a pathway to healing of identity by the very ways that art reflects these realities in life and enables Indigenous Peoples to reconnect with the Dreaming (Fredericks 2007, Dufrene 1990).

The title of this thesis reflects on one symbolic meaning: The Dreaming Emu. The Dreaming Emu is a visual story, a painting, and a life-journey that Aboriginal men face every-day (Bancroft 2007). Figure 1 below shows the painting 'Dreaming Emu.' This is a signature work by the author of this thesis that sought to revive the Spirit of the Emu who, in body, was trapped by a heartless vendor at a show grounds in rural New South Wales. The creature had been put on display for monetary gain, and was quite unhealthy and neglected. The sheer act of courage this painting represents speaks volumes to the survival

of Indigenous people who have, like the Emu and countless other Indigenous species, endured the continued colonial war that has been ongoing for the past 200 years in Australia (Bowers 2010, Harris 1990).

The Emu depicted in the painting represents a Spirit released from prisons of oppression. The Spirit of the Totem draws together family and engenders new life through the embryos generated in the Corroboree Circle. In the heartland of family and tribal Law, the waterhole of survival and renewal is found and celebrated on a seasonal basis. The Emu symbolically points toward this PLACE we know is real, because we have been there before (Bowers 2010, Jennifer 2008, Selby 2008). We remember these qualities of the Dreaming because they arise in our night dreams, our daydreams, when we are vulnerable and tired, and when we feel the energies of Power in love and relationship (Bowers 2010, Jennifer 2008).

Dreaming Emu was completed after visiting a country zoo that presents itself as a welcoming place, a place for family and friends. On several occasions it was observed that the animals were caged, and appeared neglected. For an Indigenous person who values fauna and flora, and indeed for any person of good conscience, a feeling of domination arises that seeks justice for creatures that are mistreated and cannot defend themselves (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009). This created a challenge that required attention. A profound sadness arose for these animals that, through whatever means, had been taken from their

country, their PLACE, their family, and from the culture of their learning (Selby 2008, Fredericks 2008).

**Figure 1: Dreaming Emu, Acrylic on Canvas**



Figure 1, Dreaming Emu, represents the trauma and violence reflected within the history of Indigenous family trauma (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009, Atkinson 2002). In my case, the generative image of the Emu reflects back upon my own Grandmother who was taken away from Her country, Her culture, Her family and from the PLACE of Her Dreaming. The use of capital letters when speaking about certain truths suggests a form of ‘sacred acknowledgment’ of a cultural identity that requires respect within this scholarly discourse, a notion rooted within Indigenous culture and affirmed by narrative methods (Bowers 2010, Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009, Fredericks 2008, Selby 2008, McLeod 1997).

## **The Colonial Theme Park**

After each visit to the ‘country zoo’ the concern grew. Something needed to be done not only for the creatures surviving neglect but also for their Spirits – all that they represent in their relationships with the Sacred Land and the Community of Being that Indigenous philosophy supports as a fundamental custodial duty of PLACE (Bowers 2010, Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009, Fredericks 2008).

Faced with the inevitable conflict involved in confronting the owners of the theme park, itself a representation of the ways that colonial Australian society still abuses and neglects the integrity of the Sacred Landscapes around us, we were confronted with the inability to intervene except through mainstream legal processes (Tesoriero 2010, Roque 2006a). In colonial Australia today an Indigenous person is forced to reflect through the paradox of power and powerlessness. On the one hand, we are powerful in our intention, ecological knowledge, and sense of justice and fairness. But on the other hand we have also been mistreated, neglected and caged within the colonial system of knowledge that places a dominance of powerlessness over our lives and results in an inability to intervene in many situations where something ought to be done (Tesoriero 2010, Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009, Arrendondo 1999).

Reflecting on all these circumstances, giving meaning to my experience was essential. The only way to express this at the time was to acknowledge what

was happening deep within me and to reflect that through painting the Spirit of the Emu in need of liberation – and indeed, exercising liberation in the Spiritual Realms by the sheer courage of being (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009).

### **Exercising the Post-colonial Narrative**

With a growing understanding of my family and cultural story, through the exercise of painting this narrative, I felt a connection with and an understanding of the sadness that these animals were experiencing. These animals are not like a domesticated pet, not even like a semi-domesticated Dingo, familiar within my familial heritage. A pet has someone who can walk with them, hold them, love and care for their needs in a way that a family would.

Instead, these animals were placed in the colonial zoo in cages by themselves. To feed an animal is just not enough. As our brothers and sisters they also need companionship, understanding and community. As a post-colonial narrative, ‘Dreaming Emu’ was my way of giving family back, giving community back, and giving freedom back to the Spirit of the animal trapped in her cage. The narrative painting helped me to understand my own historic and contemporary difficulties (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009).

Likewise, in this thesis, these historic and present day challenges form substance, both real and symbolic, that gives rise to an Indigenous post-colonial analysis (McConaghy 2003). It is not enough to paint the picture and walk away

(Fredericks 2008). We as a People, and also as professionals, scholars, and citizens, need to sit with this discomfoting truth of injustice (Eckermann et al 2006) and to stand firm in our evolving Awareness. Something needs to change. In this sense ‘exercising’ the post-colonial narrative suggests the double meanings of empowerment as well as casting out and separating that which contaminates Indigenous socio-political and ecological freedom (Tesoriero 2010).

As Dodson (1994, cited in Tomlin 2009) states, we are at risk of continual abuse when we allow this danger that fixes Indigenous people in absolute and inflexible terms, giving our power away, not having our own voices. Indigenous ways of knowing (Martin, K 2003) need to continue to be a creation for and about us, a form of discourse that we have control over in both form and content. We need to ensure that our voice is not covered over or caged in by the translation, the language, and the categories of a dominant culture (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009).

### **The Personal is Political**

What began as a personal narrative of empowerment in my need to give voice to familial and cultural meaning has grown to reflect on Australian and international colonial realities. As Kickett (1992 cited in Tomlin 2009) stated, Indigenous scholars are now articulating a post-colonial analysis of the historic and present day oppression created by the invasion forces and settlement

cultures that ‘took over’ by presumption the Sacred Landscapes of the Dreaming which represent the totality of Indigenous science, culture, as well as social and economic enterprise. The author suggests that by re-constructing our origins and the still existing philosophy of our cultural heritage, we are able to separate the dominant paradigms from our Indigenous epistemology, which includes many Indigenous terms of references, such as art, material culture, story and narrative, as well as spirituality, philosophy and cosmology (Gradle 2007).

In these ways, Indigenous knowledge cannot remain caged or covered over by the control of dominant cultural values (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009, Fredericks 2008). Thus, upon reflection, further study and analysis, including discussions with Aboriginal people from around the world at various international Indigenous conferences, the image Dreaming Emu has come to suggest a local, familial and cultural as well as a national Australian and an international Indigenous heritage. This body of knowledge is held Sacred and Communal by Aboriginal Nations from many invasion and settlement territories arising from post-colonial discourse (Tesoriero 2010, Carson et al 2007).

### **The Centrality of PLACE**

At a personal level, this pathway represents how individual Indigenous people engage in reconnecting, becoming a part of the community, and finding a PLACE (Selby 2008). The artwork has become an Indigenous reference to

healing. It is a contemporary piece while using the traditional ways of knowing and understanding. The lines and dots come from two different family groups within my Grandparent's generation. By honouring our Ancestors we stand together and we bring forward their Dreaming into the present moment.

This narrative suggests a personal, spiritual and cultural stance that also holds layers of political and ecological justice. As Cook-Lynn (1997 cited in Tomlin 2009) advocates, Indigenous ways of understanding, knowing and thinking incorporate the very ways that people approach knowledge in the first instance (via beliefs, values, and cultural predispositions), all of which have been dismissed by the dominant cultural academic world.

What was not known in the mainstream discourse meant that Indigenous epistemology and ontology (Wilson 2008, Bowers 2007b, Martin, K 2003) were not considered because they did not belong to any existing theory. This Indigenous knowing touches a part of my customs, traditions, beliefs, techniques, ritual, ceremony, symbolic meaning and survival (Gradle 2007).

As Moreton-Robinson (2004 cited in Tomlin 2009) notes, Indigenous people have survived white Australian society because Indigenous people have had to learn and create meaning, knowledge and understanding from the changing circumstances while adapting traditional knowledge systems in order to live under the conditions not of their choosing. Indigenous people are learning a new

way of doing things to express their experiences, skills, knowledge and understanding.

### **Art and Discourse of Identity**

Croft (2003 cited in Fredericks 2008) uses art as a way of telling her story. During 1996, she collected much discarded rubbish which washed-up on Long Beach and other beaches in her country. She decided to create a visual art piece. This art piece she created by using fishing nets that had been washed up on the beaches. She placed the rubbish and also the dead sea creatures in the nets that she started to put together. The fishing net image reinforced the concept of the fragmentation, re-integration, and in a sense, the search for meaning from waste and devastation.

Following the theme of Dreaming Emu caught in the cage without hope of freedom or self-determination, in the nets tangled together Croft (2003, cited in Fredericks 2008) suggested that colonial invasion and occupation created a 'getting trapped in the net'. For Croft this imagery seemed to represent the fragmentary yet interwoven reality of Indigenous life and how we make sense out of otherwise meaningless and heartless human made circumstances. It seemed that through her works of art she was creating a larger picture of the destruction that had come with the western domination of waterways. Croft also compared this to the domination and colonisation of Australia, of country and PLACE, which is so very important to Indigenous people (emphasis my own).

In this way, my painting represents the idea of the Emu who is actively engaged in that process of Dreaming that arises prior to the change that happens in material reality, Dreaming of the life which is meant to be, materialising a life of freedom from domination, a life of creation, a life of not being locked away, a life of family and community (Fredericks 2007). This sense of the 'hidden' epistemology gives rise to a deeper understanding of the cultural ontology of Indigenous Nations (Wilson 2008, Bowers 2007b, Gradle 2007, Martin, K 2003). Our way of being comes from a different place.

'Dreaming Emu' represents the movement towards healing of identity as a discourse but also as a cultural way of learning, a practice that is quite 'indigenous' to working towards a better life (Purdie et al 2010, Gradle 2007), and exercising a life of freedom while being a part of Australia as an Ancient PLACE. We seek to become a part of community, to become a part of country and learn the cultural ways. Dreaming Emu and art as a discourse of identity are about a Creation Story that is unfolding now, in the ways that our People are giving birth to community, belonging, healing and becoming connected to the Old Ways of Knowing (Yavu-Kama-Harathunian and Tomlin 2008, Gradle 2007, Martin, K 2003).

## **Violence, Trauma and Healing**

This study uses the metaphor of Dreaming Emu to help explain how Aboriginal men move into the creation of identity through an arduous initiatory experience not of our making or choosing. Through confronting colonial violence and hegemonic masculinity (Carson 2007, Engebretson 2006, Wallace 1995), Aboriginal men are giving birth to new visions of community, the integration into belonging, and healing self and becoming connected to the old ways of knowing, and understanding (Purdie et al 2010, Yavu-Kama-Harathunian and Tomlin 2008, Gradle 2007, Martin, K 2003).

The metaphor assists us to understand the difficulties faced by Aboriginal men, who have now become the researchers of their own cultural beliefs, rituals, values, art and healing (Dufrene 1990) which are understood through the contemporary gaze of having survived the violence and victimisation of colonial invasion and settlement Australia (The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence 2000, Chappell 1995). Like the Emu which has been locked in a cage against its will, Indigenous men continue to face the mainstream educational system's unmoving power to define and dominate our history, way of life, and identity. Education and other mainstream systems including government policy creation and implementation still play a significant part in violating the voice of Indigenous people who must now cope within these systems (Gilbert and Gilbert 2001).

Aboriginal men appear to need to deal with this violence to be able to speak the truth and tell the stories correctly; otherwise we lose momentum and all meaning of the Indigenous voice. For example, Indigenous people are told we are not good enough, we believe these insane words, and we give up. We are then violating our self. This violence is displayed in an open way within our communities (Gilbert and Gilbert 2001). Indigenous people are told within these educational systems to write in a politically correct way, but are we then attributing to violating ourselves again? We need our voice to be heard so that true understanding of what is happening within our communities and within our families will be heard. Only then will we be able to move forward in addressing the larger problems of violence and crime (Gilbert and Gilbert 2001, Christie et al, 1999).

For instance, the word 'white' will be used throughout this thesis and other terminology may be used which may not seem to be 'politically correct,' from various perspectives. By pushing these boundaries we seek to articulate as truthful a stance from an Indigenous perspective as is possible within this mainstream construct of study. As Arredondo (1999, p.107) suggests, the dimensions of power at work silence one cultural knowledge while giving voice to another, generating increasing problems for all concerned. At some stage this process must require intervention and change.

It is like the Emu which has been silenced from running free on its homelands (Fredericks 2007), prevented from being a part of community and expressing its own individuality. The Emu represents how Indigenous men feel trapped by white masculinity (Pease 2004); they have to conform to dominant cultural values and in the process, they may lose their traditional ways of being even though the latter is by no means a necessity.

### **Hegemonic Masculinity**

This thesis will focus on the dominant culture's hegemonic masculinity as a form of historical cultural dominance (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) within the life stories of Aboriginal male artists. Within this story we come to acknowledge the emotional, psychic and interpersonal violence (Purdie et al 2010) arising and the Indigenous issues that come to define current realities for Aboriginal men. We also need to understand, as Arredondo (1999) has so elegantly put it, that we cannot only listen to the narratives of Indigenous males who have experienced violence and violation. We also need to take into consideration the generative ways that the female Indigenous voice needs to be heard. Otherwise part of our cultural understanding and spiritual ecology is being denied (Gradle 2007). The female vision and view gives a unique and deeper awareness to the complexity of violence and how males and females experience and contribute to the difficulties that are faced. By bringing together men's business and women's business in a way that is respectful of cultural protocols and limitations, we are able to piece together a more comprehensive

approach to understanding Aboriginal art as a contemporary healing practice that challenges and moves beyond hegemonic Euro-Australian masculinity.

Implied in this approach to the deconstruction and revision of masculinity and the PLACE of men within the cultural and ecological Sacred Landscapes of Australia today is how this study utilises an Indigenous standpoint approach to auto-ethnographic narrative analysis to reflect on the experiences of Indigenous people (Atkinson et al 2006, Houston 2007, Nakata 2007a) via an Indigenous art-speak methodology. By using these approaches we seek to confront openly the ways that Indigenous people are a minority within their own Country, caged and caught within the tangled nets of mainstream Australia (Croft Warcon, Fredericks 2009).

Indigenous people face added layers of minority status, including violence, victimisation and the stigma that has been created around being Indigenous as synonymous with being on the 'grog' (alcohol) (Hammill 2001, Egger 1995), itself a reflection of the Spirits of Domination that are deployed against Aboriginal Nations. The study aims to give the reader a very unique and timely window into the lives and experiences of a select few Indigenous people to provide a thoughtful qualitative narrative analysis based in culturally appropriate examples of already published artists and writers reflecting on the challenges and opportunities arising from Indigenous minority status.

## Contemporary Research Methods

Coming from a more traditional cultural stance; the use of an Indigenous standpoint method while using an auto-ethnographic narrative analysis resonates in many ways with an Indigenous approach to research (Houston 2007, Nakata 2007). That is, in as much as the voice of the researcher is localised in their cultural context, the stories or narratives that emerge speak from personal social experience. The local nature of the narrative suggests an honouring of story as personal and social Medicine (Atkinson et al 2006). That is, by exploring narratives, and narratives of art, which represent one's past and present (Lavallée 2009); the lived circumstances of minority experience are in many ways illuminated. New choices open up based on the stories of our lives, shared between trusted mates. Through the process of constructing story, sharing it, and having it somehow listened to or responded to, the acts of cultural practice continue.

Research methods must be understood within the historical process of colonial and post-colonial realities. For example, Indigenous and minority cultures are always changing and evolving, yet for those of us who have experienced vast lifestyle changes there are still many Indigenous values that are respected and upheld (Lavallée 2009). While it may have been more 'valid' to interview other minority people according to mainstream approaches to research, it was decided to take up an Indigenous approach and hold back, wait, and discern what was right in this circumstance (Lavallée 2009, Houston 2007). The decision to

honour narrative analysis and art-as-narrative (Lavallée 2009, Fredericks 2007) came from a resolution of the conflicts between wanting to produce research arising from Aboriginal sources of data verses needing to respect Indigenous cultural traditions. The latter enforces a stance where the most trusted approach is to start at home, start with the self, in relationship with the family and tribe, but via limiting one's voice to what is known without speaking for others in any definitive manner, unless their express permission is gained (Lavallée 2009).

The 'validity' of this research modality rests in its internal logic or coherence, its cultural appropriateness, and in how it is communicated, verses how a standard western-traditional approach may seek to objectify the other person's experience. From traditional Indigenous point of view, the latter task is extremely difficult and nearly unlikely because our best guide in life, and in research, is our own experience and the stories that come from our own lives.

It is hoped that through this study the reader will understand that what is presented is at once personal, social and political. The work seeks to speak to the integrity of an Indigenous lived experience and to resonate with larger social and historical contexts. Many of these wider contexts are explored in dialogue with the literature even while the primary focus is on narrative analysis and art as narrative (Lavallée 2009).

To deepen the interconnected and Indigenous tradition of circular-reflection, the thesis moves between topics like racial identity and its social and political importance in education, to topics like learning, and circles back to a focus on men's lived experience by reflecting upon these topics from different perspectives. These layers of analysis add rich complexity to the thesis and provide different ways of thinking and doing research, teaching, and learning from an Indigenous perspective (Battiste & McConaghy, 2005).

It is also noted that this thesis is written by an Indigenous Australian male whose cultural and linguistic heritage is enriched by the different traditions associated with Indigenous cultures, European invasion and settlement in Indigenous territories, and subsequent colonisation histories that incorporate a diverse range of influences upon family, culture and language. Therefore, the writing contained in this thesis represents a 'time capsule' of the current usages of language experienced by the author – these include subtle and not so subtle uses of 'Indigenous English', academic discourse as well as poetic and spiritual conceptions based in a unique worldview.

It should be noted that there are quite natural conflicts that arise in the acquisition of 'academic' styles of writing and analysis, some of which conflict directly with class-based heritage as well as Indigenous cultural values. It should also be noted that in some instances academic style is considered 'more valued' by those in the educational mainstream. However, the devaluing of

other expressions and likewise other worldviews and cultural values is both troubling and problematic, particularly in an educational system that endeavours to support Indigenous studies.

By taking this journey seriously, this thesis stands as one example of the ongoing inter-cultural dialogue that is created by the mix of cultures currently occupying traditional Indigenous territories in Australia. Hence, the reader ought to keep these issues in mind when shifting between chapters, and in some cases between sections of chapters, where the styles of writing employed have intentionally been kept as-is to highlight an underlying linguistic and cultural politic of care, consideration, and personal integrity.

Another influence worth noting is the way in which challenges in learning are reflected in the way knowledge is constructed in this context. It is my hope these expressions both challenge and inspire the reader to acknowledge different learning styles, and by extension the unique abilities and talents of Indigenous and other minority students in Australia.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the processes of Indigenous experiences, issues, and life by using the process of symbolic representation, the Dreaming Emu, which has helped explore and probe the deeper embedded white colonialist hegemonic masculinity. The process of sitting with The Dreaming Emu has opened a unique way of exploring Indigenous men's experiences of violence, abuse and neglect. The symbolic journey has painted an extraordinary way of exploring Indigenous epistemology which has embraced a wholeness of Indigenous wisdom, science, art, ecology, spirituality and beliefs. The following chapter discusses the legacy of the history of violence, trauma, removal, and disadvantage.

## **Chapter Two:**

# **The Complex History of Colonisation and the Impact on Aboriginal Australia**

It is important to note that the lifestyle and living conditions of Indigenous people in Australia is due to the impact of a complex history of colonisation. Many of the Indigenous peoples were forcibly relocated to reserves and missions that were located on the outskirts of towns (Cunneen 2008a). Looking at the early beliefs, values and the attitudes of missionaries who colonised Australia, it is clear that they saw Indigenous people as not being fully human; a view that was widely debated during the era of European settlement of Australia (Harris 1990, p.24). It was not until the 27th of May 1967 that Indigenous people were recognised as citizens of the settlement country and were able to vote. This pivotal point in history changed the nature of Indigenous Australian politics.

As noted by Anderson, (1996, p.153) research on Indigenous Australian health has undergone extensive changes and has become situated within the broader shift in Australian colonial relationships. The author says, ‘over the past twenty years the relationship between Indigenous people and the Australian nation has been transformed from a predominantly assimilationist form of colonialism into welfare colonialism.’ A key moment in this shift occurred when the constitutional barriers to Indigenous citizenship were removed following the 1967 referendum. Other important events related to the development of a national Indigenous political movement. This became focused on self-determination and the development of federal bureaucratic systems to administer Indigenous programs. These changes led to varying degrees of Indigenous self-management. The author continued to note that

‘Assimilation colonialism, on the other hand, was characterised by the management of Indigenous affairs by state governments, and by the exclusion of Indigenous people from civic rights, except for those deemed ‘almost white’. This colonial system was associated with extensive systems of surveillance which closely monitored Indigenous life practices.’

Looking at the complex historical colonial system of Australia's past two centuries and how this system has impacted on Indigenous people of Australia, it is no wonder that the issues are very complex and involve trans-generational trauma. As Atkinson (2002, p24) states,

‘Experiences of violence are traumatic, and that trauma, if unhealed, may compound, becoming cumulative in its impacts on individuals, families and indeed whole communities and societies. The layered trauma that results from colonisation is likely to be expressed in dysfunctional, and sometimes violent, behaviour at both individual and large-scale levels of human interaction, and these are re-traumatising.’

Atkinson (2002) makes a valid point that if we as an Aboriginal people are to deal with the violence we must first be able to deal with the violence within our communities and our families. It is important to understand that the social, cultural and spiritual ramifications of the construction of violence as trauma and trauma as violence follow the psychology of colonial violence that undercut the social fabric of Aboriginal Nations during colonisation. We need to look at this from an Aboriginal way of knowing, understanding, being and acting in the world (Martin, K 2003). Then we will find the ways to recovery (Atkinson 2002).

## **Legacies of Violence**

The underlying issues of violence within Indigenous communities cannot be separated from the history of European colonisation and the relationships in which contributed to the social environment of the day (Memmott 2001). It has been noted within the literature that the patterns of violence that surround Indigenous people today are due to the fact that early colonisation impacted on Indigenous culture through violence (Carson 2007, Engebretson 2006, Memmott 2001, Wallace 1995). For example, the violent dispossession of land by Europeans has happened continually over the past two hundred years. The cultural dispossession has impacted socially, economically, physically, psychologically, emotionally and spiritually. This has created a situation where violence within Indigenous communities seems to have become a common occurrence. The above factors may also contribute to the violent ways in which Indigenous people have died while in custody.

Memmott (2001, p13) suggests that the central causes of deaths in custody have been and continue to be related to structural issues rooted in race relations over the past five or more generations. The author believes this has contributed to the arising of increasing forms of violence within Indigenous communities, very likely as a form of internalisation of hegemonic masculinity as well as inner projections of the outer social pressures coming from the dominant system (Bird 1996).

In a similar concurrence, Reser (1990a cited in Memmott 2001) explains Indigenous violence in terms of 'cultural contact, historical brutality and acculturative stress' which then causes confusion about one's role and cultural identity, as well as internal conflict and feelings of alienation and anomie'. Cunneen (2008a) notes that Australian Aboriginal deaths in custody are still just as much an issue and concern today as it was two decades ago revealing the enduring and thus structural nature of the problem arising from racism in mainstream society.

As Memmott et al (2001) states, during the research into Aboriginal deaths in custody, that lawyers have argued that from the 1880's till the 1960's that the social structures of Indigenous Australians were worn down by distinctive devices which were written into state polices, and that these polices supported the removal of Aboriginal and mixed lineage Aboriginal people from their lands, families and culture. They were to be placed on missions and reserves. Cunneen (2008b) states that the Royal Commission, which was established in 1987 into Aboriginal deaths in custody, found that in the 99 deaths in custody of people from different cultural backgrounds that were investigated, there was a distinct correlation between aboriginality, being in custody and dying in custody. In most of the cases of deaths in custody it is noted that Aboriginal people who have been removed from their families as a child by government policies have played a contributing factor to these deaths. These Aboriginal people had also been arrested for previous offences before they had reached the

age of 15 years old. Eighty percent of Aboriginal people who died in custody were unemployed. In general, many of these who have died in custody had repeated offences within the justice system (Johnson 1991 cited in Cunneen 2008).

### **A History of Race Relations**

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report (2000) states that the history of race relations within Australia is one in which Indigenous people have been subjected to many forms of violence. This maltreatment, abuse and crime against the Indigenous people has resulted in them being physically abused, spiritually incarcerated, and their cultural beliefs, values and attitudes have eroded away. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Task Force on Violence Report (2000) suggests that this type of treatment was unknown to many in the wider community and that the butchery that was inflicted against these people and their ecology has only been recently exposed. The extreme violence from colonisers who dispossessed the Indigenous people of their land, culture, and spirituality are all contributing factors which are identified throughout many consultations, and this being central to the current alcohol and other drug misuse, as well as the pervasive violence which is being experienced within Indigenous communities throughout Australia (Egger 1995).

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report (2000) stresses that, 'Indigenous people generally have been profoundly affected by the erosion of their cultural and spiritual identity and the disintegration of family and community that has traditionally sustained relationships and obligations and maintained social order and control.' It is important to note that before colonisation the system in which the Indigenous people of Australia cared for themselves, the ecology, and their beliefs and values were strong and resilient and had stood the test of time. Indigenous people now deal with the unresolved trauma and grief both from a historical and contemporary encounter (The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report 2000, Atkinson 2002).

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report (2000) also highlights the fact that there are inadequate counselling and medical services available for Indigenous people, services that are assumed in every white settlement community across the country. This only adds to the complexity of the issues and the stress that is experienced and is intensified by the individual's social isolation and alienation, resulting in the likelihood of becoming violent due to the lack of essential safety net services to assist with alcohol and other drugs or to deal with unresolved trauma (Atkinson 2002, Egger 1995).

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report (2000) goes on to highlight that there is significant increase of reported offences in Indigenous communities, and that the severity of these crimes have also increased. Violence involves murders, bashings, rapes and sexual offences, which have become more common within Indigenous communities, with perpetrators being Indigenous and Non-Indigenous (Atkinson 2002). The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report (2000) state that there is also a rise in Indigenous youth suicides over the last decade. For example, there were seventeen suicides in one community within a year and sixteen within another. These agonizing realities may be due to the chronic internalization of extremes of racial violence, poverty and decreasing ability to cope with the powerlessness and dispossession following colonial invasion. Being undervalued by the wider community is a chronic problem that leaves minority people feeling lost, disillusioned and without hope due to the racial attitudes, values, beliefs and assumptions of the wider communities within Australia (Atkinson 2002). Indigenous people are in the constant process of grief and loss and continually going through the sorry process, and it is due to death being such a frequent event. It is quite evident that the violence, crime and violent ways in which Indigenous people are so familiar result too often in death and harm. These experiences impact children, grandchildren and reach out to extended families who are also the survivors of violence and suicide (Atkinson 2002, Bessant 1995). The report concludes that most sectors of Indigenous and

non-Indigenous societies agree that something has gone desperately wrong and urgent intervention is needed.

### **Violence and Indigenous Identity**

Indigenous people live in all locations of Australia, rural, urban, and in the bush. Many Aboriginal people tend to live in remote rural locations as well. According to the statistics remote rural locations are more prone to crime, violence and victimisation, as these areas do not have the same law enforcement and justice systems as larger towns and cities (Cunneen 2008a). The author suggests that because Indigenous people are the majority of people who live in remote rural areas the bulk of crime, victimisation, and violence involves Aboriginal people in these areas. The author believes there should be an emphasis on looking for potential intervention programs that will address the issues of crime, violence and victimisation which Indigenous people experience in rural locations. The author also notes that there needs to be emphases on helping Indigenous people respond to the Anglo-Australian criminal justice system in a positive way. In contract, it may also be necessary to challenge the dominant justice system to accommodate more appropriate interventions that suit the culture and values of Aboriginal communities.

It is also clear that Indigenous people and their communities are influenced by the social dynamics of crime, meaning that Indigenous communities in fact have less intervention by the Anglo-Australian criminal justice system and welfare

agencies in remote rural locations. The communities that tend to have a stronger law enforcement program and stronger justice system are those communities that have mixed racial backgrounds (Cunneen 2008a).

In addition, Hogg et al (2006, p121) states that there is a, 'well-founded fear and concern related to discrete, serious crimes of personal victimisation ... [that are] intensified by the manner in which they are linked to ...race.' Racial violence is a significant issue that follows on generations of colonial oppression that is still very strong as a central cultural influence policing and terrorising Australian rural communities. The author suggests that public order offences rank very high on the list of criminal acts motivated by racial undercurrents. The author believes that the 'Aboriginal use of public space in rural towns has always been a major preoccupation of white townspeople, local authorities, and the criminal justice system. With the advent of equal citizenship the courts in towns with large Aboriginal populations were overwhelmingly dominated by prosecutions for offences against public order.' The vast majority of these cases were involving Aboriginal people.

Rural mixed communities tend to be sanctioned in their control of Indigenous populations under a strong justice system (Cunneen 2008a). It is not just the sheer remoteness of Indigenous communities that seems to have some bearing on crime, victimisation and violence. It is the isolation of these communities that confounds and contributes to the lack of socio-economic and educational

support that Indigenous people receive. The author notes that the perpetrators of crime usually involve those who are young, teenagers, and young adults. This may have some bearing on petty crime, such as, stealing, vandalism, and violence. From a developmental perspective and in relation to the critique of hegemonic masculinity, it would appear that mainstream societies seeks to reproduce a distinct form of male influence and control over rural and remote Aboriginal communities, instilling these values in the youth, which over time are internalised and later become focused within domestic violence within Indigenous communities themselves – in a sense, the only remaining space left to act out the frustrations, anger and systemic abuse that men carry from their youth during their years of dealing with the ‘white fellah’s law’ (Cunneen 2007).

Crime is a manifestation of an accumulation of factors including lack of education and the chronic feeling of helplessness. Hogg et al (2006) suggest that those who participate in crime have experienced the following stresses:

- Depth of social alienation and isolation,
- Chronic alcoholism,
- Self-abuse,
- Social violence and crime,
- Social and community conflicts
- Fighting and overtly expressing defiance of white norms.

These 'Aboriginal experiences' are then seen within mainstream communities as contempt of the white social norms of respectability (Hogg et al 2006). Colonial victims are then blamed for 'savage' behaviour. White Australians do not understand why Aboriginal people express their violence and aggression openly and air their dirty laundry 'in public,' when if we take a moment to consider the construction of the Euro-Australian notions of public verses private spheres we would then begin to realise that other cultures might just have a different conception of these spaces, if indeed they exist in any definitive manner within categories that are similar enough to compare. There is an issue of invisibility for mainstream Australians as to what goes on in their relationships and in their community, unlike Indigenous people who do not try to mask their violence from public view.

The cultural visibility of violence, anger and crime within Indigenous communities becomes the social norm for Indigenous youth (Pitts 2004). Indigenous youth tend to display what they have seen and what they have experienced. They have grown up without the benefits of a good education and they experience extreme poverty. Pitts (2004) notes that particular environments and conditions which Indigenous people live in will lead them to being exposed to greater opportunities to commit a variety of crimes such as being exposed to family violence, neglect, being abused in the school environment, along with poor housing and other major disadvantages. Young Indigenous people who are

socially disadvantaged experience violence and crimes from an early age. It is through these specific environmental factors that these young people are directed towards being involved in crimes later on in their lives (Pitts 2004, The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report 2000).

Cunneen (2007) reinforces these notions that most crimes in Australia involve teenagers and those who are in the early adult years. This is an important point, as we know that the Indigenous population in Australia is youthful compared to their mainstream counterparts. They are more likely to be involved in substance abuse and they are the main perpetrators of vandalism and anti-social behaviour (Pitts 2004).

Christie (1999) notes that Indigenous youth are more prone to experiencing victimisation, violent crime, rape, robbery and they will be subjected to twice the amount of abuse compared with that of the general population. Pitts (2004) stresses that there are high concentrations of social disadvantages within Indigenous communities, which contribute to substance abuse and anti-social behaviours. The author notes that there are major socioeconomic indicators that have been revealed. For example, most Indigenous youth live a life with fewer assets, very low income; they experience homelessness and health problems; they have less opportunities toward predictable and permanent working arrangements due to lack of skills; they possess fewer educational qualifications

if any; they carry the cultural misunderstandings within mainstream educational systems even though they may not be aware of these wider racist assumptions (Pitts 2004, The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report 2000); and they have very low quality in their living arrangements. All of these factors contribute to and are associated with poverty. These disadvantages are nationally reflected problems within Indigenous communities.

Indigenous communities face a lack of socioeconomic and educational support (Cunneen 2007, The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report 2000). This only compounds the problems that Indigenous youth experience. It also contributes to the majority of young Indigenous youth who do not finish year twelve. This issue is only intensified by the geographic remoteness for non-Indigenous and Indigenous student disadvantages (Cunneen 2007). The author states that there are other related problems that are associated with crime, victimisation and violence, namely, that it is obvious that not all violence originates within the Indigenous communities. There is anecdotal and statistical evidence that police can be the perpetrators of harassment towards Indigenous people, which invokes a violent response. Hunter (2001) also supports that if a cycle of abuse is created, it is likely that related offences will recur.

## **Violence and Indigenous Communities**

If we are to understand Indigenous violence we must look at the contributing factors that are fundamental to understanding violence and crime in Indigenous communities. For example, Memmott et al (2001) states that

‘Socialisation, structural variables and parenting style factors such as compensatory machoism (an attitude that boys can develop in absent-father households); a view of the environment as sentencing due to discrimination; availability of aggressive models; learned helplessness, and the lack of perceived control over the environment; the development of aggressive habits and beliefs, poor self-esteem; psychological reactive and confrontational coping mechanisms, all contribute in varying ways to Aboriginal intra-cultural aggression and violence.’

The author goes on to say that the socialisation of Aboriginal children and boys in particular, arises mainly from colonised discriminatory environments that lead to chronic frustration and conflict that causes aggression and violence. Because of the reported violence in Indigenous communities, qualitative studies are now used in researching Indigenous violence. There are three areas that have become apparent within the studies of Indigenous violence. These are

1. Precipitating causes. This is when perpetrator displays or acts in a violent way due to one or more complex events that have been triggered by several smaller events.

2. Situational factors. These could include aspects such as alcohol abuse or incorporate others who have conflicting social differences and behaviours (Atkinson 2002 Memmott 2001), and

3. The underlying factors of the profound historical conditions in which Indigenous people have experienced and a history that makes them vulnerable. This leads Indigenous people to enact or become the victim of violent behaviour and abuse (Memmott 2001).

### **Many Forms of Disadvantage**

Indigenous people experience many difficulties and disadvantages of not having suitable culturally appropriate education programs. There are also socioeconomic difficulties. As Fordham and Schwab (2007) state, Indigenous employment rates are well below that of their non-Indigenous counterparts and they find the labour force incredibly hard to break into, due to lack of educational opportunities and rural remoteness. The author expresses that the situation of Indigenous people living in remote regions are also disadvantaged in employment opportunities and in their socioeconomic status. Indigenous people do not achieve educational empowerment and social status. This is the

result of intergenerational cycles of poverty and disadvantage in remote communities.

Hunter (2001) states that many of the difficulties in which Indigenous people find themselves when they are involved in crime, violence and when they have been arrested are related to their family's socioeconomic and educational disadvantages. Alcohol consumption is also strongly related to arrests and also contributes to being involved in crime, victimisation, and violence (Atkinson 2002, Ireland 1995). Alcohol influences the high amount of arrest within Indigenous communities when police are called in to intervene. Hunter (2001) notes that, the use of alcohol and becoming a victim of violence are strongly related to educational disadvantages and unemployment within Indigenous communities. Indigenous people who have been a victim of physical abuse or who have been verbally attacked or threatened will lash out because they themselves have been a victim to being abused and will commit acts of violence to those who are more vulnerable than themselves (Atkinson 2002, Bessant 1995). This creates a cycle of violence within a community and contributes to trans-generational violence.

One of the governmental programs that seemed to empower and give Indigenous people an incentive and escape from their difficult educational and socioeconomic backgrounds was the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP). Most Indigenous people in remote and rural areas would have

experienced working for or with those who were in CDEP. Hunter (2001) states that those who are employed in the CDEP program has reduced the time available to be involved in illegal activities that lead to violence, crime and victimisation (Atkinson 2002, Bessant 1995).

Hunter (2001) states that the CDEP program provided Indigenous people with more available funds, improving the social capital and educational experiences and bringing Indigenous people in line with those who work within mainstream non-CDEP economies. Indigenous people who are not so fortunate as to have worked in CDEP programs experienced more financial and educational poverty and live in overcrowded housing. This over-crowding is associated with social problems and one of the social problems that are directly related is that of violence in the family unit (Atkinson 2002, Hunter 2001, Ireland 1995).

Other issues that arise are poor housing where people are living in humpies, lack of finances, lack of education, having little to no access to health care facilities, and higher rates of certain diseases (Cunneen 2008a). Likewise, in many remote communities Indigenous people do not have basic communal facilities such as medical centres. This is a concern as access to medical services is extremely important as there are higher rates of Indigenous health conditions and illness associated to using large amounts of alcohol. Indigenous people chose to consume large amounts of alcohol and drink in the medium to high-

risk category. Indigenous people usually drink due to the boredom and lack of work opportunities in these remote communities (Hunter 2001).

Alcohol is also related to interpersonal violence, crime, and much higher rates of homicide within Indigenous communities compared with those of non-Indigenous Australians (Hunter 2001, Ireland 1995). The Australian government departments are failing Indigenous people and their communities by the lack of resources that are made available. Alcohol being one of the factors of domestic violence against woman is an issue which is widespread throughout Australia (Hunter 2001, Ireland 1995) and it is estimated that around 405,000 women over the age of eighteen had experience some sort of domestic violence and the perpetrator were usually men that they had known (People 2005, Hunter 2001).

Fordham and Schwab (2007) note that, Indigenous people are in a process of temporary mobility as well as long term or permanent migration. Temporary mobility is due to visiting kin, to attend sacred ceremonies and taking part in many of the traditional and ritual customary activities, and to accessing services and getting away from the social difficulties of violence and crime. This type of transient or temporary lifestyle leads to a kind of geographic diversity that leads to differing levels of contact with the criminal justice system. Sydney has one of the biggest Indigenous Australian populations and the majority of Indigenous people reside in the western suburbs. Due to the large numbers of Indigenous

people who live transient and temporary lives, they tend to spend time in both urban and rural settings. This reinforces the deep cultural connections to land and spending time with extended family and just being able to have to opportunity to remove themselves from the white social implications of the justice system (Cunneen 2007). As suggested by Cunneen (2008a), the ‘criminal justice agencies (as measured by police contact) [are] slightly less in remote areas than non-remote.’

Due to the nature of Indigenous people’s transient and temporary mobility they are more likely to be over-represented in their appearances before the courts. There are a group of offences called ‘justice-related’ matters. These matters refer to the offences that are related to breaches of existing court orders, for example, apprehended violence orders, bail, bonds, probation and/or parole (Cunneen 2008a). Even though Indigenous people may be over-represented in the court system, as well as while in police custody and in prison, Indigenous people and their issues have become invisible in the legal profession. For example, in Australia alone there has been only one Indigenous judge and two Indigenous magistrates, and there are very few Indigenous lawyers in the legal system (Eades 2000). The author notes that it is therefore not surprising that none of the Indigenous cases within Australia involve any Aboriginal persons who are lawyers, judges, or magistrates in present day studies.

The past colonial historical systems of Australia still impact Indigenous people (Cunneen 2008a, Carson 2007, Wallace 1995) just by the implications of the Anglo-European values and belief systems. It is seen in many cases today that Indigenous Australians who are now in custodial rights of their traditional lands and come under the Indigenous land rights legislation; but this land is still known in the Anglo-European term as reserve or mission, and many of these remote communities may have what is known as alternative living arrangements within towns that are known as town camps (Cunneen 2008a). For example, in New South Wales, Moree and Walgett are two different town camps where people move between remote and urban areas, and where many Indigenous people act as both permanent and transient residents. These Indigenous people move in from remote communities to access the town services (Cunneen 2008a).

Indigenous poverty, crime and violence are usually seen in town camps (Carson 2007, Wallace 1995), for example, ex-missions, reserves and high areas of public housing estates in rural communities. Cunneen (2008a) notes that in Alice Springs within town camps there have been 15 murders and homicides in the space of sixteen months. Hunter (2001) also supports these findings and suggests that in terms of homicide, there is a wide collection of data that involves Indigenous males involved in violent assaults. Cunneen (2008a) also states that the Gordon public housing estate in Dubbo is often subject to crime, violence, violent assaults and public disorder. For example, in January of 2006

it was the focus of a police lockdown, in which the law enforcement utilised the new legislation that arose after the Cronulla riots (Cunneen 2008a). The author states that where there are significant Indigenous populations there seems to be a heightened report in crime and interpersonal violence and home burglary.

Hunter (2001) suggests that criminal offences, such as violence and crime, may be influenced through imposed idleness and poverty. This reinforces those who are experiencing extreme hardships to participate and engage in drinking and criminal activities. Drinking related offences contribute to becoming the perpetrator or the victim of physical and verbal attacks. This seems to be one of the most likely types of arrests for Indigenous people. This may confirm that there is a cycle of violence and abuse connected with alcohol within Indigenous communities (Carson 2007, Hunter 2001, Wallace 1995). The top six factors which contribute to violence and abusive assaults are as, reported by Hunter (2001), alcohol consumption, lack of education, a victim of physical attack or verbal threats, sex, age, and being unemployed. Drinking related arrests dominate 50% of the profiles of Indigenous people who come into contact with the law.

Hazlehurst (1987) also states that Indigenous people are arrested more than Anglo-Australians. For example, in the first half of 1982 there were 252 drinking offences against Indigenous people compared to that of 73 charges against Anglo-Australians. This is a ratio of 8 per cent for Indigenous people

and 0.26 per cent of Anglo-Australians. During this time period it was evident that racism was rampant, for example, the main beach in the town clearly had segregated areas for black and white, and even the terminology that is used within this era was clearly racist.

These high contributing factors reported by Hazlehurst (1987) and Hunter (2001) may help us to understand the violence that is experienced throughout New South Wales and Queensland. For instance Hunter (2001) states that, the rate of victimisation and criminal activities in the Indigenous population are higher than that of non-Indigenous people. The Murdi Paaki (Bourke and the Northwest and West) seems to have the highest reported offending levels for Indigenous people. This area is amongst one of the region's most disadvantaged Indigenous peoples, the rate of Indigenous people who show up for court in this area is almost twice the amount of those Indigenous people in the Sydney areas.

There seems to be a relatively close fit between Indigenous people with high levels of poverty, crime, and victimisation and violence (Carson 2007, Hunter 2001, Wallace 1995,). Looking at the whole social context of what has happened and what is happening to Indigenous Australian people within the context to Anglo-Australian systems may help to shed light onto the subject of poverty, crime and victimisation. Indigenous people, when confronted with the law and courts, find the system challenging and difficult due to cultural differences (Hunter 2001). One of the apparent differences is that Indigenous

people use what is known as Aboriginal English. As Eades (2000) suggests, previous studies of Australian Indigenous English speaking witnesses in Australian courts have investigated that linguistic and pragmatic factors do have a prevalent impact on Indigenous people being able to be successful in their communication.

For example, the Anglo-European assumptions that information is best sought by repeated asking of questions is central to the legal process, but these assumptions are not shared in many Australian Indigenous societies, including those where the language spoken is Aboriginal English (a dialect of English) (Cunneen 2008a, Eades 2000). In these societies, important information is generally sought through less direct means. Eades (2000) states that there is also a cultural difference in the way that silence is used and interpreted, this can seriously disadvantage many Indigenous witnesses. The implications of such cultural differences in communicative style for the delivery of justice and law have been highlighted in cases involving serious matters, such as murder and allegations of deprivation of liberty by police officers (Eades 2000).

There is a context for the over-representation of Indigenous people who are on the receiving end of law and order, as Eades (2000) states issues which are raised generally concern the character of the accused, understanding of the explanatory factors that are involved in the circumstances of a crime and reasons to be convinced that the accused is or is not a danger to the community.

Strong evidence shows that even in the interaction between Indigenous witnesses and their own lawyers the law can silence the witnesses' responses. This appears to be the condition when legal professionals are unaware of Indigenous cultural beliefs, values, knowledge and understanding of Indigenous lifestyle (Eades 2000). This therefore impedes on how Indigenous people interpret and accommodate and assimilate information relevant to the question being asked in a court of law.

There certainly can be some disjunctions between Indigenous communicative style and what is expected in the courtroom (Cunneen 2008a, Eades 2000). An examination of Indigenous evidence in these cases does not draw attention to overt miscommunication resulting from language difference, whether it be in the structure or use of language, because of the communicative differences, it is striking how little is said by the witnesses, and the ways in which Indigenous people are silenced in direct examination (Eades 2000).

This observation combined with the widespread and frequently expressed feeling among members of the Indigenous community that the courts were not interested in what Indigenous witnesses wanted to say led me to investigate the matter through analysis at the discourse level (Eades 2000). The author provides insight into the background of a rural community in the northern tablelands area of New South Wales, which has a population of around 25,000 people, by

looking at the socio-cultural and legal context within the span of colonization from 1788 till 1995.

Indigenous Australians comprise approximately 4% of the population (Eades 2000). Their visible roles in the community are sports and several active Indigenous organizations including housing, health and education. However, the Indigenous community is quite factionalized. This may be due to over a century of relocation of different clans and language groups from their traditional lands. This forced removal has caused a discomfoting mosaic of clans, mobs and groups who have had to live together in spite of their tribal laws which may have prohibited close interactions as well as supporting a very deeply rooted independent lifestyle based in well defined territories (Cunneen 2008a, Eades 2000) with their own unique cultural and spiritual traditions.

In spite of the time that has transpired along with the massive changes and hardship endured, these Indigenous Peoples still associate with their distinct original language groups. Their groups have come from the coastal, inner western and rural communities of New South Wales (Eades 2000), of which the author of this thesis also affiliates. The unique challenges of the Indigenous Peoples of this region, which has seen the greatest and longest impacts of colonization are worth considering, highlighting the fact that adaptation and survival while maintaining strong commitments to cultural identity have deepened the already resilient strengths of these Peoples.

## **Aboriginal People are Bi-cultural**

Central to resilience is bi-cultural awareness and ability to cope across different cultural landscapes (Procter 2005, Eades 2000). Indigenous residents of the above mentioned region are clearly bicultural. They participate successfully in non-Aboriginal employment, education, and sports as well as in social community events and in organizational structures within the wider community. These Indigenous people definitely remain a part of the Indigenous community's internal structure, and these strong cultural links pervade the most essential part of their everyday interactions (Royal 2008, Eades 2000). However, it must not be assumed that all Indigenous people are bicultural.

It seems that the extent of the bicultural ability of Indigenous people may be inversely related to the likelihood of them being involved in the criminal justice system (Royal 2008, Eades 2000). As in many other country towns in NSW and other states, there are reported and visible instances of racism and violence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities (Eades 2000). The author made a point that while in the period of the study there was public discourse about relationships between local Aboriginal youths and the entirely Anglo-Saxon police force. It was a widely expressed belief that an upsurge in burglary was being led by Aboriginal youths. There was evidence of the Indigenous community elders and members with the local police who worked together to

develop approaches to deal with the issues. The Indigenous community and the police force appointed an Indigenous liaison person.

Eades (2000) reported that she heard various opinions about the local police force that they were ‘picking on’ Indigenous kids. She also conveyed the respect shown to the elders in the community for the way they were handling such a challenging job. In relation to local lawyers, again there were varying views. There was frustration with their inability to understand and adequately represent their Indigenous clients, empathy because their workloads prevented them from providing the finest service, and admiration for their work with Indigenous clients.

When talking about magistrates and judges in general, people often expressed the view that they lacked necessary understanding of Indigenous culture and lifestyle, and did not want to listen to Indigenous people. However, there was considerable respect for and loyalty to the local magistrates, who reportedly showed respect for Indigenous people. One of the key points raised was that Indigenous people seem to be bicultural (Royal 2008, Eades 2000), revealing an assumption that Indigenous people have to make themselves more aware of dominant cultural discourse (Eades 2000). The reverse is not the case – that mainstream people ought to become culturally aware of minority concerns and cultural ways. It may help if the dominant culture would actually encourage and expect best practice in minority services for Australian citizens who happen to

be Aboriginal; by making professionals and people in general more accountable to issues of cultural competence Australia might become a more bicultural and multicultural state.

### **Circle Sentencing and the Justice System**

The history of circle sentencing originated in First Nations communities of Canada in the early 1990s, arising from extensive cultural traditions that are based in an Indigenous philosophy of sharing responsibility for injustice within a whole community (Potas et al, 2003). This process was devised to help Indigenous people in court procedures by making justice as an interpersonal process more appropriate and grounded within the laws of Aboriginal cultures.

The Australian Nunga Court model (Marchetti & Daly 2004) has been based on the Canadian model and adopted around Australia within the courts for Indigenous people and is now being adapted to suit the local courts and towns throughout Indigenous Communities within Australia. Potas et al (2003) notes that the first Indigenous magistrates who formed the Nunga Court session were held in South Australia in 1999. This process discarded the formality of the magistrate's court. The Nunga Court has been now experienced in Queensland, Western Australia, and Victoria, and in 2002 it was assessed and used in New South Wales. These courts are focused on Indigenous concerns of the people and the family groups who are involved in the issues arising from injustice.

On the other hand, Indigenous participation in courts and sentencing procedures have been around informally in remote communities since 1999. This practice is known as circle sentencing (Marchetti & Daly 2004). Over time these processes have become more formalized in an effort to become more culturally appropriate.

There has been a need to develop trust between the judicial officers and the Indigenous communities, and to permit a more informal way of exchanging information about the defendants and their cases. This process involves the wider Indigenous communities and other organizations that will participate in the sentencing process, including elders, extended family, and cousins who are encouraged to participate in the process. The author suggests that circle sentencing gives officials within the court an opportunity to view Indigenous cases in a more culturally insightful way, giving the impression that there is some form of bicultural understanding coming from those who are in charge of the official mainstream processes within court procedures.

Through the means of circle sentencing, the hope has been that more culturally robust approaches will relieve the over-representation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system by increasing the participation of Indigenous people as court staff and advisors in the justice system (Marchetti & Daly 2004). It is assumed that the incarceration of Indigenous people will be reduced. It has been recognized by Indigenous organizations and state government that there is a

need to build stronger relationships between the Australian justice system and Indigenous people. These practices were recognized during the 1990s and are only unfolding during the recent decade due to the arduous process of the legal reforms. Governments are also rigorous in introducing new polices especially those polices which are to do with race relations. Another reason for the change in polices is that there are a new breed of magistrates and judges in the criminal justice system who seem to be taking more of an advocate role on behalf of Aboriginal people. It has been those who are government ministers and court authorities that have been influenced by the judicial officers that there needs to be a change in policies that seeks to improve race relations (Marchetti & Daly 2004).

For instance, Chris Vass was appointed magistrate in 1980 after returning home to Australia after fifteen years of working in Papua New Guinea (PNG). His perspectives on the Australian colonial rule, race relations and the law changed significantly after spending seventeen years traveling to the Pitjantjara Lands of Australia. Within those seventeen years Vass travelled there six times a year. He wanted to address the distrust of the Indigenous people of Australia towards the criminal law system. Vass started to speak to the wider Indigenous community, the Indigenous Right's movement and The Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

As Marchetti & Daly (2004) state, regardless how far the circle justice system has been implemented it is the role of magistrate that holds the ultimate decision

in the prosecution of the offender. In the more culturally grounded circle justice approach, the offender sits at the table at eye level with the magistrate and is accompanied by an elder. The elder can address the offender about his/her behavior and may play a large part in the process of the sentence handed down. The elder may have to monitor the offender's behavior over a period of time. As well, many courts try their best to make sure that the elder's gender matches that of the offender.

Many of the Indigenous offenders sit with their solicitors in the court and in some of these court hearings the magistrates suggest that handcuffs be removed while in the courtroom (Marchetti & Daly 2004). After the hearing and once the charges have been read and the defense council has had time to respond, the offender and support person are allowed to speak directly to the magistrate about the offender's behavior. People in the public gallery may also speak. The informality of these courts differs from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and also the magistrate who is in charge of the court hearing defines in many ways how things proceed. It is also understood that these cases are allocated more time in consideration compared to regular court hearings (Marchetti & Daly 2004). This gives me the impression that cultural differences may be considered and taken into account, enabling a more satisfying experience that leads to appropriate intervention that may reduce repeat offenses.

## **Removal of Children and Cultural Survival**

During what is known as the Protection Era, from the late 19th century to the 1960's, Aboriginal children were removed from their families and relocated across vast territories into residential care (Janeczko 2007). Clark (2000) notes, under the protectionist act the government had full and complete control over the lives of Indigenous people. The very nature of these acts was to separate mixed blood Indigenous children from their mothers, families and extended families. The colonists believed that these children were not 'real Aboriginal children.' Therefore they were not subjected to the same process of genocide as was their full-blood family members.

Clark (2000, p.150) states that for over a century many Aboriginal people throughout Australia were systematically taken from their families by

'missionaries and governmental authorities who believed that it was 'for the good of Aboriginal people,' and placed them in white foster homes or government-run institutions. In this process, many Aboriginal people were either forced or encouraged to disclaim their cultural roots and identities... [There were] many incidents of abuse, misunderstanding, deception, and control from the very authorities that were put into place to protect and look after them.'

These decisions were made and decided by the ethics of the British missionaries and governmental control groups in which held and still holds the dominant position (Janeczko 2007). Smolicz (1983) states that it is through the dominant group, through their positions, their early settlement, and the impact in which these dominant groups have the main say on the political and economic institutions. This means that the minority or lesser groups have little or no say at all on policymaking and the lesser group also have limited access to resources, and are thus rendered almost completely powerless. Such a group as Australian Indigenous people have been forced by the dominant society to become assimilated into the dominant culture or into ‘Anglo-conformism.’

The question then arises, has Indigenous peoples ultimate fate been sealed in relation to dominant cultural policies? Or are these challenges only the first chapter in a long struggle for self-determination? We suspect that in some respects the Spirit of certain individuals may experience being crushed by the weight of past injustice, however there are many signs of change and improvement in Aboriginal affairs, not the least of which is the circle justice movement (Smolicz 1983). In spite of continued government policy that appears to work toward eliminating cultural strengths and autonomy of governance in Indigenous Australia, it is simply not possible to put down and enforce that all individuals must adopt the norms of the dominant Anglo-culture and give up our Traditional Ways and our Sacred Cultural Heritage.

While the Indigenous people were forced into relocation, and the assumption is that they were also forced to give up their cultural heritage and Indigenous identity, Aboriginal identity appears to be even stronger even if that identity has been marked by the injustice and oppression of the past (Clark 1999). Being forced physically by governmental policies to be moved from their families and tribal lands, to make way for the dominant cultural organisations and systems including the British armed forces, is a legacy that shames Australian mainstream families, communities and governments. Aboriginal people were forced to grow stronger or give up and die.

Many chose to go inward and silenced their Songlines within the trauma environment (Atkinson 2002, Clark 1999) of covert and systemic siege warfare against their very existence across this vast country. However, this momentary silence should not be viewed as the end of a story. Instead, it ought to make one quiet, patient, listening and waiting for the arising of the Dreaming in new forms through the very Songlines of our Elders who gave up their lives during this cold war era of the past 200 hundred years in Australia. Indigenous Australians are not going away and are in no way prone to extinction, in spite of the dominant myths to the contrary. Nor will culture and spirituality disappear, and western people ought to know the more likely outcome for an oppressed minority culture is to withdraw, appear powerless, expose the belly to show submission, while gaining all the time new strength, power and vision for the

future arising of spiritual, cultural, ecological, political, and economic autonomy.

Hazlehurst, (1987, p.62) reminds us that in regards to one particular circumstance,

‘these Aboriginal people were forcibly moved from their tribal lands as a result of the closure of the Ooldea Reserve in the early 1950’s. Coincidentally British nuclear tests were planned for the area...people were prevented from returning north for politico-religious ceremonies in order to keep them out of Prohibited Zones. The pain of this dislocation is still very real. As one informant put it: ‘Old people here white and black, can remember the stealing of the land.’

These kinds of memories do not disappear, and they sing out for justice for many generations afterward. We have met members of the grandchildren of that generation impacted by nuclear testing. Not insignificant is the reality that many of this generation have become advocates who have sought higher education and training to enable their fight against the continued injustices of mainstream Australian policies (Hazlehurst, 1987). In the process, culture is not lost but regained in a different manifestation of strength and power.

## **Abuse of Aboriginal People in Institutions**

In addition to the removal of Aboriginal children, Indigenous adults were also taken from the land and placed into dormitory systems that were still working in the 1960's and 1970's. For instance, systems were put into place for women who had been raped while working on stations and properties in southeast Queensland. The children of these Indigenous women were taken at the age of three and placed into boys and girls dormitories. As these children reached a suitable age they were then farmed out as livestock to stations as cheap slave labour (Memmott et al 2001). This not only provided a quiet sanction of male domination of women through rape, abuse and enslavement as servants but also from a macro-social analysis assisted in maintaining the European 'way of life' by boosting sources of cheap labour that fuelled the economic life for those who were non-Indigenous.

Indigenous people were expected to adopt the norms of the dominant culture and to give up their own cultural heritage. Schools like that of dormitories were seen as the most effect form of instruments of achieving assimilation of Indigenous children, not only by immersing the Indigenous children into the majority but as a way of eliminating their native culture, language and memory (Smolicz 1983). However, like most experiments in genocide, brainwashing and social engineering including those that were sanctioned in World War II Germany, the costs for the dominant culture in the long term tend to far outweigh the short sighted intentions of the people and policies undertaken.

Not only were the dormitories instruments of achieving assimilation. The missions and the reserves became a place where Indigenous elders were expected to give up their own cultural heritage and adopt the norms of the dominant Anglo-culture (Smolicz 1983). This was enforced by European managers, whose task was to impose political disciplinary disempowerment of the elders as heads of their communities. This deliberate act of disempowerment impacted Indigenous social change. The missions and reserve managers made it their business to make sure that the banning of Traditional Language, Ceremony, and Marriage (Memmott et al 2001). The undermining of Indigenous religions, spirituality, cultural values, attitudes and beliefs were in many ways hindered and in certain areas may have been eliminated by a system of injustice. If Indigenous people did not conform they were duly punished through inhumane means.

In Australia currently, while assimilation policies are now regarded as outmoded and potentially divisive among the mainstream population, there are those who now bolster Indigenous ethnicity and cultural rights associating them with other minorities who are sub-groups within the dominant majority (Smolicz 1983). While authentic forms of solidarity are welcome, in some respects the rhetoric of minority rights risks covering over the centrality and unique status of Aboriginal Australia as the original and rightful owners of this country, and minority rhetoric ought not prevent the central discourse of treaty rights, self-

determination, and autonomous governance for Aboriginal Nations. As in many areas of cultural politics, rhetoric can be used in different ways to different ends, and the history suggests that the goal of assimilation and ‘solving the Aboriginal problem’ remains on the minds of government officials in spite of the now obvious racist and genocide-based implications of these outdated attitudes.

For example, Memmott et al (2001) states that between the periods of 1898 to the post 1967 era, the various Aboriginal acts of Queensland placed Indigenous people under the exclusive control of the state. This period was researched extensively by analysing the numerous themes of the impact of institutionalisation of the Aboriginal culture, society, and mental wellbeing. This period disrupted and saw the dismantling of cultural systems, and there was a gross failure to aid the substitution of a sufficient set of cultural systems that would achieve a high level of stability and quality of lifestyle for Indigenous peoples.

The colonial expansion, assimilation tactics and the aggression that was forced onto Indigenous people throughout the state of Queensland had extensive genocide-based outcomes. These aggressive tactics were experienced during this era but also in some ways continue to this day and involve the dispossession of land, population decimation, murder, rape, exploration, massacres, maltreatment, the spread of infectious diseases, the introduction of alcohol and

drugs that become an addiction, slave labour, and chronic anxiety, as well as continual disadvantage in education, healthcare, and the systematic lack of support for Indigenous language (Memmott 2001). Add to this a dominant conception that the national government has said sorry, and that Aboriginal people have already received more than enough compensation, and that they ought to get on with their lives, and in effect Aboriginal affairs has become left behind in the mad rush of mainstream economic progress. From a wider view on the processes of historical genocide, these tactics cannot be overlooked as significant because they maintain one central power relation, namely, the dispossession of black Australia as against that incessant phenomenon of colonial rule that continues to boost the economic and land-based wealth of white Australia.

### **The Massive Costs of Oppression for Australia**

Even a most basic analysis of the colonial story reveals enormous costs to the oppressed and oppressor in terms of upheaval, dispute, war, loss of life, loss of country, shame and internalized psychopathology, as well as trans-generational trauma/issues arising in European and in Aboriginal families (Purdie 2010, Moreton-Robinson 2004, Atkinson 2002, Memmott et al 2001). The ongoing costs in regards to healthcare, chronic illness, physical and mental suffering, and related issues of substance abuse and violence within families (Purdie 2010, Atkinson 2002) and between cultures generates an extremely high economic outcome for everyone concerned and for Australian governments over several

generations. In spite of the massive costs to Australia, many of which are not adequately understood or appreciated as of yet, clearly the cost-benefit analysis weighs heavily against the gains made by colonial invasion and settlement in the acquisition of land which forms the life-blood of all economic activity and provides the basis for the wealth of nations (Memmott et al 2001, Ogilvie et al 2001).

In contrast, there is no doubt that the cost to Aboriginal Australia is profound and long lasting. The list is extensive and includes the deep deprivation resulting from the removal, segregation, alienation from traditional lands; a breakdown of the social kinship ties and structures, along with the deep loss and grief of the Indigenous peoples' spirituality and religion (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Atkinson 2002, Memmott, et al 2001); the loss of traditional economics combined with employment restraints, denial of wages and victimisation of labour exploitation; the experiences of racism and ethnocentrism, racial stereotypes, and the loss of traditional languages; the loss of personal freedom, suppression of humaneness, imposition to the negative connotations of socio-political status, and the eradication of cultural heritage (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Memmott, et al 2001); the loss of social autonomy within ones community, repressive laws, paternalism, and socioeconomic deprivation (Memmott, et al 2001, Ogilvie et al 2001).

While mentioned above, it seems appropriate to remind the reader of the symbolic significance for Aboriginal affairs of the historic act of genocide that ‘tops the lot’ due to the extent of European and British arrogance and disregard for humanity and for the earth.

We cite Hazlehurst (1987) who states that not only were Aboriginal people taken from their lands and subjected to a wide range of tactics of genocide, but they were also subject to British experiments in conducting nuclear testing during the 1950s that shows documented proof that Aboriginal people were killed outright and without regard while the nuclear blasts and fallout from the bombs desolated the land at Maralinga. The Aboriginal people who survived the blast were left to their own devices. They suffered from skin disease, blindness, cancer, and unfathomable anguish that followed the radiation from the blasts – without a scrap of assistance or even basic first aid (Hazlehurst 1987). The author stresses that, in addition to this horror, the Aboriginal people who were ‘consulted’ were told by the ‘white fellah’ that they must not speak of this as they had seen and been a part of the ‘white-man’s ceremony.’ The significance of this deception as a commentary on the materialism of European culture has stood the test of time, and the lack of respect shown to the Traditional Owners is astounding and these crimes have not yet been adequately addressed (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Tyler 1998, Hazlehurst 1987).

Following on from this, the history of Aboriginal Australia and the devastation of the culture, Indigenous people now face the social problems which have risen and are due to past institutional impact on Indigenous people (Hazlehurst 1987). What may have begun as direct warfare and genocide continue in the forms of systematic prejudicial policies and practices that sustain minority low socioeconomic status, lack of financial backing, chronic unemployment, very low income, dependency on the welfare system, a housing crisis within Indigenous communities and in public housing, overcrowding in housing, lack of education, high infant death rates, high mortality rates for young Indigenous people, impoverished health, AIDS, STDs, high imprisonment rates, excessive alcoholism, interpersonal violence, self-harm, suicide, high crime rates, lack of understanding for managing community effectively, poor government service delivery, institutional discrimination, difficulties due to loss of social control, community divisions, sexual offences, no political recognition of rights and an absence of self-determination (Procter 2005, Memmott et al 2001, Hazlehurst 1987).

### **Minority Psychic Trauma**

While the focus of this thesis is on Aboriginal affairs, it is helpful in one sense to place Indigenous issues within the wider discourse on minority studies which draws parallels between the experiences of different minority populations (Battiste & McConaghy 2005, Bowers 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d, Knudtson & Suzuki 1992, Noel 1994, Sarup 1996). Taken together this discourse suggests

that minority populations deal with similar issues as related to the internalisation of prejudice that follows the impacts of bias, violence, and oppression in the wider dominant culture. Noel's (1994) seminal work examines the widespread phenomenon of intolerance across cultures and minority status, and suggests that regardless its many different manifestations, the structure of intolerance within social relationships holds certain consistent qualities or dimensions. For example, that intolerance is an attitude directed toward an objectified 'other' who is seen and treated as 'different' in some negative, punitive, or violent sense. Intolerance can show itself in subtle attitudes along a spectrum toward violent outbursts, and can be manifested in systematic beliefs that are cultural-wide and become entrenched in approaches toward certain groups of people that seek to control, limit, quarantine, cleanse, improve, save, rectify, eliminate, and/or eradicate (Noel 1994).

Likewise, Bowers, Plummer & Minichiello (2005d) suggest that there are actually quite established social mechanisms of prejudice that can be identified, studied, and addressed within interpersonal and social relations. The authors focus on gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender issues and concerns in their study, however, their work offers strong suggestions that, much like gender and sexual identity cross all cultural groups, and in many cases dual minority identity can be sustained by people who are both gay and Aboriginal, for instance, there are many ways in which the mechanisms of prejudice apply to

most of the contexts of social intolerance – wherever people hold prejudice toward the ‘other’ and the ‘self.’

Battiste and McConaghy (2005) contribute significant insights to the post-colonial discourse of Indigenous studies within the arts and humanities. They suggest that race relations within colonized nations such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States of America hold similar realities, pressures, concerns, and challenges. They place emphasis on how education has been impacted by racist attitudes across all these national borders, rooted within a European conception of dominance and submission dating back to early religious concepts of the divine right to rule under the monarchies of Europe.

These deep-histories of cultural bias, when carried across the globe into other nations, and when imposed upon other peoples, has created enormous suffering that can be understood in its wider contexts – in other words, it is not only about one people. By acknowledging this fact, it is more difficult to impose categories and labels upon Aboriginal nations, when indeed, the discourse actually needs to shift into a critical analysis of mainstream systems, beliefs and values and how these arise within the European psyche, and how we can then address these issues in more useful ways for the sake of the now quite unique nation states that have evolved as children of past colonial processes. The key value in Battiste’s (1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2004) work is how she seeks a post-colonial analysis of these issues that slowly breaks apart the irrational edifice that

supports the western establishment – after which all who entertain this deconstructive process are left more capable to develop a truly inclusive model for education, health and wellness.

Sarup (1996) gives voice to the notions of the postmodern in relation to identity, and suggests that western culture as a whole is undergoing an identity crisis based in realisations of how religion, science and more recently materialism have all been found to be wanting, leaving a psychic-hole in people's lives. The crisis of meaning is said to pervade all of society including political and state level approaches to governance. The crisis is said to manifest because people have become disconnected to meaningful ways of knowing and making meaning in their lives. Within this postmodern 'moment' arises an opportunity to reflect on the basic assumptions and values of western culture. As this process unfolds, as long as mainstream people are open to listening and learning different perspectives, minority discourse actually becomes critically important as a contribution to alternative ways of knowing (Martin, K 2003) what it means to be human on this planet.

At the same time Knudtson & Suzuki (1992) present the 'wisdom of the elders' as a collection of insights gained from Indigenous peoples around the world. The suggestion across most of the Indigenous-based literature is that the Aboriginal Nations have always held up a diverse, different, unique, and terribly valuable cultural, linguistic, and philosophical system that adds to the overall

wealth of nations. By subjecting this wealth to continual violence, mainstream societies risk killing off the very sources of their future survival in real terms by essentially eliminating minority cultures from existence on this planet. While the motivation for such actions to support and sustain Aboriginal language, culture, knowledge, and ways of being is actually quite Euro-centric and downright selfish and short-sighted, there is a logical argument that suggests that any motivation to improve race relations is better than where we have been in past and seem to be in today's context. There is another argument proposed by the authors that what do mainstream people really want? How much wealth will they be happy with at the expense of other people whose blood is on their conscience, or even when they have divorced themselves from any collective responsibility for colonisation, how can they justify the pursuit of unlimited wealth when their neighbours are living in poverty? These are real and valuable questions that arise in Australia at this time, when we consider our collective traditions of the trade union movement, notions of 'fair go' and 'mateship' and 'true blue' Aussie identity. None of these notions could exist apart from the deep identity sustained because of the generosity and hospitality of Aboriginal people whose deep spirituality and cultural wealth is as old as this fair country we call home.

Following from these reflections it is important and useful to parallel the wealth of nations verses the poverty of nations. For example, the Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force (1988:258, Miller 1990a:6 cited in Memmott et al 2001)

states that Indigenous people have been subjected to great loss and may use alcohol and drugs as a way of trying to eliminating the psychological problems and issues that have become chronic due to the cycles of violence that Indigenous people have experienced. The internal psychic trauma is manifested in low self-respect, high powerlessness, extreme frustration, on going feelings of shame, doubt, remorse, and lack of coping mechanisms. These result in clinical depression, lack of meaning in life, no connection with land and spirituality, and higher likelihood of self-harm and suicide. In addition, alienation from cultural and personal kinship ties lead to adjustment disorders, combined with reduced parenting skills, basic health knowledge and understanding of personal care and basic living skills, rooted in a disrupted attachment and lack of cultural identity and self-identity (Vicary and Westerman 2004).

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report (2000) suggests that, all Indigenous people want is for the violence to stop. Indigenous women say, 'we do not want our men to go to jail.' Yet it is difficult, as the women need to be able to address the issues of violence, alcohol and other drugs. It is difficult for Indigenous people to disassociate themselves with violence as the rest of mainstream Australians. Mainstream Australians may only experience violence secondhand, such as, the news, papers and radio. Indigenous people do not have the luxury of disassociating themselves from violence, as there is such a high incidence of crime and violence within remote

and rural Indigenous communities. This reinforces again the psychological abuse that was inflicted on Indigenous people from the time of settlement of Australia, and in a sense, how the cycles of colonial violence have become internalized among minority people who are powerless to address the massive displacement and continual oppression they feel within a largely wealthy, affluent, and disinterested white Australia. These ingrained experiences have manifested into psychological trauma, violence, self-harm, social problems and issues. Indigenous people seem to associate and display the violence in which they have been subjected to over the last two centuries of colonisation (Atkinson 2002, The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence Report 2000).

Vicary and Westerman (2004) state that there has been recognition and intervention of Indigenous issues to address the disadvantages over the last twenty years, but Indigenous people are greatly disadvantaged compared to the Non-Indigenous counterparts. For example, Indigenous life expectancy is much lower, quality of life, and equal opportunities remain considerably lower than the rest of the their Non-Indigenous counterparts. There are major differences in Indigenous socio-economic well being, greater poverty, much higher rates of unemployment, insufficient housing alternatives, lower participation in educational endeavours and completion of studies, violence, suicides, and Indigenous people are more likely to be subjected to the lack of basic utilities

that Anglo-Australians take for granted. For example, clean water, garbage disposal and access to healthy foods and diets.

Another major disadvantage is the inequality that exists between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people in how Indigenous people have had their children removed since the 1960's, a practice that continues in child welfare practices to this day (Vicary and Westerman 2004). In the past the practice was exclusively that these children were placed into the care of non-Indigenous carers so that they would be assimilated into the white mainstream culture (Fredericks 2007, Vicary and Westerman 2004). In the present day, welfare makes a show of placing children into Indigenous homes but in reality the practice remains quite similar to the past. For instance, in Western Australia the Department of Community Welfare noted that 57% of children in care were Indigenous and 44% of children in substitute care were Indigenous. This reality contrasts the fact that Indigenous people make up only 2.5% of the overall population.

These statistics suggest the extent of community and familial upheaval due to the third world conditions of poverty in Australia's own 'back yard.' With such a high number of children being removed there are still children and families that are experiencing profound trauma, displacement, and institutionalisation and, we add, that no generation of Indigenous children or their families have been free from the threats of harm, abuse, and being removed by the state since the early days of colonisation. This central fact has had perhaps the most

significant impact on how Indigenous people feel about governmental departments and agencies, and is the divining rod in terms of race relations in this country (Vicary and Westerman 2004).

It seems all too obvious but nonetheless, must be stated clearly that all children regardless of their cultural background who are removed from their families of origin due to issues associated with poverty and social upheaval, will experience high rates of psychological, emotional, social and spiritual distress that in most cases continue to mark their lives as adults in terms of dealing with ongoing depression, adjustment disorder, chronic anxiety, sleeplessness, lack of ability to cope with change, and various degrees of post-traumatic stress disorder (Vicary and Westerman 2004, Atkinson 2002). For Indigenous children these 'normal' factors of distress are compounded because they are thrown into a different cultural environment by being taken away from their racial and cultural heritage. These experiences of alienation from their Songlines (Vicary and Westerman 2004, Atkinson 2002) open up a lifetime of searching through emptiness, seeking meaning and identity, and suffering difficulties in forming close relationships, gaining very few parenting or life-management skills, while the sad history shows also that many Aboriginal children taken into care experience and encounter neglect, child abuse, and sexual abuse and many will end up with mild to extreme issues and behavioural problems (Vicary and Westerman 2004).

Following this sad legacy, Indigenous people continue to have sustained higher rates of youth suicide. Vicary and Westerman (2004) state that the suicide rate for Indigenous people in Western Australia is disproportionate to those of Non-Indigenous people; it is in fact twice that of other Australians. It is important to note that young people need early intervention so that they do not become engaged in self harm and violent behaviour. If this is not addressed during early adolescence, those who have been victims of or witnesses to family violence and community violence during their childhoods are more likely to become entrenched in violent behaviour. The research suggests that children learn what they live (National Research on Young People's Attitudes to and Experiences of Domestic Violence 2001).

It has been noted that Indigenous peoples' cultural perspectives have changed in the last two centuries of colonisation because they have been abused, mistreated, raped, murdered, their cultural beliefs crushed, their children taken away, and they have become accustomed to being abused, treated poorly, and have internalized self-hating attitudes, displayed violent behaviour, and become victims and perpetrators of violence (National Research on Young People's Attitudes to and Experiences of Domestic Violence 2001). The following poetry which is the story of Millicent (2000, p210) in which the Elder speaks about the horrific and violent crimes which she experienced by being taken away from her mother and family, to be placed in proper care, by the practice of removal.

‘This time I was raped, bashed and slashed with a razor blade on both my arms and legs because I would not stop struggling and screaming. The farmer and one of his workers raped me several times. I wanted to die; I wanted my mother to take me home where I would be safe and wanted; Because I was bruised and in state of shock I didn’t have to do any work but wasn’t allowed to leave the property.’

These violent crimes and experiences which Indigenous people have been subjected to by the hands of the colonisers have contributed to feelings of being unworthy, unworthy to even be an Aboriginal person, ‘a second class citizen’ (Carson 2007). Elder (2000) states that many Aboriginal Children were told their families did not want them, and that they should be ashamed to be Aboriginal. In such cases standing strong and becoming stable is less likely after internalising negative narratives such as this all one’s life. Aboriginal men in particular have been disenfranchised by the violence and dispossession resulting from colonial invasion. Not only have their traditional roles and sources of economy and productivity been taken from them, their self-esteem has also been directly attacked by the dominant culture (Carson 2007, Elder 2000). When you have learned you should be ashamed to be Aboriginal, where would your self-esteem come from? When your realise the extent of the history of violence that the colonial settlers sustained over the past 200 years (Carson 2007, Elder 2000), and the pervasive issues associated with the domination of

Aboriginal Nations in Australia, the picture of today's circumstances becomes more clear.

## **Conclusion**

The forgoing discussion highlights my motivation to reflect on the challenges that Aboriginal people have experienced through the impact of a complex history of colonization and how this has affected Indigenous people's socioeconomic, educational, and employment opportunities. Indigenous people are greatly disadvantaged compared to the non-Indigenous counterparts. Within this context the focus on men's business arises in the way of coming to terms with men's identity, place and belonging to a history and culture impacted by two centuries of colonial contact. Once these pictures are clearly drawn, later in the thesis we will reflect on the role that visual art plays in reflecting the historic, socio-political and social-emotional aspects of Indigenous wellbeing while examining the use of art by Aboriginal men.

## **Chapter Three:**

### **Male Indigenous Gender Identity:**

#### **Two centuries of colonisation**

Indigenous Australian identity has been shaped over two centuries by discriminatory and inadequate public policies. These policies consequently have been used for the exploration of Ancestral Lands. The environment which was created by these governmental policies has robbed Indigenous men of their rights of being traditional lawmakers and cultural role models (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Hammill 2001). This has impacted on how Indigenous men function as individuals within their families and the wider communities, as they have no positive role models, no positive working environments. Their fathers and grandfathers who were tribal men became workers for the early Europeans who dominated the traditional Indigenous lands of Australia. Indigenous men have been subjected to the European model of masculinity and this was achieved by patriarchal missionaries with their narrow-minded views and ideas (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Hammill 2001).

Connell (1993) supports the notion of how the dominant European culture sent out agents of global domination, who were predominantly men. In these ways it is interesting to note the overlap of how masculinity must be a leading theme in our understanding of the colonial and contemporary world order. While this theme comes through the literature in some ways, no authors have placed analysis of hegemonic masculinity from an Indigenous standpoint (Nakata 2007a), an area this thesis seeks to explore.

Early colonial and in many ways contemporary Australian male cultures represent values that go against the nature of traditional Indigenous culture. It is a history and politics that are dangerous, a history of gender relations, as well as of class and race relations. As Pease (2004) states this history relies on the presumptions of white masculinity applied to influence and enforce hegemonic values that have dominated the experiences of Indigenous men, and Indigenous men are judged under the gaze of powerful and influential white men (Moreton-Robinson 2004). Connell (1991, cited in Pease 2004) notes that this history was based on the discourse about white masculinity and constructed around only five per cent of the world's population of men, and from only one of the world's regions, at one instant in history.

## **Understanding the Patriarchal System**

Hammill (2001) states that men who lived on a former reserve for detainment of Indigenous people were subjected to a patriarchal system which was a narrow-minded model of white European masculinity, a system which was dictated by the administrators and their missionary associates (predominantly men) (Moreton-Robinson 2004). The missionaries, not coincidentally, were the ones who delivered a patriarchal system that has helped in the formation of a contemporary Indigenous masculine identity (Pease 2004, Hammill 2001, Connell 1993). This system was based on older Euro-centric concepts of religious male superiority that are in the present day revealed to contain sexist and racist roots that rely on dominance, dominion and in the extreme (which usually was the case in Australia's convict and downright nasty colonial history), subjugation. The primary mechanism of this approach to male dominance is displayed in cruel violence towards people of lesser value (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Hammill 2001).

Carrington and Scott (2008 p.10) suggest that masculinity has been fashioned by a historical and culturally contingent process. 'In frontier societies, such as, Australia...[the] exploitation and colonisations allowed for the development of the idea of specific 'frontier' masculinities, which achieved their own kind of symbolic ascendancy in colonial societies.' This type of exploitation of the colonisers set up a specific society of institutionalised masculinities. These cultural masculinities of dominance and violence were displayed by the

missionaries, who used their religious beliefs to oppress Indigenous males (Moreton-Robinson 2004). These Indigenous males developed and adopted oppressive identities. These identities now ensure a cycle of violence which can be perpetrated by the most disempowered Indigenous males; and it is through violence that power seems to be retained (Hammill 2001), however illusive and false, this assertion bears out upon further analysis.

Central to the patriarchal system is how hegemonic masculinity becomes symbolically 'impregnated' within another culture seen as less powerful. This was how Indigenous masculine 'gender' identity was shaped and developed through seeing and being subjected to violence and being abused by institutions which were developed on a patriarchal value system (Pease 2004, Hammill 2001, Connell 1993). Parallel to this was how European men saw Aboriginal society as savage, and at the same time how they projected their interior world of manly identity onto Indigenous culture. By projecting the inherited violence and oppression cycles of European cultural origin, for many frontier white men the subjugation of the 'other' through the abuse, rape and killing of women, children and elders associated with black men seen to be of a savage, brutal, and flawed nature that was even less than human, and very likely of less value than that attached to animals.

These beliefs, apart from the oppression histories of the British and Celtic peoples, also arise from the false security found in male control of the

environment, manifested in how early colonial farmers sought absolutely no involvement in learning the traditional ways of custodianship through land management (they were so ignorant of Aboriginal approaches that they did not even know about the notion of custodianship). Instead, they moved in, assumed ownership where none existed, and raped the land of all its natural wealth by burning and cutting down forests and ploughing the fields for grain (which incidentally did not grow in many cases due to insufficient climatic conditions). They turned the land into a grazing operation for one or two species in spite of the mass murder of hundreds if not thousands of species that existed already within the rich and diverse ecology of Australia (Hammill 2001).

Over the past two centuries of European settlement Indigenous men have been conditioned to disregard their traditional systems of belief in law and respect for culture and land, and to become just as uncaring and violent as the colonial man who raped the land, 'his' women, and in many cases Aboriginal women who fell under his control (Hammill 2001). This behaviour and the values inherent within hegemonic masculinity during colonial times seemed to be the accepted European way of conforming to the dominant culture, as boys become men (Moreton-Robinson 2004). This abuse and violence is now perpetrated throughout Indigenous communities, and what communities see, they learn to.

As Hammill (2001) states, boys learn from what they see. As these boys develop into young men and form bonds with those who have experienced

violence and have been the victims of violence. These young men become a part of groups where their emotions become fuelled by their anger towards life and what they have experienced. To release their anger they may commit acts of vandalism such as breaking windows, stealing, destroying property and engaging in anything that relieves their boredom and frustration. These young men will experiment with drinking, taking drugs, smoking, dominating others, and may commit acts of violence inside their communities, which leads them to a life of experiencing detention centres, much like that of dormitories, missions and prisons. These institutions become a transition place for young men. In some strange way these institutions have replaced the traditional rites of becoming a man out in the bush.

Hammill (2001) suggests that within hegemonic masculinity for Indigenous males there is some predictability about the rites of passage for the boy or young man, even when these ways of initiation involve incarceration. The author suggests that this is a tedious and interrupted passage through life where the majority of young Indigenous men learn more about parole boards, good behaviour bonds, and the masculine dominance and uncontrolled anger and violence of men, than they do about their Ancestors and cultural Dreaming. Masculine identity is central to the question of violence (Moreton-Robinson 2004). As Egger (1993) states, within Australian society empirical research has demonstrated that masculinity is identified as a central factor with such a strong connection to violence and crime that this form of identity takes on a causal

relationship to violence. For example, many domestic homicides are committed by men within Australia and are the largest category of homicides.

### **White Australian Masculinities**

Kersten (1996: 392 cited in Carrington and Scott 2008 p. 16) states,

‘the loss of masculine identity through the loss of traditional functions that provide legitimacy for male cultural domination produces dire needs, especially on the part of marginalised men [Indigenous men]. Among them self-hate and the need to compensate for the loss of legitimate avenues to a male status are related to crime rates.’

Frey and Bellotti (1992) acknowledge that there is a high proportion of males who are perpetrators of violent crimes, and that this is no accident because the outcome derives from the responsibilities that men regard as their role within society as being masculine. Fray and Douglas (1992, cited in Frey and Bellotti 1992, p139-40) state that it seems to be more difficult for men to understand and acknowledge the perspectives of the victims of violence. It appears that men have learned to objectify, viewing others instrumentally, to fill their ego needs and desires while blocking others from achieving their goals. If this is the case then a male will resort to the expression of anger and violence as this is seen to be more ‘manly.’

Carrington and Scott (2008, p. 17) note that men will resort to violence due to circumstantial experiences of powerlessness, and violence gives the impression of being manly. For example, those who are finding it hard to break into the labour market use violence as a way of authenticating their masculinity. The authors state that 'violence may be a... means of momentarily reserving structural subordinations of masculinity.' In other words this is a masculinity which is fighting back to reverse the loss of culture and traditional functions, due to the secondary European structural impact of masculinity.

A deeply violent history has formed and forged a European and British empire that has been built on white structural ideas of masculinity (Pettman 1992; Schaffer 1988). Wadham (2004) states that 'the nation' is a masculinist ideal, a bounded community of citizens conceived as belonging to a highly specific national ideal. This ideal has been put into place and developed by the image of ruling '...white men who dominate the processes and practices of nation building and national activities from invasion to the establishment of the prosperous British empire, to the contemporary management of Indigenous claims of sovereignty and recognition' (Schaffer 1988: White 1981 cited in Wadham 2004). While the character of Australia is a place of cultural influence, it is still governed and dominated by the infrastructure of white masculinist aspirations and practices (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Wadham 2004). Even though Australia has become a place of cultural diversity, it still is entwined in

the hegemony of white masculinities that engulfs Indigenous people in a struggle for place and identity. Indigenous identity is positioned within the discussing of the nation of white Australia. In this way Indigenous people remain marginalised by the hegemonic interactions of Australian cultural life (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Wadham 2004).

Indigenous people are now subjected to policies that have been developed on the grounds of white Australian masculinities. Wadham (2004, p. 192) states that Aboriginal reconciliation over the past thirty years

‘...has been the principal policy instrument for addressing questions of white European possession and Aboriginal dispossession in contemporary Australia. This policy direction has taken an undulating path to its current manifestation as the key concern of the corporate body *Reconciliation Australia*.’

Aboriginal Reconciliation seemed to progress through events such as the Redfern speech in 1992, in which the then Prime Minister Keating acknowledged what had happened to Aboriginal people within Australian history (Carson 2007). In more recent times, the Liberal Government under Prime Minister John Howard showed how Aboriginal reconciliation has been subjected to the ebb and flow of the influences of the white politics of the

Australian Government which has created an unequal power in Australian policymaking (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Wadham 2004).

Reinforcing the notion of how these processes are intertwined, Butler (1993:225 cited in Nicoll 2004 p. 18) states that the word reconciliation ‘...implies a relationship of unequal power whereby a dominant agent can render another submissive.’ In this sense, Aboriginality is deeply embedded and entrenched in dominant white masculinity. While white masculinity may remain a basis for a highly ineffective cultural relation, Aboriginality as an objectified identity and Aboriginal people as social agents will remain marginalised by the embedded hegemonic relationships of Australian cultural ways of life (Moreton-Robinson 2004). These deep-seated and trans-generational models of white masculinities are entrenched in the dynamic social relationships within Australian culture, and as Gadd and Jefferson (2007 cited in Carrington and Scott 2008) state, ‘masculinity is a complex and diverse historically grounded psycho-social product of dynamic social relations, played out in diverse spaces.’

Wadham (2004 p.194) states that ‘when talking about whiteness and masculinities I am drawing attention to the relationship of dominance within the Australian social relations and culture.’ Euro-Australian whiteness and masculinities are engrained within the system when looking at how one should act, and how one should be seen within society. By adopting these psycho-social dynamics, this would be seen to be the ‘normal’ way of being. This way

of life reinforces that there are second-rate people and second-rate ways of being. This is a very unjust normative standard, and gains its power by being largely assumed. Throughout the literature, the most widely cited basis of critical studies of whiteness suggests that white people have not come to realise or acknowledge that their racial privileges are unearned (Pease 2004). These unearned racial privileges are instilled in a society that has ‘become complacent in the functioning of an institutional system and the privileges which it delivers’ (Connell, 1989 p.297). The author also says that especially for those who come ‘from more privileged class backgrounds...their families [are] organised around credentials and careers...for instance, I came from a family whose men have been in the professions- engineering, the church, medicine, education, law-for several generations.’

White masculinity has shaped the education system, which in turn has shaped masculinity and how it is seen (Pease 2004, Connell 1989). While in the education system masculinities are not just a simple question of individual differences appearing, or individual paths developing and being chosen. It is a deep collective process that happens while in the institution and the organisation of peer group relationships. The authors suggest that masculinity is shaped on a micro scale around social power and prowess. Social power and prowess is further reinforced in the forms of higher education, entering a profession, and being in command of communication. These social institutions are delivering a social order of white boys who are privileged and can achieve academically.

Other 'lesser' forms of masculinity circle around the more hegemonic hyper-masculinity that supports male dominance. Some may be a reaction against dominant identities, others can be viewed as 'failed' forms of male identity, depending on one's perspective and how much these standards are internalised. Rarely do people in the everyday world reflect critically on these issues, and as educational programs continue to focus on job preparation with less emphasis on critical thinking skills, the more likely that unconscious cultural issues like hegemonic masculinity will go unchecked. These factors in mainstream white Australia impact minority populations, and Aboriginal communities bear the brunt of cultural assumptions arising from gender-based prejudice. Masculinity constructs touch almost every area of society including models of leadership, political management, perceptions of competency and accomplishment, and aspects of leisure and sportsmanship like 'Aussie Rules' and other forms of football, along with the shadow sides of these cultural forms including largely sanctioned expressions of physical aggression, sexual conquest, and a consistent lack of consideration for consequences of one's actions (Skelton 1997).

### **Casting the Other as Inferior**

Many forms of analysis of masculinity focus on sports like football as a group or social-wide form of hegemonic masculinity (Ravenscroft 2003, Skelton 1997, Connell 1989). Ironically, the commonality that draws men together to share forms of masculinity is the homo-social culture of the body. To play football is to participate in a collective masculinity based not in small measure

on shared (white?) genitalia. Aboriginal men have the same body parts, but the colour of their skin combined with the special 'low-life pecking order' for their 'species' of masculinity suggests an equation something like: 'black + Aboriginal Australian = lesser than say, black African or New Zealander.' In part, the authors suggest that conflating masculinity with local forms of prejudice largely influenced by the political colonial status of Aboriginal men, results in hyper-prejudice that subjugates Aboriginal men as powerless, feminine, and lacking any semblance of leadership and integrity. Perhaps by objectifying Aboriginal men in these ways, mainstream Australia justifies and perpetuates colonial (male) dominance of the land and natural resources, which, in the Euro-Australian culture, are 'naturally subjected' to the control and influence of (white) men. Even though these constructs do not often translate into Aboriginal cultures, the imposition remains.

As we reflect on the implications, sadly we conclude that the colour of a man's skin and his specific racial identity may indeed disqualify him from the definitive expressions of (white) masculinity. The more we reflect on these issues, the greater the influence in colonial history and race relations. And as masculinity is understood in the (white) established discourses, does this discourse also remain when it comes to the physical bodies of white men who may or may not know this discourse? We suspect that regardless of conscious awareness, most men are aware of the social positioning of their maleness as against other boys and men. Likewise, does not the very construct of white

hegemonic masculinity reach its definition by its contrast to its opposite? And what indeed would constitute an opposite to something as arbitrary as cultural forms of masculinity, which may be seen to change over time and in different cultural spaces? Does this mean that if the opposite does not exist that masculinity also ceases to exist? Or do new forms of identity emerge once hegemony fades in importance?

As we reflect on these issues, we cannot say with any logical certainty that femininity is an opposite to masculinity, just as we cannot really say that Aboriginal male identity forms a cultural opposite to white mainstream male identity. However, clearly these largely assumed opposites form very powerful binaries in western cultural spaces, and these do influence the ways mainstream people construct cultural and political approaches to Aboriginal and gender-based affairs. We are reminded that these human traits such as gender, sexual body parts, and colour of skin are just common human traits that represent a very small percentage of variance in the human species, and are expressive of socially shared discourses and personality but do not represent any definitive genetic form of identity that makes race and gender much more than a social construct (Ravenscroft 2003).

To reinforce these thoughts, we might also say that at least in relation to the whiteness of hegemonic Eurocentric masculinity that certainly Aboriginality would be rendered as another illogical opposite, when in fact race accounts for

less than 1% of variation in the human gene pool. How can less than 1 % of human variation account for such a huge component of hegemonic masculinity that has played itself out across the colonial story of Australia? The boundaries of white hegemonic masculinity appear to be diffuse and illogical (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Ravenscroft 2004, 2003). If the white man is classified in the position of self, than this means there is an organisation of self verses other. This means that all men who do not match up in some way or other, regardless how illogical, these men are seen as the other. In this sense anyone who does not measure up does not make the team. Effectively we know that categories of difference limit the ability of people to be part of the ‘boys club.’ These people have historically been women, boys, elderly men entering into their second childhood, gay males, males who are sensitive and/or effeminate, male intellectuals, and men who cannot physically defend themselves, as well as anyone who falls outside of the culture-centric gaze of European racial identity which comprises anyone with different colour skin, and where Aboriginal people rank at the very lowest place (Pease 2004, Moreton-Robinson 2004, Ravenscroft 2004, 2003).

Aboriginal male masculinity as inferior to that of white male masculinity constructs the whole notion of the ‘Aboriginal male’ as a concept, and as a result of white gendered concepts that imply compliance with the set of norms designated as male and masculine (Pease 2004, Moreton-Robinson 2004, Ravenscroft 2004, 2003). If Aboriginal men are to be seen as being masculine

and be seen as men, they must display the same qualities as their white counterparts in the existing white discourse. In this way we see that white male masculinity is about gender and it is also about race. It is through stretching the illogical boundaries of constructs such as gender and race to their almost absurd conclusions that white Australian masculinity is best understood (Ravenscroft 2003, Mills 2003). Within this material superficial landscape arising from worn out colonial constructs of white male gender superiority there is little room left for growth in depth of character, philosophy or spirituality that might support the unfolding of genuine human growth toward spiritual maturity. However, this being stated, we also acknowledge that the nearly absurd solidification of these categories of gender and sexuality within Euro-Australian societies generate their own forms of resistance, counter-cultural norms, and greater need for alternative expressions of identity and male agency.

If gender is seen as a form of white racial discourse that essentially defines the nature of Eurocentric society in contrast to the other, and in opposition to Aboriginal society, how we come to define identity for men relies on very narrow bandwidths that allow for the eruption of racial tensions and that sustain racial violence arising from conflated hegemonic masculinity as something worth defending at all costs (Ravenscroft 2003, Gilbert and Gilbert 2001). For example, Aboriginal football players have faced these difficulties while in the Australian Football League. During 1932, Doug Nicholls was refused to play football as a fellow player Carlton said 'he smelled.' Apparently, as the logic

here suggests, Aboriginal men do not measure up to white maleness because they smell (Ravenscroft 2003, Gilbert and Gilbert 2001). We could easily dismiss one occurrence of this form of overt racial prejudice, but the reality suggests a very widespread problem that is not only consistent and persistent but is also insidious. For instance, during 1988, Geelong banned 'coloured' recruits. The logic suggested that Aboriginal men do not reach the standards of white hegemonic masculinity because of the colour of their skin, or would that be their eyes, or hair, or that they wear different colour clothing? Perhaps the colour of their genitals offends white male eyes? We can only speculate the illogical construct as to why black boys do not make the team when their skills are on par with their white mates. By intentionally examining and stretching these almost humorous but nonetheless insidious and offensive illogical constructs to push the point – hegemonic masculinity is stretched to its ultimate limit and has backed itself into a corner that only leaves one option, violence (Ravenscroft 2003, Connell 1994).

During 1977, a similar controversy for the Collingwood spectators surrounded the words 'black cunt' and 'dark cunt' that made front-page news. Here we see the logic of hegemony brought to its ultimate offensive end, when applied to demeaning female body parts while suggesting that Aboriginal men are in fact no better than those female body parts that white men dominate with their manly penis (Ravenscroft 2003). Not only are those body parts made the 'other' as feminine and inferior, but they are also cast as racially black and dark,

suggesting that both gender and race form central and essential components within Eurocentric hegemonic masculinity (Pease 2004, Gilbert and Gilbert 2001). Within the Eurocentric psyche the racially black and dark might suggest unclean, unholy, dirty, primitive, savage, satanic and beastly (Ravenscroft 2003). By assaulting all women and Aboriginal people in one go, these comments betray how alone men make themselves when they demonstrate their historically sanctioned privileges which, in today's world, are becoming less and less tolerated (Ravenscroft 2003).

This analysis indicates the ways in which race and gender are associated. We see through this discussion how racism and sexism take their meaning in relation to each other (Ravenscroft 2003). We also note that this type of behaviour has been approved and accepted by some white commentators, within the AFL management they have made clear that the terms 'coon' and 'nigger' are racist. But the racialised and gendered terminology of 'black cunt' has not been recognised as a racial and sexist slur in the same way. Among men within that particular sphere of influence where these words count for something, these words suggest the ultimate insult which musters a complete rejection of Aboriginal men, showing their ultimate inability to attain the masculine ideal, and their complete disconnection to any form of white male masculinity as well as a wholesale inadequacy that prevents any involvement in mainstream culture (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Ravenscroft 2003).

It is through using racial slurs that the differences in others are noted, supporting the realisation that without the illogical 'other' as 'opposite' and 'different' the hegemonic manifestation ceases to exist. Dryer (1997, cited in Wadham 2004) state that being white and masculine is only attributed to seeing the differences in others, Indigenous, the oppressed, disadvantaged, and those who have been violated. The author suggests that race has developed into a label representing differences, within the framework of white discourses and whiteness, even while whiteness itself has become invisible, not questioned, it is a fortress of white racial privilege precisely because its mechanisms of power remain hidden (Wadham 2004, Moreton-Robinson 2004).

If a white discourse on gender is distinguished as being physical power and brute force, such as that which is symbolically performed in football, then ability to fight is conceived as a sign of masculinity (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Ravenscroft 2003). Among Aboriginal men and women, it is seen on the other hand that if an Aboriginal woman can fight, there is no question mark over her gender because she can fight. It is not about strength or physical power. Rather men's business and women's business construct complex tribal systems of responsibility for family, culture, and land, which govern tribal relations. Gender itself is not a definitive category, as people are defined more by who they are and what strengths they display in their abilities and contributions to tribal life. Women and men are seen as different and apply to different Sacred Business, but they are also complementary and are formed within the culture of

the Dreaming. In Aboriginal traditional society it is perhaps the expression of love, family commitment and loyalty that are available to both Aboriginal men and woman that defines character, and Spirit defines the person more so than the body parts that come with the person. Whereas, in dominant white discourses, masculinity seems to be based in material physicality that defines gender in contrast to the other, combined with racially specific meanings (Ravenscroft 2003). This Eurocentric construct is so specific and stretched so thin that Butler (1995:24, cited in Wadham 2004) calls it ‘the heterosexual matrix,’ an order that blends two things together, sex with gender, masculinity with men, and men with heterosexuality. From these arise heteronormativity which defines the manifestation of gender, sexuality, and the ‘other’ within Euro-centric societies. It is only through ‘others’ that white masculinities are recognised at all. As such, the empty shell of hegemonic masculinity must naturally lash out into the ‘darkness’ of this projected deficiency and render ‘others’ as inferior and worthy of male bashing in both symbolic and real terms (Wadham 2004).

### **White Hegemonic Masculinity**

If white hegemonic masculinity is exalted over other masculinities then it disregards other forms of masculine identity (Moreton-Robinson 2004). Connell (1995, cited in Coles 2007) states that masculinities are expressed throughout the dominant culture and emphasized in the male corporate world. For example, a slender healthy young and aggressive businessman dressed in the latest

designer suit expresses his dominant masculinity. On the other hand this can also be expressed through the white working-class male who appears as scruffy, middle-aged men with beer bellies, and who can consume vast quantities of beer. It is possible to be inferior to the dominant group but yet draw on the dominant masculinities and assume a dominant position with other men, such as happens within the cultures of football (Coles 2007, Keddie 2003).

Within modern western societies, it has been noted that the dominant white cultural discourse is the territory of affluent adult white males. As Naffine (1990, cited in Hudson 2006, p30) notes,

‘this dominant subjectivity is both subject and object to the law: it is object in that it is he whose behaviour law has in mind when it constructs its proscriptions and remedies; and it is this subject who constructs the law. Through its discourse and its practices, criminal justice continually invokes and reproduces the male, white subjectivity of the law.’

Threadgold (1999, p375) states further that,

‘Legal subjects then, both those who enact the law and those who are subject to it, are compelled to a repetition of the imposition of, and the suffering from, the effects of the categories. Law has

been developed around the discourse of white masculine image and economy of the same being white male. This dominant social space that has been created by the economy of white male masculinities reduces sexuality to one sex, humanity to one colour, one class and one culture.’

Seuffert and Coleborne (2003) suggest that class, colour and culture are enforced by the British Empire, whose white masculine ideology formed both the laws at home in their country and those countries which they colonised. Australia was based on the principle of British laws and settlement inseparable from the racial identities of men and women. In many respects the conflicts with the Maori were central to the crucial shaping of this modern white nation as against the presumptive power of any ‘black savage male’ who would stand in the way of ‘progress.’ It was vital to the British that the law and legislation regulated the behaviour and actions of Indigenous people, particularly making sure that Indigenous people conform to colonial marriage law and give up their traditional ways (Seuffert and Coleborne 2003). Within the context of marriage, Imperial notions of gender and white masculinities replaced the Indigenous people’s traditional ways of knowing (Martin, K 2003). This white masculine law system constrained Indigenous people, and the white fellah law became a web of relationships defined by conflict over the traditional lands that also created categories of people in the colonial mind, especially from the minority perspective. White means agent of violence. Black means being the victim of

violence. Essentially, 'Australia' arose as a construct from the illogical non-opposites constrained by placing together in one binary system 'Indigenous' verses 'white.' However, we note that with a sense of irony not all nations seek to reproduce themselves by imposing their cultural beliefs and values onto other nations. Indeed, while living in peace many nations seek to live their lives in unity with the environment and without the political strife and crawling that seems to follow the British tribes wherever they go in their self-projected conquest of nations that seems to characterise a macro social form of psychopathology that is conflated with male aggression and military sanction. As such, we turn to the notion of how systems of culture appear to reproduce themselves by examining schooling within Eurocentric and hegemonic cultural worldviews.

### **Reproducing the Manly Man: Eurocentric Schooling**

The literature suggests that violence is widespread and epidemic within the schooling environment. The display of violence is usually committed by males and thus can be understood in the context of certain types of masculinity. Schools are implicit in the supporting, developing and making of masculinities, this also means that they can also be involved in the processes of the unmaking of masculine stereotypes (Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997).

Rutherford (2004, p62) states that,

‘how we understand men [and boys] and gender, what we believe about masculinity, what we know or think we know about the development of boys, may have large affects – for good or ill – in therapy, education, health services, violence prevention, policing and social services.’

Martino (1999) also suggests that schooling and various masculinities go hand in hand and will effect boys’ education while at school and after school. For example, there can be strong emphasis on boys who are concerned about what they are studying and what subjects they should avoid – those subjects that have been deemed historically feminine. It seems that particular subjects and gender seem to have their embedded coding, to say what is male and what is female. These deeply embedded stereotypes of gender while at school also affect how these boys will view race, class, and impact on their whole development, their behaviours, social structures, their participation at school and in the wider communities. It will even contribute to acts of violent outrage and effect their overall achievement within the schooling environment.

Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) support this notion and suggest that schools have a big part to play in the development of the student, it has been noted that most violent offenders in Australia are overwhelmingly male between the ages of 18 to 30 and from blue-collar society. Many of the victims are woman, children, and men who have difficulties with other men. Many of these men

who fall victims of crime are those who are young and who are unemployed. The majority of victims, like their perpetrators, came from disadvantaged backgrounds. It has been noted that Aboriginal people are more likely to become victims of violence and violent crime than the general public, as Aboriginal people are more likely to come from disadvantaged backgrounds and are the more likely victims of homicide. Likewise, Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) state that many of the violent crimes are not reported, such as sexual assaults and domestic violence. The authors suggest that ‘masculinity, marginality, sexuality, familiarity or intimacy and age are central to these generalisations and suggest that a holistic understanding of violence is crucial if we are to develop adequate approaches to anti-violence education in schools’ (Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997, p. 118).

Martino (1999) suggests that how issues of masculinity can effect boys’ participation, in particular to school subject matter. Boys seem to be more prone to self-harm, suicide, violence, and crime. Christie et al (1999) states that suicide has become the third largest cause of death of young Australian men. Martino (1999) notes that schools spend a lot of time, resources and energy in managing boys’ behaviour. Boys are the culprits of damaging property and forming antisocial groups, they become involved in high-risk activities, which may result in death, and they are more likely to commit suicide than girls and are usually incarcerated for violence and violent crime. Boys are more likely to be the victims of abuse and suffering of violent deaths. Christie et al (1999)

report that violent behaviours are a considerable cause of injuries, deaths, and long-term disability. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, cited in Martino 1999) point out that high risk behaviours are related to a particular type of masculinity called, 'doing masculinity.'

It is crucial that understanding masculinity, marginality, familiarity, and age within the schooling context if anti violence programs are to be developed and used within education. This implies that analysis of causes and suggestions for solutions must factor in issues such as gender, sexuality and any other unbalanced relationship of power which is involved in race, social class dynamics between students and teachers, children and adults (Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997). It has now been acknowledged that social, cultural, and psychological constructions of dominant masculinity are related to many forms of violent behaviour and that some forms of masculinity are more prone to violent crimes and violent behaviour. Masculinities are the driving force behind emotions such as confusion, uncertainty, fear, manipulation, shame, rage, and also impotence. These are called masculine performances, as noted by Nayak and Kehily (as cited in Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997 p119). These masculinities, when displayed, produce within the perpetrator the abilities to control and claim power over others through force. These types of masculinities are played out within the school playground and classrooms and are extremely important roles in the shaping of young boys' psychology of how a male must act and be seen.

Masculinities that are displayed within the schooling environment can be clustered with the basis of general social, cultural and institutional blueprints of power. The importance of hegemonic masculinity is built around the relationship that institutions have been developed on. Connell (1995, cited in Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997, p119) calls these masculinities hegemonic, subordinate, complicitous and marginal. Hegemonic masculinity practises, dominates and naturalises male dominance over females as well as Indigenous people, gay people, and those who are different (Roulston and Mills 2000). Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997, p. 119) state that hegemonic masculinities are widely used in debates on masculinity that claims the highest status and thus exercises its influences of authority. A hegemonic masculinity structure dominates its relationships across the sexes/races and justifies the broad structure of power known as patriarchy. Hegemonic masculinity asserts its authority through cultural and institutional practices.

Martino (2003) states that institutional practices within schooling can be and are damaging. For example, the racist practices of white boys that incite rage, anger and violence motivates confrontations and result in fights. Some of the racial slurs are not as overt and may manifest themselves in other implicit ways. These practices of hegemonic masculinities that white boys use as a racialised discourse are intended to render inferior Indigenous boys who are constructed as the other (Mac An Ghail 1994, Sewell 1997, Martino 1999, 2000, cited in Martino 2003). In other words, this is a form of how white boys assert their position of power over Indigenous boys and claim their place within the

hierarchy of hegemonic masculinities within the schooling context that mirrors wider cultural norms. These forms of hegemonic masculinity assemble their relationships around the following (Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997):

- physical power which may be connected to physically beating others,
- being emotional unconnected to the point of repression and
- on the other hand, showing fits of rage which controls and shames others,
- bravery which lends itself to becoming cruel and mulish,
- assertiveness which is related to becoming aggressive,
- adventurousness which may lead to high risk taking,
- self disciplining to disciplining others,
- being competitive to the point of becoming hostile,
- rationality to rationalising violent behaviour,
- sexual potency which dominates and controls.

Connell (1995, cited in Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997, p. 119) notes that in contrast to superior 'maleness' there must be a subordinate clause... a form of masculinity that stands in direct opposite to hegemonic masculinity and is repressed/oppresed and is excluded from the circle of masculine hegemonic legitimacy. Connell (1995, cited in Mills and Lingard 1997) identifies four main forms of masculinity politics, reflecting in many ways the affluence of American and western economics and cultural norms. First, mythopoetic (masculinity therapy) entails the healing of the damaged male. Second, the gun

lobby which seeks to protect hegemonic masculinity. Thirdly, gay liberation, this is the assertion of gay rights and this masculinity is to provide a better position for gays. And profeminism, comprised of men who seek to exit from mainstream masculinity and related practices that protect the existing hegemonic gender order. While the fields represented here go beyond and in some ways seek to challenge hegemony, the discourse is very much a white-within-white cultural rhetoric that masks even more exercise of power, privilege and control of the boundaries of masculine identity (Pease 2004, Moreton-Robinson 2004, Mills and Lingard 1997).

We note that these masculinities that feature in this category draw most of their elements to form their core identity, and that any major attachment to the feminine discourses is likely to propel its owner into a category that will subject him to various forms of violence. We also note that the school environment seems to exert hegemonic masculinity which is the standard-bearer of what it means to be a 'real man' or boy; it is through the learning cycle while in the institute of school that boy's will draw on the cultural library of skills to become a real man (Pease 2004, Mills and Lingard 1997).

In the Australian schooling debate about boys it has emerged that the mythopoetic masculinity movement has fuelled most of the concerns. This movement invokes men to explore their deeper beings in an inappropriate appropriation of indigenous rituals, which are conducted by other men (Mills and Lingard 1997). Mythopoetics has taken on the Indigenous Northern Cultural influence of becoming a man, in effect, stealing First Nations

principles and practices with no sense of social or cultural justice – an ironic form of cultural genocide while supporting the ‘softer side’ of masculine identity (Mills and Lingard 1997). Within the schooling context hegemonic masculinity is still dominant. It is important to note that schools are ambivalent to dealing with and making visible masculine discourses. Some boys are protected from the worst of hegemonic masculinities by their own located positions. For example, those boys who are located within discourses of privilege and class (Mills and Lingard 1997).

Mills and Lingard (1997) state that boys experience masculinity differently. This is dependent on their location within the discourses, their personal understandings of their ethnic, racial and sexual selves and their economic privilege. Mills and Lingard (1997) state that it is important to understand the way boys may leave school early, do not achieve, and have extremely bad behaviours. It is due to the various masculinities that are available to them within school, home and their communities. This is how they make sense of their world. Masculinity is lived and experienced differently and therefore also dependent on opportunities and what influences their social settings. In this way, Mills and Lingard (1997) note that, ‘the potentially detrimental impact of hegemonic masculinity can often be buffered by privilege and prosperity and turned to actual advantage. This is not the case, however, for many working class and Aboriginal boys.’

Roulston and Mills (2000) suggest that class, Aboriginality and sexuality fall under marginalised masculinities and that these masculinities represent an

inferior form of being within the Eurocentric worldview. Hegemonic masculinity is clearly evident within the schooling environment, throughout groups of boys and also staff members. The maintenance of these masculinities does not occur naturally. These masculinities are heavily policed and homophobia is one of the central features of gender policing. Hegemonic masculinities are also policed through racism that impacts negatively on Indigenous boys' self-esteem and self-identity and cultural identity (Martino 2003). Epstein and Jonson (1994 p 204) cited in Roulston and Mills (2000) state that,

‘In strongly homosocial situations, such as boys school-based cultures of masculinity, homophobia [and racism] is often a vehicle for policing heterosexual masculinities. Men [and boys] habitually use terms of homophobic abuse against peers who deviate from hegemonic masculinities.’

This goes for anyone who may display any differences, such as, cultural differences, beliefs, values and attitudes that may divert from hegemonic masculinity. Bird (1996) also state that it is through homosocial heterosexual interactions that hegemonic masculinities are maintained and limit how men are therefore held to accountability. These men are emotionally detached and competitive and objectify women in a sexual way. This is a system where other masculinities fail to influence change.

Donaldson (1993) notes that while hegemonic masculinity is centrally connected with many institutions not all men practice it. It segregates the classes, the working class and Indigenous men and boys. Hegemonic masculinity is a lived and privileged economic cultural force. The cultural groups that are most active in the making of hegemonic masculinity are those groups that are vigorously constructing dominance, aggressiveness, and violent models that encourage hegemonic masculinity. Men who are in high elitist positions of power may be most tempted to engage in these dominant discourses of power such as priests, journalists, designers, playwrights, makers of films, actors, advertisers, writers, musicians, activists, academics, coaches, teachers, and sportsmen. Naturally, hegemony tends to leave a large population of people out in the cold. Martino (2003) states that the impact of colonialist and racist regimes through the institutional settings and social surveillance within the schooling context supplies hegemonic masculinities with additional power to subject Indigenous boys to become the objects of a foreign and oppressive social order. These social relations between Indigenous boys and those who are their white peers enact and negotiate how hegemonic masculine power relationships work. These socio-cultural relationships need to be placed into the prior context of neoconservative politics that have been developed over the past two centuries of colonisation in Australia in order to properly understand their dimensions.

## **Aboriginality Lost in the White Norm**

Crotty (2006 p254) state that masculinity and whiteness are one in the same,

‘I can look also at some of the racial dimensions of masculinity in terms of the way white Australian masculinity was constructed with reference to an imagined or constructed Aboriginality.’

In Australian history the white male has been created through an array of many socialisation practices, which enforce clearly the ideal of race. It has been this way ever since the colonisation of Australia that Indigenous people needed to be exterminated and whiteness was to be preserved as it was seen to be of purity and of higher value. This form of white regime was to keep blackness separate and foremost distinct. This type of separateness was detailed throughout children’s literature. This literature created a clear window into the adult consciousness and the beliefs, values and attitudes that were held. These particular children’s text types were created so that dominant hegemonic values and dominant mindsets could be past down. For example, Martino (2003) states that a white person is brought up in a particular way, in which they hate difference, hating black kids and not mixing. This will create difficulties for children in the institutional setting of school. These difficulties will be present within the classroom when children are asked to work together. The real foundation of racism starts with the parents, instilling in their kids class values, attitudes and beliefs. The author states that black kids are now brought up differently again. They are taught to fight for their rights to be recognised as

equal in an unequal system. The pejorative words used by schoolyard boys' talk mask a process of cultural assimilation into dominant values. These are just words, but this is how the system is created on the foundation of seeing difference. This draws attention again to the gendered and sexualised dimensions of white racist practices that deliberately provoke fights through using language to provoke fits of rage, violence, and aggression in students who do not fit the white norm of hegemonic masculinity (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Martino 2003).

Even-though Martino (2003) notes that racism starts with white parents who influence their children to see difference and that difference is not good. Crotty (2006 p254) states that it is firstly due to the literature, which was used to enforce white discourses. This genre which was very popular within Australian society and published between 1875 and 1920, and these particular genres were developed into books by the British, new Australian migrants, and those Australians who were born of white affluent backgrounds. These books portrayed Indigenous people as villains, who had to be exterminated, cast out and not recognised as people.

Crotty (2006 p255) reinforces these notions and states that,

‘There is little or no accommodation possible between the ‘civilised’ Australian whites and the uncivilised or uncivilisable Indigenous Australian blacks. To the extent that there ever is any accommodation, it rests on Aboriginal ‘faithfulness’ to their

white overlords, and on a paternalistic white generosity towards Indigenous peoples. There is no suggestion of any major alliance or intermingling: Australian whiteness retains its purity by maintaining hard and fast boundaries against a black 'other'.

This alliance is still hard and fast, but has taken on a new way of seeing the differences of Indigenous people within Australia, and although it may not be as obvious as the written text, it is still alive and kicking. As Martino (2003) notes, the reproduction of racism within schools today is through the expression of speech. Morris (1990) cited in Martino (2003) states that speech impinges on the lives of Indigenous schoolboys. This leads to deep embedded racial tensions, which result in violence, fighting and victimisation. It is through a particular form of sexism and misogyny, which affirms the racial slander of Indigenous boys. It is through hegemonic masculinities that white boy's practice and perform the trans-generational violence of their forefathers, and through which Indigenous boys are subjected to the increased power relations of white male societies.

Donaldson (1993) also states that the white male norm is to enforce values, attitudes and beliefs. Men are to embrace courage, direction, aggression, self-autonomy, mastery of their life goals, technological knowledge, understandings and skills, to develop group solidarity, and adventure, ruggedness in mind body and soul. It has been in recent times that this has been linked with the concept of hegemonic masculinities. The hegemonic foundation has been built on the facts that it is about how the ruling class has maintained their dominance (Moreton-

Robinson 2004, Donaldson 1993). Hegemonic masculinities use the media as a vehicle to persuade the greater part of the population and institutions such as schools, to promote the ideas of normality, their own versions of the natural and the ordinary. Donaldson (1993) notes that not conforming to the norm involves punishment in one form or other. It is heterosexuality and homophobia which hegemonic masculinity is made of. It is through its racist attitudes that it exists. The very idea of hegemonic masculinity is oppressive to woman and also Indigenous people.

Demetriou (2001, p. 340) notes that hegemonic masculinities, which Connell formulated, are now used in varying areas of research ranging from sexualities, homosexual studies, to that of criminology and the sociology of men in prison. Martino (2003) states that those masculinities which are not hegemonic which are judged and explored in relationship to other forms of differences, particularly Indigenous boys or those who are from diverse ethnic backgrounds and students who are homosexual.

Hegemonic masculinity is used to separate. Douglas (2008) refers to Piaget, a Swiss psychologist, that the world is divided into groups, boys and girls for example. These are called 'schemas.' These groups are very important for the child and the parent to recognise and for the child to realise that they belong to a category boy/girl. There has been a tendency for our western culture to divide the world into opposites, black-white, good-bad, male-female, dating back in Eurocentric culture as early as Augustine (Dollimore 1991, cited in Douglas 2008). The child learns quickly that s/he is guided to the correct structure to get

it right when it comes to gender. This is one of the very first things that children learn, and these models and structures influence so much of their lifelong learning. This is why children age in very traditional roles, girls playing with dolls and boys with trucks. Even while these codes are not logical the ways in which gender roles are reproduced makes them seem hard and fast. Boys usually are directed towards playing with trucks and toy guns, as it is inappropriate to play with dolls and dinner sets. The masculine and feminine stereotypes are put into place early. If there are boys who play with dolls and dinner sets they are put into place by their peers. Boys who deviate from the norm are called into question. The sex-role schema is clear and challenging the cognitive processes of those other boys who play with trucks and toy guns becomes nearly impossible. It is easy to see that children act and explore the adults world by using play (Phillips 1984, cited in Douglas 2008).

Horsfall (1991, cited in Douglas 2008, p. 129) states that if a boy is deprived of their father's input because the father works and has limited contact and cannot identify with him as a person, the boy will identify with the male position which has been displayed to him through media, and within the general society,

‘Positional male gender identification allows for the incorporation of accessible cultural stereotypes of masculinity into the actual gender identity of the male. This process incorporates macro-social behaviours into intra-psychic processes; and it renders

consciously apprehended material part of unconscious stereotyped way.'

This is where the notion of being 'too masculine' or of hyper-masculinity and the stereotypes arising come into play. Firstly there is the masculinity of violence where real men can express their 'God given right' to be aggressive and hostile. Secondly the other part of masculinity is that it is used to objectify others (Douglas 2008).

As Engebretson (2006) notes, hegemonic notions of masculinity are so powerful that it shapes the ideas of what makes a real man. These masculinities can be implicit rather than overt; these masculinities can be violent and malicious, as in the case of homophobic violence, racism, and violence towards women who question the authority of male privilege and power. Males who see themselves as privileged have certain ways of 'doing' masculinities over others and these hegemonic masculinities lead to unequal relationships between men and also groups of men including Indigenous men. This white norm of hegemonic masculinity can pressure boys into demonstrating their own masculinities into becoming controlling, avoiding emotions and any other qualities that they seem to be feminine and homosexual. Plummer (1999) supports that homophobia is used as a yardstick for what boys should be and what boys should not do. Engebretson (2006) notes that these boys who avoid feminine and homosexual qualities become extremely competitive and very aggressive.

Andelin (1974, cited in Douglas 2008, p. 234) notes the masculine ideal for a young Christian man as,

‘A man of steel is a masculine man. He is aggressive, determined, decisive and dependent...He rejects softness and timidity. When he has made a decision based upon the best of his judgement, he is as unbendable as a piece of steel. These qualities of masculinity set him apart from women and children and weaker members of his own sex.’

Christian manhood within the colonial story and as well as in contemporary culture has tended to equate itself with aggression, even as opposed to the model for Christianity in Jesus of Nazareth who sacrificed his own wellbeing for others (Harris 1990).

Aggression is essential and central to ‘true masculine identity.’ As Engebretson (2006) notes, it is extremely difficult for boys to display anything other than the hegemonic code of macho masculine identity. Parents, adults, teachers, peers and the general public closely police masculinities. For example, if a boy communicates that he has a softer characteristic this is therefore seen to be abnormal. Boys seem to go to the extreme when their identities are at stake (Plummer 1999). Boys are seen to either display their masculine identity

properly or are seen and related to the feminine side which is being associated with that of homosexuality. It is true that real men and real boys find it hard to wander from the path of masculinity, to show their feelings of intimacy or that they may be feeling vulnerable. This disconnection with authentic emotion that leads to more appropriate relationships and to intimacy is an issue that pervades society and causes a great deal of suffering for men and women in close relationships and partnerships. Engebretson (2006 p99) states that,

‘Boys are well aware of the social standing and how this is educationally problematic that they feel so emotionally disconnected from having more intimate relationships. This emotional disconnection can be played out by the boys becoming resentful of girls and seeing them as being favoured within society as a whole and boys find refuge within the context of hegemonic masculinity, they become harsh critics, they develop aggressive attitudes. Boys respond to the unfairness especially within the schooling context where teachers treating them differently. Hegemonic masculinity isolates and alienates some boys where they suffer the narrow-mindedness of the conventional masculinity.

These boys may be those who are not physically gifted, culturally different, or who find academia challenging, and who are very emotionally vulnerable.

These boys find themselves in positions of being friendless, unhappy, the butt of teacher and student jokes and torts, are abused with homophobic slurs and are so isolated they cannot even share their experiences and they also develop anxieties (Engebretson 2006). Giroux and McLaren (1994, cited in Martino and Meyenn 2001) state that schools are the arena where boys have to find where they belong in the masculine discourses and that it is a process of refusal, negotiation and struggle to belong.

### **Conclusion**

If we are to move forward and find even footing, it is crucial that there is a deep need to encourage cultural diversity within our multicultural societies. It is extremely important that the distribution of equality and opportunity be in the foreground when we discuss how education becomes gendered and around outcomes surrounding hegemonic masculinity and how it impacts on boys (Martino and Meyenn 2001). These factors must also be addressed in relation to our movement away from hegemonic codes into a more inclusive discourse and practice that may well be based in other more inclusive cultural models of identity. This work, which is in part undertaken by the analysis of Aboriginal art practices, may provide us with insights on how to positively influence the culture of boys and men and to support those men and boys who are from an Indigenous Australian background. There needs to be a deep commitment by men and boys to address the roles of sexuality, homophobia, racism, class, and misogyny, otherwise negative and maladaptive forms of masculinities will

continue to play out in future generations of boys and how they define and manifest their male identity (Martino and Meyenn 2001). It seems that nothing will change until men start to address the core beliefs of masculinity, and until this happens there will be little change in the discourse, rhetoric and practices associated with Indigenous affairs.

## **Chapter Four:**

### **Aboriginal Art-Speak and (Auto)-Ethnographic Narrative Analysis – A Journey Toward a Post-Colonial Methodology**

The foregoing chapters examined the notion of an Indigenous epistemology or way of knowing (Lavallée 2009) in the context of the history of colonisation in Australia with an emphasis on a critical analysis of hegemonic masculinity. These large topical areas were necessary to address prior to looking at the applied practice of Aboriginal art as a process which reflects personal and social healing or post-trauma recovery (Bowers 2010, Duran 1995, 2006, Philip 2007, Martin 2006, Meade 2008, Viveaere 2003), while, here again, the emphasis will remain on a critical (Morrow & Brown 1994) and post-colonial (Battiste 1998, 2004, Sarup 1996) narrative (Crocker 2005, Denzin & Lincoln 2003, McLeod 1997) and ethnographic (Smith 2005, Tedlock 1991) method from an Indigenous standpoint (Bowers 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2007a, 2007b, 2010a, Nakata 2007a, Tomlin 2008, Wilson 2008). While the privileged position of

European-western discourse cannot be denied, by taking an Indigenous standpoint we work to challenge this internally assumed episteme that places Euro-Australian knowledge higher than Indigenous knowing and seeks to discount Indigenous knowledge as inferior, and continues in this inherent subterranean logic that seeks to deny Aboriginal knowledge much like Terra Nullius sought to claim the Sacred Land without regard for prior occupation and national identity.

While Indigenous culture, science, art, custodianship, ecology, and commerce were and continue to be different, nonetheless, the contributions are worthy of greater respect than has been forthcoming (Carson 2007, Battiste 2004, Battiste & McConaghy 2005). At the same time as giving voice to an Indigenous perspective, this thesis wishes to shift the gaze from examination directly on Aboriginal knowledge and life experience towards a critical analysis of western notions of history, culture, science, art, and the discourses which rely on hegemony but are inherently biased and steeped in racism and other forms of western assumption (Carson 2007). To begin, we will look at the process of art creation as a form of cultural practice in healing and trauma recovery.

### **Art Practice and Cultural Safety**

Through the expression of art Indigenous people in Australia and around the world have continued to express a longstanding and pre-colonial cultural emphasis on practical, hands-on forms of learning that promote an oral tradition

and oral culture that brings people together and promotes shared discourse. These forms of social interaction and productivity in the creation of artefacts, art, tools, clothing, decoration, and other forms of material culture continue to manifest important cultural symbolism as well as local tribal knowledge and spiritual significance (Martin, A 2003). As Indigenous authors affirm, while colonisation may have challenged the exact way that things have been done, the sense we get from reading Indigenous scholars around the world is that Aboriginal people have kept their underlying cultural beliefs and practices intact. The material ways they produce art may have changed and adapted, given the availability of new forms of tools and means of production of tools and materials used in artistic projects, but the underlying cultural values and beliefs have remained largely traditional – that is, rooted in a profound respect for Tribal Law, Traditions, Ecology, and the Spirituality and Ceremonial relevance of art within the Life of the People.

While dealing with the trans-generational trauma from colonial invasion (Atkinson 2002) and systematic attempts at genocide (Harris 1990), Aboriginal people have found that art resonates important ways to change the embedded ideals of white racism including those found in hegemonic masculinity (Bowers 2005b). As Bowers (2005b) suggests, the path toward inner freedom is long and extremely difficult from the internalised oppressive scripts of self-denial, self-harm and overwhelming fear generated by the chronic oppression and subjugation of mainstream colonial assumptions and impositions. The ‘shadow’

of hegemonic-ego must be confronted and a 'transformative praxis' entertained – that is, a transpersonal restructuring of the person's identity through the processes of learning, unlearning, and becoming free from dominant ways of knowing (Bowers 2005b, Martin, K 2003). For these 'core ideologies' to change there must be what is called a 'safe place' to learn, one in which Aboriginal people, and especially Indigenous men and boys do not have to define their male identity through white beliefs of masculinity.

Artistic practice is much like generating safety zones for defining inner cultural spaces, such as what Royal (2008 p. 6) notes in that there needs to be safe places within institutions in order to resist 'dominant oppressive structures'. Safe places are created so that Indigenous people are able to learn in their own ways. A safe place is where Indigenous people find the key for healing by deconstructing colonisation. We acknowledge this process speaks to many complex phenomena including personal artistic expression, social and group art creation, and in certain ways, how art is life, and how all of life for Aboriginal people is traditionally understood as Ceremony – that is, in another way of speaking, all of life is full and rich with meaning and Spiritual Presence – the Sacred Land of our Dreaming is Unfolding with Us Now and Always, and we are participants in this shared responsibility (Bowers 2005a, 2010, Crocker 2005, Duran 2006, gkisedtanamoogk & Hancock 1993).

As Rheault (2008, cited in McAlpin 2008) state, within safe places is an opportunity to engage in deep feelings, watching, listening, reflecting, participating and doing. Enzaabid (1999) states that, these areas of knowledge and experience when brought together in Ceremony *Manidookewin*, creates the opportunity to cross the divide between the physical and spiritual realms. From a transpersonal psychology perspective this process helps individuals that participate in these learning environments to achieve a more complete perception of reality (Wilber 1995). Colorado (1988, cited in Selby 2008) notes that, this complete perception is known in American Indian Indigenous culture as *Anishinaable Izhitwaawin*. This phrase implies that the indigenous knowing is a complete system of observation and acknowledgement of ecological and wholistic reality and is thus a form of wholistic science, although not quite in the western sense of science relying on a system of testing via hypothesis and drilling down into material reality for the ‘truth’ of what can only be observed via empirical methods.

Rather, Indigenous science observes and acknowledges what is existing now, while through the Ceremonial Ways of Knowing (Selby 2008, Martin, K 2003) knowledge also comes to the practitioner in a natural and intuitive manner. This is expressed by the meaning of phrases which highlight the imagery of the Sacred Tree, which incidentally arises around the world in many Indigenous societies. Like the tree, the roots of indigenous science go deep within the earth. The tree collects, stores and exchanges energy. Like the tree, Indigenous culture

and its people synthesize information from the physical, social, mental, spiritual and trans-temporal realms, as the sense of time within traditional cultures does not often rely on the notions of past, present and future as in the linear sense of time within the west (Colorado 1988, cited in Selby 2008). By giving voice to unique ways of knowing (Martin, K 2003), art as a process of healing suggests that it is important for Indigenous people to have the opportunity to be able to have a safe place to develop their awareness and cultural perceptions (Colorado 1988, cited in Selby 2008).

McAlpin (2008) states that a safe place is where students are able to become a part of the process of relieving oneself from oppressive structures and becoming aware that there are new ways of knowing. Martin, K (2003) suggests that these forms of culture and spiritual practice stand apart from the dominant culture as ways of being that are able to be a part of a space where non-harmful ways of understanding others and ourselves are encouraged. To support these safe cultural spaces is our collective responsibility. McAlpin (2008) also suggests that this is a repeated process which identifies and names oppression, but then also transcends it through embracing traditional knowledge and understanding, which interprets dominant narratives, and through art gives expression to a co-creation of new meaning within the Dreaming. The author notes that by reclaiming traditional understandings and knowledge of Ceremonial Ways helps in regaining a balanced way of being in the world.

To ignore the Traditional Ways of knowing (Martin, K 2003) is to reify their importance within Indigenous cultures (McAlpin 2008). In so doing, mainstream Eurocentric discourse renders the importance of Aboriginal cultural and spiritual ethics, morality, and the deep-ecology of Indigenous science as merely material objects that are depersonalised and disenfranchised from the very People from which they arise, and in so doing, terribly significant information is separated from its core rationale and the meanings of Indigenous epistemology, ontology and cosmology are lost to the western consumer of knowledge (Lavallée 2009, Wilson 2008). This loss may be viewed as insignificant in the main, due to the arrogance of western material culture following the industrial revolution.

However, as the global ecological crisis suggests, western ways of knowing have been, in the main, the most destructive and immature patterns of personal, social, political, and economic dysfunction. Continuing to reify Traditional Indigenous Knowledge is very much present in so many academic settings, and this ignorance and unwillingness to look beyond the episteme of one's own culture is indeed the complete opposite of scholarly and scientific inquiry (McAlpin 2008). The author points out in a deceptively simple metaphor of the tree that tends to hide the social, political and environmental significance of these insights, assisting us to better understand the Indigenous way of knowing. As such, all aspects of the tree must be whole in order for it to thrive.

We point out that nothing in the west tends to remain whole. Just about everything is rendered into material parts that are separate and distinctly known. However, within the Indigenous system of scholarship, everything is left intact and observed as if in a complete system of wholeness. Not even the complex system sciences and the more advanced approaches of quantum physics have caught up to ways to render western knowledge within this expansive worldview (Wilber 1995). The author suggests that there are six central principles to the Indigenous approach that enable the scientific method of observation and acknowledgement as well as a wholistic identity growth in responsibility and moral fibre that is also central to all Indigenous approaches to knowledge.

The tree consists of many parts, each of which tells a narrative of teachings about the ways that people live within the world. The **seeds** produced by the tree are in fact the Grandparents as well as the Grandchildren of that tree – we are in relation with all of our familial relations within the human and ‘non-human’ realms. Thus the seeds of the tree relate to our Ancestor’s prayers that arise within the Creation Stories, and are connected with the most basic elements of water, air, earth, and fire. All things are connected through the seed of the tree. This relational approach represents an Indigenous way of being in the world (McAlpin 2008).

The tree consists of **roots**. The roots of the tree speak about the deeper levels of communication we have with our dreams, and dreams arise both in night and day visions, and are sacred (McAlpin 2008), and when we are open give rise to new understanding and compassion for the intergenerational trauma within all of our relations (Atkinson 2002). This represents that dreams and communication can teach us about intergenerational trauma and can be the catalyst for embracing the need to heal. This healing comes about as Indigenous people reconnect with their Dreaming and Medicine Traditions – with their familial and cultural heritage. From this perspective it is always possible to regain the Insights of the Ancestors of one’s family – they are ever Present in the Dreaming.

The tree is made up of a **trunk**. The trunk of the tree teaches us to stand tall and to engage in the Dancing, Singing, and the Healing which are all forms of learning cultural ways as well as becoming active within the Regenerative Cycles of the Seasons and Caring for the Land and Dreaming (McAlpin 2008). Each person is traditionally given a Dreaming, and Keeping that Dreaming is their responsibility. Native tribes of North America say that every person is given a Song and to find and sing that Song is their Sacred Duty (Bowers 2010). These traditions arising from the trunk of the tree are how we grow into adults, during that time in our lives when we manifest our responsibility to reconnecting to elders, children and relations. This is to do with the learning from oral histories about one’s people, both present and past.

The tree expands outward with **branches**. The branches are the ceremony, community, and ways that each person's task in life is fulfilled and manifested (McAlpin 2008). The tree also has many **leaves**. The leaves signify the gifts that arise when people manifest their purpose and their vision in life. These are very diverse and beautiful, and give back to the Earth rich harvest and nurture the soil so that the seeds of next season can grow strong (McAlpin 2008). This is the regeneration and the acknowledgement of our inherent ways of being in the larger contexts of community. The tree also represents the **beyond** (McAlpin 2008). We observe that the forest is connected with the river and river to the sea. Western science is only catching up to actually forming ways of understanding and sustaining complex ecologies, due to the past tendency to observe and focus on only one element or relation within one specific ecosystem – such as soil science, or water science, or forest management (McAlpin 2008). Another expression of the beyond is how water is observed to travel through all the many worlds of the tree. Water moves within the tree, around and outside the tree. Water travels through the land, the rivers, and ocean. Water travels into the Sky World and back into the Earth World of the tree. The seed is a journey of repeating the regeneration cycle of water, as the seed must have water to grow. All things are interconnected and have meaning that teach the People the way to live.

## **The Journey of Regeneration through Art**

Regeneration to many Australian Indigenous people helps them realise that they need to reconnect with their spirituality, culture, and the best way of doing this is to acknowledge country. As Horton (1999 cited in Fredericks 2008) states, country means a place of origin in spiritual and in cultural terms. Place refers to a specific clan or tribal group or nation. Indigenous people encompass all the skills, knowledge and understanding, cultural norms, values, attitudes, beliefs and stories within that particular Indigenous place. The author notes that place is so important to Indigenous people's identity, history, and place contributes to the overall health and wellbeing of its people. Both men and women have roles within country. Many Indigenous people are now living in the country of other Indigenous people. This does not mean that their connections are lost to country or the importance of country is not with them. All places have significant meaning to those who come from country. Place has been seen as tablelands, flatlands, plain lands, open scrub, the river systems, beach areas, islands and mountains. Place also now consists of towns, cities, and urban sprawl (Forbes 2001, cited in Fredericks 2008).

Mainstream Australia labels and focused on "place" as it can be owned, sold, and made into advertising materials. For example, 'The Great Barrier Reef.' Many people know this as one of the world's greatest wonders, which is heritage listed (Forbes 2001, cited in Fredericks 2008). In contrast, Indigenous people use art to describe place as important and spiritually significant and the

material value of the representation tends to be of less importance than the spiritual and cultural meaning conveyed. As Croft (2003, cited in Fredericks 2008) states, it is through visual arts that both Indigenous and western techniques are used to educate, tell stories, and give a sense of place. Visual art also tells the story of the effects of colonisation.

Fredericks (2008) notes that, through Indigenous art works the concepts of place and space have changed. For example, the author examines the gentle style that Croft uses in her visual art by how she sits with nature, and how she goes about collecting delicate patterns that are left by nature. In one example, Croft placed paper on the creek embankment, as a result of this the ebb and flow of the water left behind patterns of mud imprinted on the paper. There was evidence of creatures, crabs, Ibis and seagulls. These imprints have now become the stories of the animals. Croft used these powerful natural prints as her canvas. She added ochre reds, blacks and browns to give the impression of water and how it connected with the land, with the place, with people. The colours that she used flowed like the movement of the waters in the creek. This type of artwork gives the feeling that country as PLACE is everything and everywhere around you as a Living Entity. This complete and more mature understanding is a connection to land, the animals, and the People who live there. Art is not only used to give meaning and connection but it is a way of exploring emotional difficulties. The following section will explore art-as-therapeutic.

## **Place, Artwork and Therapy**

As Dufrene (1990) notes, art can be used as therapy to explore problems in a non-verbal way. The art therapy process is used to recognise content, forms, and associations. It also reflects an individual's growth, personality traits and also their interests. Art therapy also provides evidence of the difficulties that individuals have lived with in their lives. The author states that art therapy is a way of bringing people into a creative process and this provides a means of reconciling emotional conflicts. Art therapy results in fostering self-awareness and personal growth (Dufrene 1990). The therapy is used to gather information from the visual process and this leads the artist and the therapist to develop the artist's life stories.

While we acknowledge the importance of western art therapy in coming around to long held Indigenous perspectives on all of life as Ceremony and Art as Life, we can also acknowledge a valuable dialogue between cultures on these points (Fredericks 2008, McAlpin 2008, Dufrene 1990). For example, Highwater (1976, cited in Dufrene 1990) states that Indigenous people see art as indispensable to ritual. Ritual is another word for Ceremony as we have discussed above which is linked to the Indigenous concept of the life process. Thus, Indigenous people can often see painting, craft, or any other production of art or artefact as intrinsically linked to their rituals, culture, and dance and song.

Art is a way of expression as Ibid (1976 cited in Dufrene 1990) suggests art of any culture expresses the vision of people within that culture. For example, Japanese painting where the symbols have become minimised and the meaning obscured and conveys the essence of an idea or the emptiness within ideas arising through Zen meditation. Not only is art appreciated and highly valued for its mystical energy, if the art is done well it has a good Spirit.

Likewise art can be connected to the symbolic and spiritual life of the People. Dufrene (1990) notes that art is associated with Traditional Healers or Shamans, who draw upon an infinite body of symbolism that has been handed down through laws and customs. These symbols and images are held within the Healer's memories which have been passed down from elders to the younger healers. Songs, paintings, chants, music, prayers and myths are used to help the one in the healing process to return symbolically to the source of tribal energy. Indigenous people hold art as important because art has its place within the process of healing (McAlpin 2008, Dufrene 1990). Sandner (1979 cited in Dufrene 1990) gives an example how Navajo Indians and Tibetan monks use sand paintings in their ceremonies, and each time they are made and dismantled, and after each ritual is over they are remade again for each new ceremony. Both the Navajo and Tibetan Mandala served the initiate in providing a focus for meditation and prayer that facilitated an expansion of awareness, enabling a more subtle observation of life unfolding. They were a reminder of the

impermanence of all of life as well as the relationship and connection that exists within all of life.

Indigenous people from all around the world use significant rituals which involve art which they use in their healing ceremonies. Myers (1987, cited in Dufrene 1990) states that Indigenous knowledge goes beyond the physical sickness that people may see and encompasses a multilevel understanding that the well-being of the Individual is about their psychological, social and also their spiritual unfolding. The author notes that there is an emphasis on prevention of illness, and yet traditional ways of healing are very successful with a wide range of social and physical ills. Traditional healing systems focus on the spiritual aspect of the belief system and are practiced with humility, love, understanding, caring, and respect. Traditional ways of healing are used for the benefit of the well-being of the People.

The importance of art and traditional ways means that there has been a revival in Indigenous customs. As Dufrene (1990) notes, Indigenous revival occurred during the mid 1950's and the late 1960's. This marked the era of global decolonisation and geopolitical withdrawal by western powers. The changing climate of the times gave Indigenous people the opportunity to turn to their own heritage and mainstream health professionals came to recognise the importance of Indigenous therapeutic ways and resources. This reality is by no means universal within colonisation territories across Canada, the USA, New Zealand

and Australia. In spite of the lack of gains in various places, the author states that healing remains one of the major strengths in Indigenous spirituality. Indigenous people are now being recognised by public health systems as competent to deliver certain ceremonies and Traditional Healers are working alongside mainstream medical practitioners in many Indigenous communities around the world.

In contrast, Dufrene (1990) suggests that due to ignorance there is still a lot of ridicule and criticism by western observers of Indigenous Ceremonial Medicine. The author suggests that this must be overcome by review in scientific terms. However, if we apply the expanded notions of an Indigenous science as noted above to the context of examining Traditional Medicine practice, we must also stress that western material science may not be adequate nor mature enough as of yet to deal with the expanded conceptual territory represented within Indigenous ways of knowing and being. New research must strive to articulate these landscapes with greater care. Sadly, as the author notes, Europeans have made fun of Indigenous spirituality and called it superstition, and laughed at the Rain Dance and other Tribal Rituals. The author notes with interest in how European science has changed in recent times, how there is now evidence that playing music to growing plants helps them to grow faster. This 'evidence' which arises at least in part because of how mainstream science seeks to expand its perceptual horizons and challenge past notions of the flatland epistemology that was governed by empirical measurements assists us to see how science and

western culture are growing in many ways, and the conceptual divide may not be as huge as it once was in appreciating Indigenous forms of knowledge. We see here how interconnection informs Indigenous spirituality and the rituals of painting, art, symbols and prayers as ways of helping others heal.

Highlighting the social differences of worldviews, Myers (1987 cited in Dufrene 1990) notes that in American society health care is a private matter between the physician and patient. Health care to the Indigenous people has a wholistic meaning which incorporates culture and cultural identity. This cultural identity embraces the use of arts in the traditional healing practice. Art helps people to be able to focus on the process of healing, this helps revise the rates of behavioural-based mortality by building self-esteem, a sense of culture, belonging, and self-respect. Art in whatever shape gives meaning to Indigenous people, their culture, their belonging, their journey, their spirituality and their community.

### **Art Helps the Recovery Process**

As the Mental Health Commission (1998, cited in Martin 2006, p.1) suggests,

‘...recovery is a journey as much as a destination. It is different for everyone. For some people with mental illness, recovery is a road they travel on only once or twice, to a destination that is relatively

easy to find. For others, recovery is a maze with an elusive destination, a maze that takes a lifetime to navigate...’

The Commission goes on to say that the ‘concept of recovery can be applied to most beliefs about the origins and nature of mental illnesses – biological, psychological, social or spiritual.’ The Maori New Zealand Indigenous people believe that the *Whare Tapa Wha* model identifies four dimensions of health. These are: *taha wairua* (spiritual), *hinengaro* (mental and emotional), *taha Tinana* (physical), and the *taha whanau* (family). Some people now believe that the person with mental illness does not lie in the person alone but the illness is in the world around them. It may be because of their family history, social injustice, insensitive service providers, or related to some sort of trauma in that person’s life. In these cases the healing not only needs to take place in the person but it needs to also take place in the community around them, so that it enables that person to have a better life. Martin (2006) suggests that some people find the ability the inherent potential to overcome their family abuse, rejection, insensitive service providers, the social injustice and traumatic events. Many individuals who are Indigenous cannot achieve this if they do not find support from health systems to encourage them to find appropriate ways to heal, they become re-traumatised by inefficient cultural experience. As the author suggests that even with the ten clear directive Recovery Competencies for mental health works, no one can monitor individual practitioners in the work

place, no audit can measure the damage, trauma and defensive practice that goes on behind closed doors.

Martin (2006) states that, conformity is how people prove their sanity and how they respond to the judgment of others of how they are perceived as sane or insane. This judgement on our fellow men and women might be seen as reflecting on their personal freedom in society. The author notes that each person should be able to have their own personal freedom to be able to experience their own journey. We should be able to encourage Indigenous people to heal in a way that is authentic to their culture, and these actions then will help those with a mental illness in their healing. When the power to define another's freedom has many layers of cultural bias and prejudices it become difficult to see the boundaries of such power, which is why Bowers (2007a, 2007b) has suggested that counselling and psychology may indeed be one of the latest forms of the colonisation of the mind.

As Deegan (1996, cited in Martin 2006) notes, it is important to make autonomous choices. This is a very crucial piece to recovery. These choices create the ability to have self-autonomy. Choices of what we wear, eat, where we live and whom we socialise with are central to how we make our art-as-life and our Ceremony-as-life-itself. These independent choices directly shape self. The author notes that this also is a form of the Indigenous art of self and has a big influence on who we are and a critical influence on our mental wellbeing. It

is so important that people have the opportunities to be able to make free selective choices, have variety, and through these opportunities healthy minded responses arise. This gives those Indigenous people who are challenged by mental illness optimism, to be able to find new ways to be, to grow, and move towards independence from their mental challenges.

As Deegan (1996) cited in Martin (2006) suggests, through using art new and exciting possibilities are found for the individual who expresses themselves through artistic expression. The author reminds us that we have our own inner artist, a willingness within us and outside of us, which becomes the canvas for the artist to create. As Cameron (1995) cited in Martin (2006) states, this process is not so much about theory it is about the physical process of creating art. It is about creating new pathways in consciousness. And yet, from our analysis this approach relies very heavily on the theory arising from an Indigenous epistemology and ontology – that is, from our unique cultural forms of knowledge and of being and identity (Lavallée 2009, Wilson 2008, Bowers 2007b). These give rise to an Indigenous standpoint on art within the wholistic understanding of life, culture and science as learning. This new consciousness helps the individual to operate in new creative ways of thinking. As Cameron (1995 cited in Martin 2006 p. 17) state, once you agree to creating these new pathways, new creative energy emerges. The author believes that creativity is like blood, in the sense that creativity is an essential element within our being. The author says, ‘Just as blood is a fact of your physical body and nothing you

invented, creativity is a fact of your spiritual body and nothing you must invent.’

Martin (2006) suggests that, after being treated from a mental illness, the individual sees themselves as being in a period of rehabilitation. Medicalised paternalistic views have given rise to particular language, beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and enforced protocols which promote people who have experienced mental illnesses as not being stable. This reinforces the person who has experienced a mental illness who is not allowed to return to the ‘normal world.’ The author says that the notion of a ‘constructed vulnerability’ and ‘imposed rehabilitation’ provide acts of labelling a person as a medical diagnoses, which attached economic gain, and directly effects self-autonomy which dissipates at a greater rate after these social labels are applied. The author believes that the most teachable moment is when the person who is experiencing the mental illness is in the acute phase of their illness. This acute stage is when people experience a deep deprivation to explain the loss of their identity, through the demeaning and dehumanising process during the incapacitating effects of mental illness.

In contrast, Maori people have indentified that they need to provide a culturally appropriate service to the person who is experiencing mental illness as soon as the person has walked through the door to receive help and support. This is the most important time and may help in addressing the illness, which they are

dealing with. As the author states it may be a way of unlocking the mystery of the individual's mental illness. It is trying to get the individual to see themselves from a very different angle. The author strongly notes that instead of referencing everything around patient-hood that we need to see the person with a mental illness as an individual.

As Carl Rogers (1961, cited in Corey 2001) states, we should refer to people in a person-centered approach, treating people with unconditional positive regard. Martin (2006) further notes that giving a person permission to be the Artist is important so that they are able to see the physical, spiritual, and mental self in a new way and in a completely different place within a culturally appropriate intervention. People need to be able to gather their past experiences into one form, as one might see a painting, so that it becomes a piece of artwork which contains the persons knowing, understanding, being, and their doing – a creative act to heal the self. When the person has created their artwork it will contain elements of past, present and future experiences. The author notes that when Indigenous people have completed a work, it is known as 'wairua' or soul. The Individual is therefore able to find their individual identity and their voice. This is the soul that becomes present at any given moment in time.

## **Identity through Art**

Even without a mental illness Indigenous people still have to find their individual identity and their voice (Bowers 2010a). As Indigenous people have confounding variables to deal with, art seems to have become the mediator for Indigenous people to tell their stories. As the Board of Studies NSW (2007) notes, negative images of Indigenous people and their artworks have originated in dominant cultural white values since the colonisation of Australia. In recent years Indigenous people have strived for self-autonomy and recognition to replace the negative and stereotypical imagery of dominant cultural artistic views of Indigenous culture and its people with artworks that have been created in a correct and culturally appropriate way, depicting Indigenous people's views of their own culture. This is also part of the healing process that artistic expression allows individuals to develop and grow. It is about reclaiming cultural values, self-identity and to see that it is okay to reclaim self through art and artistic creativity.

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts Board, Australia Council (2002) notes that Indigenous arts, creativity and craft is a means of transmitting community, culture, country, place, identity and belonging. Indigenous knowledge, understanding, skills and history continues to be orally and artistically transmitted over the generations. Indigenous art has become a record of knowledge, a time capsule containing messages of political, social and cultural events and meaning. For many reasons, during post-colonial times art is

becoming even more central to cultural memory through the transmission of information, recording elders information, recording oral history, life stories, establishing ownership, celebrating lived events and accomplishments, and most of all, offering communities and individuals healing (e.g. stories of the Stolen Generation) while educating the broader communities on Australian Indigenous issues.

As noted by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts Board, Australia Council (2002 p.4), ‘there is great diversity in the geographic representation, medium and subject matter of Indigenous visual arts and craft, and development of creative expression and diversity should be encouraged.’ This is important for Indigenous people. For instance, Brook Andrews, who is from Erambie mission in Wiradjuri country, has contributed his story to help the Board of Studies (2007) deliberate how important it is for Indigenous Australians to reclaim their stories, which have been represented for far too long through the eyes of dominant cultural values, attitudes and beliefs. Andrews (cited in the Board of Studies NSW 2007) notes that his own work represents an interdisciplinary approach, which is directed at both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences. His artworks have strong political, socially thought-provoking images that have labelled Indigenous people, the culture, and its rituals as positive and enlightening, and his works involves a new way of looking at Australian History in a new way. The images of art bring up many variables of social and emotional wellbeing.

Henderson et al (2007) state that art assists in understanding the social determinants of health including Indigenous living conditions, educational endeavours, employment opportunities, the justice system, income or government allowance, poverty, discrimination and racism. Other issues which art speaks to are the impact on the emotional and social well being of Indigenous people in risk taking behaviours such as smoking, nutrition, inhalant usage, alcohol and other drugs, the lack of health facilities, and trans-generational trauma.

Art can have profound political meaning and speaks to the contributing factors that diminish the quality of life for Indigenous people and cause premature death. For example art speaks to diabetes, heart and cardiovascular difficulties, renal failure and STD's (Henderson et al 2007). Art as part of the life of the People speaks to the fact that many Indigenous people deal with mental health issues and now prefer to use the term 'social and emotional well being' as it is a much more broad concept than mental illness, which is more in-tune with traditional culture, and has less stigma than that which is attached to mental illness. This is very important to Indigenous people as they see their health issues connected to their physical, spiritual, mental wellbeing and they realise that their environmental and social lives have been impacted by dominant cultural values which have impacted on their psychological well being (Henderson et al 2007).

Henderson et al (2007) stress that due to the impact of colonisation, loss of land, culture, spirituality, children, extended families, the impact of racism, social inequity, grief and trauma, that these issues above are well known as contributing factors to a persons' social and emotional well being. Henderson et al (2007 p. 143) state that social and emotional well being can be differentiated from mental illness in that their issues can occur independently of each other, 'for example, depression, post-traumatic stress, psychosis, self harm, anxiety states and crisis reactions are mental health problems'. Hunter (1998, cited in Henderson et al 2007 p. 141) notes that there are five levels to address social and emotional health concerns of Indigenous people. These are,

'...political (reconciliation and social equity); community development (including health promotion and prevention initiatives); appropriate mainstream services; adapted mainstream approaches (such as the adaptation of narrative therapy to Indigenous needs)...' and Indigenous therapies.

Indigenous people need to have their stories listened to before any major issues can be worked on. As Judy Atkinson (2002 p. 5) stresses, we must listen to one another. She notes that this process of listening started in the early 1980s when fourteen Aboriginal Reserve Community councils met monthly to co-ordinate and plan the new movement,

‘...from government-controlled Aboriginal reserves established under the *Aboriginal Protection and Prevention of the Sale of Opium Act 1897*, amended to the *Aborigines Protection Act*, to Aboriginal-controlled local government functions on what was to be called Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT) lands’.

The author was a part of a process of self-management and one of the ironies was that Atkinson found herself sitting in meetings that were mainly controlled by government demands (Atkinson 2002). These demands never gave Indigenous people the opportunities or time to embrace the critical decisions being made. After these meetings the author found herself listening to the stories of the Elders, men and women who expressed their concerns about the difficulties and the challenges in the local community. Atkinson mentions that the elders discussed issues that she had never heard before, things of importance. In government meetings where grant monies were decided, in contrast to the mainstream agenda she heard from the people themselves about women being laughed at by people after being attacked by their partners, she heard of children being raped. She heard many other issues which concerned her, issues like police in their watch towers and the abuse which happened by law enforcement officers. There were many other issues that were raised and she felt that these concerns needed to have a place alongside the agendas that

the government were pushing. She placed newspaper clippings of Indigenous issues above her desk to remind her that there were other needs.

Atkinson (2002, p. 8) states that there were issues that showed the contrasting agendas and that highlighted the callous materialism of government policies. For example, the elders placed these concerns in the context of the misuse of alcohol and other drugs, ‘....resulting from the government and council-run canteens that had been established over the previous decade as alcohol outlets and economic development initiatives, as the Elders asked for help to make sense of this senselessness..., [she] ...felt in them the essence of their own felt powerlessness. ‘Nobody listens to us’, they claimed’.

Atkinson (2002, p. 9) also brought forward the concerns of Indigenous children who had been admitted to the Cairns Base Hospital who were suffering with transmitted sexual diseases. When she brought these concerns to the Minister for Community Services, he dismissed her and said, ‘Oh don’t talk about things like that. People will think self-management isn’t working.’ In the same year 1987, the Department of Community Services was provided with funding for a court-stipulated consultancy for social welfare to investigate child abuse, and they concluded in error that it was traditional behaviour and a cultural practice for men and youth to use young children in a sexual way. After deliberation with the Elders in the communities that the findings were ‘conclusive’ but that these practices were not at all traditional practices, it was clear just how much

the voices of the Elders were seen as secondary and inferior to that of the 'experts'.

In 1988, Atkinson was faced with a senior male person who worked for the Queensland Aboriginal Affairs bureaucracy and when he was questioned, 'What are you doing?' he said, 'the solution was clear ... just stop them from breeding' Atkinson (2002 p. 8). Being confronted with the bureaucratic face of violence and what it sounded like, she 'came to believe that in response to this violence the despair and rage being experienced within our communities was being re-enacted by our people on ourselves in diverse and damaging ways,' at the same time she made the link between the colonial impact on Indigenous people.

These insights led her to find solutions to the difficulties that not only Indigenous people face but whole communities face. She attended an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission meeting with several other Indigenous women in 1989 regarding the concerns of the violence in Indigenous communities. They were given ten minutes to meet with the senior staff, Atkinson (2002, p. 10) said 'two minutes into the meeting he interrupted what we were saying to demand of us: 'I know the problems. You tell me the solutions.' She states that this was a powerful lesson for her. This meeting was the turning point to find the solutions to help the Indigenous communities, solutions that were achievable and ones that were able to be implemented. In many ways Atkinson's subsequent work involved art in the widest sense of the

term, because the methods she came to embrace involved an Indigenous therapeutics that addressed the social and emotional trauma of colonisation and ongoing violence that has been internalised among Aboriginal people. Reinforcing these central notions Croft (2004 p. 131) eloquently states,

‘Orality sets in motion exponentially a series of audiovisual and multi-sensorial elements that make *in situ* presence and eloquence overflow the mere exercise of abstraction of the paper-and-ink undertaking and now the keyboards and connecting screens which is writing. It makes use of the verb to understand and explain, convince and debate, transform or change ideas with style and courage in the measure where the experience of closeness found in art experiences today preserves the ways of knowing, the ‘passing on of heritage.’

With these key ideas in place, we raise the issues of finding the most appropriate ways to engage in analysis of such sensitive and life-changing events as have happened for our families in Australia. With the deeply impactful history ever before us, we strive to work through many layers of trans-generational trauma and recover a sense of the self through our art. This practice brings us back to our Country and to our Dreaming. But before we can get that far, first we need to listen to the stories of our Anguish. In a sense, artful

practice arises in both and all of these spaces – in the shadows and in the light of the dawn.

## **Indigenous Ethnography**

While attending to the voice of our healing through art, one of the better sources for reflection while rendering mainstream theory into Indigenous standpoint methods came from an Indigenous remaking of ethnography. Gonzalez & Krizek (1994, cited in Denzin and Lincoln 2003) suggest that Indigenous ethnographers who are a part of a culture which has been marginalized or exoticized by others are best placed to write about their lived experiences and to interpret their own culture for others (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). By giving voice to their ‘insider’ perspective they are able to critically reflect their knowledge to the mainstream audience. What the authors do not grasp as well is that the reverse is also true – by learning the tools of the western academe Indigenous analysts are also able to critically reflect on the western bias and prejudice that is inherent in the theoretical models being used. As Travisano (2002, cited in Kennedy 2006 p. 71) notes, ethnography is to ‘retell lived experiences, to make another world accessible to the reader.’ We also believe that the ethnography of minority scholars who work within the academe itself need to write about the white cultural blindness that dominates the western academe and prevents Aboriginal members of society from achieving their rightful place in the halls of learning.

Many ethnographic researchers explore within groups of people that they already belong to, or have become a full member of, over time (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). Their work relies heavily on being fully accepted and embraced. This allows them to move freely within the cultural context with complete identification and acceptance. This is an important point within the study of using ethnography, as reflective ethnographers use their personal experiences and this becomes an important part of understanding the culture under research. The reflective ethnographer uses all their interactive abilities – their senses, their body language, movement, feelings, and their whole being – they are in fact using the self to learn about the other (Cohen 1992, Jackson 1989, Okely 1992, Turner & Bruner 1986, cited in Denzin and Lincoln 2003 p. 212).

For an ethnographer, the goal is to theorise in research. This is seen as the development of understanding of direct lived experiences, rather than having a construction of abstract generalisations. An ethnographer describes theory building as proceeding with a ‘thick description’ and this act alone goes beyond simply reporting, it is the process of probing the intentions, motivations, meanings, contexts, situations and circumstances of action (Cushman 1990; McGartland and Polgar 1994, cited in Minichiello et al 2008).

Reflective ethnographers focus primarily on a particular culture or a sub-culture. The authors use their own lived experiences within the cultural context. These lived experiences are used in a reflective approach to bend back on the

self and to look on a more open and deeper self and others interactions within their social context (Denzin and Lincoln 2003 p. 211). Ethnographers use ethnography as the foundation to research and to illustrate a ‘true to life’ picture of what people do and say in their own lived experiences and recounted in their own words. Over the past forty years in Australia, these interactive theories and qualitative methods became very popular in the field of sociology (Bryson and Thompson 1972, Connell 1985, Davis 1966, Wild 1974, cited in Minichiello et al 2008 p. 129). The field of sociology uses this interactive method to document personal life histories, symbolic interactions, perceptions of history, narrative history and lived histories. It was a way in which to provide the most important events of a person’s life and descriptions of those lived experiences (Taylor & Bogdan 1998, cited in Minichiello et al 2008 p. 129). Qualitative methods concentrate on the nature, structure, history and dynamics of what is being studied. Qualitative analysis demonstrates the various psychological, emotional and behavioral elements of a study (Memmott et al 2001).

As part of this qualitative ethnographic narrative based in an Indigenous standpoint, our review of what has happened to Indigenous people within Australia and in their socio-historic context leads this study to deeper understanding and appreciation for the contemporary contexts of what Aboriginal men deal with in terms of working with art as a cultural form of narrative and transpersonal therapy. By examining the relationships between violence, masculinity, Aboriginality, and ‘rurality’ we have re-constructed part

of the picture of what is happening through a ‘thick-description’ of the events and people concerned.

Part of the process of identifying priorities for this study were to make sense of the narrative of my own familial and cultural history through the wider spectrum of what has occurred for other families, tribes and nations across Australia and in other countries, looking also at the experience of one other person in the Canadian Indian context. While doing this it became important to focus on one other Australian Aboriginal artist who has been widely known, respected, and whose life narrative through his art came to express the dynamics of his and our history, politic, and ethos – where we come from, our Land and Country, and where we may be heading together if and when we can face our issues and come to terms with our Dreaming in the ways we need to do for our lives and our children’s lives to change for the better.

Following these concerns then, we found that several authors (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, cited in Kennedy 2006) were ethnographers who looked through a wide-angle lens by focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experiences. Then they moved inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is forever changing, and may resist cultural interpretations. In my case, the thesis structure follows this format by providing wide-angle analytical chapters followed by ‘narratives-of-self’ which explore three examples of Aboriginal men’s lived experiences of violence, masculinity, rurality and of culture, identity, and spirituality through art. The authors suggest that texts may include

dialogue, emotions, spirituality, self-consciousness, and descriptions of action or embodiment. They may also include relational or institutional stories and/or narratives which have been affected by history, social structure, and cultural background (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, cited in Kennedy 2006 p. 71). Plummer (1983, cited in Minichiello et al 2008) supports the above, but has refined it to ‘three theoretical assumptions which are common to life history, research and symbolic interactionism.’

1. Life viewed as concrete experience
2. Life regarded as an ever-emerging relativistic perspective
3. Life viewed as inherently marginal and ambiguous

It is important to note that this reduction, while helpful in understanding the western neo-Marxian materialism from which it arises, as well as the post-industrial approach that highlights the empirical as well as the post World War II Chicago School of sociology which influences the authors in their focus on the physical ‘concrete’ while making human reality relative to a changing conception under the notions of social constructivism as such, we highlight the fact that these influences may appear in our work but that the Indigenous method we propose, in relation to western philosophy and theory, relies more heavily on the idealism of Hegel (1770-1831 CE), in as much as his approach rests in the notion of a pre-existing nature of reality as well as the concept of ‘the mind of the creator,’ which is a notion that sits closer to Indigenous philosophy. Combined with this approach, I believe that all students and all

human beings possess a soul, and would side with Plato's (427-337 BCE) foundational aesthetics of consciousness and identity based in a spiritual entity inhabiting a human material body – a notion picked up throughout the history of psychology and even the basis of the term 'psychotherapist' which means, a 'doctor or healer of the soul.' Within this philosophy is a respect for the whole history of western and eastern mysticism, theology, Christian teachings, and a deep abiding respect for eastern wisdom traditions such as Buddhism. Ironically, the west has yet to appreciate the philosophical depth of Indigenous epistemology even in as much as the west has forgotten its own soul, which may be the first step in getting beyond the flatlandism based in material and concrete limitations that dominate the discourse of many contemporary authors, itself a form of internalising aspects of the hegemonic masculinity discussed in the previous chapters.

Garfinkel (1967, cited in Cheek et al 1998) supports 'the task of the professional sociologist is to uncover, demonstrate and make public the rules of interaction.' Garfinkel was able to identify with his colleagues that there were a number of strategies that we produce to demonstrate that we build rules as we go along, and that we make scene of our world while in the middle of it, while we are interacting. The author suggests that we make sense of our actions, by what he calls accounting and making sense of our world by being interactive. Hurrell (1999) states that through qualitative research the interaction of the researcher serves as an instrument of the collection and analysis of data. This gives greater

flexibility and also adds to the implied knowledge of previous studies (Guba 1981, cited Hurrell 1999).

By using ethnography, LeCompte (1982) states that research involves participant and non-participant observations, focusing on natural settings, using participant constructs to structure the research. These approaches are used to some extent by all social science disciplines. Ethnographic researchers are concerned with probing already written materials and setting people within their socio-historical contexts in order to understand their social impact, interactions, and the implications of their life narratives. Ethnographers enhance the reliability of their data by recognising five important steps: The researchers status position, the informant's choices, analytic constructs, place and the method of data collection and analysis (Hansen 1979, Pelto and Pelto 1978, cited in LeCompte 1982). Ethnographic conclusions are completed by the investigators' social role while in the process of using narrative research.

Ethnographic dialogue is about using a narrative approach as ethnographers experience and observe their own and others' interactions and encounters while in the co-participation research relationship (Tedlock 1991). While ethnography also focuses on research design and data collection, in the context of data collection, researchers are often confronted by actual participation. In this study the emphasis shifted to exclusively narrative analysis and the use of a bracketed (auto)ethnography, which will be explained below. Essentially, ethnographers are placed into the context of their study by being confronted by

lived events, and these events have immediate practical and political significance.

Morrow and Brown (1994) suggest that in order to understand these events an ethnographer will engage in field-work, which for minority society members may actually involve their own lived experiences as part of the 'data' of the research. In many respects reflecting on other's lived experiences can be a reflective and critical analytic process, which can also provide more significant insights in certain research circumstances. For example, the psychoanalyst who is undertaking their own personal analysis will often engage in self-reflection in dialogue with client notes as a form of analytic method. By allowing the mirrors of research data, narrative analysis, and self-reflection to flow freely between each other a clearer picture can emerge of the potential issues and opportunities arising. Likewise, by placing an analysis of Australian Aboriginal social and historical circumstances next to a critical analysis of hegemonic masculinity while sitting next to a therapeutic method such as art in conjunction with an in-depth analysis of three Aboriginal men including the researcher, significant insider cultural insight can be gathered while also reflecting on the western mainstream academic machine. In a sense, we depend on ethnographic research and the dialogue generated to create a world of understanding, knowledge and shared inter-subjectivity and this gives the researcher/participant a deeper understanding of the social context, which in the big picture, can lead to growth, change and perhaps also a sense of liberation from the dictates of social constraints imposed by the history or circumstances (Tedlock 1991).

The ethnographer is in a process of self-disclosure (Egan 1998) with/as participation, and this is like a process of initiation rites or a rite of passage (Tedlock 1991) to become a part of the clan, community, family, mob, or manhood or womanhood. In other ways the experience may be about initiation into the research process, in which case the subject/object of the research involves other more problematic layers of meaning as the work of the research itself becomes part of the analysis. Ethnographers who have not only learned the 'correct behaviours and language' including the non-verbal communications involved in the culture of research and/or in the culture under study will likely be transformed by their experiences (Tedlock 1991).

Cowlshaw (2006a) states that field-work and ethnography helps to understand the social realms by experiencing the relationships while in the field of research. The author points out that there is a deep curiosity, to try and see behind the mask of difference within the Aboriginal Australian culture and to see what is the same by using ethnography as a tool. Cowlshaw (2006a) suggests that Australian ethnography helps us to provide insights into the social world of the Australian Aboriginal culture, this type of methodology provides valuable insights into an unknown nation. This methodology stands in to give real descriptions of what it is like for those Aboriginal people of Australia.

LeCompte (1982) states that ethnographers only enhance their understandings of their culture by recognising five major problems, these are, researcher status position (where they belong and what position they hold within the group), the

participants choices (identifying the informants who provide data), the social situation and conditions (is the social context in which they are generated), analytic constructs and premises and methods of data collection an analysis (outlining the theoretical premises and defining constructs that inform and shape the research). In shaping the research one can consider that the researcher will 'go native' finding out more information about a culture by becoming a part of it (Tedlock 1991) or if the researcher is already a part of it they have a deeper understanding of the culture already. As Elwin (1964, cited in Tedlock 1991) states, it is more than just asking questions, it is about gaining knowledge and understanding of the people. It is about letting the cultural experiences sink in until it becomes a part of you.

### **The Narrative Journey**

We come to narrative textual analysis because of many reasons that are steeped in Indigenous research methods (Wilson 2008), which are more culturally appropriate to the contexts and limitations of this study. Narrative expresses an orientation based in postmodern and post-colonial discourse that seeks to decode prior assumptions by going beyond Eurocentric methods in culturally appropriate ways that attend to issues of cultural competence (Arrendondo 1999, Arthur & Collins 2010, Atkinson, Kennedy & Bowers 2006, Battiste 1998, Bowers 2007b, Bowers, Minichello & Plummer 2007, Nakata 2002, 2007). While we see ethnography as a narrative approach, we also see that

narrative arises from notions of clarifying the ethnographic ‘voice’ that enables a greater appreciation for the familial, social, cultural and spiritual importance and respect accorded to research within Indigenous contexts (Castellano 2004). A large part of this debate centres on the notions of carefully considering appropriate ways to approach representation, the legitimacy of the way of sharing of knowing as well as the content of the knowledge itself, and the place, voice, context and identity of the researcher within the narrative ethnographic process (Holt 2003). Morrow & Brown (1994) place great emphasis on the power-dynamics of research and particularly in regards to minority research, suggesting that reflexivity is crucial and that the validity of the research be judged within its contextual field of practice – that is, from an understanding of the relationships of the researcher to the research and how the meaning of these relations plays out and influences the internal logic and coherence of the work. In other words, research from within a cultural stance must be subject to analysis that appreciates how the work holds together on its own merit – not so much in relation to other studies but as an expression of contextual relations that give rise to an original work of analysis. Turner (1982, cited in McLeod 1997) echoes these sentiments when saying that,

‘Narrative is, it would seem, rather an appropriate term for reflexive activity which seeks to ‘know’... [about] antecedent events, and about the meaning of these events.’

Each of us has our story, a biography (Muncey 2005). Our narratives are constructed continually, unconsciously, through the processes of thought, perceptions, feelings, actions and our spoken narration of discourse (Morrow & Brown 1994). We must therefore recollect ourselves so that our narratives can be shared (Sacks 1995, cited in Mcleod 1997).

Narrative ethnographers focus not on the process of the ethnographic conversations and the encounter (Tedlock 1991), which in our case relates generally to Australian Aboriginal history and cultural insight while also looking more deeply and in a focused manner at the experience of Aboriginal men and the place of art as reflecting the challenges of colonial invasion to the Indigenous psyche. Naturally, these levels of analysis contain many personal and familial significations, and it is up to the researcher who is also, in certain ways, the subject of the research reflections, how and in what ways to give voice to the personal narrative ethnography.

While the personal is political and prior work highlighted this particular approach (Kennedy 2006), the current work places more emphasis on the reverse – where the political is personal and is worth consideration in its own right as a complement to understanding the personal narrative ethnographies of Aboriginal men. In some ways this shift reflects when narrative methods involve intensive social-analysis verses self-analysis as two central components to the work. However, each ‘task’ or ‘project’ does not have to be addressed within every work and may require several years and different projects that

highlight the various levels that are needed to understand a very in-depth and complex study.

As such, Tedlock (1991, cited in Denzin and Lincoln 2003) states that ethnographers are able to tell a story of what went on in the stages of their participation in the research. Narrative ethnographer's own experiences are incorporated into the ethnographic description and the deep analysis of observations of others and this enhances the ethnographic dialogue or encounter. It is also worth noting that traditional Aboriginal cultural practices place greater emphasis on personal integrity, expression of humility in commitments to cultural protocols that limit the voice of the researcher, and that these practices are well established within national ethical frameworks for Indigenous research (Commonwealth of Australia 2003).

Many ethnographers tell tales about their research and this is usually written up in other volumes or research articles which follow their major works. This style of reflective writing has seen a shift from participant observations, to 'observation of participation' many woman, lower class, and Indigenous groups are associated with this type of research and method. Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p213) say that,

'Native Ethnography, for example, is written by researchers from the Third and Forth Worlds who share their history of colonialism or economic subordination, including subjugation by ethnographers who have made them the subjects of their work.

Now as bicultural insiders/outsiders, native ethnographers construct their own cultural stories.’

The method of ethnography is to identify yourself as an ethnographer, so that specific needs of the community can be recognised. Indigenous author Wilson Shawn (2008 p. 110-111) states that the immersion of oneself into the community brings forth new information and the documentation of knowledge. For example, he shares that,

‘There was this woman from our community who was learning about native plants...She was being taught by a ninety-four-year-old elder...we were up in the forest and I had my class with me, and she was pointing out all the different medicines right around us, even at our feet...I asked her ‘how did our ancestors know that this plant could do this? So she threw the question back to the class. ‘So how do you think they knew, or what did they do?’ And so the students in the class said, ‘ohhh...’ It didn’t make sense to them that they would take the grasses and experiment, and run trials. Because being there in the forest, there are so many varieties, and how do you know? And so her answer was, ‘It came from above.’ They were faced with certain conditions or problems that they needed solutions to, and they went and prayed for an answer, and received an answer and got direction...They did not have to run trials; they didn’t have to experiment, which is the scientific

method of trying to make discoveries. They had their own methods.’

The author suggests that this makes sense because Indigenous epistemology is expansive and takes into account a wholistic multidimensional world, so that our research methods also need to be extra-logical. That is, our data, knowledge, and relationships are based on empirical (experiential) data, which are observed by the five senses, just as mainstream linear research, but our methods also include different forms of non-empirical data. Wilson also states that when Indigenous methods are used that we are in what is called the ‘Research Ceremony.’ Wilson (2008 p. 111) notes,

‘We gain knowledge and power from the universe around us in various ways... Knowledge can come to you from above, from inspiration, or putting form to a bundle of relationships that were previously invisible. But obviously we are not in this extra-intellectual place all of the time. We also need to count upon our five quantifiable senses. We need and use both empirical and other forms of information. We need all the methods available to us that will allow us to fulfil our obligations or relationships to the community.

This form of research opens the doorway to different Indigenous methods of how one can approach a subject or a question. You are able to look at the situation from many different points. It does not matter which method you use.

This is the methodology, the theory, and it becomes our Medicine. Wilson (2008) suggests that if you go into the Medicine Wigwam, that you will see many different types of Medicine and meet the many different types of sicknesses or needs. This is the metaphor that the author likes to use to express that as we come together and walk the road of academia to find our way amongst scholars, we come to strengthen our Medicine that we carry with us. This is not just about a material analysis but is about a cultural and spiritual journey we are making in relation with our research. We are preparing what we have to offer by talking and praying for each other, we bring the foundations of healing and wellness into our communities. It is through being an ethnographer that our knowledge, understanding and skills grow within us; we are native ethnographers on a journey of narrative discovery.

There are four archetypes of the narrative ethnographer. There is the amateur observer, the armchair anthropologist, the professional ethnographer and the ethnographer who goes native (Tedlock 1991). The amateur ethnographers were those who gave accounts of what they had seen from their own worldviews and limited perspectives of their own reality of the world. As stated by Tedleck (1991) the eighteenth and nineteenth century accounts were written by explores, travellers, doctors, colonial officer, missionaries and the idle rich. These accounts of course were also embedded in the narrow-minded views of those Europeans who found themselves justified in their own cultural misinterpretations. Harris (1994) states that Europeans were backed up by the theological explanation of how Christians would read back into the Bible what

they wanted to read. The author also points out that this was partly an ethnocentric ideology and a strong belief that Europeans were superior. It was also reinforced by the theoretical facts and views in which were held. The European ethnographic amateur accounts as noted by Harris (1994) suggest the Australian Aboriginals were noted as being under a curse, and in the process of collapse. It was Christianity that would enable these heathen to return to a state from which they were seen as the fallen. Freeman (1848) cited in Harris (1994 p. 78) notes that Freeman wrote a very influential book on the 'advancement of nations from the barbarous to the civilised state' and it said,

'All barbarism is deterioration, a state to which men have degenerated from higher and anterior state. His primeval state was a condition of knowledge, he was made competent to live in a society, to aid its improvement and to profit, in turn, by all its advantages.'

The professional ethnographer was not recognised until after the First World War. Many academically trained ethnographers began the process of investigative fieldwork and constructing ethnographic information (Tedlock 1991). The author states that this was in a shattered world that gave birth to jazz, bobbed hair and bathtub gin. It was a time where intellectual value was placed on travelling to distant places in order to study and to reconstitute and find humanity again in the disaster and devastation of the western world. It was a time when a personal account within fieldwork was always an option, regardless of the topic or research methodology. It was demonstrated by Dennis

Werner's (1984 cited in Tedlock 1991) Amazonian narrative ethnography. In this he provides an amazing account of his life in the field and he provides a detailed account of the Mekranoti culture, while he went into depth on precise qualitative approaches that he used during his research.

Qualitative researchers have the opportunities to choose from an array of theoretical and technical methods, one of these terms are known as qualitative description. Qualitative researchers who use descriptive research stay close to their data and to the exterior of the stories and the events. This form of research design focuses typically around an eclectic approach which is a combination of sampling, data collection, and analysis and symbolic techniques. Qualitative descriptive methods are the choice when direct descriptions of a phenomenon are needed (Sandelowski 2000). It is through these sources that the Qualitative researcher can generate data. These sources will be connected with the community under research.

### **(Auto)Ethnography**

Reed-Danahay (1997, cited in Holt 2003, p. 2) notes that 'autoethnography is a genre of writing and research that connects the personal to the cultural, placing the self within a social context.' Several authors (Deck 1990, Neumann 1996, Reed-Danahay, 1997, cited in Denzin & Lincoln 2003 p. 209) have argued that this approach to research looks first through a wide-angle lens, focusing on social and cultural aspects and then shifts inward, revealing the self. The authors suggest that texts may include relational and/or institutional stories or narratives

which have been affected by history, social structure, and cultural background (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003 p. 209). Autoethnographic authors use their life experiences in a culturally appropriate way to look outward and inward and to create analysis that speaks to wider issues of importance (Holt, 2003 p. 2; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003 p. 211).

This study (brackets) the (auto) part of autoethnography, which is a textual manner that suggests the emphasis on the outward/inward dynamic as focused on wider social, cultural and political contexts, which necessarily impact the self. In other words, my own story is not foregrounded in this project but is rather woven into the fabric of the project, applying my inner cultural stance and knowledge by exploring the themes at hand.

Likewise, Travisano (2002, p. 123) noted that ethnography is about retelling ‘lived experiences, to make another world accessible to the reader.’ These experiences may be of many types and can include in-depth interviews, participant observation, action research, or textual analysis that reflects on social meaning, the latter of which is where this study sits (Cohen 1992, Jackson 1989, Okely 1992, Turner and Bruner 1986, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2003 p. 212). Through exploring the western and Indigenous issues under study through the gaze of post-colonial critical analysis, Aboriginal Australian cultural worlds become more accessible to the reader even by reflecting on the bias and prejudice within mainstream discourse. As is often noted in

ethnographic work, the first task for the researcher and her/his colleagues is to challenge cultural assumptions and come to new understandings of both mainstream and minority cultures. As Denzin and Lincoln (2003 p. 211) suggest,

‘In native ethnographies, researchers who are natives of cultures that have been marginalised or exoticized by others, write about and interpret their own cultures for others.’

Halley (2002 p. 91) notes that autoethnographers enter into the ‘nonlinear,’ a repetitive kind of knowing, and a speaking and writing about their world in ways that challenge and complement traditional understandings. We note that the Indigenous approach to research is highly nonlinear, tends to be repetitive, and is often a spoken and personal form of communication. Indigenous knowing is expressed in a circular style of learning and writing. The reader will note how this approach comes forward in this thesis, as this study is very much appreciative of these methods. For example, the first chapter entered into an introductory discussion of the frameworks of this study highlighting key ideas such as Aboriginal art speak, male identity, and colonial history. Thereafter the chapters that followed highlighted different elements of each of these central interconnected themes. By working within a complex analytic framework we honour traditional Indigenous epistemology that works within a wholistic and

multidimensional methodology (Lavallée 2009). Thus we revisit topics after shifting into other areas, and come back to a topic from a different, slightly more integrated perspective. Autoethnographic writing allows the reader to become immersed in the ‘textual moment’ and to feel the dilemmas of life. This helps the reader to identify with the stories and narratives instead of objectifying the issues (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, p. 203). As Denzin and Lincoln (2003 p. 213) note,

‘The primary purpose is to understand a self or some aspect of a life lived in a cultural context. In personal narrative texts, authors become “I,” readers become “you,” subjects become “us.” Participants are encouraged to participate in a personal relationship with the author/researcher, to be treated as co-researchers, to share authority, and to author their own lives in their own voices. Readers, too, take a more active role as they are invited into the author’s world, evoked to a feeling level about the events being described, and stimulated to use what they learn there to reflect on, understand, and cope with their own lives.’

## **Limitations or Strengths**

According to Minichello et al (2008 pp. 42-43) qualitative research needs to be evaluated by four criteria. To paraphrase his points:

1. Does the study takes into account the personal and social, historical, cultural and present circumstances?
2. Does the research demonstrate ethical sensitivity?
3. Does the research demonstrate “thick description” which means to go beyond the obvious and to engage in a more in-depth understanding of culture, history, and interpretations?
4. Does the research build rapport between researcher and the topical focus of the study?

Of these four questions in regards to this study we can answer that, yes, the methods and content of this study demonstrates these qualities. We rely on the advice of qualitative ethnographic research, Indigenous ethical frameworks, prior research experience and the advice of mentors and colleagues in the field, and our lived experiential knowing about the ways that are most cultural appropriate and timely for this particular study. By all means important is our status as Aboriginal Australian, and as a professional teacher, counsellor, disability support professional, and as an Aboriginal artist and painter. Our familial affiliations and the ways that we have grown up and faced the challenges of biased mainstream Euro-Australian education systems, while not the focus of this particular study, have nonetheless informed the background to

this current critical sociological and Indigenous standpoint analysis of the gendered colonial story of Indigenous men in Australia (Nakata 2007a). The foregoing discussion suggests that ethnographic studies based in qualitative methods ought to be examined for their internal logic and coherence – do they hang together? Do they make sense? Do they contribute a valuable insight into the cultural, social, or historical contexts under study?

Perhaps the greatest strength of this study is the very historical and social moment that is expressed and manifested by this thesis even existing after the past two hundred years of colonial encounter. For an Indigenous Australian person to stand up and write in this manner is an accomplishment, but also part of the ‘sorry business’ that needs to continue in how Aboriginal voices must stand up against all odds to speak to the injustices and inhumanity of mainstream colonial and settler Australia. After all, we are not speaking of a story that is old nor ancient. We are rather speaking of an intimately moving personal and social reality that people are living right now, and which impacts our families within the past one to four generations and all within living memory.

We also understand that another strength of this study rests in its place within the international Indigenous research and rights movement which followed the past couple of decades of cultural revival in different sectors of Aboriginal nations around the world and particularly within the postcolonial British Commonwealth. We note that ‘postcolonial’ is a dangerous word and ought not to imply that colonisation is over. Colonisation is not a finished enterprise. We

note that the many invasive tactics of prejudice that go along with colonial politics continue and will need to be addressed again and again before justice arises in Australia and in other colonial nation states that are built on the back of blacks, red skins, and other Indigenous nations. As for the other strengths of this study, we leave that analysis up to the reader.

As we reflect on the limitations of this study we wish the reader to be aware that qualitative ethnography from an Indigenous perspective sets up its own internal logic of boundaries and of intellectual geography. The ‘Sacred Landscape’ or the Dreaming of this study involves keen attention to spoken and unspoken protocols that limit the scope and voice of the research. For example, it was most appropriate to use the methods chosen under the constraints of the study so as not to engage in the problematic nature of assimilation and manipulation of Indigenous cultural and personal knowledge while speaking to the highly contentious and sensitive issues raised in this work. However, this limitation became a strength, because the internal logic of the study highlighted the necessities of focus which then engaged in textual and art-speak criticism which fore-grounded the necessary voice of an Indigenous scholarship at this juncture in Australian Aboriginal studies.

Also we note that by understanding that qualitative research is not compared to quantitative methods, and therefore, suggesting statistical values are of merit is inconsistent with the framework of this study. For example, while we may have interviewed or done focus groups with a moderate or even large number of Aboriginal male artists, the decision to not include human participants in this

study does not itself constitute a limitation. Indeed, it was felt upon deeper reflection that this study was the first necessary step prior to enlisting human participants, if indeed that latter step is warranted at a future time, given our agreement with the enormous problems associated with voice, authority, ownership and validity of research in light of the traumatic and violent epistemic history of research in Aboriginal studies.

This study sits within the realisation gained at many international forums for Indigenous education and emancipation that now is a time when Aboriginal scholars need to write reflective narrative analysis, and to allow their own voices to be heard and that this act will give rise to new and innovative research and educational projects, and will set the seeds of the Sacred Tree for new manifestations to arise in Indigenous scholarship, teaching, learning, and cultural revival. Thus, as discomfoting and difficult as this process has been, by sitting with the self and with the voice of my own perspectives on culture, history, politics, gender and art there is much to express and to give back to my People.

## Conclusion

This chapter has examined the methodological landscape and geography of the Dreaming that guides this study. There are many more insights that could be shared; however, the focus here is on those issues that address the social contexts of academic research at this juncture in western development. Perhaps the true limitations of this study rest in this historical moment when the western psyche is in need of expansion in order to comprehend the epistemology, ontology (Wilson 2008) and cosmology of Indigenous nations (Bowers 2007b).

Perhaps also limiting this story and the analysis around it rests this historical process that we call reconciliation in Australia, which is often felt to be another imposed colonial agenda, but also in some ways gives rise to the reality and voice of trauma, shock, horror, and chronic survival of our People after nearly being exterminated from this planet. We as an Aboriginal People must first do our sorry business and recover from this onslaught which has killed our families, and in my case, my Grandparent's generation who survived the mass murders of settlement invaders whose families still claim ownership of the lands in this local region. Thus, in many ways given the intensity of the historical psychic recovery that is ongoing, this thesis quite likely represents the first in a future long line of new scholarship arising from new generations of Indigenous people who can finally come forward to share their insights and stories with the wider published world.

More so, the innate cultural obstacles are massive inside the western academe and set up almost certain failure for those of my generation and those who follow. This is not an issue so much for Aboriginal people, because for many of us the academe is a place of still manipulative ego-based rationalities who have not taken their own personal path to find their vision, and who cannot see beyond their bias and prejudice. The female and male leaders in the academe tend to make the enterprise irrelevant to Indigenous people, and their attitudes are often the worst in terms of the western paternalistic hegemonic masculinity discussed in this thesis. The loss is really for the academe and wider Australian community, because academics and the public get to stay entrenched in their outmoded ways of thinking. In the meantime, there are some white people who are open to a brave new world of Indigenous scholarship that is created by Aboriginal authors, a movement that is seeking to transform the western academe into a more multicultural space for all nations. The following chapters continue in the application of Aboriginal arts speak from critical and postcolonial points of view by using (auto)-ethnographic narrative analysis. We will now turn to a discussion of the life of one very well known Aboriginal Australian male artist and painter.

## **Chapter 5:**

### **Dreaming Elders:**

#### **Narrative analysis of Albert Namatjira's life**

Quite ironically, few Aboriginal writers have written about Aboriginal art, which in the colonial discourse of the mainstream both past and present is largely a field of textual criticism that is reified by mainstream constructs, which led Vivieaere (2003), as an Aboriginal curator and scholar, to examine Indigenous artwork as a practice from an Aboriginal 'arts speak' approach. This form of analysis builds on postcolonial methods in minority scholarship (Battiste 1998, Battiste et al 2002a), standpoint theory (Bowers 2010, Houston 2007, Nakata 2007a), and postmodern values that highlight the voices from the margins to speak to longstanding issues in culture and science (Cheek 2000, Fekete 1887, Fox 1994, Sarup 1996). and encourages other Indigenous scholars to the same.

The chapters that follow seek to engage an Aboriginal discourse from an Indigenous standpoint approach (Miniecon, Franks & Heffernan 2007). This perspective defines the sacred landscape and geography of the Indigenous

epistemology (Lavallée 2009) that is being entertained while applying the foregoing frameworks and themes that are woven together throughout this study. By using an Aboriginal arts speak analysis we intentionally move our discourse from a historical based analysis of colonization toward a more present and contemporary analysis of a postcolonial applied Indigenous narrative method that seeks to deconstruct the many cultural, linguistic, and academic assumptions and bias that surround Aboriginal scholarship while proactively moving forward to articulate the perspective ‘from the margins’ (Houston 2007, Nakata 2007, 2007a). The current chapter enters into the sacred landscapes of one well-known Australian Aboriginal artist. The intention of this discussion is to highlight an Aboriginal analysis of the wider contexts and personal observations of the artist’s status as an Aboriginal male, in order to facilitate a deeper reflection on the central themes of identity that form the Corroboree Circle and epistemological locus of this study.

Much has been written about the artist under discussion (Amadio 1986, French 2002, Mountford 1953, Perkins 2010). It is not our intention to speak directly to this widely known discourse. Nor is the intention of this study to suggest a particular expertise in the artistic analysis of this well-known artist. The reader is encouraged to seek out the literature relevant to those concerns. Rather, the unique contribution that this thesis brings forward rests in the fact that this work is not based in the discourse of curatorial and artistic traditions but is coming from an analysis rooted in an Aboriginal scholarship based in the fields of the

humanities, education and counselling for wellness (Bancroft 2007, Bowers 2010, McConaghy 2003, Wells 2000).

The core of this disciplinary orientation follows the implied meaning of the progression of chapters in this work. In other words, identity appears to be marked or tattooed by the violence of colonial oppression (Jennifer 2008). Community, family and individuals appear to deal with this history through an ongoing post-traumatic process that holds the key to both ongoing violence, and to ongoing healing and change (Sarup 1996). One window into which to examine the issues of identity from within an Indigenous scholarship rests with the powerful symbolism that artistic paintings convey which is a process grounded in the life and context of the Aboriginal artists under analysis (Bowers 2010). By applying this unique analysis, it will quickly become clear how the wider historical, cultural, linguistic, and scholarly themes related to the problematic nature of colonization do indeed mark identity and set up a journey to recovery for contemporary Aboriginal people (Bowers 2005a), reflected in their art-as-life practices.

### **Recognising the Past: Assimilation**

As Read (2002) states, Australians cannot move forward until true reconciliation occurs. This will be done by recognising the past and by understanding what really happened to Indigenous Australians. Only one example is the massacre at Mirki and the diabolical events that occurred, which

had been told by a Milingimbi man in the 1970s (Read 2002). Not only were there massacres of Indigenous people in Australia there was a process of policies that were being implemented through to the 1950's that systematically undercut positive developments for Aboriginal nations. As Douglas (2007) states, these assimilation policies were to ensure that Indigenous people were to become members of a distinct underprivileged Australian community, a community that would come to internalise European values and beliefs; invest itself to impart these same rights and privileges but within a separate parallel society marked by racism and the underlying fear of white Australia that black Australians might one day stand up and hold the nation state to account. Even while this largely hidden agenda and fear may exist, black Australians had to accept the same responsibilities assumed in the white system or they would not be able to participate in any way in the progress toward a nation state. Not only does this cultural assumption touch upon every aspect of legal and formal systems, but also there is an expectation that Aboriginal people must embrace the same customs of white Australia while being influenced by the same beliefs and values arising within the Anglo-white society.

For example the Assimilation policy in the 1950's prohibited Indigenous people in the Northern Territory from drinking (Douglas 2007). The politics of alcohol is a fascinating area of study that requires consideration as a formative place where different cultures come together or resist each other according to access and use patterns related to the substance. While there was an acknowledgement

that alcohol was not part of most traditional Aboriginal societies, and that the misuse of the substance was not particular to Indigenous people, there is little doubt that alcohol has had a significant influence in the politics of colonisation.

Douglas (2007) states that the then Chief Justice Kriewaldt believed that there was no appropriate context for Indigenous people to partake in the drinking of alcohol. Kriewaldt believed that assimilation would be a gradual process, and he believed that if Indigenous people were to participate in drinking that it would retard the assimilation process. Kriewaldt's strong views were that Indigenous people were to be assimilated or they would be subjected to extinction. The author notes that Indigenous people who perceived to be assimilated were able to take part in the 'refined white ways'. These paternalistic views not only did not acknowledge the troubling history of substance abuse in European history and culture, nor the inherent ethics and traditional values that Indigenous people possess within their respected cultural ways (Douglas 2007). The blacks of Australia were considered and are still to this day whitewashed by an attitude that suggests they are savages and without cultural ways that command respect (Fredericks 2008). In the context of a largely uncritical assumption arising within the colonial Euro-Australian mindset, Aboriginal people were handed alcohol on one hand to incite violence and discontent while on the other hand, policies as noted above subjected them to surveillance and state control – making the true face of assimilation agendas more apparent from a macro-social and historical analysis (Ireland 1995, Janeczko 2007). The same basic colonial

attitudes can be observed across the discourse and action arising during the first century of invasion in Australia (Bird 2001).

During an era of increased colonial surveillance and state control of Aboriginal affairs, and at a time when the pastoral outstations were fairly well secured by white pastoralists, and Aboriginal people were struggling to survive in a system of apartheid that enforced dislocation and poverty, the artist and painter Namatjira came onto the national white scene as a noted Aboriginal watercolour painter throughout Australia (Wells 2000). At this time Namatjira was considered to be assimilated into the white community of Australia (Douglas 2007). There were around eight other Indigenous people who were also noted to have been assimilated. These Indigenous people, including Namatjira, were thought to be successful in being assimilated and viewed as able to look after themselves. We note that ‘to be assimilated’ needs to be understood in the context of the times, which heavily relies on grasping the paternalistic attitude that white Australians carried – to impart their standards was to improve and enlighten black savages from abject poverty to engaging in a comprehensive educational and cultural project that allowed access to the wealth of nations experienced throughout colonial expansion.

What sacrifices might be made along the way toward this progress were of little consequent to colonialists. Loss of culture, language, ecological knowledge, philosophy, epistemology, economy, production, and commerce within

traditional cultures was never considered in any reasonable way as bearing any importance for the future of the white colonial system or for the survival of humanity as a species. No consideration of human biodiversity as a value was apparent and still today, there is little if any consideration of these issues within the rush of global corporate and business progress right across white and black contexts in Australia (Tesoriero 2010).

Douglas (2007) noted that as part of the social status given to Namatjira, he was no longer considered a ward of the state, and he was an early experiment in white paternalism by giving him the same rights as white citizens. As such, Namatjira was able to manage his own affairs without assistance. In the 1950's the government legislation saw that all Indigenous people in the Northern Territory were wards of the state, meaning that their needs and affairs were tightly and directly controlled by government policies. The change from paternal control to absence of guidance and direction caused difficulty, and no considered pathway or meaningful transition was forthcoming. As such, when Namatjira was no longer seen as a ward of the state his access to alcohol was opened up. Given the pressures and stress of 'performing' within the white world, while also managing the black cultural expectations of his family and tribal nation, as well as facing what must have been an intense attraction that is commonly described toward substances during prohibition contexts, during 1958, Namatjira started to drink heavily.

At this time, the painter moved from his familiar bush country closer to the community of Alice Springs into one of the Indigenous camps. There were many reports of violence, and it was noted that a woman was killed at Namatjira's campsite. This incident led to a formal inquest, and Namatjira was seen as the main supplier of alcohol. This then reinforced in the mainstream that for Indigenous people alcohol and violence were intimately linked. It also called into question the status of the painter, as his conduct was held under suspicion. The author notes that Namatjira's name was then splashed across the newspapers and his non-ward status became the topic of debate. The debate brought up questions of whether or not Namatjira could live by white values and attitudes. The rhetoric actually assumes the contexts of colonisation are inevitable and that black people in Australia have no choice – either assimilate or face extinction. Douglas (2007 p. 11) states that,

‘Later, Namatjira was charged with supplying rum to an Aboriginal ward, his cousin Raberaba. Namatjira was originally sentenced by a magistrate to six months imprisonment. The newspaper observed that the painter had been ‘seeking oblivion in strong drink from the realities of the civilisation he attempted to enter.... the black skin of Albert Namatjira hides the sick heart of a white man. A white man if ever there was’.

But for the colour of his skin, Namatjira was identified as a white man who could no longer exist within his traditional culture – a man with no home, no place and no identity. Recalling the work undertaken in chapter three, the hegemonic imposition of white values in a black context is worth examining. The pressure on the painter to ‘assimilate’ combined with the early excitement and enticement that this new found status may have held for an Indigenous young man (before the days of Aboriginal people even having the vote in Australia) was quickly enough followed by the confrontation of values associated with the white use of alcohol, verses, black segregation and state level intervention. This placed the painter into a no-win situation as he was caught between two irreconcilable worlds. Then when moving forward in some way he was cut off at the knees by the very white people he had opened up to – they accused him of being white, as if this too was unnatural and offensive, that a black man would presume to engage in white society. This double bind, created by the colonial racism of Australian mainstream society, impacted the painter enormously. And while any white man would be free to drown his grief in liquid substances without regard by the rest of society, when the noted painter found himself under the cloud of grief there was no support from any quarter.

One newspaper of the day noted that a jail sentence would mean that Namatjira would not see the stars that had guided his Ancestors, on one hand giving glib acknowledgement of the cultural significance of the suffering of an imposed jail sentence, but on the other hand calling up the hegemonic values of masculinity

that contrasted white male strength with the black man's need for the stars as a form of weakness, femininity and superstition (Wells 2000). Namatjira embodied the tension between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal values at many levels. His context highlighted ward verses non-ward, assimilated verses unassimilated, educated verses savage, high culture verses poverty, and all of these categories revealed another layer of the underlying hegemonic game that was being played out and into which the painter was only a pawn of what could be seen as a form of macro dominance, a Euro-Australian male-focused style of psychic warfare against Aboriginal people. In a sense, the artist also embodied the discomfort that was developing in the community in relation to the operation of the welfare legislation and these clashes of identity were causing great difficulties for Namatjira.

### **Caught Between Two World**

Douglas (2007) notes that when Namatjira appealed the sentence and conviction, that his lawyer described the Welfare Act as making Indigenous people victims and prisoners. Namatjira's lawyer went on to say that he was in fact a man who had become torn between two worlds. Haebich (1999) notes that Albert Namatjira was increasingly perceived by his white counterparts to becoming a wonderer between two worlds, worlds that were largely a myth created by the dominant system but nonetheless came to define the very nature and episteme of Australian national identity. This identity became defined as non-aboriginal. A binary that forever separated white from black, city from

bush, and good from evil within the psychic domains of European mythology – an epistemology that is inherently racist, inspired and valiantly protected by hegemonic masculinity. Feeding these stereotypes was the highlighted nature of the of Alice Springs, a place that was also known to have a harsh environment of mining and a rural and pastoral frontier. This small place also had a history of brutal racial violence which was in fact initiated by European intrusion from 1872. Alice Springs and surrounding areas encountered Indigenous Massacres. The most notable massacre was the Coniston massacre, which took place in 1928, and this prompted a governmental inquiry. The author notes that this was around this time that there was a rise in tourism for Australia’s heartland, as Alice became a popular destination.

This was also a time that Europeans held the first major Indigenous art exhibition in the National Museum of Victoria. Both of these changes made the irony of the situation all the more tragic. On one hand, Aboriginal people were subjected to sanctioned violence, abuse, and state control. On the other hand, the spiritual and cultural significance of their landscapes and artwork were being further assimilated into the national white identity – as if this envelopment was completely OK and without regard for the cultural collective ownership of Indigenous symbols, artefacts, and images. At the same time it was and remains today a spectacle for Europeans to watch Indigenous people perform sacred ceremonies in front of large crowds of people.

During this time, the mainstream people of Melbourne's art and intellectual communities became very staunch supporters of the budding Namatjira (White 2000). This support of Namatjira led to protests against the discrimination that he experienced under the Northern Territory Legislation. It was a time where a mainstream artist took the opportunity to create a series of images of Indigenous people of Australia. These images are known as the Bride Series by Arthur Boyd. The paintings are acclaimed to be a collection of images on the human condition.

### **Masculinity and Art**

Without doubt, the infamous nature of Namatjira at this time suggests that he became both an icon of Australian hegemonic masculinity as well as a racially contrasted 'other' whose behaviour was not tolerated like other white men, and who thus fell short of the hegemony imposed by European masculinity and cultural acceptability. As Haebich (1999, p. 117-118) notes, the artist's life 'narrative speaks of the intense experiences of the lone male artist moving through 'primitive' societies and landscapes which inspire him to produce works providing profound insights into the 'other' for western art audiences.' Of particular note, the author continued to say, 'grounded in [masculine] stereotypes of 'artists as genius' transcending 'existence, society and time' and uncritically privileging the western gaze and unequal power relations between 'the other' and 'us.'" The works of Namatjira staged a self-reflective cultural process for mainstream Australians that spoke more about the white culture than

about the black. The author goes on to say that ‘these transformations of meaning over time suggest the censoring of an aspect of our national history which is fraught with racial fears, desires and shame.’ Into the Euro-Australian psyche walk people of black racial backgrounds whose difference is contrasted to the whiteness, which is comfortable because it is familiar.

But in all reality, these racial others are not allowed to have a life of their own because no merit is placed on their experience. Nothing outside of the European gaze is allowed to exist unless it feeds the need for novelty or fascination with the exotic. The author adds, ‘Perhaps they are also the fruits of a search for a ‘politically correct’ niche for these ‘national treasures’ whose caricatured images of Aboriginal people can be offensive to contemporary art audiences...’ All at once the consumptive nature of hegemony contrasts the exotic, romantic and unrealistic images given to the mainstream, gobbled up by the masses, and only later becoming a symbol of the internal sickness within white society that over time shows the very same images that were painted by the black male artist as become haunting and filled with a form of shame and guilt for the racist nature of the Australian white past. The author concluded, ‘as we are now aware, this can serve to reinforce exploitative, monological and non-reciprocal relations between western artists and indigenous subjects,’ suggesting that these monologues of hegemonic masculinity continue to dominant contemporary relations between Aboriginal black and European white relations in Australia.

This gives us the opportunity to be able to place artworks into a context. Within this context we see that art is shaped by the social perspective and ideological influences in which the artist works. As Albert Namatjira is remembered in the context of his life and learning, McConaghy (2003) suggests that given the renewed interest in Albert's artwork within the Australia and in the global art world there is a great opportunity to be able to teach about his life and art. The author notes that our relationship with this famous artist takes on many different contextual genres including the visual presentations of his artwork, his biographies, and the discourse of the modern-day museum.

Museums and galleries are now the sight of teaching and learning, albeit an artificial place from which to examine 'Aborigine' history and culture. In spite of its limitations, the space of the modern museum provides teaching and learning that influences contemporary society and also schooling environments. These new ways of learning speak to curriculum, which has been created around these subjects, and requires the reader to assimilate difficult knowledge about the past. In this context Namatjira's life is shaded by what information is presented by the white commentaries and the re-presentation of black commentaries, so that we assimilate what is given. Yet again what falls outside the consumptive gaze of western hegemony is lost to our senses. Censoring ensures that intolerance for difficult information keeps the public feeling safe. McConaghy (2003) suggested that we need to consider how much the twentieth century churches and governments constitute what is teachable and what is not

within the curriculum. The author notes that children move through and visit Indigenous stories and information through the government schooling curriculum. In contrast, Muecke (1999, cited in McConaghy 2003) stated that there needs to be a process of collecting data and research while negotiating this with Indigenous communities. Muecke believes that this would develop the best possible practice which would guide and help us in our behaviours, values and understandings of how we see the places, experiences and lives of others.

### **Alien in His Own Country**

It is important to note that all Aboriginal people have felt like an alien in their own country. We note that this experience was not kind to Albert Namatjira, who as a prominent Indigenous artist with widespread appeal, he still struggled because his life was lived between his Indigenous community and the white world which had assimilated him into a culture which was alien. This sense of the alien arises in the inappropriate ways that children are reared up without the strength of their own culture. Namatjira grew up in central Australia in a mission known as the Hermannsburg Mission, which was run by the Lutheran Church from the 1870's until the 1980's. McConaghy (2003) states Hermannsburg Central Precinct is now a museum representing the life of Hermannsburg Mission. Central to the many stories of the mission is the life and art of Albert Namatjira. As if to add fuel to the fire of racist assimilation that ignores and quarantines the black as insignificant and untenable, the Lutheran Church and the Northern Territory Government were the curators of

the information and displays in the Hermannsburg Mission museum. McConaghy (2003) notes that there was and continues to be no governing control of the museum by Indigenous people, nor have they had the opportunity to legitimise the conditions and the ownership of the displays, which naturally feeds the consumptive gaze of white interpretations of their past which they can most easily digest.

It is important to ask the obvious, because the reflection warrants serious and careful consideration. If black voices are excluded from the curatorial process which focuses on mission experience, whose stories are being told? Regardless if white curators seek to voice the black experience, they cannot do justice, and their efforts continue the racist presumptive practices of the western elite. The curatorial denial suggests that the story was never about black Australians, and never will be, because the white gaze is all-important. Only in as much as the black story reflects the white ego identity, including that which arises in shades of guilt or shame in the past, does the black story have economic value within the place of the museum. As Morgan (2002, cited in McConaghy 2003, p. 13) suggest, ‘the issues of identity and representation – *whose* texts, *whose* memories – have been largely ignored by museums in Australia,’ emphasis is my own. These problematic issues never seem to be resolved, as the author suggested, ‘It is interesting to note the absence of information of curatorial authorship on displays in the new National Museum of Australia in Canberra, despite its pretension to engage more openly with the contestations of the

postcolonial and postmodern condition.’ The colonial hegemony of consumption, bias and exclusion continue in spite of the obvious movement of western theory and practice toward post-colonial methods. McConaghy (2003 p. 13) notes that the incomplete information arising from racist exclusions puts up well-meaning curatorial events but causes huge difficulties for children in schools who are not given adequate information to appreciate the truths behind Australian history. Children continue to be fed only partial histories that are biased by the hegemonic masculinity of the west, and this process continues to cause difficulties in understanding the social sciences, history, citizenship and significance of Indigenous studies for contemporary generations of Australians.

Likewise, we note that the ‘forgotten story’ speaks about an increasing and sustainable alienation of black Australia which is not even given the status of being bracketed, but is completely wiped off the page. It is interesting to view the information of the Hermannsburg Museum as it represents a history of colonial forgetting and remembering. The stories included in the museum speak about white success stories brought about by the technologies of agriculture and settlement history written from the white voice. The message speaks about strategies that are compassionate and undertaken by God-fearing, law upholding, white citizens who were working ‘side by side’ with Indigenous people to ‘tame the desert elements.’ Water for instance is featured in many of the displays, and the actions of white settlers in ‘bringing water to the desert’ are celebrated. The heroic narratives and the success story of the integration and

the assimilation of Albert Namatjira are also put forward from the white perspective (McConaghy 2003).

Rowse (1992, cited in McConaghy 2003) stated that the stories which are largely missing, withheld, and not told are the stories of violence of slavery, brutality, control, punishment, regulation and disempowerment while dehumanising Indigenous people into a life of daily mission routines. Many other stories are missing such as the withdrawal of the government's financial support during World War II because of the Germans who ran the missions and who also influenced them. These actions increased the brutality that Indigenous people were facing, but this story never appears in the white curatorial message. This action alone brought the missions into chaos, and both black Indigenous people and white German people were subjected to severe deprivations. It is important to note that not only was Albert Namatjira displaced by living in two worlds he had been placed into an environment that was brutal and reflected the spirit of the times. As Howitt (1838, cited in Harris 1990, p. 181) powerfully states,

‘Colonisation has touched all parts of the globe...  
peopling new lands, and everywhere we have found  
[the colonisers] the same – a lawless and domineering  
race, seizing on the earth as if they were the first-born  
of creation, and having presumptive right to murder and

dispossess all other people. For more than three centuries we have glanced back at them in their course, and everywhere they have had the word of God in their mouth and the deeds of darkness in their hands.’

If even a bit dramatic, the quote nonetheless suggests that the unwritten and overlooked narrative that Aboriginal people carry does require much greater consideration. The mismatch between cultures cannot be underestimated in its importance in the experience of identity of Aboriginal men who are forced into a relationship with mainstream white culture by no choice of their own. Namatjira’s early life marked a time when this mismatch contributed to his alienation from Aboriginal cultural ways as well as the influence of his being placed into a foreign culture in the mission where he was forced to conform to the dominant hegemonic masculinity of the day. These influences came forward, even through the innocence of the artist’s first realisation that he could paint. As White (2000) stated, Albert’s life was in many ways transformed when he was visited by two men in 1934. These were Rex Battarbee and John Gardener. Albert watched the men paint in watercolours and said, ‘I can do that,’ and thereafter Albert started to take up watercolours and sign his name in the white man’s way. The symbolic cultural significance of this act cannot go unexamined. Clearly the artist, while he was growing in this own identity and sense of negotiating the complexities of the social and political worlds around

him, was also influenced by these wider social and historical trends, which were also, in ways, reflected in his work.

### **Conforming to White Society**

Hegemony suggests that young men form a relationship with dominant values. They may resist, conform, or become ambivalent. They may contrast, deny and seek to defy these values, but regardless how they react, they will in some ways internalise these values in spite of showing resistance (Plummer 1999). Hegemony also enforces violence, retribution and allegiance. From this perspective, for the social alien there are only two choices: to retreat and find a place of quiet oblivion outside of the dominant culture, or to engage the assimilation process.

Naturally these two forced choices do not acknowledge the fact that a different cultural world exists outside of the western gaze. However, to continue the discourse we recall a metaphor from the western tradition. Once bitten by the evil serpent in the Garden of Eden, the western bastard child of Adam and Eve must live with the stinging memory of the dominant sweet nectar that ego identity affords. Western culture is all about the ego identity of men who have not grown up to face the consequences of their actions, to the point today that corporate law affords great degrees of freedom from personal liability and responsibility. The stinging memory of the loss of power and self-importance, and the desires for attaining and exercising male dominance and control, both

arise from the fall from grace that the old metaphor suggests are common to human beings (at least in the west). Indigenous societies have answers to these problems, and for the most part these are called traditional laws and customs that govern human action within strict protocols of respect and the importance of humility. Survival in the bush does not allow ego to inflate too far. Relying on family and tribe to survive requires putting the self aside, and the family comes first. No doubt conflicts arise, but the traditional culture places strong sanctions on right action (Clark 2000).

To extend the metaphor, for the black artist, being bitten by the white fellow's bad medicine serpent of hegemonic masculinity and then later realising that white men can paint with a sense of freedom must have seemed irresistible as a potential pathway to personal freedom. This was for the artist a way of transforming his life from the margins to the mainstream by conforming to the traditional principles of white society. But at the same time, he was forced to learn the very troubling lessons that the serpent in the garden of Eden carried its own cost. By allowing the ego identity of white heritage and culture to arise without sanctions and now separated from the contexts of traditional cultural values, the artist risked his very sanity, and for the most part, he lost that battle, and in a symbolic way then, that challenge of finding our identity as Aboriginal men in a balanced way between traditional culture and mainstream lifestyle was passed on to future generations.

Likewise, White (2000) notes that Albert's watercolours gave him a way out of his extreme poverty and abuse. Albert expressed his love for his country through the white man's genre of seeing country, place and people. Albert became focused on selling his paintings and earning money so that he could buy his family and extended family nice things. He internalised the white mainstream desires by wanting to build himself a nice home. He shared a sense of masculine place and identity as he earned money with his friend and agent Battarbee, and Albert experienced the fast growing interest and record sell-outs of his paintings in his solo exhibitions. He achieved fame and won the acclimation of white society, subjecting him to three documentaries. He was the first Indigenous person to be presented to the Queen in 1954 on her royal tour. But hegemonic masculinity imposes limitations just as it opens up distinct opportunities for young men whose dreams are very often larger than the social ethos of men will allow. Thus, the author disclosed that Albert never got his home, well, not the one he wanted.

Albert was denied and refused the right to build in Alice Springs. He also experienced the refusal of a pastoral lease. Albert also needed permission from the welfare department even to leave the Northern Territory. It was in 1957 that Albert Namatjira was given citizenship, and this was a decade before Indigenous people were granted civil rights. This right was not extended to his family. This was the first time that Albert felt embittered by the treatment of

white society towards himself and his family, and later this and related conflicts led him to the grog.

Brady (2008) states the famous artist was a victim of histories of messy restrictions and blatant discriminations. The author notes that these were very heavy responsibilities to carry, because by becoming a citizen of Australia was effectively to deny ever being Aboriginal. These tensions would have driven the strongest man to the drink. But to have the right to drink in the first instance was a man's right in white society, a right that was during those times denied to Aboriginal people who were not allowed into white bars or hotels.

White (2000) also states that at this stage in Albert's life he began to drink, and at the same time he had obligations to his community through his kinship ties that meant that he had to share everything with his Indigenous families, including the grog. It may be difficult for other cultures to understand, but in Aboriginal ways, sharing what you have with your family is basic to the culture and there are no divisions as clearly defined by nuclear family structures as have evolved in the western world during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Within Aboriginal culture cousins are also a part of the kinship identity, and the elderly stay in the family home, and require support from children and grandchildren as well as having a direct role in child rearing (Atkinson 2002). Albert had always shared everything that he had with his 'mob.' For example,

the money from his extensive sales never lasted long due to the extended family traditions. The liquor that was brought to the camp of Morris Soak fast became popular, being so prohibited to Indigenous people of the time. Brady (2008) notes that Albert sponsored the parties in which Indigenous people enjoyed the free flow of flagons and fine wine, and it became common knowledge that the drink led to social upheaval including assaults that were happening in the community.

As White (2000) continues to note, during a drunken rage in 1958, a woman was killed by her partner and as a result Albert was informed by the Coroner that he would be jailed for six months if he was found to be the one supplying liquor to his community. He was later charged with leaving a bottle of alcohol where one of his community people could find it. He was sentenced to the Alice Springs jail. He had to serve his time there in Papunya even though he had appealed the sentence. Namatjira by this time had become a broken man, and he died in Papunya two months after being released from jail.

In later years, Albert was seen as a person who had lost his connection with his Indigenous background, and he had not really become a member of white society either. What can be seen on the surface as a stereotypical form of ‘white narrative tragedy’ too often deployed against black Australians is underneath a much more insidious tale of the demise of a man due the constraints and uncontrollable desires brought about by hegemonic racist colonial masculinity

still dominant in the west and closely linked to contemporary expressions of male and female identity in Australia (Pease 2004). Part of this pressure from the dominant system of values is how Albert's works fell under the scrutiny of 'experts,' who happened to be white Euro-Australian men. For example, Hans Haysen and Professor Joseph Burke of the State Gallery in Victoria (White 2000).

Likewise, Burke (cited in White 2000) noted that Namatjira's limited and constricted freedom to paint relied on painting the same Euro-Australian thematic scenes over and over again in different accounts. While the mainstream art world saw this as unimpressive, such as Burke, who called these reproductions 'pot boilers,' from an Aboriginal perspective many tasks learned in the bush require repetition and develop precision through practice. Thus Albert's discipline may have contained unacknowledged and even subconscious cultural meanings that have not yet been honoured by the mainstream critics. The author also suggests that with the standard double-bind placed on Aboriginal artists who on one hand are allowed to paint but on the other hand must paint what the dominant buying public wishes to support (whether that is European themes or "traditional" Aboriginal themes and content), many white critics have suggested a regret that Namatjira did not utilise his own heritage symbolism, even though that type of work was not in demand by the white buying public of the time.

With these insights it is worth noting that Aboriginal artists are not necessarily being any more true to their own cultural heritage and Dreaming by painting and reproducing “traditional” scenes for the white buying public in Australia and overseas (Bowers 2010). Just like in any genre of artistic work, to a certain degree artists struggle with the issues of selling their works verses selling out their inherent values. There can thus be just as many inner conflicts of value in reproducing a “traditional” scene as there may be with reproducing a “traditional” European type image as both tend to be driven by economics and quite a thick degree of stereotypes and assumptions (Martin 2003).

Thus we can see that Namatjira really did not have much choice to paint as he wanted to, and in many ways he did not have the greater sense of freedom that some Indigenous painters have today (Wells 2000). Namatjira not only had to speak English to be embraced by white society, we stress that he also needed to develop a style of painting that enabled him to create an income for himself and his family. The pressure this created for him may have been extreme, given his arising from a context of ward of the state, in which his family and tribe was still cast. Making an income in the dominant western system would have been a foreign language and set of values for the artist.

As Meade et al (2008) suggests, even under these circumstances art is a way of communicating a culture’s history, traditions, fears, beliefs, values, and attitudes. Many cultures and individuals within them have created works of art

that have stood the tests of time, and preserved a cultural history for generations to enjoy and to reflect on the meaning of their heritage. In such a way, Albert's work is available today for critical and social reflection on the history of art within Australia which has been so heavily influenced by the hegemony of colonial invasion-settler culture which in many ways reproduced the patriarchal dominance within European cultures. Art not only provides a medium for the communication of information between people and across societies, art also communicates information across time. As such, Smith (2008, cited in Meade et al 2008 p.5) notes that the artist Joseph Beuys once said,

All human knowledge comes from art; the concept of science has evolved from creativity. And so it is that the artist alone is responsible for historical awareness; what counts is experiencing the creative factor in history. History must consequently be seen sculpturally. History is sculpture.

In many ways, we acknowledge that all human societies were and in some ways and continue to be 'indigenous' in how they stay close to their living ecology and in how they honour and protect their environment. This definition of the small "i" indigenous does not take anything away from the unique socio-political and historical reality of Aboriginal custodial ownership of the lands that belong even now to the Peoples of Australia whose occupation of these territories may be disputed by white-man's laws, but whose ethical, moral and

ancient legal status in Traditional Law cannot be denied by any person of good conscience. Art for Indigenous people in my tradition is an expression of the Land Herself, of Her Dreaming, and this creative energy is just as Present today as for the Ancestors.

### **Indigenous Art and the Environment**

Smith (2008) acknowledges that Indigenous art and the environment are connected. It is truly an amazing connection, which from my Aboriginal stance may not be adequately understood through the discourse of the academe and the formal art critic universe of mainstream rhetoric. In a sense, while the author suggests that Indigenous art is ‘concreted’ in the Australian landscape through expressions of rock art painting, the deeper cultural stance from my traditional knowledge suggests that the art arises from deeply respected spiritual Traditions and Ceremonies that convey the religious and cultural significance of a People’s cosmology and how this translates into the everyday familial practices of the culture including our responsibilities to carry our Songlines within the Dreaming as it was in certain ways depicted in the rock art of the People. There is little doubt that Indigenous art has a vast history, which has been discovered in analysis of rock art from the European gaze.

For example, Meade et al (2008) notes that there is archaeological evidence based in rock art studies that groups of Indigenous people may have resided and lived in Australia from some 60,000 years ago. Several sites where Indigenous

art has been found have been proven to be as old as 50,000 years. Chaloupka (1993, cited in Meade et al 2008) suggests that there are many other forms of traditional Indigenous art such as body painting, sand and wood work, and bark painting, which was also developed in the Indigenous tribes of Australia. Confirming from an external voice, Morphy and Boles (1999, cited in Meade et al 2008) note that Indigenous people also used art as a form that gives meaning to their existence and the creative powers of the universe.

Meade et al (2008) note that Indigenous people of Australia use art and different materials to address issues of the changing perceptions of the environment and land, as well as how the influence of urbanization of Australia has changed our relationship with the land through the impact of Europeans. Morphy and Boles (1999, cited in Meade et al 2008) states that one of the most prominent and modern Indigenous artists was Albert Namatjira, and the author states that he became the ‘forerunner,’ informing white Australians about the deeply embedded spirituality of the Indigenous people and their connection of the land.

The irony in this role as forerunner is apparent when we realise that the painter was in many respects forced by his colonial circumstances to paint in the ‘European style,’ and as such, he must have struggled a great deal in either trying to convey Aboriginal culture to the masses and/or to conceal and protect Aboriginal Sacred Traditions and the Dreaming from the consumptive and crass gaze of Euro-Australians. Confirming these notions, Williams (2006, cited in

Meade et al 2008) note that this Sacred Wisdom and Tradition within Aboriginal culture was passed down from Namatjira's elders, and in some ways this was imparted to others and the wider communities throughout Australia through his works, in spite of the constraints he worked under. In these ways, as an Aboriginal Spirit, Albert could not help but reflect in some ways his spiritual and cultural impressions of the Australian landscapes and scenery which also passed on the deep spiritual connection of his culture. It is fascinating and an honour to Aboriginal culture as well that in many respects Albert's impressions of the Australian environment had a significant impact on how Australians related to their surroundings, and how their evolving sense of identity as a new settler nation came to evolve (Williams 2006, cited in Meade et al 2008).

Even though Indigenous art provided an insight into Indigenous culture and environment, as Philp (2007) notes, Indigenous art was not really embraced until the 1980's, and it has taken many years to be embraced by Australian public galleries. In spite of the factors related to racist resistance of Indigenous values and the misunderstanding common within Anglo Saxon cultures that has been transplanted to countries like America, Canada, and Australia, the author states that contemporary art historians like Ian McLean have seen the 1920's and 1930's interests of people like Margaret Preston in Indigenous art as providing the source for a distinctive and unique Australian identity. This identity, even if we might critique it for being a form a mass assimilation of Aboriginal themes that are deployed by the dominant system for economic and

cultural gain, has become the background and inspiration for a new, modern and exciting national identity.

Likewise, Philp (2007 p.52) notes that the historical analysis suggests that the upsurge of Indigenous artworks within the mainstream consumptive culture created a unique nationalism even by the 1940's. This was a time when in spite of the First World War, Australia enjoyed an independence from Britain. The white Australian culture took Australian 'nativism and transformed it into a distinct anti-imperial Indigenous consciousness.' In this context, we might ask the word 'Indigenous' to be placed in quotation marks. Quite ironic that an emerging colonial invader-settler state would use Aboriginal art themes to convey a distinct identity separate from the 'Mother Land' while at the same time abuse the Indigenous child while keeping her hidden away in a concentration camp environment and under, for all intents and purposes, a form of apartheid and in too many respects, outright forms of martial law and siege warfare. Indeed, ironic from just about any point of view. But here again, this analysis suggests just as insidious the hegemony of male imperial cultural has been and continues to be, a point that is perhaps highlighted by Aboriginal affairs in this nation state.

Likewise, as an Aboriginal Australian I cannot help but sense the ways in which my Indigenous heritage and the wealth of philosophy and values that arise from this deep historical and ecological cultural way of being have slowly, and ever

so hesitantly come forward to influence and suggest changes to the very crisis of identity that the white settler invaders brought with them to this country. They were and still are, for all intents and purposes, a lost race of human beings without roots in any country, lost in their values and lost in their approach to themselves. They dishonour their own spirits at almost every turn, and do not even realise what they are doing. They continue to dominant my people and themselves, and they support a system of law and economy that nearly none of them are happy with except a rare minority who have managed to manipulate that system to their own ends. We might think about the national anthem, 'Australians, oh let us rejoice, for we are young and free.' This youthful spirit while strong and reliant is also fairly inexperienced and without regard for the ways that the new nation impacts negatively on people and the environment. This 'outback' spirit typifies male hegemony in the colonial project, and is cast as a laughable stereotype in the image of Crocodile Dundee.

As much as the Australian iconography has evolved, the first impressions of cultural encounters are long lasting. For instance, it is helpful to also note that the historian Russel Ward's 1958 depiction was that of an 'outback philosophy' based on the 'nomadic tribes of Indigenous people,' as incorrectly understood at the time (Philp 2007). These stereotypical images incorporated Indigenous people into the new national legend and created the opportunity for an appreciation of Indigenous art and culture. Similar tactics were deployed within North America where stereotypical images of Indian tribal warfare depicted

Aboriginal regalia against the frontier clothing of white men, often shown in classic scenes of skirmish with the Indian using bow and arrow and the white man using guns (Bowers 2010). At the same time as the images showed the Indian as inferior and dominated by the white hegemonic man, they also conveyed a strong cultural spirituality by how the Indian was depicted as living close to the land, an ethic that informed both American and Canadian national identities (Philp 2007).

Philp (2007) further suggests that the historian Ward underestimated the character of Indigenous art and culture and as such was criticised, but it should have been noted that his book 'The Australian Legend' was not planned as an Australian history book. Only later was the text used to uncover the exploration of the myths of the Australian bush, myths that incorporated very strong (and misguided) white mythology about Indigenous people and their culture. As such, we see that it soon became quite fashionable during the 1950's and 1960's to lift pictorial versions and print reproductions of Albert Namatjira's artworks, used by white designers on platters, teacups, cookie tins and domestic crafts (Philp 2007). The same phenomenon occurred overseas in North America, where rarefied versions of Indian culture were also exploited for mass consumption (Philp 2007). At the same time, we note that Albert Namatjira's artworks were also assimilated into white cultural beliefs, values and understanding of Indigenous Australia. Too late, this indeed brought celebrity status to this Indigenous Australian.

Tempering the reality, Philp (2007) notes that in spite of this assimilative process there was little or no understanding among the masses of the deep relationships that Albert held with the land and the country in which he painted. The only real acceptance of Indigenous art was that of the limited Indigenous art that was produced for souvenirs. White Australians received no education on the Indigenous symbolism, and showed no real interest to embrace the relationships conveyed in Indigenous art, even when the art expression was traditional or contemporary. White Australians remained ignorant to the culture wealth of the Aboriginal nations of this land. To sweeten the irony, Namatjira was seen to be a ‘mere copier’ of an already outdated European style of painting landscapes. He was not seen as authentic. He was felt by many mainstream critics to be a fake as both an Indigenous artist and as a European artist. Philp (2007) states that Indigenous art to be recognised as being authentic had to be “traditional” and preferably arise from iconography and meaning that can be traced to before European contact. Thus, on all counts, Namatjira’s artwork was seen to be inferior when compared with the western art traditions. As Philp (2007 p. 53) states, there was an

‘...ignorance of the complexity of [Indigenous] art and its close relationship with land combined with the lack of understanding of the ceremonial and ephemeral character of some Indigenous artistic practices. Yet [Indigenous] art was beginning to be seen by white

society as a distinctive indicator of Australian-ness, marking the nation as independent...’

This slow process of change helped Indigenous people to become active in creating recognition that indirectly led to Indigenous people gaining more rights to co-exist with white Australia. This misunderstanding also applied to what English-speaking people call the Dreaming (Roque 2006). In Arrernte tradition it is called ‘Altjerre’ and in the Western Desert language it is called ‘Tjukurrpa,’ or the ‘Warlpiri, Jukurrpa.’ Tjukurrpa, or the Dreaming is perhaps the most misunderstood, one of the spiritual truths ignored, yet one of the most beautiful, mysterious and exploited, and one of the most obliterated phenomena in this country. If we come to an understanding of the misinterpretation of Australian Indigenous Dreaming, we will come to a better understanding of the challenges that Namatjira experienced through white assimilation policies and practices, forcing him to give up his customs, traditions, and his Dreaming, within his painting, which represented his way of life.

We note that the Dreaming or Tjukurrpa is sewn into the Australian landscapes, sown as seeds in the minds of the People a long time ago (Roque 2006a). The author notes that Bob Randall, an Indigenous health professional at Uluru, described the Dreaming, the Tjukurrpa, as the belief of creation and the laws that were laid down during the creation. These cultural laws and rules were handed down through ceremonies. They were passed down to generation after

generation. Bob explained that this is his responsibility, the Dreaming, Tjukurrpa, in our words is the creation, our laws, our religion. The key importance of this related to the past two hundred years of the colonial encounter with invader settlers rests with the closeness of the Traditional cultural values to responsibility and care for the ecology of the People within their environment – in stark contrast to the disconnected and forgotten ecological justice which once existed in the tribes of Europe but was eroded through centuries of changes, not the least of which was the industrial revolution and how these changes are equated with “progress” in the white settler-invader mind. As Randall (2003, cited in Roque 2006b p 152) notes that Bob Randall says,

‘You look at the past, it is part of the present, and will still be there in the future. It is what non-Aboriginal people refer to as “the dream time”, but it is real. This is Tjukurrpa [patting and holding a rock embedded in a hillside]. This is not just a rock, only a rock, it is my link to Tjukurrpa, and all the stories are in this... you realise [this rock] it’s the Tjukurrpa. I have to care for my country, and in caring for my county you have to know its stories and totemic ancestral beings are associated with that. It’s important. And if anything that happened, that was for you to know, to pass on to your kids... My father said this. My boy, look! Your Dreaming is

there; it is a big thing; you never let it go [pass it by]. All Dreamings [totemic entities] come from there.’

### **White Fella Dreaming?**

It is important to realise that from an Indigenous Australian perspective, many of the underlying issues and problems with hegemonic cultures of masculinity and colonialism, imperialism, and intellectualism arise because of underlying psycho-spiritual poverty within white societies. This central theme runs through this thesis with a powerful precision, and this reflection is rooted within an Aboriginal voice that reflects on the contexts and encounters between our mob and the white fella mob.

To further illustrate and render this theme more clearly conveyed, we note how Albert Namatjira had to embrace the white cultural ethos and how this caused him harm. In effect, the famous Aboriginal artist had to confront the bad-dreaming of the white-fella even to the extreme of embracing the ‘sweat substance’ of Alcohol or ‘parma,’ meaning sugar, as some Indigenous people call it. Of significance, what has become a bad-dreaming within the white cultures of European invader-settler nations, from a traditional Indigenous perspective, arises from the Dreaming of another People – the Europeans.

To further illustrate, Roque (2006a p. 153) notes a story by Andrew Japaljarri Spencer in 1990, who was a worker with the Healthy Aboriginal Life Team, a prevention team for petrol sniffing that was based in Alice Springs. One day the team with whom Japaljarri worked were sitting with participants in the community and they happened to be looking at a painting by Japaljarri's mother. The painting showed a fine symmetrical dot design which was about the Sugar Ant Ceremony. Japaljarri is noted as saying, 'The sugar ant belongs in the category of parma, or sweat substance.' As such, alcohol is categorised as parma. Sugar or parma is an important substance in desert life and is highly sought after. Indigenous people who live in the desert need sugar, which is used in life sustaining activities, and in the arid lands sugar is hard to come by, but in the convenience store Alcohol is cheaper than sugar, and this was viewed as a great problem. Roque (2006b p153) notes that Japaljarri sends a strong message to the white-man,

'This painting [is] about parma, sugar, sugar ant. Different from honey ant. It is like a fly. We have the song for this, for parma and for strengthening parma. We haven't got the song to send white man's parma [sugar] away. We can't get rid of this one. We can only strengthen the good parma. The songs for the petrol and alcohol must come from the white man; or we must dream new ones. You, the white people, have lost your Dreaming. Maybe you don't know the songs of alcohol and petrol. You have to learn to

[reconnect to] you songs, your white-fellah Tjukurrpa. To turn to us, to me [i.e., to Aboriginal people] for the [alcohol and petrol dreaming] songs is too much.’

The significance of the both the spiritual and cultural analysis of Japaljarri should not be underestimated. As both a health professional and as a traditional man, his insight bears careful consideration. With a more thoughtful analysis of European traditions we note that alcohol was in part defined by the Celtic nations of northern and coastal Europe. While not the focus of this study, we note for utility sake that alcohol is used within the Christian traditions of Europe as a ‘sacred nectar’ within the Christian Mass. Likewise, in pre-Christian Goddess traditions across Europe alcohol was used as a sacred offering within the sacred circles of the various traditions (Eisler 1995). It is not difficult to consider that these traditions very likely relate to an older and deeper cultural identity and wisdom, associated with a form of ‘dreaming,’ just as various substances are directly known to be sacred within the Aboriginal traditions of Australia where that Dreaming is still consciously known, protected, and passed on within the culture today. Incidentally, during conversations with an elder monk from Ireland who was living in Canada during one of our visits, and who had dedicated his life to researching and living in the Celtic monastic and Druidic traditions, we asked him about the nature of alcohol, to which he suggested that the substance is not the terrible thing people make it out to be,

and that native people have grossly misunderstood alcohol because indeed, ‘it is a form of medicine’ (Brother Aelred, 2010).

Likewise, we note that an increasing acknowledgement of the importance of cultural competence within the health and helping fields (Bowers and Warren 2010) is based on the premise that spiritually and culturally grounded insights related to issues of substance abuse and other problems are critically important to understand (Duran and Duran 1995). Part of this insight was further explained by the Aboriginal psychologist Duran (2006) in his disclosure of American Indian beliefs, values and spiritual traditions associated with healing the soul wound that was impacted upon Aboriginal people in North America. A large part of his discussion suggests that the ‘spirits’ of alcohol and other substances that arise within the European traditions must be correctly understood from a spiritual and cultural perspective, and approached as such within an Indigenous sensitivity and appreciation for confronting spiritual and energetic phenomena.

Going back to our quote taken from the Australian Aboriginal context, Roque (2006b p.153) notes that Japaljarri asked straight out,

‘Do Kardia [white people] have the Tjukurrpa [Dreaming/Songline] for parma?’ I exchange glances with Petchkovsky, my companion in this conversation. We nod to each

other. I say, “Yes.” [Japaljarri] says, ‘Well, maybe you’d better go and get it. That’s your responsibility.’ I nod, ‘Alright, Japaljarri.’

Somehow, there needs to be a meeting between the European dream and the Australian Indigenous Dreaming, perhaps leading to the recovery of both cultures. As Roque (2006b) states, the prevailing conditions of European culture were steeped in a trans-generational pain and hardness of heart and action that was formed, no doubt in the mental disturbances and prior cultural upheavals that were arising within the social, economic, and political crisis of the European people before they even came to Australia. When they arrived during the periods of settlement, they brought with them their discontent and their mistreatment of their own ‘dreaming’ or sacred traditions. They had, in effect, lost respect for their cultural heritage and they sought to externalise their discontent and project their hardships upon another race of people they labelled as savage and primitive. This is a very important point to consider which arises across the ‘postmodern’ analysis of the crisis of identity within mainstream societies (Fekete 1987, Fox 1994, Sarup 1996), and we also note that this psychic pain is observed in the white society and is still felt and seen by Indigenous people of Australia as we continue to struggle with the denial and lack of self-awareness of our mainstream white brothers and sisters.

Albert Namatjira would have found assimilating to the European ways of living and the value system extremely difficult to embrace. Albert became a part of the mental disturbances that Europeans enforced upon the Indigenous peoples of Australia. Roque (2006a p 3-4) states that,

‘The detail of that psychic impact is still crude, the nature of the trauma and resilience systems produced has not been carefully considered in any specific detail by psychoanalysts – except perhaps by four or five of whom some are already marginalised as Jungian practitioners... And have we not a theoretical and methodological challenge to meet ‘at home’, not as handmaidens of the European psyche, nor as worker bees for the North Americans, but as therapists within an active Australian national condition, diagnosticians of a psychic problem of our own making?’

The author also notes that while ‘reading the entrails of Australia,’ the question is raised regarding the pain that we have found here in Australia. Was it here or did we, the European, create it? The author suggests that the brief two hundred year history of Australia as an imposed and imposter nation state reveals a ceaseless progression of abuses, uses, misuses, and misdeeds against the land and people, generating an enormous and immediate psychic trauma that lives within this great land and the spaces of a land that was set on the European map

for discovery, invasion, exploration, and settlement. But at what cost to the children of this race of invaders? And at what cost to the children of this land? My elders say this is the land of the Black Swan whose image we see in the constellation that White fellah call the Southern Cross. This suggests that the land and stars reach out to us for healing within relationships of respect.

Taking the argument further, from an ‘outsider’ cultural analysis of European history in Australia we can see that Albert Namatjira found himself in a new land defined by the European Dream. This ‘dreaming’ involved forms of assimilation but also of initiation and training into the values, ethos, and behaviours of the white men of society. Albert had to become a member of the white man’s world through being assimilated and giving up the traditional ways of his Dreaming, much like a young boy gives up his childhood ways to become a man within Indigenous traditions. But here, in the white hegemonic male world, the tradition is no longer a cultural or spiritual form of respect and learning journey. Rather, it has become in the invader-settler culture a form of mutually agreed disrespect, abuse and power based in men’s ego and will to control others including their intimate kin. Men of the era controlled their women, children and elders in ways that were horrifying to Aboriginal nations. These energies of hegemony translate today into individualism, corporate dominance, and ecological misuse of land and natural resources in spite of the best science and the highest intentions of landowners and farmers to prevent ecological disasters as happen when multinational corporations are given free

access to mining and other destructive practices in efforts to bolster an already terminal use of fossil fuels. As Dr Daniel Paul says in his historical account of the collision between European and Native cultures of Eastern Canada, ‘we were not the savages’ (Paul 2006). Inherent in this analysis is how projection speaks more to the one who names another savage, and in the long run of history, we note that it took over 600 years for a book to be published that clearly put the ball back in its rightful park.

In other words, the Mi’kmaq of Eastern Canada may have seen this wisdom 600 years ago, but due to their cultural respect and values of humility as well as due to being under siege for centuries, they have not come forward in this way to name the game until recently. For the most part, Aboriginal people must choose carefully how to articulate these insights in a world where they are largely unwelcome. In a very similar way, Aboriginal artists must choose within the limitations that white society will allow. By painting the ‘polite’ pictures of the dominant class, in a way in which Europeans could accept that art as ‘pleasing’ to their taste, an Indigenous artist can effectively become a slave to the public gaze of the consumer culture of the settlers. Roque (2006a p.5) notes that, Marion Milner described Indigenous existence so well she expressed this in her distinctive

‘...case history of Australia [that] could fall into an Indigenous people who are disturbed, falling into and out of the hands of a

living land and feeling an interchangeable overwhelming feeling of living and than being dead to self, belonging, then – not belonging, displaced and then... having a feeling of place. A borderland... type of dwelling, uncomfortable, irritable, [and] ugly and yet with enough prosperity to make it all seem comfortable, sane and responsible.’

It is with no wonder that the famous painter found himself ‘on the grog’ of the white fellah’s dream-gone-off the rails. It is also helpful to understand that in some ways, albeit not all ways, the ‘bad dream’ carried by the European-Australian invader-settler families was transferred to Aboriginal Australian families without any of the older nor forgotten Sacred Ceremonies that might honour and protect the use of such fiery substances as alcohol. Likewise, that during the history of the European people themselves that something went wrong in the pattern of cultural transmission that had them lose their own sacred and soulful meaning, their tradition, and their respect for the earth. In the contemporary world, as we fight for ecological sustainability the mainstream psyche must also be confronted and begin to heal from these generations of abuse, otherwise the dreams of the green movement in today’s context may never be realised and will continue to be sabotaged by the demons of the past.

## Conclusion

In recognising the past history of Australia we realise that Indigenous people had to embrace dominant cultural value systems, and that the European word for this process was assimilation. We note that in this context to assimilate means to take a substance into a body, and that the substance becomes a part of that body in biochemical and material ways. Cultural assimilation requires emotional, psychological, social and spiritual transformations that make one culture a part of another. However, a dual system of assimilative dialogue has never really occurred in Australia. Even while Aboriginal people and even nations and many communities have invited authentic and respectful dialogue, we are still waiting for the white fellah to wake up enough for us to sit under the gums and have a yarn. Effectively, to engage in intercultural dialogue both peoples must meet half way, and by all analysis most of the effort of change seems to be on the side of minority people who are more or less forced into living within the dominant economy and the bad-landscapes of Australia. We Aboriginal people are becoming bi-cultural. But cultural competence among the white population is a distant dream – and perhaps is also part of our Singing the White fellah back into health and balance with our Sacred Land.

This policy of assimilation was, more to the point, one where ideologies were forced onto the Indigenous population of Australia. Indigenous people who embraced the assimilation policy like Albert Namatjira were seen no longer as a ward of the state. Again, subject to the economy and bad-dreaming of a society

who presumed to have the best way forward for all, but this assimilation policy created difficulty for Indigenous people. They become a people of two worlds. They could not take in this bad-dreaming without causing harm to self, to family, and to the Land and the Dream. Indigenous people were subjected to racial violence, which was in fact initiated by European intrusion from 1872. In Alice Springs and surrounding areas all experienced Indigenous Massacres. The assault has continued in the form of social and political policies to this day.

The haunting reality of bad-dreaming and bad-ceremony that appears almost metaphorically demonic, but that speaks of the psychic unrest and discontent within the invader-settler families that comprise the mainstream nation. Indigenous people continue to be used in many ways including via promoting the future of tourism and international Australian art. The European culture has not really embraced Indigenous culture and art in its full richness, and instead is seen as a way of selling Australia as unique and gaining Australia's 'identity' in the wider and largely Euro-centric western world.

And yet, our experience of teaching over many years suggests that younger generations in mainstream Australia today are perhaps seeking desperately for an identity that could be free from the blood-stains of colonisation, and that would celebrate and support Indigenous rights. We contrast this contemporary vision for this country with that skewed history that is covered over by the museums depicting Indigenous people from a European glance. Australia has

stories that are missing. But these stories are important for all people of this new nation, and ought to be told by Indigenous voices and supported by Aboriginal curators.

Albert Namatjira stands within this holistic analysis through demonstrating for us Indigenous mob how we can both take up some of the stuff of mainstream culture, but also be careful and beware of the bad-dreaming of that same worldview. The fact that Albert is part of our wider Aboriginal family makes us proud for him. In some ways, he has become a type of martyr who, much like our grandparents and great grandparents, were killed by the bad-dreaming of the invader families. The fact that he was killed by the grog, and killed by the white fellah's law, does not matter so much as the power of his Spirit to rise above that bad-dreaming and be recaptured by the Black Swan that governs this Land.

He speaks to us through his Spirit and his Art, that our people have a unique way of utilising different materials in nature to create wonderful pieces of artwork. Even when Albert's work focused mainly on the European style and incorporated this style of painting into creating landscapes of the country he loved so much, we Aboriginal mob respect what he did for us.

It all became so overwhelming for Albert, and when he was no longer a ward of the state, he was able to participate in all the white trimmings of life that included drinking. Many of our mob have gone down that road. We cannot hold

that against him. This dark path created difficulties for Albert as he had a Traditional Law he had to abide by. This Law involved many teachings, and was one where he had to share everything with his mob, his clan, that meaning he had to share the drink also. He was challenged by his traditional ways of knowing and being, and as much as we can today, we need to understand the Indigenous Dreaming. If we come to understand the Tjukurrpa, Dreaming, we will come to a better understanding the challenges that Namatjira experienced giving up his customs, traditions, and his Dreaming, including his traditional painting which represented his way of life.

In the next chapter we will explore the ways that two contemporary Aboriginal artists are approaching these issues, including how they are facing the challenges of hegemonic masculinity, the challenges imposed by colonisation as well as in how they are taking up a post-colonial analysis in their work, and the issues associated with celebrating an Indigenous male identity in today's world.

**Chapter Six:**  
**Dreaming Young Men:**  
**Canadian Indian and Australian Aboriginal**  
**narratives**

The foregoing chapters examined colonial Australian history, hegemonic masculinity, and Aboriginal art as well as art-as-therapeutic-method in the context of art analysis and cultural transmission. In light of these combined emphasis, the methods undertaken focused through the use of an Indigenous art-speak, narrative and (auto)-ethnographic approach. These methods have been used in the prior chapter on Albert Namatjira's life and works, albeit the emphasis of that chapter was not on an (auto)-ethnographic narrative per se, but nonetheless, our Indigenous perspective clearly came forward and suggested an ethnographic stance from within our culture. The current chapter will foreground the (auto)-ethnographic voice while bringing together the methods in analysis of two contemporary Indigenous artists.

To accomplish these goals, the choice was made to use the principle derived from ‘theoretical sampling’ (Minichiello et al 2008) which encouraged us to choose three Aboriginal male artists with very different, distinct, and significant narratives in the context of the major themes of this thesis. The first was Albert Namatjira, who represented the elder Aboriginal man, the historical man, and the man who was very much subject to the colonial gaze through his painting and as the colonial impacted upon his life, health and eventual demise. The second man we will look at is Dr Kisiku Saq’awei Paq’tism Randolph Bowers, who is a contemporary Canadian Indian from the Mi’kmaq First Nation in Eastern Canada. Dr Bowers represents the mid-life Aboriginal Canadian man, the contemporary man, a new citizen of Australia, and the man who stands in today’s world with experience and knowledge of colonisation histories in two countries, and whose scholarship and art speaks about a intercultural dialogue between mainstream Euro-Canadian, Australian, and western theories as well as tabling what may be understood as original contributions to the literature from a distinctly Aboriginal voice.

By tabling Dr Bowers life and work we also seek to have a contrasting and complementary analysis that includes the colonial and post-colonial contexts of another country, namely that of the Mi’kmaq First Nation and of the nation state of Canada. The third man under analysis is myself, Dwayne Wannamarra Wyndier Kennedy, as a contemporary Australian Aboriginal man of Waradjuri and Kamilaroi heritage who has engaged with the challenges of teaching and

learning within the mainstream educational systems of Australia, as well as in gaining clinical expertise in counselling and art-therapy for healing from Indigenous and mainstream perspectives.

These three men represent a wide spectrum of identity, place, and country. We together speak about the nature of post-colonial discourse, which needs to be grounded in the life narratives of Aboriginal men, who need to speak directly to the fractured history, to the abusive hegemony of male European ways, and to the increasingly important role that Aboriginal art-speak must play in future Aboriginal works that foreground an Indigenous voice within Australian and international Aboriginal projects. These works are so important precisely because they meet a need identified within the prior chapters – namely, and with kind regard, for the psychopathologies and hardships as well as crisis of identity occurring within the western world.

### **Canadian Indigenous Scholar**

Dr Kisiku Saq'awei Paq'tism Randolph Bowers, grew up in Mi'kma'ki, the traditional name for the territory occupied by the Mi'kmaq First Nation of Eastern Canada (Bowers 2010a). This territory spans all of present day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Eastern Quebec, and the northern half the State of Maine in the USA. The Mi'kmaq Nation is itself a confederacy of tribes, which make up the overall region, under distinct tribal leadership, which predates European settlement-invasion. This ancient

confederacy also involved wider political, economic and cultural discourse with neighbouring tribes, which was called the Wabanaki Confederacy, which is an entity that still exists in spite of over 600 years of colonisation, oppression, and systematic attempts at genocide by the British and then Canadian authorities (Paul 2006). The Mi'kmaq Nation still retains their language, although many struggles in this regard have been fought. In Nova Scotia the centre of language rests with only a couple of reservations including the Eskasoni Reservation on Unamaki, or what is known as Cape Breton Island (Bowers 2010a).

Dr Daniel Paul (2006) is a Mi'kmaq historian whose life-work has involved recasting colonial history through an Indigenous perspective. His reliance on the sources is extremely extensive, as the claims that he makes might sound like extremism from his critics. And yet, he has quoted from personal diaries, official and legal correspondence, newspapers and other public documents on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, and his work is widely respected. Dr Paul surveys the history of colonisation in North Eastern North America, the land of the Mi'kmaq People, and unlike Australia this history began during the late medieval period according to documented and oral tradition evidence suggests early northern European expeditions visited the north coast of North America (Paul 2006). The central history began during the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the French made settlements in what they called Acadia, or the 'paradise.' The French were quite different from the later British, and they maintained positive and meaningful relationships of respect with the Mi'kmaq Nation. They married

into native families, and the Mi'kmaq was offered citizenship with France under their King. When the British arrived, they not only wished to expel the French but also subjugate the 'natives.' Their attitude was already well set on racial contamination, and they sought to expel the French in part due to the French interest in marrying into native families. According to the author, over the course of a few centuries the British exercised overt and well-documented systematic attempts at genocide including the use of germ warfare, expulsion from territories, resettlement, and mass murders. They succeeded in largely expelling the French-Mi'kmaq families, and completely displaced many French settlements within the region. Later the British were granted authority over the region by mutual agreement between French and British monarchies. Thereafter, the British sought to consolidate their control and dominance, and quickly established a large military fortress in their new capital city of Halifax, Nova Scotia, which was mainly built as a central defence against the native population, who saw this incursion as a declaration of war and who wished to defend their families and territory against further incursion.

Dr Bowers (2010a) documented his familial native heritage by tabling his genealogy with the Mi'kmaq Resource Centre, at Cape Breton University, in Eastern Canada. This unpublished source shows that his first French Ancestor arrived in Mi'kma'ki during 1652, and subsequently married a native bride. There follows a line of Mi'kmaq and French mixed heritage. At the time of the French expulsion by the British, his family went 'underground' to escape

persecution. Dr Bowers (Bowers 2010a) related the story that one of his great grandfathers, one Charles Richard, refused to leave Mi'kma'ki and Acadia, as they had loved that place as their spiritual home. He hid in the backwoods of New Brunswick, far from the then ability of the British to pursue, as the forests at that time had been still largely uncharted and not explored by the British. After the war when peace was re-established, that grandfather took his family to the North Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia, also far away from the capital city, where he established the community of Charlos Cove as a small French settlement. Dr Bowers' grandmother was the third generation down from this founder, and she carried the heritage to Randolph's father, the late Joseph David Bowers. In many respects, from an Australian Indigenous perspective, this quite condensed narrative history suggests an extremely fractured familial history with many challenges for survival and opportunities for change, much in parallel to what my family has endured over the years.

From a more personal narrative history, Dr Bowers grew up with his mother, father, and two older sisters just outside of the capital city of Halifax, in the county. Schooling was challenging as Randolph found the mainstream environment difficult. He was excluded and isolated from school activities and building friendships with classmates. These feelings of isolation were also peer driven, as he was seen as being different (Bowers 1996). Pond (1998 p. 38) supports this feeling of exclusion and isolation from classmates and peers, if one acts, behaves, or is seen as being different. We note that Randolph attended

public education and that there was no diversity of independent or private schooling in Canada as there is in Australia. But in recent years both Canada and Australia are seeing the establishment of Indigenous schools for native peoples. While Randolph found his early years of education difficult, later he chose to make a difference by taking on formal education at higher levels. He completed a Bachelor degree in Religious Studies and Philosophy from Mount Saint Vincent University. Later he completed a Master of Education in Counselling at Acadia University. His education was steeped in western theory and his knowledge of western history, philosophy and theology.

During the late 1990s, he received a teaching and research scholarship for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, focused in counselling and teaching in counsellor education, in the School of Health, University of New England, in Armidale, NSW, Australia. During 2002 he graduated from that degree and the university hired him on faculty fulltime. He progressed in his work and was promoted to Program Coordinator and Senior Lecturer, and later Senior Lecturer in Indigenous Studies in the School of Humanities at UNE. After over a year of teaching in an Assistant Professor in Education and Indigenous Studies at Cape Breton University in Canada, he then took up a lateral promotion to Senior Lecturer and Program Leader for Counselling at the University of the Sunshine Coast.

Dr Bowers has now completed many journal articles, and contributed to the fields of studies relating to minority issues. Randolph has also contributed to many books including 'The Practice of Counselling' one of the first comprehensive counselling textbooks in Australia (Pelling, Bowers and Armstrong 2009). His academic life has helped him understand and deconstruct many of his own traumatic experiences in education due to the prejudicial influences of schooling being set around European models of learning. As a painter, Randolph's works seek to express a reconnection with his cultural origins and thus expresses a contemporary reflection on traditional Medicine and Dreaming traditions (Bowers 2010). Randolph's life may be in certain respects appear to be unlike that of Albert Namatjira, however, both Indigenous men have felt the impact of colonisation on their lives, cultures, values, beliefs, and attitudes and both have contributed to history in very important ways. Both appear to deal with the reality of being caught between at least two worlds, and both express these challenges through their art, work, and life narrative.

For instance, Namatjira grew up during a period of history in Australia when the conflicting issues of citizenship, rights and status for Aboriginal people were very much unwritten and unresolved. In contrast, Randolph grew up during the late 1960s and 1970s, during which time many of these issues were also being resolved in Canada leading up the historic Canadian accomplishment of bringing home their Constitution from London, and establishing their own rule of law and legislation, under which the Indian Act would sit alongside the

Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Yet at the same time, Randolph's family sits in between the clauses of the Indian Act due to their being "non-status" Indians under the definitions of being Indian according to blood quantum and due to the fractured history of colonisation, dispossession, expulsion, and survival in a largely unrecognised remote location that was not counted at the particular time that the government of the day conducted their census of Indian communities. In similar ways, in Canada many thousands of people identify as non-status Indians (Paul 2006).

This being said, while we have established citizenship for Indigenous people, Australia has yet to address the constitutional rights and status of Aboriginal nations and people in the ways that are now established in Canada that support projects of self-determination such as that in creating a new territory of Nunavut, which is self-governed by the Inuit People in the Northern Circumpolar region of the country. Namatjira would perhaps have dreamed of such freedoms and rights, as many of his generation were given many promises, but virtually none of these promises were fulfilled, including the many hopes and aspirations that surrounded the granting of citizenship in this country (McConaghy 2003).

Likewise, Namatjira did not proceed to gaining higher education and as such did not have the same opportunities as the more current generations. On the other hand, Dr Bowers put himself through several university degrees in higher education and training without any help from government handouts and he

carried debt for many years afterwards. While not being counted as a status Indian, he nonetheless wished to get on with life and to contribute to the advancement of education and social justice. His desire was to assist in helping minority and Indigenous people reclaim their voice through the very act of re-writing and deconstructing the enforced white philosophies that underpin the racist policies of assimilation (Moreton-Robinson 2004). Dr Bowers' scholarship is giving voice to the difficulties that Indigenous people have had to overcome in the past 600 years in Canada, and the last 200 years in Australian history (Bowers 2010). Likewise, his work celebrates an Indigenous awakening as about becoming reconnected to place and to the Medicine Tradition of his People, and to the Dreaming, which they also celebrate in Song and Ceremony.

As I reflect on his work, if we are to reconnect to Sacred Place across cultures, it may be through the process of organising opportunities for Indigenous and mainstream people to be able to come to a deeper understand and knowing of Indigenous ways. It may be by subjecting European cultural norms and white ways of knowing to a new and exciting way of experiencing cultural Indigenous insights through using art as the tool to educate. For example, Place is about reconnecting through articulating Indigenous culture, discourse and the challenging nature of minority identity through artistic expression (Bowers 2010).

## **Postcolonial Practice and Art**

During 8<sup>th</sup> of January to the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 2010, I had the opportunity to organise and assist Dr Bowers in the curatorial work of setting up one of the first public university based exhibitions of Aboriginal paintings from Australia and Canada, hosted by the Cape Breton University Art Gallery (Bowers 2010). The show highlighted the unique opportunity of three Indigenous artists from two countries who have one heart in expressing an Indigenous way of knowing. The exhibition brought together my own works and those of my mother, Elder Grace Kennedy, with Canadian Indigenous scholar Dr Bowers. Perhaps the most important contribution this show made to the discourse of Indigenous studies and art lies in the challenging of notions of 'place' as both sacred and meaningful sites of identity, reconnection with Aboriginality, and of socio-political transformations (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009).

These practices rest within a postcolonial orientation to the central issues of disempowerment verses self-determination that define the landscapes of colonial invasion, settlement and the sustainability of an artificially supported nation state on land that was stolen from Aboriginal nations (Battiste 2004). At the heart of this political and historical debate are Indigenous individuals whose lives speak about the nature of self-empowerment for transformation and awakening to their potentials to live freely and express their work in nearly post-apartheid and postcolonial contexts, although we hesitate to assume these

contexts of freedom actually exist in Australia and other colonial nations where there is still very much work to be accomplished.

For example, Croft (2003 cited in Bowers 2010) notes that it is important to acknowledge Emily Kam Kngwarrey's 1910-1996 Australian artistic journey and career. Kngwarrey's work has existed and extended itself to Indigenous art practice but there has been a lack of comprehension regarding Kngwarrey's work among mainstream art critics in the west. This lack of comprehension has clearly defined the place and lack of place that exists for Indigenous art within colonial and post-colonial practices, cultures and discourses. Likewise, Croft (2003) cited in Bowers (2010 p. 3 paraphrase by Bowers) states that, 'the way in which the mainstream international arts community continues to negate Indigenous artists 'culture, gender, location, and wealth of knowledge that they bring to their work through their life experiences...' Bowers (2010 p. 3) addresses 'the 'international arts community' and speaks,

'...more specifically, realistically, and critically of location so as not to continue in one of the typical problematics of mainstream culture which is to conflate the whole universe and all of the Planet Earth to consist of 'our way or the highway' which, in mainstream practice, discourse and culture is framed-in by an Anglo-European-Colonial worldview which is in fact quite limited in regards to

representation of the intellectual cultural wealth of nations that exists on the Planet.’

Bowers (2010) notes that mainstream opinions and the commentary that they place onto Indigenous art suggests a continued judgment of artistic practice, which is largely restricted to a ‘one world view,’ the colonial constructs of what is known as authenticity, cultural purity and placing of non-Indigenous influences on Indigenous art. This implies that Indigenous artists allow their works to be subjected to and influenced by other cultural or technological versions, thus implying that they are no longer authentic or of value in the eyes of the colonially conditioned views that the mainstream public has embraced. Likewise, Croft (2003) cited in Bowers (2010) suggests that this history of colonial thought places Indigenous artists into an impossible and permanent position of western art commentary and thus is related to the western practice of placing Indigenous people into nice little groups/or placing them into boxes, implying that we should ‘know our place’ and ‘stay put.’

So as the ground-rules were set out for an exhibition, Bowers (2010) reinforced that the exhibition of PLACE was problematic. What he saw as being a show on one level about cultural distinctiveness, the beauty, power, the stories, traditions and the spirituality as reflected in an outward artistic image, which on another level represents Indigenous people moving forward and reclaiming ground. This struggle in fact suggested a deeply troubling political challenge to move away

from the status quo of how Indigenous people have been placed into little boxes. He continued to accentuate that to ‘place’ Indigenous approaches in a prison of the past will render significant contributions to the field of art, culture, scholarship and science irrelevant. We can see in his use of the word ‘place’ as well as by his capitalising the word in certain strategic contexts, that the contradictory and multifaceted political and spiritual meanings of the word are explored, conveyed and that colonial, mainstream and minority assumptions are challenged. He goes on to say (2010, p. 4),

To delimit the PLACE of cultural, linguistic and ecological diversity at a time in history when planetary systems are stretched to the limit of endurance is akin to unconsciously fulfilling a macro-social self-imposed death wish. By doing so, the arts and sciences of mainstream culture are cutting themselves off from what must surely be one of the greatest still existing human and natural resources based in Indigenous ways of knowing.

Not only are mainstream beliefs and values up for challenge, but the very ways that we Aboriginal people have internalised the historical injustices and the status quo of our position within the colonial fabric are intentionally opened up for analysis. The latter is a work that is unique to the ‘place’ of an Indigenous scholar who is able to deconstruct these power relations from within a culturally appropriate perspective. Bowers (2010) notes that it goes without saying that

these practices relegate Indigenous people and their artworks to be second class regime, which formulates their contributions, positiveness and influences into the wider community and world as insignificant and renders Indigenous' voices silent. This is true even when Indigenous scholarship provides an insightful message, energy, vision and purpose, which also speaks to the troubles facing western societies. Likewise, there is much to learn as minority artists and curators when we take the opportunity to engage in critical self-reflection upon the ways that we have internalised these socio-historical and political struggles, as these very personal, familial and cultural realities have impacted our lives in such intimate and powerful ways. In a similar light, Noel (1994), Smith and Gordon (1998 cited in Bowers 2010 p. 4) suggests,

‘It only seems to reason that the last forms of sanctioned prejudice in many western nations rests mainly but not exclusively in race, gender, and sexual difference, and that these forms of backward thinking for many mainstream audiences continue to limit people’s cognitive flexibility and cultural adaptability leading to the growing issues of populations of society tending toward the extremes of fundamentalism, intolerance, violence, and terrorism.’

Perhaps his greatest contribution to scholarship is in the area of minority studies where his works are exploring the intersections between the manifestations of prejudice for different minority populations (Bowers 2007b). He has taken this

discourse much further than the standard and status quo materialism, humanism, and largely empty professional rhetoric promoted by the western public health and education sectors because Dr Bowers has engaged an Indigenous standpoint and applied the principles of Aboriginal cosmology, ontology and epistemology to the central issues of emancipation for our peoples (Lavallée 2009, Wilson 2008, Bowers 2007b). In the specific context of the arts community in Australia, Canada and in other colonial nations, Bowers (2010) notes that it is by no coincidence that Indigenous scholars have been writing and calling out to be heard over the past three decades and that this has been done through the means of using the language of mainstream to speak the power behind an Aboriginal voice. Aboriginal scholars continue to call out to governments, educational systems, as well as social and political institutions because of the deep issues that we Indigenous people face. These issues are all the more relevant to mainstream audiences and systems because they are indicative of a broader social trend that must be spoken about and addressed.

### **Wider Social and Health Contexts**

In the same manner, Bowers has been an advocate for speaking out for Indigenous ways of knowing, culture and wellbeing to be acknowledged within prejudicial health and educational systems. He has been addressing minority issues since he started his formal university education. Bowers (2002 p. 295) states within his doctoral thesis that,

Many minority clients come to therapy with vulnerabilities that require more sensitive treatment than is generally available. In such cases, therapist prejudices may unwittingly contribute to the client feeling isolated.

The author states that prejudice in any form in the counselling space constitutes professional incompetence. These principles can be applied across sectors, as the author states in later works where he details the manifestations and mechanisms of prejudice within social relations (Bowers et al 2010), and in relationship to Aboriginal concerns (Bowers et al 2010), and in the analysis of western religious and cultural practices that impact in negative ways across the fields of health and education practice (Bowers et al 2010). Does this mean that there is a professional incompetence in the art-world? It seems strange that in different sectors of European society there are standards which are upheld but in the same society across other fields those same standards are ignored or overlooked. This means effectively that in regards to cultural competence and ethics of care, Euro-Australian society does not adhere to their own professional guidelines. As Martin, K. (2003, p. 106-107) cited in Bowers (2010)

‘A considerable number of Indigenous scholars, artists, curators, and writers are grounded both in Indigenous knowledge and in western theories and methodologies. Undoubtedly, this combination of approaches will form the foundation for Indigenous

textual territories... We must write both within the context of the mainstream modes of dissemination and within our own communities...’

Bowers (2010) suggests that there needs to be an awareness of the mainstream ideologies that impose bicultural awareness onto a minority without expecting change within the majority. Mainstream people may feel so uncomfortable about the process of Indigenous cultural insights because they have been shown the ‘correct way’ in which to do things, the accepted way, the mainstream way of being. In many ways, mainstream Anglophones are unaware of the prejudice that manifests as privilege, which has them tucked away in a safe cultural room within a so much wider and more diverse human family (Bowers 2010).

Relating a case illustration of his own experience of learning his native tongue, Bowers suggests that even among his astute, politically aware friends, he was asked to tone down his use of his non-English, suggesting that English speakers do feel very uncomfortable when they are only challenged in minor ways with cultural and linguistic difference. The author also reflects on his own cultural awareness of Canada, and how mainstream society has become as comfortable with its notion of two official languages as being French and English. As he reflects upon the Australian culture, he notes that because Australia is mono-linguistic at the formal level, and there is not an official bilingualism, the ‘cosy nature’ of the dominant Anglo-cultural space is even more sheltered. The author

expresses that the more that people become relaxed within the Anglo-linguistic universe that this reinforces the notion that life is cosy and people are much less likely to think in divergent ways. These issues can cause enormous hardship for a whole culture, nation and people by limiting the perceptual field from which the nation gathers insights to face ecological and other threats to their sustainability.

Likewise, we note how the dominate culture impresses its own logic, even when that logic makes no sense, and how the colonial settler walks in slowly or quickly, determines their own terms of engagement, and then works and goes about their lives assuming that all other cultural differences will be naturally assimilated into the dominant and superior logic that makes no sense, and assimilation works with the unwilling and changes life forever. We need to not give up our Dreaming, our Medicines, and we need to Walk the Same Way. We need to be Connected, to our Sacred Culture, to Place, to Land, and to Spirit. This is how we will make a difference.

Speaking of this importance of reconnection, Bowers (2007) stresses that after many years of learning and insight that he has gathered on his path of life, he believes that it is time to give back to community. He was invited to donate his educational and academic works to the Mi'kmaq Resource Centre at Cape Breton University, a repository that is sponsored and set up by the Chiefs of the Mi'kmaq Nation. This was a grand gesture from his own country and

recognised his work as a Mi'kmaq researcher. Bowers (2007 p. 48) notes that his 'heart has always been in the community based work, and over the past several years this focus was sidetracked by the university and institutional concerns. I am grateful for the Resource Centre in their bringing me back to my heart.' This work is represented by a wholistic Indigenous way of bringing his skills, knowledge and understandings as a teacher, spiritual healer and counsellor to minority issues. His skills also are strong in the political and social approaches, so the heart of his overall teaching and learning has been critical social theory (Morrow and Brown 1994), Indigenous standpoint theory (Nakata 2007, 2007a), feminism and queer theory (Seidman 1996). These have been the tools for analysing cultural, historical, and many social issues.

After living in Australia for several years Dr Bowers still holds dear to his Native Land. He has had to reanalyse and reorientate his work and this was accomplished by reclaiming, revisiting and rewriting from an Indigenous standpoint. Reconnecting with culture has been a progression through decolonising the self, and picturing a new way of knowing and writing that seeks to improve the fields of health, education, counselling and related areas. Improving these fields for Indigenous people related to applying analysis to health and educational field while also, the postmodern analysis speaks to the decolonising of Indigenous art. The issues that arise speak to heart of ecological sustainability. Bowers (2010 p. 5-6) suggests that the status quo in the west is potentially lethal and is risking leading to ecological genocide for humanity and

also may lead to the breakdown of social order, both are continual concerns for Indigenous scholars whose voice on these issues has been consistent over the past forty years (Knudtson and Suzuki 1992). He suggests that these western mono-linguistic and myopic cultural ways lead to when the

‘...cosmology of the culture shrinks, and becomes based in materialism and shallow politics that may indeed lead to many of the current forms of social-fundamentalism that give rise to simplistic political extremism whether of conservative or liberal intention. In staging any minority discourse in mainstream spaces similar issues arise in using alternative ways of knowing within a constricted English speaking universe. Humanist rhetoric suggests that empathy and mutual understanding can lead to cultural understanding – which is likely true if we were talking about a mutual communication process. But history and contemporary practice bears out that the process is not mutual. The process favours mainstream rhetoric, discourse and practice.’

Bowers (2010) notes mainstream rhetoric has set up a process of exclusion within the discourse, and that mainstream practice is comfortable with maintaining a cozy linguistic flatland. There needs to be a move towards being multi-lingual, but to do this the inherent racism that defines Indigenous affairs in Australia must be addressed. Parallel to this, arts culture needs to realise that

change will have to take place within the institutions, and thus discontinue blaming minority individuals who may lack skills; knowledge and understanding demanded and set up by the systems which have systematically excluded Aboriginal curatorial voices. Jim Logan (2003, pp. 78-79) cited in Bowers (2010 p. 6) suggests

‘From my experience in talking to arts administrators from various arts institutions, there is a cautious, uneasy acceptance, rather than an appreciation for the inclusion of Aboriginal knowledge. This circumstance may be because since their education lacked any instruction or any cultural studies regarding Aboriginal peoples, many feel inadequate when dealing with Aboriginal cultural issues and art practices.’

If racism and homophobia are both forms of prejudice that influence the helping professions right across the board, including education, counselling, psychology, social work, nursing and medicine, as Bowers (2005d) suggests, there are enormous problems that must be faced for mainstream society to meet their own standards of ethical and legal guidelines for cultural competence. Perhaps only when Aboriginal people are able to actually fight in the courts of law for their rights to equal access to competence in cultural treatment will the issues of language, bias and prejudice be addressed. Over the past few decades we acknowledge that cultural awareness has changed ever so slightly, but as

advances are made there are also macro-social-psychological issues in the mainstream cultures of Australia that suggest continual problems that relate to the mechanisms of prejudice within relationships, within the communities and in professional sectors of the society (Bowers 2005a, 2005c, 2007a, 2010a).

Relating to how these systems need to address these concerns, we note that Bowers (2010) emphasizes that there needs to be a revision of western fields of practice. The current language suggests that culturally introduced approaches require people to be authentic and open up in a genuine way to knowing and looking at the world from a minority point of view while coming to an understand another language, ritual, and cultural custom. In the contemporary professional fields there needs to be a greater cultural sensitivity and astuteness that is actually expected by ethical frameworks, as it is no longer acceptable that one size fits all. Knowledge of these ethical and legal frameworks must be promoted within Indigenous and other minority communities, so that clients of these systems will know beyond a doubt where their rights stand. In these ways, when the Australian Government decides to dismantle culturally specific programs and representation for Indigenous issues, they ought to also consider that if these systems are inadequate Aboriginal people will stand up and fight for change via litigation. From an even broader perspective, we will now look at the issues of cultural sensitivity and the parallel awakening occurring among Indigenous nations.

## **Postcolonial Reconnection to Culture**

As there is a cultural sensitivity growing within the Indigenous people of their own cultural roots, there is also a greater understanding of the educational terminology that is being used by Indigenous people. They are not only aware of culturally sensitive issues they are writing in a particular way. Wilson (2008) notes there is a deep sense and growing awareness of the shift and understanding in Indigenous enlightenment within the written word – the terminology which now is being utilised to define Indigenous people’s lives. Many of the terms which are being used comprise a more inclusive knowledge that encompasses the original peoples of the world, for instance, in Canada terms like Indian, Metis, Inuit or Native and in Australia, terms like Aboriginal, black and Aborigine. The inclusive term used around the world is now Indigenous. In these ways, Indigenous scholars are redefining, shaping, expanding and explaining their professions and positions in research and outlining the ethical protocols and explaining and extending the harmonious methodologies that can be utilized within the Indigenous communities and family groups.

Rigney (1997) cited in Wilson (2008) says that Indigenous people are now at the very pinnacle of designing research around their needs, and that this generates self-determination, and many of the liberation strategies past and present can now be defined and managed by their own communities. The author

also suggests that this is exciting news as Indigenous people think, interpret, and assimilate the world around them and its realities in very different ways to their non-Indigenous counterparts due to the unique experiences, cultures, histories, values, attitudes, and beliefs that arise within their diverse linguistic and cultural universes. In effect, Indigenous people represent a key factor in bio-diversity for our planet, and as their languages and cultures disappear, this occurs at an extremely high cost to the potential survival of the human species.

Steinhauer (2002) cited in Wilson (2008) notes that it is great that our voices are slowly being heard and that Indigenous scholars are talking, researching and using Indigenous knowledge. It will one day be common practice for Indigenous people to be able to express and legitimize the knowledge and skills of our peoples. Indigenous knowledge is becoming a part of the academic process (Bowers 2010). This way of thinking needs to be expressed and passed onto the art-world as well. Arthur and Collins (2010 cited in Bowers 2010) suggests that to achieve these goals, the current theory in healthcare should be merged in a 'culturally infused' method. Bowers (2007b) notes that professional practices ought to be 'culturally grounded.' Bowers (2010 p. 7) states,

Both conceptions suggest that it is no longer ethically acceptable professional practice to simply learn what other cultures eat for supper, what they wear, what music they listen to, and what their facial features might be. These surface descriptive measures are

about appearances, not culture. To take a professionally sound approach to culture we must realize that working with culture means the ability of the practitioner to move beyond appearances to engage in interpersonal sharing of understanding, meaning, and mutual respect that opens dialogue through commitment to relationship.

The art-world and art-critics need to also move beyond appearances and to engage with the Indigenous artist and share the deeper understanding, meaning of a piece of artwork. This will open a realistic dialogue. In effect, we are talking about the Indigenous insight that relationships, even within the professional and artistic worlds of the western mainstream, need to change to become more supportive. For example, Atkinson (2002) reinforces the importance of relationship. Within in an Indigenous cultural context, people do not heal unless they are with others, they do not heal alone. All individuals need to be a part of a compassionate, caring, and empathetic communities and family and extended family. Atkinson's studies have shown that Individual healing goes further than the individual, it helps rebuild community and family relationships, which as a cyclic process helps the Individual to heal more completely. This process strengthens cultural ties and group identity rooted in spiritual connection. This allows Indigenous people to become effective Individuals in society, contributing in a more wholistic way. These principles provide deep-ecological insights to the issues also faced in white Australian

suburban communities in which many share a sense of alienation, loneliness and despair. These individuals often look to Aboriginal communities for inspiration around how to reconnect with the familial heritage, and with a sense of inner peace.

In these ways Atkinson (2002) suggests that healing transforms the pain of the Individual and provides a deep and meaningful purpose to life and living, when individuals transform their lives they help others who have been and are in similar situations. These Individuals desire to reconnect, work, and repair the community and the wider the country and the relationships that have been damaged.

### **Cultural Competence**

We note that because colonization has enforced a bi-cultural awareness, language usage, and ability to negotiate complex cultural landscapes among minority populations, in effect, and irony of ironies, Indigenous people around the world have gained and continue to gain significant ground through reinforcing these hard won skills within a postcolonial environment where bicultural skills are highly sought after. As the younger generations of Aboriginal people are able to take up the path that Dr Bowers has taken through gaining education and professional standing, they may find that certain choices open up to a greater degree and their bi-cultural skills place them in high demand within an increasingly multicultural national context.

In a similar way, much like being bi-lingual is a distinct advantage in post-conflict Canada between the English and French within that country, so being bi-lingual and bi-cultural with having English and an Aboriginal language in Australia ought to become a distinct advantage for doctors, nurses, counsellors, psychologists, and health workers as well as lawyers, social workers, and business people, as well as a wide range of other practitioners. To get to that place the mainstream conception of what constitutes cultural competence needs to be clearly applied to Aboriginal affairs – and when this happens only sound logic will lead to a conclusion that existing practices constitute grave professional incompetence which is a charge that ought to also speak strongly in ethical review boards and in the court of law. Likewise, as issues of difference continue to be reinforced outside of the health and education arenas and come to impact the public sector and business communities via the action of the courts and through legislation that comes to reflect the multicultural fabric of contemporary nation states, we will see much more emphasis placed on cultural competence as an essential element of professional and civil practice and behavior.

Reinforcing these concerns, Bowers and Warren (2010 p. 8) state that ‘the very basis of healthcare practice must rest on sound interpersonal relationships – a deceptively simple but nonetheless complex reality.’ During a study of cultural diversity practice in health care in Canada, the authors suggest that diversity

theory and culturally grounded approaches to helping show that we do not have it right yet – healthcare systems and our related professions have a long way to go to reach a level playing field in terms of acceptable professional competency in cultural and diversity. Practitioners should be open and are required to expand their knowledge in a practical sense to meet the needs of all individuals through culturally appropriate awareness. The authors stress that as ethical/legal codes of conduct continue to develop, this will also improve practitioners’ work and they will be able to maneuver in culturally diverse contexts. These principles apply across all sectors of society. Nowhere is this more relevant than in the context of the public university galleries. These galleries have been displaying art according to one distinct linguistic cultural tradition within the guidelines of a narrow western dictate. Jim Veiveaere (2003, p. 159 cited in Bowers 2010 p. 7) an Indigenous scholar and Polynesian/Pacific Islander artist suggests that,

‘The idea that there are universal and impartial perspectives that speak for humanity and define a space of point-of-viewlessness has now been thoroughly deconstructed. Instead, those “impartial” spaces have been revealed as containing the perspectives of the western white middle class mainstream. To outsiders, it has always been obvious that the impartial and the universal – this point-of-viewlessness space – is in fact simply one point of view.’

This is very important, to understand that there other ways of knowing and that those perspectives of the white middle class mainstream are not the only ones that are valid. Highlighting a definition of cultural competence, Bowers and Warren (2010 p. 3) state that:

‘Cultural competence comprises essential knowledge and necessary awareness combined with core skills and practices that are applied in professional contexts. Cultural competence as an applied practice encompasses all aspects of human diversity including but not limited to age, gender, sexuality, ability, religion, tradition, lifestyle, environment, as well as linguistic, racial, ethnic, cultural background, cultural identity, spirituality, beliefs, values and attitudes. In healthcare, clinical cultural competence is best understood as an integrated approach that combines best practice in behaviours, attitudes, and the application of policies that promote and enable professionals to work effectively in nurturing cross-cultural relationships and consultations.’

In contrast, Oldmeadow (2007) state that Europeans have failed to understand Indigenous culture, specifically the deeply woven beliefs, values, attitudes, relationships, and behaviours which we may place under the umbrella of ‘Aboriginal religion.’ The profound factors that have shaped European attitudes are those attitudes which have encouraged and participated in the continuing

cultural vandalism of modern, industrial civilisation against Indigenous people and their cultures right across the world. The author suggests strongly that it is Europeans blatant ignorance towards Indigenous Australia, its ideas about cultural superiority, and often reinforced beliefs based in a limited understanding of scientific evolutionism resulting in prejudices that speak to the perceived biological and social inferiority of Aboriginal people work together to promote an absurdly aggressive neo-Christian exclusivism, and thus this whole system of thought operates together as a subconscious and pervasive system to sustain European colonialism.

It is in these ways that this colonial system is transplanted in families and across generations, and contributes also to discontent and a crisis of meaning in the postmodern cultures of Australia, we note that professionals across all fields including art and culture need to analyse the self, to sit with this discomforting realisation that we are all, if we are exposed to western life in any way, are invariably contaminated by this psychopathology (Oldmeadow 2007). By sitting with these shadows we may find out where these values and attitudes come from within us and within our families. As challenging as it may be, self-analysis is also an essential component of cultural competence practice.

## **Cultural Competence in Art Practice**

Applying these concepts and approaches that arose in the health and education sector within the arts community was an exercise that came about quite by change as we began to reflect upon the issues arising from setting up the exhibition PLACE at Cape Breton University Art Gallery (Bowers 2010). While we knew that these cultural issues span all fields, we were not yet aware of the ways in which these practices and lack of competency skills would apply in the arts environment of a public university gallery. By engaging the curatorial process our team of artists were able to position the show between the pillars of western art practices in relation to Aboriginal art practices. Between these two cultures we found a new awareness of the compromises that were necessary, the dialogue and extensive thoughtful critique that was essential, and the ongoing reflective analysis during and after the show that was also important and a part of the curatorial work.

We came to see that on one hand there are all the factors involved in the story or narrative of art creation within our cultural spaces, our distinct PLACE of ORIGIN as artists, creators, originators, philosophers and scholars, let alone our experiences as elders, mothers, sons, and daughters within our familial and cultural clans and tribes. Our PLACE of origin and all this entailed, including our reconnection and celebration or affirmation of that PLACE through many trials and challenges (Bowers 2010, Selby 2008, Royal 2008) was one core part of the process.

The other side of the journey related to the relationships we invested in, relationships that could allow us to safely and appropriately present and stage our artworks from three Aboriginal nations, three artists, and two colonial nation states that span the globe from East to West, North to South. This curatorial relational context arose only because of the enlightened perspectives of the new Art Gallery Director, whose vision and prior experience supported the curatorial work of Canadian Aboriginal art-speak from the voice of the margins. Her openness created an opportunity to meet half way, and to enjoy a process of mutual exploration and learning. This one true and honourable invitation led to demonstrating best practice in the how an Indigenous art exhibition ought to be supported in environments where these kinds of shows are extremely rare, almost never contain an authentic Indigenous curatorial command of the process, and even more rarely produce a mutually supportive scholarly and critical social commentary on the curatorial process. Effectively then, we experimented with the notions of cultural competence in-practice within a different sector, applying our prior knowledge and experience of working in Indigenous education and counselling fields to that of art-speak practice. We can see that there are other examples of these kinds of efforts in Australia.

For example, reflecting critically on Aboriginal political perspectives, we note that the National Gallery of Australia has supported travelling exhibitions (2007) that are addressing and supporting Indigenous people to get their message out there. The name of the exhibit is ‘Cultural warriors: National Indigenous Art Triennial presents the works and creations of 30 Indigenous artists.’ The exhibit has taken into account the wide range of contemporary Indigenous art practice in Australia. This exhibit has an assortment of Indigenous works that have been created on bark, canvas, sculpture, textiles, weaving and includes new ways of knowing through art media, photo-media and printmaking. Every state and the territory of Australia were acknowledged by the presentations of the 30 Indigenous artists who were invited to take place and to share their knowledge. The powerful theme that brought to life by presenting many different interpretations from historical Indigenous views to the investigations around social and political issues. Even though the curator of the exhibition has been mentioned there was no mention that she was of Indigenous heritage. As the artworks are also interpreted from a mainstream point of view within the western cannon, the Australian Aboriginal artists were not given the platform from to which to speak about the meaning of their works. In contrast the show PLACE (Bowers 2010) demonstrates how Aboriginal Artists can be supported to write about their unique socio-political and historical perspectives within a scholarly and critical reflection from a post-colonial view. I feel that the works would be much more powerful if the stories were told by the individuals themselves.

Many areas could have been discussed in this exhibition. How Indigenous art influences political and social issues. How the relationships and kinship lines that hold Indigenous communities together influence the artist and the work (Croft Warcon and Fredericks 2009). How the extreme importance of Indigenous ceremony is central to art creation. How the traditions, and the power of Indigenous art which is informational and transformational actually encourages change of opinions. And how Indigenous spiritual beliefs are attached to the works of art.

It is worth noting that Aboriginal artworks convey a very strong visual message to mainstream and Indigenous peoples, of colonisation, invasion, yes our culture is still alive, our dreaming is here, and we are being recognised. The content of the exhibition is now being used as an educational kit, which can help students to become their own researchers. For example, students will be able to utilise these artworks to study society and environments, and to develop their understanding of Indigenous culture through looking at the individual artworks that were in the exhibition. Students are also able to utilise these artworks in drama and contemporary politics. The exhibition has contributed to the development of students knowledge about Indigenous issues, cultural meanings, and to be able to reflect on other cultures in a cultural appropriate and competent ways.

We must remember that these works of arts are a collection of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures as one of the oldest surviving continuing ancient arts traditions. Agell & Rhyne (1998) states that,

‘Our oldest records of human thought patterns are preserved in drawings. By scratching, carving and painting on clay, stone, ivory, bones, skins, and papyrus, our ancestors represented their experiences of things, actions and ideas. We have invested our time and thinking in deciphering their visual messages. To understand meanings in pictographs and ideograms we must first learn the visual codes used by those who made the drawings.’

When we investigate or participate in looking at art using cultural competence skills we need to be able to understand the meanings and visual codes, and in this way art exhibitions are valuable as they give us the opportunities to participate in different cultural contexts, and the chance to investigate the meanings. This opens up the exciting and expansive world of Indigenous aesthetics, which are the many and deeply embedded meanings associated with Aboriginal worldviews and cosmologies. These layers of curatorial investigation open up an opportunity to understand the visual codes and symbolism that will serve to educate younger generations of Australians about the rich cultural repository that exists within Indigenous traditions. Not only does the visual codes need to be understood by mainstream audiences but the

emerging Indigenous aesthetics suggest that mainstream education, art and culture also need to be critiqued and understood from Indigenous voices which are able to articulate a post-colonial vision of diversity, spirituality and cultural integrity arising from individual description of otherwise ancient cultural insights and traditions.

In practicing these methods of competency, Bowers (2010) speaks about the insights that have come to him from having and participating in staging a public university gallery exhibition as a scholar who happened to also be an artist interested in sharing his work with his own regional community in Mi'kma'ki and Canada. The majority of the works of art were mainly compiled while living in Australia and with the works from colleagues in Australia, giving rise to the dynamic growth and awareness which took place during the exhibition. Thus we can see that Dr Bowers' scholarship overall speaks to the ongoing concerns for deconstructing western history, hegemony, professional and arts cultures with an Indigenous standpoint approach. In a similar way, my work has sought to expand a view of education as a practice that can lead to liberation of the community project, which is, in the main, captured by a vision of synthesis and integration of the self within an Aboriginal perspective on the Dreaming. But before going into this discussion below, allow me to introduce my personal voice and (auto)-ethnography within this thesis.

## **Australian Indigenous Artist**

As a contemporary Aboriginal Australian artist and a man, my life journey has comprised, yet again, a different pathway than that of the two men discussed above. As a member of the generation born during the mid 1960s, my life has benefited by the changes and advances to Indigenous affairs in this country. However, at the same time, I have stood with my generation in struggling to understand what has happened to our People. I have felt the weight of an unarticulated sorrow and pain that only later in life became explained by the horror stories of our past, involving the mass murders of our family, and the forced enslavement of our People on the missions. Being from two nations within the New South Wales and thus, Eastern most side of Australia, our mob has had to deal with the invasion and violence of colonial Australia the longest. In spite of the many changes to our People, our families have survived to tell the story.

It is not my intention in this thesis to write the details of this saga of sorrow and loss. Rather, only to express the heartfelt and inspiring realisation that from the little things of our survival and increasing strength, even bigger things grow. Thus in my life I have had the honour of carrying the Sacred Dreaming of my grandparents, and of learning through the mainstream educational systems how to survive continual layers of racism and discrimination that characterise my schooling years and university experiences at the University of New England, where I have, ironically, received several degrees in spite of these challenges.

Over these years I have sought to continually revisit the narrative of our origins, because within me is the deep trauma of my parents and grandparents that still calls to our younger mob to re-sing our Songlines that come to us in our night dreams. Thus it was important to articulate a sense of the struggles that men in my family and culture have carried struggles not of our own making. These issues led me to seek to understand education, to learn counselling, and to undertake higher degrees of knowledge and analysis – and through this process I have reconnected in many ways with the initiation and principles of my Ceremonial life. Even after my family and our language were nearly destroyed, my generation stands proud in our being Aboriginal and members of our respective Nations.

While I identify as an artist, I am also a graphic designer, which is a skill that arises largely from the intricate dots and lines work of the two tribal nations from which my grandparents came. Largely due to the trauma inherited in my family and kin group, it was important for me to take the journey into education and so, the study of teaching and learning was significant in helping me to overcome a learning disability as well as to focus my attention on comprehending the complex and fragmented history that involved my family and our tribal countries and this new nation of Australia that has grown up around us during the past few generations.

It is hard to get your head around the fact that my grandparent's generation was nearly exterminated by Irish settlers in our region, families who today still own the homesteads that they founded upon the mass murder of my family. In discussions with peers of my generation from one of those families, it appeared they carried a sense of shame and guilt for their actions. One of the young men of a white family apologised for the actions of his grandparents. When sharing this story with Dr Bowers he said, 'If he was really sorry maybe he should give the land back to the community.' While this might seem the obvious solution and may assist in self-determination within the local community, the deeper concerns that Indigenous people face are in relation to healing the scars of the past and moving forward with new hope. There is no doubt that the fight for land rights is important and needs to be fought on certain levels, but there is also a sense that yes, wouldn't it be a form of best practice if the current or future generations of land owners saw the injustice of their forbearer's actions and from the goodness of their hearts they gave the land back to the Aboriginal families who were displaced? If in only three generations a son of a murderer-invader-settler could say sorry, we can almost believe that integrity and honesty is returning to humanity in this new postcolonial era...

The deeper issues involved in this experience upon analysis could result in another thesis or book. In a sense, the purpose here is not to focus on this experience and the history, circumstances, and politics around it but to directly suggest that there is much healing work to be done in both white and black

families and societies. In Australia we have a long way to go to support the distinct societies that have always existed and will always exist in this postcolonial country. We new generations have some choices that we can make to approach the longstanding issues, the unresolved conflicts, and the lack of authentic reconciliation that has been passed down to us by our grandparents and parents generations. For many reasons including our mutual mental health and sanity, our generation needs desperately to find a way through these shadows of our history, so that we can help our peers in white and black families who are struggling with addiction, depression, despondency, emptiness from lack of culture, and such alarmingly increased rates of self harm and suicide. We know the crisis of identity in the west is touching all white families, and we know that there is another form of cultural crisis arising from our Aboriginal survival of colonisation. When we bring these two factors into a think-tank we might be able to find mutually beneficial ways forward, after all, in our blood rests the wealth and heritage of many nations on this planet.

With these intentions in heart, my artwork and the Dreaming Emu within this thesis arises from a reflection on the survival and healing journey of my family and our People, the healing of the land, and the healing of our relations with the white fellah. This postcolonial reality was not of our choosing, but I tend to believe that Creator has a greater plan we may not yet understand, so this helps me to stay open minded when looking at the terrible histories and open hearted

when considering ways forward in future that might right the wrongs of the past, and may open new options for growth, change, and healing.

Dreaming Emu was put forward as the Totemic Spirit and thematic energy that runs through this entire thesis for good reason. The painting and the Emu Spirit suggests strength, resilience, profound power and agility, ancient and prehistoric wisdom, and her Teaching and Ceremony and Songline arises in my bloodline to speak to the issues of today. In a way, my Indigenous scholarly approach is a method arising from the Songlines of my Tradition – as I weave these words they form an energy circuit that moves within the Ancient Spiral working within the Dreaming to change and direct and guide the development of our insights and our relations within Creation. While this method of analysis is clearly circular, and the process of learning works in cycles and approaches issues from different levels in a repetitive manner, these methods are not all that dissimilar to western critical theory, postmodern analysis, and postcolonial methods – they are, in fact, complementary and come from a more holistic approach that integrates the cognitive, intellectual, and the emotive, creative, and intuitive into one schematic method.

In this sense, the intricacy of the dot and line paintings of my Traditions is a highly advanced form of intellectual and spiritual analysis. These Traditional Ways speak of the higher degrees of our Medicine Men whose lifetime of practice and knowledge gained by caring for the Country is vast and hardly

conceived by the white fellah whose little dreaming has yet to evolve to such an extent. These approaches are known within our culture even while they are staunchly protected against the colonial politics and the mass commercial gaze of the mainstream.

In many respects, our artwork reflects these profoundly developed Traditions by sharing in safe ways the depth of these Teachings in bite-sized bits-and-pieces that the mainstream world can digest. The wisdom of this approach can only be understood when you consider that human beings tend to feed a baby with soft ground up food, and only later when they have grown and developed their teeth do they receive the meat of the Kangaroo tail cooked over the fire. When our elders see that the people of this planet are ready for our Teachings, these will no doubt come forward. But this time has not yet come even if we sense that it may be drawing closer.

In a previous work (Kennedy 2006 p. 232) I suggested that Aboriginal philosophy works toward integration is thought through a holistic process by bringing people together to share their stories. When people have opportunities to share openly, be challenged, and find solutions to their issues they will find themselves enriched. Integration is not simply about individuals but involves everything around us. Integration of our Spirit within our Identity is about a community of individuals whose lives are deeply entwined. Synthesis is another concept that I was working with at that time. In my culture synthesis is

represented by the Dreamtime Serpent and the Spiral of Learning which involves the whole spectrum of human consciousness from infancy to elder wisdom. This Spirit and Dreaming weaves the mystery of life in and out of many levels of reality. Synthesis is also a very powerful way within Indigenous life. Synthesis is the weaving, which like the opal stone is woven through the deep layers of the earth's crust. My Totem Stone, the Opal, teaches much about the Dreaming and how the Serpent moved through the earth's crust to create the water tables and boars of this land. The very nature of the Opal Dreaming illuminates the wealth and creativity of the Creator Spirit. These processes of integration and synthesis represent the path of becoming more human and more spiritually mature.

As we have seen above, Dr Bowers moved through his own integration and synthesis as is suggested by the progression we can see in his writings from his early Masters thesis where his identity was only beginning to form from the mass confusion of all the energies that he had inherited within his wider world and familial histories, to the more grounded 'place' of articulating insights from his reflections on years of teaching and learning (Bowers 2010b), to the PLACE of his consolidated identity where he could speak with clarity on issues troubling the international community's of Indigenous Peoples and other minority groups whose experiences of mainstream helping professions has been so terribly prejudiced and harmful (Bowers 2010). In other ways, my own journey through life has taken similar roads even though I grew up in a colonial

nation on the other side of the planet from Mi'kma'ki in Eastern Canada. To have come to this place of articulating this study at this time of my life means that I also have many challenges faced and will with any hope take this work further in future. My prior work (Kennedy 2006 p. 232) supported a 'weaving of personal stories into something meaningful.' Perhaps this thesis also reaches that aspiration. At the same time, the Dreaming Emu represents a challenge to the western Cartesian view. In the Western mainstream perspective we have subjective perceptions of reality, and a striving towards self-realisation. We objectify 'truth' as if it is separate from our identity. We even turn knowledge into a commodity for purchase. It has often been argued by peers that Aboriginal culture limits knowledge and that only people chosen by elders receive knowledge that is handed down. This is not so true. In the Aboriginal sense, knowledge is formed in relationships of honour and trust – so when these qualities are present, knowledge is shared openly in traditional cultures. The contrary is true in the mainstream where these projections onto Aboriginal culture arise. Knowledge is not shared openly but must be bought and paid for, so is limited by access to money or family status and wealth. Teachers and lecturers and professors, who embody the western elite, may wish to extend knowledge for 'humanitarian' reasons but effectively the whole system of western teaching and learning is based on a capitalist economic system. Professors do not share knowledge openly necessarily, rather they wait and watch their students, test and mark their work, and weed out the students with less potential for reaching the highest levels of knowledge, and then they

mentor only those students who can achieve the highest levels which are also defined by their limited cultural understandings through specific doctoral programs. But in the Indigenous view, we have a pervasive cultural code that raises awareness of the fact that authentic learning happens in spontaneous ways in everyday life, and very often those whose desires and spirits seek out knowledge within Aboriginal cultures find what they are looking for because our traditional elders are very often ready for them before they even wake up to this fact.

Everything in the west relates to striving for what people feel they do not already have. But in the Dreaming, unity and oneness exists now, and we do not need to strive towards anything. In this now we need only deepen what we already know to be true. By no means have we had to defend our standpoint, because what we are is who we are. In my opinion these factors have never been effectively understood or respected by western science, art critics, anthropology, or contemporary health and the approaches within the fields of counselling.

In my Indigenous culture the healing path pre-exists for all of us. By the inner intention, this path it becomes our Dreaming. As Crocker (2005) cited in Bowers (2010) states that, these life-ways are holistic, involving everything from spirituality, ecology, to science. These ways, which come from our elders, suggest the integrity of Indigenous knowledge. What we know as Indigenous people is grounded in our acceptance of our beliefs in Creator and in Creation.

Our Insights about our Environment inform our Sensibility – this expresses our Ceremony. From these Teachings our Songlines can never be forgotten, as they can reawaken within us at any time. These realizations counter the myth of our demise, and give us a firm grounding in a solid universe of integrity. These deep life-ways are holistic to Indigenous people form a good grounding with in all parts of our lives. In this sense, the Dreaming Emu wishes to awaken as this Spirit creates in our lives, inspires our walk, and gives depth in our relationships. This path is integrative, inasmuch as integration means bringing things together. The Dreaming Emu suggests a Songline that generates and co-creates with us a new synthesis at this time in history. This synthesis means creating something new from the different elements of the past and present, including even the horrible circumstances then and now for our People, and in the process of healing the Emu Spirit gives our People new Hope, and in this narrative rests the hope of humanity in both symbolic and concrete ways as Indigenous wisdom arises to speak to the issues of the day.

These deep and profound relationships will continue to build up a database of spiritual and ecological wisdom. Each painting, each Dreamtime Story, become an enduring gift for humanity and for our People. Each painting effectively becomes an elder, as their story endures for a very long time and their Teachings endure even longer. These works of art arise from the Dreaming which is always unfolding. We are blind when we believe we have no power. We are fully alive when we sit in the Dreaming and allow the power of life to

be a part of our vision and our work. These cultural and geophysical laws are part of the sea and the land, just as much as they become a part of us. Bowers stresses the importance of the elders, in that they have told him that even when we forget these ancient Laws, they still live within the stones and riverbeds (Bowers 2010). He shares that in the Mi'kmaq Tradition the 'elders' can be children, trees, rocks, and rivers, ocean or the forest, whenever they carry a Teaching they play the role of the elder. Older people are not elders due to their age. They are only given the acknowledgement of being 'kisiku' or 'old one/elder' when they behave as such and this quality and maturity arises in their lives, and this is when their Spirit manifests fully in their body and behaviours express this Spiritual Energy (Bowers 2010).

From my Indigenous perspective, people who respect and remember our traditional values will come to travel a very difficult and unique path. They will be challenged to awaken. But they will also face many hardships because their awareness is not yet formed. They will seek out and try to find 'teachers' but none will be around them. They will feel alone and fearful. In our experience, this is part of the journey. Creator is asking us to learn humility and to walk with an inner willingness to listen. The test is not to become bitter. Not to lose hope. The rest of this path is done with great care and spiritual respect. If we are blessed enough to have a good steady friend or guide, such as my mother was for me, in all of her humanity she has been a true elder, and then when walking this path some things will be a little bit easier. But for all of us, regardless if we

have any ‘teacher’ or not, all of our experience is our teacher – if we have the inner ability to look and learn, we can look and learn from our own history, our own story.

This reminds me of what Bowers (2010) says, that our ‘stories are our Medicine.’ In this way, from an Australian Aboriginal stance, our stories are our Dreaming. Our personal life narrative is the very path to our familial and personal Songline. This is our way home, our way back to Country. And in summary, this way exists regardless what horrors we have faced and what terrible things have been done to our families, how we have suffered humiliation and violence, and seen our kin killed before our eyes and in our nightmares. We are a powerful People, not because of our little ego identity, but because Creator gave us our Dreaming.

These teachings speak directly to social and political reality. In a real sense, I tend to believe that this is part of the underlying and perhaps also subconscious wisdom behind the ‘green movement’ in Australia, as our nation has a great passion for saving creatures at risk of extinction as well as for ecological sustainability. It is not acceptable to be ignorant of the spiritual realities that govern our relationship with land and sea, and to assume we are free when in fact we ought to be responsible. From an Indigenous perspective and insight, many of the types of modern materialistic values, beliefs, and attitudes create division and ill-health among all people. Exploring and evaluating these issues

in the political space requires a practitioner to not assume anything, and to be open minded and deeply respectful of the cultural indicators, Teachings, and ecological wisdom that arises in each Sacred Place (all 'places' of our Planet are Sacred), and then to manifest that Power of Insight from the Dreaming. This is what it means to live as a member of a growing and changing species of humans, and this is what it means for us as a minority culture who must stand with integrity and carry this HUGE responsibility to honour our Dreaming – the Dreaming of Humanity – in the midst of a dominant, obstinate, and childish culture that has yet to awaken. This is a common narrative now, as we are all responsible to speak to this all-encompassing mainstream culture that continually consumes, presumes, neglects and oppresses.

Thus it is by no mistake or happenstance that these basic Teachings of the Dreaming are shared in this scholarly and analytical context, because as a practitioner of both teaching and counselling it is my ethical and legal responsibility to use all of my collective skills and insight to offer the best possible suggestions to meet the real needs of both the minority and the majority cultures. The essence of these practical and spiritual/philosophical methods that arise from this bi-cultural and multicultural analysis suggest that cultural competency combined with a greater appreciation and practice of the Dreaming will enable people of any background to grow and change while finding a sustainable energy for empowerment.

Indigenous ways of knowing rely on these comprehensive forms of learning which entails personal courage and commitment. Bowers suggests that through the artworks and the narratives that this way holds the keys to the deepest secrets of humanity and life, meaning that the many issues that face humanity today are at this very time in history open to us to discover. At an essential level Bowers (2010) stresses that, ‘...the paintings within PLACE exist because the artists underwent their own pathwork toward articulating cultural meaning by first allowing their identity to be reshaped by Traditional cultural practices.’ From my understanding this approach suggests that art practice opens up the deeper responsibility and commitment to Indigenous ways of knowing. I believe that my Indigenous community and Elders have giving me insight to see my PLACE and how to be a part of the process. It is by using my skills as a positive voice that the whole community shares. This is because my training as a teacher and counsellor is now part of their community resources. My accomplishments are not just my own. I am in fact part of the community. This is a source of pride for me. That I can give back to the community. This is really satisfying. This feeling strengthens my cultural identity. Giving back is a source of healing in my life and in the life of the community. This is my PLACE. And this is my Emu Dreaming.

PLACE and Emu Dreaming is about being responsible to the whole that is each other, to the environment and to self. Bowers (2010) stresses the importance of this within the context to the exhibition PLACE, and he asks a central question which is looming over humanity at this moment in time. He extends his insights looking beyond the existing material attitudes, values, and beliefs of taking whatever we can without regard and disrespect for the future of our survival or any concern about other life forms other than ourselves, i.e. the creatures and diverse habitats which are irreplaceable. Bowers notes that this is due to the values, attitudes and beliefs of generations of industrial, political, cultural, and racial dominion over the natural world. Cortright (1997 cited in Bowers 2010) suggests that we have now known for a long time that Native Traditions have given counsel about these mainstream attitudes that indeed separate us from our basic spiritual and ethical identities, in how we belong to one humble part of the whole structure of life. This is PLACE and where we find belonging and community.

Study and training take on many forms, as noted by Bowers (2010 p. 11) that ‘deeply personal vision quests and initiatory experiences that are felt across continents to be similar in scope and importance.’ Being in Australia or Canada, Indigenous people feel a solidarity in spite of and because of the deep violations perpetrated by means of colonial abuse, injustice, and ecological tactics which is akin to endorsing annihilation upon humanity. The impact of these blind values and injustice is deeply felt by many Indigenous groups, communities and

individuals. In recovery, the author suggests it is important to have a vision quest.

From an Australian Aboriginal perspective, it is important to seek out your Dreaming and to learn your Songlines. These open up healing and the process of transforming. This happens internally and within the relationships that I have within my culture. The process is quite strong and can also influence my relationships within mainstream Australian values and belief systems. Bowers (2010) suggests that these pathways encourage ‘responsibility, integrity, humility and respect for the Spirit of Creation.’ Likewise, the author suggests that deep memories may take place from experiencing quiet acknowledgement of just Being. Bowers (2010 p12) stresses the importance that

‘Across two different continents a similar although unique sense of a Deep Ecology is remembered by the artists as something quite spiritually significant to culture, Law, and social practice. And in this way, we suggest that the power and significance of PLACE arises when we come back to ourselves in our identity, attempting to find a way home to the People and Country of our origins. And we emphasize that this reconciliation comes after eons of colonial violence and trans-generational trauma. When we take this personal journey into healing our bloodlines through our own

personal narrative, in whatever we are given in this lifetime, only  
then can we arise with images of our Medicine or our Dreaming.’

I believe that it is time for new ways to be heard. After all, white ways have dominated the earth and caused humanity much suffering. Our People will remember the strengths of our Spirits as we come back to acknowledging what we have always known.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter explored two Indigenous men’s experiences of living during ‘postcolonial’ times and the challenges and insights arising from our narratives. In many respects, my own journey in writing this thesis required me to deconstruct the confusion and lack of ‘naming’ (or inaccurate naming more likely) of the history and contexts and hidden stories that fuel the truth of my family’s history in Australia. My empowerment as an Aboriginal man has been intimately linked to reframing the narrative of self, family and culture. The main form of this transformative learning has happened in spite of mainstream educational systems even while this very system has forced me, by default, to articulate my views as distinct from the status quo, which as we have seen is heavily impacted by hegemonic masculinity within the colonial project.

At the end of this thesis, we can reflect back through the Aboriginal epistemological spiral of learning. Beginning with the perspectives of three Indigenous males, we can reflect how our work enabled the elder artist's life narrative to open up many insights for two younger Indigenous men. We can always learn from our elders. This is our cultural way.

Through this process of reflection, I have moved through my brother's own journeys of challenges, learning, teaching, and discovery, through their own unique process of creation, scholarship, and activism. From this perspective it becomes clearer how the methods used in this thesis make sense and hold together. Narrative analysis and (auto)-ethnography enable a discourse through which to look back at the issues of art-as-politics, education-as-value-laden, and identity-as-reflective of widespread social and historical trends. These reflections draw together the spiral of learning back to where we began, by opening up the narrative of Australian colonial history and the place of Indigenous displacement within this story of tragedy and of reconciliation.

Within this narrative I reflect on the process of art and art-speak that has helped me to understand the importance of listening to this ongoing dialogue between worldviews – the colonial story is by no means complete. This thesis stands at a new threshold of possibility, but how this manifests is yet to be seen.

At this time, I can safely say that by engaging this intercultural dialogue, my work is to recreate experiences of the past into a distinctly Indigenous voice which speaks directly to the fractured histories of Indigenous men and the troubled forms of European hegemonic masculinity. As a man there is no doubt that these troubling politics of gender have played a part in my family history, and that the settlement-invasion and control over the peoples of Canada and Australia has created a deep divide within our identity as men. We are working toward this healing. This is an ongoing process. These wounded and fractured landscapes of identity also live within the country's physical Being. She remembers. Healing for Aboriginal people is holistic and ecological. What divides men and women divides in the psyche, in the spirituality of the Land, and in the cultural aspects of life.

Let us pause for a moment in time.

Let us look at the Dreaming, the Song, and the Ceremony of Indigenous epistemology, and see that all Indigenous people need is to be valued, respected, acknowledged, and that there is a different way of knowing, there is another way than just being subjected to the European cultural white ways.

Maybe, perhaps, for you who are reading this thesis, this is a place and moment to reflect for yourself and to ponder: If my home was taken away, my car, my job, what would be left for me? If my parents were killed, my cousins shot and

poisoned, and my siblings remains later were burned and plowed under by another race driven to dominate the land, what would be left for me?

All these factors suggest that which seems to be important for many people, and that which in certain respects carries the identity of white masculinity – the desire to enjoy the wealth of creation and to provide safety to family.

I would like to then ask the question: how would you feel?

Naturally, this scholarship provides a brief and all too fleeting moment to acknowledge that yes, Indigenous people had their families, country, and land taken away and that they were forced to assimilate to white colonial ways of knowing, and that yes, the post-traumatic stress of colonial ways are still affecting Indigenous people in today's world. We are in recovery.

## **Postscript:**

### **Stand in the shoes of the other person: AKA, The sameness of being**

As we walk backward  
We are able to move more freely forward  
By looking at our lives  
We have the tools to understand who we are...  
What we have become  
How we are supported.

If we look back  
All we can see  
Is violence, abuse, and deprivation...

We can move  
Even though we have been moved.

Will we become a product?  
A violent colonial past speaks volumes...

If given the sameness of love  
If afforded the commonness of understanding...

If moved by the familial gift of education  
If sharing the civil hospitality of food under the gums...

The basic needs of shelter, warmth, humanity...

We are, then, are we not?

The same.

## References:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts Board. 2002, *Visual Arts Cultures Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Visual Arts and Crafts*, Australian Council for the Arts, Sydney.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Visual Artists Resource Kit. 2002, *Affirmations of identity*, Board of Studies, Sydney.
- Amadio, N., 1986, Albert Namatjira: The life and work of an Australian painter, Macmillan, South Yarra.
- Anderson, I. 1996, Ethics and Health Research in Aboriginal Communities: *Ethical Intersections*, Health Research, Methods and Researcher Responsibility, La Trobe University, Melbourne.
- Arrendondo, P. 1999, Multicultural counselling competencies as tools to address oppression and racism, *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 78 (winter), 102-108.
- Antone, E. 2005, The Seed is the Law, *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 34, 53-60.
- Arthur, N. and Collins, S. 2010, *Culture-infused counselling: A theoretical framework and practical guide for infusing culture into all aspects of professional practice*, Counselling Concepts, Calgary.

- Atkinson, J. Kennedy, D. Bowers, R. 2006, *Aboriginal First Nations approaches to counselling*, In (eds) Pelling, N. Bowers, R. & Armstrong, P. 2006, *The Practice of Counselling*, Thomson Publications, Melbourne.
- Atkinson, J. 2002, *Trauma trials*, Recreating song lines, The transgenerational effects of trauma in Indigenous Australia, Spinifex Press, Melbourne.
- Bancroft, B. 2007, *In Affirmations of identity: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander visual artists resource kit 2007*, Board of Studies, New South Wales.
- Baskin, C. 2005, Centring Aboriginal worldviews in social work education, *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 34, 96-106.
- Battiste, M. 1998, Enabling the autumn seed: Toward a decolonized approach to Aboriginal knowledge, language, and education, *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 22(1), 16-28.
- Battiste, M. Bell L., and Findlay L. 2002a, Decolonizing education in Canadian universities: An interdisciplinary, international, Indigenous research project, *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 26(2), 82-95.
- Battiste M., Bell L., and Findlay L. 2002b, An interview with Linda Tuhiwai Te Rina Smith, *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 26(2), 169-185.
- Battiste, M. 2004, Animating sites of postcolonial education: Indigenous knowledge and the humanities, Paper presented at the CCSE Plenary Address, May 29, 2004, Manitoba.

- Battiste, M. and McConaghy, C. (Eds.) 2005 'Thinking place: The Indigenous humanities & education,' Special Edition of *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 34, 1-154.
- Bessant, J. and Watts, R. 1995, *Young People and Violence: A Focus on Schools*, In (eds) Chappell D, and Egger S. 1995, *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives II* Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Bird, R. D. 2001, Aboriginal Life and Death in Australian Settler Nationhood, *Journal Aboriginal History*, 25, 148-162.
- Bird, S. 1996, Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of hegemonic masculinity, *Gender and Society*, 10, No (2), (April), 120-132.
- Bowers, R. 2010, *PLACE: Beyond an Indigenous critical analysis of fine art practice*, discourse and culture and the contested nature of minority identity in the mainstream – articulating an Indigenous aesthetic, Cape Breton University Art Gallery, Retrieved 22 January 2010 from <http://www.cbu.ca/art-gallery/exhibitions/place/Artist%20Essay%20Final.pdf>.
- Bowers, R. 2010a, PLACE: Three Artists Two Countries One Heart, An exhibition of Australian and Canadian Indigenous Visual Art, Cape Breton University Art Gallery, Retrieved 22 January 2010 from <http://www.cbu.ca>.

- Bowers R. 2010b, Identity, prejudice, and healing in Aboriginal circles: Models of identity, embodiment, and ecology of place as traditional medicine for education and counselling – A Mi'kmaq First Nation perspective, *AlterNative*, 203-221.
- Bowers, R. and Warren, J. 2010c, Spirituality, Diversity & Belonging Project: Cultural Competence Centre Stage - Report 2010, Cape Breton District Health Authority, Cape Breton University.
- Bowers, R. 2007, A bibliography on Aboriginal and minority concerns: Identity, prejudice, marginalisation, and healing in relation to gender, sexuality, and the ecology of place, *Counselling, Psychotherapy, and Health*, 3(2), Indigenous Special Issue, 46-88.
- Bowers, R. 2007a, Clinical suggestions for honouring Indigenous identity for helpers, counsellors, and healers: The case of 'Marsha', *Counselling, Psychotherapy, and Health*, 3(2), Indigenous Special Issue, 13-28.
- Bowers, R. 2007b, Diversity in creation: Identity, race, sexuality and indigenous creativity, *International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, 7(1), 3-7.
- Bowers, R. 2005a, Our stories, Our medicine – Exploring holistic therapy integrating body-wellness, mindfulness, and spirituality: An Indigenous perspective on healing, change, and counselling, and the social and political contexts of an emerging discipline, *Counselling Australia*, 4(4), 114-117.

- Bowers, R. 2005b, Shieldwolf and the shadow: Entering the place of transformation, Special Issue of the *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 34, 79-85.
- Bowers, R. Plummer D. and Minichiello V. 2005c Homophobia in counselling practice, *The International Journal for the Advancement of Counseling*, 27(3), 471-489.
- Bowers, R. Plummer D. and Minichiello V. 2005d Homophobia and the everyday mechanisms of prejudice: Findings from a qualitative study, *Counselling, Psychotherapy, and Health*, 1(1) 31-57.
- Bowers R., Minichiello V. and Plummer D. 2007 Qualitative research in counselling: A reflection for novice counsellor researchers, *The Qualitative Report*, 12(1), 131-145.
- Bowers, R. Minichiello, V. and Plummer, D. 2010, Religious Attitudes, Homophobia, and Professional Counselling, *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counselling*, 4: 70-91.
- Bowers, R. 2002, *Counselling in the Margins: Addressing Sexual and Gender Difference and Homophobia in Therapy*, A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the School of Health, University of New England, Armidale, NSW.
- Bowers, R. 1996, *Erospiritality: Sex, ecology, evolution – The onto-poetics of soul*, A thesis contributing to a Master of Education (Counselling), Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

- Brady, M. 2008, *First taste: How Indigenous Australians learned about grog*, Pirion Press Canberra, Published in Australia.
- Brother Aelred 2010, Personal correspondence on the nature of alcohol, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, Canada.
- Carson, B. Dunbar, T. Chenhall, R. and Bailie R. (eds) 2007, *Social Determinants of Indigenous Health*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest Australia.
- Carrington, K. and Scott, J. 2008, Masculinity, Rurality and Violence, *British Journal of Criminology*, 48(5), pp. 641-666.
- Castellano, M. 2004, Ethics of Aboriginal research, *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, January, 98-114.
- Cheek, J. 2000, *Postmodern and poststructural approaches to nursing research*, Publishers Thousand Oaks, Sage.
- Clark, Y. 2000, *The construction of aboriginal identity in people separated from their families, community, and culture: Pieces of a Jigsaw*, University Press, Adelaide.
- Coles, T. 2007, *Negotiating the field of masculinity the production and reproduction of multiple dominant masculinities*: University of Tasmania, Hobart.
- Commonwealth of Australia. 2003, *Values and ethics: Guidelines for ethical conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research*, NHMRC, Canberra.

- Connell, R. and Messerschmidt, J. 2005, Hegemonic Masculinity Rethinking the Concept, *Gender & Society*, 19. (6), December, 829-859.
- Connell, R. 1994, Bodies and Genders, *Body Politics*, 23, 7-18, Retrieved 26 May 2008 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4065940>.
- Connell, R. 1989, Cool Guys, Swots and Wimps: The Interplay of Masculinity and Education, Oxford Review of Education, *Gender and Education: Current Issues*, (15), 3, 1989, 291-303.
- Connell, R. 1993, Masculinities in Recent World History Theory and Society, Special Issue: *Masculinities*, (22), 5, 597-623.
- Corey, G. 2001, *Theory and Practice of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, Brooks/Cole, Belmont.
- Cunneen, C. 2007, Crime, justice and Indigenous people, In (eds) Barclay, E. Donnermeyer, J. Scott, J. and Hogg, R. *Crime in Rural Australia*, The Federation Press, Sydney.
- Cunneen, C. 2008, *Assimilation and the re-invention of barbarism*, paper 3, Faculty of law research series 2008, Berkeley Electronic Press, University of New South Wales, Sydney.
- Cunneen, C. 2008a, Crime, justice and Indigenous people, paper 11, Faculty of Law Research Series 2008, Berkeley Electronic Press, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

- Cunneen, C. 2008b, Reflections on Criminal Justice Policy Since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, Paper 7, Faculty of Law Research Series 2008, The Berkeley Electronic Press, University of New South Wales, Sydney.
- Chappell, D. 1995 *How Violent is Australia Society?* In (eds) Chappell D, and Egger S. 1995, *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives II*, Australian Institute of Criminology Canberra.
- Chappell, D. Egger, S. (eds) 1995, *In Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives II*, Australian Institute of Criminology Canberra.
- Christie, G., Petrie, S. and Christie, C. 1999, Reducing and preventing violence in schools, Paper presented at the Children and Crime: Victims and Offenders Conference convened by the Australian Institute of Criminology, Faculty of Law, Queensland University of Technology.
- Crocker, K. 2005, The Dreamtime Narrative: Australian Aboriginal Women Writers, Oral Tradition and Personal Experience, Retrieved 9 November 2005 from [www.arts.valberta.ca/cms/crocker.pdf](http://www.arts.valberta.ca/cms/crocker.pdf).
- Crotty, M. 2007, Constructing Whiteness in the Australian Adventure Story, Transnational Perspectives on the Construction of an Identity, *Journal Historicising Whiteness*, 15, 253-259.
- Cowlshaw, G. 2006, 'All our mates were lower class white people': Race, Class, and Ethnography, Paper presented at the Wollongong workshop discussion, University of Technology Sydney.

- Cowlshaw, G, 2006a, Cultures of complaint: An ethnography of rural racial rivalry, in *Journal of Sociology* 42, (4), 429-445.
- Croft Warcon, P and Fredericks, B. 2009, *How the knowledge within country informs Aboriginal arts practices and affirms and sustains identity*, In *Selling Yarns 2: Innovation for Sustainability*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra.
- Demetriou, D, Z. 2001, Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique, in *Theory and Society*, 30, 337-361.
- Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. 2003, *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- de Rome, L. and Cunneen, C. 1995, *The Monitoring by Police of Racist Violence in the Community*, In (eds) Chappell D, and Egger S. 1995, *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives II*, Australian Institute of Criminology Canberra.
- Donaldson, M. 1993, What Is Hegemonic Masculinity? *Journal, Theory and Society*, 22, 5, (Oct., 1993), 643-657.
- Douglas, H. 2007, 'The curse of "white man's water": Armidale people and the control of alcohol,' Retrieved 21 June 2010 from <http://www.tlc.une.edu.au/lawjournal/pdf>.
- Douglas, P. 2008, What is it about men that makes them do the things they do? Men against sexual assault Queensland Retrieved 29 July 2008, <http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/proceedings/20>.

- Dufrene, P. 1990, Utilizing the Arts for Healing from a Native American Perspective: Implications for Creative Arts Therapy, Purdue University, *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 10, 1, 1990, 121-131.
- Duran, E. and Duran, B. 1995, *Native American postcolonial psychology*, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY.
- Duran, E. 2006, *Healing the soul wound: Counseling with American Indians and other native peoples*, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, NY.
- Eckermann, A., Dowd, T., Chong, E., Nixon, L., Gray., R and Johnson, S. 2006, *Binan Goonj, Bridging Cultures in Aboriginal Health*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Churchill Livingstone, Sydney.
- Egger, S. 1995, *Preface – an Overview of Violence in Australia*, In (eds) Chappell D, and Egger S. 1995, *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives II*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Egger, S. 1993, *Violence And masculinity: A commentary*, Second National Conference on Violence the Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 15-18 June 1993.
- Eades, D. 2000, I don't think it's an answer to the question: Silencing Aboriginal witnesses in court, *Language in Society* 29, 161–195.
- Egan, G. 1998, *The Skilled Helper*, An International Thomson Publishing Company.
- Eisler R. 1995, *Sacred pleasure: Sex, myth, and the politics of the body - new paths to power and love*, Sage Publications, New York.

- Elder, C., Ellis, C. and Pratt, A. 2004, *Whiteness in constructions of Australian nationhood: Indigenes, immigrants and governmentality*, In (eds) Aileen Moreton-Robinson, 2004, *Essays in social and cultural criticism, Whitening Race*, Print Group, Australia.
- Elder, B. 2000, *Blood on the Wattle, Massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788*, New Holland Publishers Australia, Sydney, Auckland, London, Cape Town.
- Engebretson, K. 2006, Identity, Masculinity and Spirituality: A Study of Australian Teenage Boys, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9:1,91-110.
- Fekete J. 1987, *Life after postmodernism: Essays on value and culture*, St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Fiona, N. 2004, *Reconciliation in and out of perspective: white knowing, seeing, curating and being at home in and against Indigenous sovereignty*, In (eds), Aileen Moreton-Robinson, 2004, *Essays in social and cultural criticism, Whitening Race*, Print Group, Australia.
- Fordham, A. and Schwab R. 2007, *Education, Training and Indigenous Futures*, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Retrieved 26 May 2008 from [http://caepr.anu.edu.au/educationfutures/research\\_output.php](http://caepr.anu.edu.au/educationfutures/research_output.php).
- Fox, N. 1994, *Postmodernism, sociology and health*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

- Frey, R. and Bellotti, C. 1993, Pro-feminist educational programs run by men for male offenders: Is it wise? Is it possible? men against sexual assault, Queensland, Second National Conference on Violence convened by the Australian Institute of Criminology and held in Canberra, 15-18 June 1993.
- Fredericks, B. 2009, Look before you leap: the epistemic violence that sometimes hides behind the word "inclusion". *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 38, (Supplement), 10-16.
- Fredericks, B. 2008, Understanding and living respectfully within Indigenous places, *World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium Journal*, 4, 43-49.
- Fredericks, B. 2007, Using Art to Tell Our collective Story, Paper presented at the 2007 Sorry Day Sandhills Studio and Art Gallery, Keppel Sands, Australia.
- French, A., 2002, Seeing the centre: The art of Albert Namatjira, 1902-1959, A National Gallery of Australia travelling and online exhibition, Retrieved 5 February 2011, from <http://www.nga.gov.au/namatjira/>.
- Gradle, S. (2007) A Spiritual Ecology: Finding the Heart of Art Education, *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies*, 5, (1) Spring/Summer, 71-93.
- Gilbert, P. Gilbert, R. 2001, Masculinity, inequality and post-school opportunities: disrupting oppositional politics about boys' education, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 5:1, 1-13.

- Gilbert, P. Gilbert, R. Alloway. N, and Henderson, R. 2003, Boys Performing English, *Gender and Education*, 15 4: 351-364.
- Gkisedtanamoogk and Hancock F. 1993, *Anoqcou: Ceremony is life itself*, Blackberry Books, Nobleboro.
- Haebich, A. 1999, 'Irresistible journeys and imaginings: Boyd's bride series revisited,' *Journal of Australian Studies* 23: 61, 117-125.
- Harris, J. 1990, *One Blood: Two Hundred years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity - A Story of Hope*, Albatross Books, Lion Publishing, United Kingdom.
- Hazlehurst, K. 1987, *Ivory Scales Black Australia and the Law*, Published in Australia by New South Wales University Press, Australian Print Group, Victoria.
- Hammill, J. 2001, *The Culture of Masculinity in an Australian Indigenous Community*, The Society for International Development. SAGE Publications, London
- Henderson, G., Robson, C., Cox, L., Dukes, C., Tsey, K., and Haswell, M. 2007, *Social and emotional wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people within the broader context of the social determinants of health*, In: Beyond Band-aids: exploring the underlying social determinants of Aboriginal health. Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal Health, Casuarina, NT, Australia, pp. 136-164.

- Henriksen, M. 2008, Tracing of Old Settlements and Place names in a Sea Sami Region in *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places*, Massey University Press, Aotearoa New Zealand
- Hogg, R., and Carrington, K. 2006, *Policing the Rural Crisis*, Southwood Press, Sydney, NSW.
- Holt, N. 2003, Representation, legitimation, and autoethnography: An autoethnographic writing story, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(1) Winter, 1-22.
- Houston, J. 2007, Indigenous autoethnography: Formulating our knowledge, our way, *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 36, Supplement, 45-50.
- Hunter, H. 2001, *Factors underlying Indigenous arrest rates*, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, The Australian National University, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Canberra.
- Hudson, B. 2006, Beyond white man's justice, Race, gender and justice in late modernity, *UK Theoretical Criminology*, 10(1): 29-47.
- Ireland, S. 1995, *Alcohol and its contribution to violence*: New directions for policing alcohol-related crime, violence and anti-social behaviour in New South Wales, In Chappell D, and Egger S. (eds) *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives II*, Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Janeczko, F. 2007, The Impacts of Colonial Law and Policy on Indigenous Family Life in Australia, University of Glasgow, Retrieved 28 May 2008 from <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/3721/>.

Jennifer, J. 2008, *Place and Being: a Process of Indigenous Academic Identity Growth Royal*, In (eds) Selby, R. 2008, *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places*, Massey University Press, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Keddie, A. 2003, Boys Investments in Football Culture: Challenging Gendered and Homophobic Understandings, *Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies* 7.1 & 2 November.

Kennedy, D., 2006, In Atkinson, J., Kennedy D., Bowers R. 2006, *Aboriginal and First Nations approaches to counselling*, In (eds) Pelling N, Bowers R., and Armstrong P. 2006, *The practice of counselling*, Thomson Publishers, Melbourne.

Kennedy, D. 2005, Encouraging Quality of Life for Aging persons who have Developmental Disabilities, Conference presentation at the 12th Annual Conference of the Society for Pastoral Counselling Research, on 'Aging and Spirituality,' held at St Basil Institute for Counselling and Mental Health Education, Assumption University, Windsor, Ontario, 12th, 13th, and 14th of May 2005.

Kennedy, D. 2006, *Indigenous Awakenings: Facing the challenges of education, culture, and healing in Aboriginal Australia*, The University of New England A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Education with Honours, School of Professional Development and Leadership University of New England October 2006.

- Kenway, J. and Fitzclarence, L. 1997, *Masculinity, Violence and Schooling: challenging 'poisonous pedagogies'*, Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information, Retrieved 26 May 2008 from <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713413500>
- Knudtson P. and Suzuki D. 1992, *Wisdom of the elders*, Stoddart Publishing, Toronto.
- Lavallée, L. (2009) Practical application of an indigenous research framework and two qualitative indigenous research methods: Sharing circles and Anishnaabe symbol-based reflection, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8, (1).
- LeCompte, M, D. and Goetz, J, Preissle. 1982, (03/09/2008), Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic, *Journal, Review of Educational Research*, 52, 1 (Spring, 1982), 31-60.
- Martin, A. (Ed) 2003, *Making A Noise! Aboriginal Perspectives on Art, At History, Critical Writing and Community*, The Banff Centre, Canada
- Martin, K. 2003, Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing: a theoretical framework and methods for Indigenous re-search and Indigenist research, *Voicing Dissent, New Talents 21C: Next Generation Australian Studies*  
*Journal of Australian Studies*, 76, 203-214.

- Martin, H. 2006, *Marking Space: A Literary Psychogeography of the Practice of a Nurse Artist*, a Thesis Submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- Marchetti, E, and Daly, K. 2004, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, Indigenous courts and justice practices in Australia, *Australian Institute of Criminology*, 277, 1-10.
- Martino, W. 1999, *Disruptive Moments in the Education of Boys: debating populist discourses on boys, schooling and masculinities*, Perth, Australia.
- Martino, W. 2003, 'We just get really fired up', indigenous boys, masculinities and schooling, *Journal studies in the cultural politics of education*, 24, 2, (August).
- Martino, W. and Meyenn, B. 2001, WHAT ABOUT THE BOYS? Issues of masculinity in schools, University Press Buckingham Philadelphia Retrieved 26 May 2006 from [www.openup.co.uk](http://www.openup.co.uk)
- Meade, M. et al. 2008, *Creative Ecology: Art's Role in Addressing Environmental and Sustainability Issues in Australia*, Retrieved 23 June 2010 from <http://digitalcollections-sit.edu>.
- McAlpin, J. 2008, Place and being: a process of Indigenous academic identity growth, In, (Ed.), Selby, R. 2008, *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places*, Te Taihu a Nga Wanaga, WINHEC, Aotearoa New Zealand.
- McConaghy, C. 2003, On Pedagogy, 'Trauma and Difficult Memory: Remembering Namatjira, Our Beloved', *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 32.

- McLeod, J. 1997, *Narrative and Psychotherapy*, Sage Publications, London
- Memmott, P. Stacy, R. Chambers, C. & Keys, C. 2001, Violence in Indigenous communities, Attorney-General's Department: Canberra.
- Mills, M. and Lingard, B. 1997, Source: *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 45, 3, (Sep., 1997), 276-292.
- Mills, M. 2003 Shaping the boys' agenda: the blackish blockbusters, INT. J. *Inclusive Education*, 7, 1, 57-73.
- Minichiello, V. et al. 2008, *In-Depth Interviewing: Principles, Techniques, Analysis* 3rd edition, Person Education, Australia.
- Miniecon, D., Franks, N. & Heffernan, M. 2007, Indigenous research: Three researchers reflect on their experiences at the interface, *Australian Journal of Indigneous Education*, 36, Supplement, 23-31.
- Morris, D. 1998, Social and Cultural Aspects of Drinking, A Report to the Amsterdam Group, Social Issues Research Centre, 28 St. Clements Street, Oxford.
- Morrow, R. and Brown, D. 1994, *Critical Theory and Methodology*, *Contemporary Social Theory*, Sage Publications, International and Professional Publisher Thousand Oakes, London
- Moreton-Robinson, A (Ed) 2004, Whiting Race: essays in social and cultural criticism, Print Group Australia.
- Mountford, C. 1953, The art of Albert Namatjira, The Bread and Cheese Club, Melbourne.

- Muncey T. 2005, Doing auto-ethnography, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 4(1), 6-14.
- Nakata, M. (2002) Indigenous knowledge and the cultural interface: Underlying issues at the intersection of knowledge and information systems. *IFLA [International Federation of Library Association] Journal*, 28(5/6), 281-291.
- Nakata, M. 2007, The cultural interface, *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 36S, 6-13.
- Nakata, M. 2007a, Disciplining the savages, savaging the disciplines, Aboriginal Studies Press, Melbourne.
- National Research on Young People's Attitudes to and Experiences of Domestic Violence. 2001, Commonwealth Attorney- General's Department, Canberra.
- National Gallery of Australia, Travelling Exhibitions, 2007, national indigenous art triennial 07 culture warriors, Australian Government, Visual Arts and Crafts Strategy, Visions of Australia, Contemporary Touring Initiative, Australia.
- Noel L. 1994, *Intolerance: A general survey*, McGill Queen's University Press, Montreal.
- Ogilvie, E and Van Zyl, A. 2001, Young Indigenous Males, Custody and the Rites of Passage, trends & issues in crime and criminal justice, *Australian Institute of Criminology*, 204, 1-6.

- Oldmeadow, H. 2007, "Melodies from the Beyond" Australian Aboriginal Religion in Schuonian Perspective, Retrieved 26 May 2008 from [www.latrobe.edu.au/eyeoftheheart/assets/editors/oldmeadow/Melodies.pdf](http://www.latrobe.edu.au/eyeoftheheart/assets/editors/oldmeadow/Melodies.pdf).
- Panelli, R., Hubbard, P., Coombes, B., and Suchet-Pearson, S. 2009, Decentring White ruralities: Ethnic diversity, racialisation and Indigenous countrysides, *Journal of Rural Studies* 25, 355-364.
- Pataka, M. 2008, *The Guardian of the Waitohu Stream: an Interview with George Gray* In Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places 2008, Massey University Press, Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Paul, D. 2006, *We were not the savages: Collision between European and Ntive American Civilizations*, Halifax, Fernwood.
- Pease, B. 2004, Decentring White Men: Critical reflections on Masculinity and White Studies, In (eds) Moreton-Robinson, A. 2004, *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Canberra, Retrieved 26 may 2008 from <http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.une.edu.au>.
- Pelling, N., Bowers, R., & Armstrong, P., 2009, *The Practice of Counselling*, Cengage Press, Melbourne.
- People, J. 2005, Trends and patterns in domestic violence assaults, Crime and Justice Bulletin, *Contemporary Issues in Crime and Justice*, 89, 1-16.
- Perkins, H., 2010, *Art and soul*, The Miegunyah Press, Melbourne.

- Philp, A. 2007, Life and art? Relocating Aboriginal art and culture in the museum, recollections, *Journal of the National Museum of Australia*, vol. 2, no 1, pp. 48-70.
- Procter, N. 2005, Parasuicide, self-harm and suicide in Aboriginal people in rural Australia: A review of the literature with implications for mental health nursing practice, *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 11: 237–241.
- Pitts, A. 2004, Taking the Initiative: The Aboriginal Housing Company's Community Safety Plans for the Redevelopment of the Block, Redfern, Conference 13-16 September 2004 of the 9th Annual International CPTED, AHC Social Planner, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Architecture Proceedings, University of Sydney.
- Plummer, D. 1999, '*One of the Boys: masculinity, homophobia and modern manhood.*' Haworth Press, New York.
- Pond, S. 1998, Acceptance and Belonging, The Promotion of Acceptance and Belonging Within Group Art Therapy: A Study of Two Lonely Third Grade Students, *American Journal of Art Therapy*; Feb 1998; 36, 3; 81-89.
- Purdie, N., Dudgeon, P., Walker, R., and Calma, T. (Eds) 2010, *Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practice*, Australian.

- Ravenscroft, A. 2004, Anxieties of dispossession: whiteness, history, and Australia's war in Viet Nam, In (eds) Moreton-Robinson, A. 2004, *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Canberra, Retrieved 26 may 2008 from <http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.une.edu.au>.
- Ravenscroft, A. 2003, 'Curled up like a skinny black question mark': the irreducibility of gender and race in Vivienne Cleven's *Bitin' Back*, *Australian Feminist Studies*, 18, 41, (July 2003) 187)-197.
- Read, P. 2001, 'Reconciliation, Trauma and the Native Born,' *Humanities Research IX*, 1.
- Rhyne, J. 1998, Special Feature: Janie Rhyne's Dissertation Drawings as Personal Constructs, A Study in Visual Dynamics, *American Journal of Art Therapy* (May) 1998; 36, 4, 115-124.
- Roque, C. S. 2006a, 'Coming to Terms with Country: Some Incidents on First Meeting Aboriginal Locations and Aboriginal Thoughts,' Retrieved 3 September 2010 from <http://somaticassociation.org.au/images/comingtotermslandmarks.pdf>.
- Roque, C. S. 2006b, 'On Tjukurrpa, Painting, and Building Thought,' *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 8, 2, 167-189.
- Roulston, K. and Mills, M. 2000, Male teachers in feminised teaching areas: Marching to the beat of the men'... *Journal Oxford Review of Education*, 26, 2, 221.

- Royal, T. 2008, The Marae in New Zealand – the Resource Centre of the Maori World, In (Ed.), Selby, R. 2008, *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places*, Te Taihuhu a Nga Wanaga, WINHEC, Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Selby, R. (Ed.). 2008, *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places*, Te Taihuhu a Nga Wanaga, WINHEC, Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Smolicz J. 1993, *Cultural Pluralism and Educational Policy: In Search of Stable Multiculturalism*, University of Adelaide, Australia.
- Browne, R. and Foster, L. 1983, *Sociology of Education*, Third Edition, The Macmillan company of Australia, Melbourne.
- Seuffert, N. and Coleborne, C. 2003, Law, History and Postcolonial, Theory and Method, *Law Text Culture*, 7.
- Sandelowski, M. 2000, Focus on Research Methods, Whatever Happened to Qualitative Description?, *Research in Nursing and Health*, 23, 334-340.
- Sarup, M. 1996, *Identity, culture and the postmodern world*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Seidman, S. 1996, *Queer theory/sociology*, Wiley-Blackwell, NY.
- Smith, C. 2005, Epistemological intimacy: A move to autoethnography, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 4(2): June, 1-7.
- Skelton, C. 1997, Primary Boys and Hegemonic Masculinities, *British Journal of Sociology and Education*, 18, 3, 349-369.
- Tesoriero, F. 2010, *Community Development, Community-Based Alternatives in an age of Globalisation*, Person, Frenchs Forest Australia.

- Tedlock, B. 1991, From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 47, 1 (Spring, 1991), 69-94.
- Tomlin, D. 2009. Bringing it Home: an Indigenous Research Model that Supports Indigenous Researchers' Aspirations, In *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places*, 2009, Massey University Press, Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Travisano, R. 2002, On Becoming Italian American An Autobiography of Ethnic Identity, In (eds), N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln 2002, *The Qualitative Inquiry Reader*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Woman's Task Force on Violence 2000, this is a revised edition of a report first published by the Queensland Government, (Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy and Development) in December 1999.
- Threadgold, T. 1999, Law As/Of Property, Judgment As Dissension: Feminist And Postcolonial Interventions In The Networks, *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, 12, 369-396.
- Turgeon, D. (2001), Crime and Indigenous Australians, *Australian Institute of Criminology*, Paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> National Outlook Symposium on Crime in Australia, New Crimes or New Responses convened by the Australian Institute of Criminology and held in Canberra 21-22 June 2001
- Tyler, W. 1998, Race, crime and region: the socio-spatial dynamics of Aboriginal offending, *Journal of Sociology*, 34, No. 2.

- Vicary, D. & Westerman, T. 2004, 'That's just the way he is': Some Implications of Aboriginal Mental Health Beliefs,' *Australian e-Journal for the Advancement of Mental Health*, 3, 3, 1-10.
- Vivieaere, J. 2003, When the tuna eats its tail: The role of critical commentary in relation to Aboriginal art, In (Ed) Martin, A. 2003, *Making a noise!* Aboriginal perspectives on art, art history, critical writing and community, 150-163, The Banff Centre, Canada.
- Wallace, S. 1995, No-Man's-Land: Negotiating Spaces for Women and Men in War and Peace, In (Eds.) Chappell D, and Egger S. 1995, *Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives II*, Australian Institute of Criminology Canberra.
- Walter, M., Pyett, P., Tyler, B., and Vanderwyk, A. (eds) 2006, 'Beyond the margins/beyond marginality', *The Journal of The Australian Sociological Association*, 42(4): 341-345.
- Wadham, B. 2004, Differentiating Whiteness: White Australia, White Masculinities and Aboriginal Reconciliation, In (eds) Moreton-Robinson, A. 2004, *Whitening Race: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, Canberra, Retrieved 26 may 2008 from <http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.une.edu.au>.
- Wells, J. and Christie, M. 2000, 'Namatjira and the Burden of Citizenship,' *Australian Historical Studies* pp. 110-130.

White, J. 2000, Albert Namatjira: Wander No More, Retrieved 21 July 2010

from <http://www.artcollector.net.au/files/.../Issue13>

[Jul2000\\_namatjira.pdf](#).

Wilber, K. 1995, *Sex, Ecology, Spirituality: The Spirit of Evolution*, Shambhala Press, NY.

Wilson, S. 2008, *Research is Ceremony Indigenous Research Methods*, Fernwood Publishing Halifax & Winnipeg, Canada

Yavu-Kama-Harathunian and Tomlin 2008, Bringing it home: an Indigenous research model that supports Indigenous researches' aspirations. In, (eds)

Selby, R. 2008, *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Places*, Te Taihū a Ngā Wananga, WINHEC, Aotearoa New Zealand.