

# TRADING PLACES

## Integrating Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy

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## **Abstract**

Australia has a 30-billion-dollar knowledge industry, yet this industry barely recognises Indigenous Australian knowledge developed for over 50,000 years. This knowledge is important to understanding life on this planet. A 2012 regional Aboriginal education report noted “These ways of thinking and planning are our great gift to a world that desperately needs solutions...Unfortunately, this gift has not been accepted yet, or even noticed” (NSW Department of Education and Communities). Through continued denial of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander experience, their knowledge is largely hidden from mainstream Australia and to the rest of the world.

This study examines what inhibits appreciation of Indigenous Australian knowledge through two sequential interviews with 26 non-Indigenous senior managers in business, finance and economics. The constructivism research paradigm frames the use of Causal Layered Analysis as a research method to investigate the interview data. A paradox arises between the aspirational discourse for an integrated nation with recognition of Indigenous knowledge as valuable, and ingrained images that erroneously position Indigenous knowledge as only representative of early human development on a linear trajectory toward 21<sup>st</sup> Century Western thought.

From the findings, a spectrum of mainstream Australian society emerges with clear gradation from strong ignorance of Indigenous knowledge to reasonably high awareness. Evident from this spectrum is that for Australian society to embrace Indigenous knowledge, a transition is required to move non-Indigenous individuals significantly to higher awareness. This thesis argues that this transition could be progressed by supportive non-Indigenous individuals taking the next step to improve their understanding of Indigenous knowledge through learning. Thus, Australian society could establish that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge is managed by its custodians, valued and in demand more broadly, is not compromised in the market, and is able to contribute to the management of Homo sapiens on Mother Earth.

# STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Except where explicit reference is made in the text, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma. No other person's work has been relied upon or used without due acknowledgement in the main text and bibliography of the thesis.

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## **STATEMENT OF ETHICS APPROVAL**

Ethical approval for the research conducted for this thesis was granted by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of Federation University Australia (reference number A18-013). The original approval, amendment and Final Report to the HREC are attached.

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Indigenous readers are advised that this document does include artworks, quotations and names of people who are deceased.

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## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to Merinda Dutton and Teela Reid and the Blackfulla Book Club (@blackfulla\_bookclub). May your innovation continue to inspire and nurture Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and teach the peoples of Australia.

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**Please see Appendix 16 for all of the artworks selected**

## Prologue

*I do not have a Black-fellow's sight (Jeanie Gunn, 1906)*

### **Observing Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara knowledge**

A white policeman once described to me how his colleague, a Yankunytjatjara policeman, standing next to him was able to see, with his naked eye, what he could not see with police issued, high-powered binoculars. During the time that I lived and worked (1984-1994) on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands<sup>1</sup> (APY Lands), I was also privy to displays of considerable knowledge and abilities throughout the many expeditions that I joined to gather bush foods: goannas, goanna eggs, honey ants, bush tomatoes, bush potatoes and maku. Apart from these regular ventures there was an outstanding trip for kaltu kaltu (seed ground for flour to bake cakes). I was glad to just be designated driver (so assigned due to my access to a motor vehicle). I rarely played a role in achieving the object of the excursion however on one occasion I used my small and, at that time, emaciated frame to step up onto a fragile dead mulga tree (despite calls from my skilled associates not to take the risk), to shake the branch upon which the goanna (consequently caught) had mounted. I learnt a miniscule amount of knowledge (despite adept teachers) but more significantly I learnt that Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people have an enormous amount of knowledge about their immediate and extensive environment including the night skies (and how to manage and teach the non-Indigenous people who affect their lives).

Another experience that alerted me to the magnitude of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara knowledge took place when I was reporting to health directors on some literacy and numeracy checks that had been done with their staff. To introduce the topic, I asked the approximately ten Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara directors assembled to roughly assess the tracking skills of a mutually known non-Indigenous man (I knew that my own tracking skills did not even reach the level of a 2-year-old Pitjantjatjara child). This was a man who had lived for over 30 years on the APY Lands, was initiated and married to a Pitjantjatjara woman with whom he raised a family. In unison, the health directors raised their hands in a gesture to indicate the height of a boy of about eight to ten years in age. Their immediate and unanimous judgement enabled me to see that they agreed and that

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<sup>1</sup> Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) is incorporated by the 1981 Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Rights Act in the far northwest of South Australia. All Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Ngaanyatjarra people who are traditional owners of any part of the Lands are members of Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (<http://www.anangu.com.au/index.php/about-us.html>).

despite years of experience and keenness by the man in question, he still had a lot to learn.

The conclusion that I drew in relation to teaching on the APY lands (I was teaching literacy and numeracy to adults within their work roles) was that while Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people wanted to learn more of the competencies associated with directing their own futures within the mainstream Australian context, the underlying challenges that they faced had more to do with the unwillingness and inability of the larger population of Australia (and subsequently the Australian government) to see the relevance of their culture and knowledge. It occurred to me that Australia had never had a policy of learning from Indigenous Australians; integration was only ever about 'integrating' Indigenous people *into mainstream society*. Australia's current approaches continue along similar lines of assisting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to fit within the mainstream Australian paradigm, providing opportunities for Indigenous people to 'be like us' rather than expanding our brains to incorporate two very different perspectives of the world. (This is the meaning of 'integration', to bring in all parts to make a complete whole.) This is not to say that teaching the foundations of Western knowledge to Indigenous Australians is not important, however addressing this underlying problem (of widespread ignorance of Indigenous knowledge<sup>2</sup> and ways-of-knowing) seems crucial. How, while incapable myself of teaching Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing, can I promote their significance?

### **Neuro-plasticity and cultural evolution**

Reading about neuro-plasticity and cultural evolution in Norman Doidge's (2007) book I recognised that here was endorsement of how different from, and equally valid, Indigenous Australian knowledge is in relation to Western knowledge. This influenced my thinking and triggered the thesis that follows because revelations in neuro-science (the observable shaping of the brain) and neuro-plasticity (the human brain's adaptability and flexibility) clearly demonstrate that human capacities to read the environment (such as those talked about above) are learned not instinctive. This provided further motivation and a belief that others will be motivated to expand human capacity through introducing 'literacy of the environment' to the literacy already taught in schools.

According to Doidge, for four hundred years the medical world has been dominated by the concept that the human brain is like a machine that has specific parts for specific

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<sup>2</sup> It is recognised here that there is a wide diversity of knowledge across Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, however, 'knowledge' is used to represent the plural of 'knowledge' in this thesis.



functions. It was believed that parts of the brain are predestined to perform the function of, for example, sight, or hearing or hand movement. While this idea has dominated there have been many dedicated scientists who never believed that the brain was like a machine and who persevered with work (despite being alienated by peers and ignored by funding sources) to demonstrate how plastic (flexible, adaptable, changeable) the human brain is (Doidge, 2007). As a psychiatrist and researcher Doidge (2007) wrote to shine a light on the work that these neuro-plasticians have done to demonstrate that the human mind is completely flexible. It is this idea that the human brain can change to take on whatever function is required of it that enabled me to see the potential relevance of Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing to human futures.

In his appendage on 'The Culturally Modified Brain' Doidge (2007) describes how the human brain not only shapes culture but also that culture shapes the brain. Most significantly, whatever task we set our mind to do our brain extends ways to do the task. That is, if we read a book for information our brain does not just look for that information it extends the ability to read and that is the same with learning from nature:

Neuro-plastic research has shown us that every sustained activity ever mapped—including physical activities, sensory activities, learning, thinking and imagining—changes the brain as well as the mind. Cultural ideas and activities are no exception. Our brains are modified by the cultural activities we do - be they reading, studying music, or learning new languages. We all have what might be called a culturally modified brain, and as cultures evolve, they continually lead to new changes in the brain. (Doidge, 2007, p. 288)

When the human brain is focused on reading it will develop different neurological equipment to when it is focused on a television or radio even if it is acquiring the same information. The medium used to acquire information forms structures in the brain more so than the information itself. The focus of the activity of the brain develops microscopic differences in perceptual equipment and structures in the brain leading different cultures to develop different neurological equipment (Doidge, 2007).

...it has become clear that even such brain functions as visual processing and memory capacity are to some extent neuro-plastic. The idea that culture may change such fundamental brain activities as sight and perception is a radical one. While almost all social scientists-anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists-concede that different cultures interpret the world differently, most scientists and lay people assumed for several thousand years...that these differences were based on different interpretations of what was seen, not on microscopic differences in their perceptual equipment and structures. (pp. 300-301)

Fundamental differences in the focus of Western culture and Eastern culture have developed different neurological equipment in each to perceive the world in different ways. Differences in the perceptions of people of different cultures have been noted:

...that peoples of the East (those Asian peoples influenced by Chinese traditions) and those of the West (the heirs to the traditions of the ancient Greeks) perceive in different ways...For instance, it was observed that Westerners approach the world “analytically,” dividing what they observe into individual parts. Easterners tend to approach the world more “holistically,” perceiving by looking at “the whole,” and emphasising the interrelatedness of all things. (Doidge, 2007, p. 301)

Doidge goes on to describe scientific research performed that has illustrated these perceptual differences:

These experiments and many others like them confirm that Easterners perceive holistically, viewing objects as they are related to each other or in context, whereas Westerners perceive them in isolation. Easterners see through a wide-angle lens; Westerners use a narrow one with a sharper focus. (Doidge, 2007, p. 302)

It is Doidge’s descriptions of some significant abilities developed by the Moken people, ocean living nomads (‘Sea Gypsies’ in his description) that alerted me to the similarities in Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara abilities. In the unique lifestyle of the Moken people they developed abilities that alter their eye sight, their heart rate and their holistic perception. He uses the example of their children diving for clams and sea cucumbers and their ability to see clearly underwater at great depths (without goggles) as an illustration of how the brain develops different neurological equipment.

Anna Gislen, a Swedish researcher, studied the Sea Gypsies’ ability to read placards underwater and found that they were more than twice as skilful as European children. The Gypsies learned to control the shape of their lenses and, more significantly, to control the size of their pupils, constricting them 22 percent. This is a remarkable finding, because human pupils reflexively get larger under water, and pupil adjustment has been thought to be a fixed, innate reflex, controlled by the brain and nervous system...This ability of the Sea Gypsies to see under water isn’t the product of a unique genetic endowment. Gislen has since taught Swedish children to constrict their pupils to see under water - one more instance of the brain and the nervous system showing unexpected training effects that alter what was thought to be a hardwired, unchangeable circuit. (Doidge, 2007, p. 289)

Gislen showed that, while these abilities were gained through cultural practices that have taken place over thousands of years, any human who engages in these activities to the same extent can gain the same neurological equipment. Doidge explained how different modern humans develop such different skills and knowledge, perspectives and theories of knowledge when faced with different realities and quotes Michael Merzenich, a leading neuro-plastician, in his explanation:

‘The cerebral cortex’, he says of the thin outer layer of the brain, ‘is actually selectively refining its processing capacities to fit each task at hand’. It doesn’t simply learn; it is always ‘learning how to learn.’ The brain that Merzenich describes is not like an inanimate vessel that we fill; rather it is more like a living

creature with an appetite, one that can grow and change itself with proper nourishment and exercise. (Doidge, 2007, p. 47)

The human brain has an appetite, a curiosity, that does not just develop neurological equipment to absorb new information but develops ways to gain more through the medium that it is using; developing the ability to constrict the pupil of the eye by 22 percent (in the Moken experience) or view a person standing over a mile away with the naked eye (in the Yankunytjatjara experience).

While this last example reminded me of the Yankunytjatjara policeman, the next example Doidge provides regarding the 'Sea Gypsies' brought to mind the many experiences that I encountered with Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people, their remarkable perceptions and their constant amazement at how 'watarku' (oblivious) non-Indigenous people are to their/our surroundings. The following example took place during the 2004 series of tsunamis along the coasts of most landmasses bordering the Indian Ocean that killed over 230,000 people in fourteen countries, and inundated coastal communities with waves up to 30 metres (100 ft) high. It was one of the deadliest natural disasters in recorded history yet the Indigenous people who live on the water in the same area all survived. Doidge asks, "What was it that they were able to do that others weren't?" The following excerpt describes the capacities that the Sea Gypsies applied:

The Sea Gypsies have survived using a combination of their experience of the sea and holistic perception. So attuned are they to the moods of the sea that when the tsunami of December 26, 2004, hit the Indian Ocean, killing hundreds of thousands, they all survived. They saw that the sea had begun to recede in a strange way, and this drawing back was followed by an unusually small wave; they saw dolphins begin to swim for deeper water, while the elephants started stampeding to higher ground, and they heard the cicadas fall silent. (Doidge, 2007, p. 303)

Doidge relates that the Moken people reminded each other of the ancient story about the wave that consumes people saying it had come again.

Long before modern science [sic, *these people are also modern and with their own form of science*] put this all together, they had either fled the sea to the shore, seeking the highest ground, or gone into very deep waters, where they also survived. What they were able to do, as more modern people [sic] under the influence of analytical science were not, was put all these unusual events together and see the whole, using an exceptionally wide-angle lens, exceptional even by Eastern standards. Indeed, Burmese boatmen were also at sea when these preternatural events were occurring, but they did not survive. A Sea Gypsy was asked how it was that the Burmese, who also knew the sea, all perished...He replied, "They were looking at squid. They were not looking at anything. They saw nothing, they looked at nothing. They don't know how to look. (Doidge, 2007, p. 304)

It was this phrase in particular, “They don’t know how to look”, that brought the voices of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people racing back to me. Repeatedly, I had heard words describing the behaviour of non-Indigenous people as “pina pati (closed ears)” and “watarku (oblivious)”. These were expressions that conveyed their astonishment that other people could be so deaf, blind and oblivious to their environment.

Another example of Indigenous Australian knowledge is of a Pitjantjatjara boy using his ‘literacy of the land’:

A hungry boy one morning caught a bee that had alighted on a bush flower. To its hairy body he attached some eagle down, often carried by aborigines [sic, *Aborigines*] behind the ear, just enough to slow the bee’s progress, and then let it go. The boy followed fast, keeping the bee in sight until it reached a dead tree. Here with an effort it raised itself to a hole in the trunk. After recovering his breath the boy climbed the tree and got his breakfast of honey. Aborigines have very acute sight and hearing, and their powers of observation are so highly trained that in knowledge of plants and animals, in reading signs on the ground, in forecasting weather, and in the management of fire in the bush they stand alone. (Duguid, 1963, p. 129)

On reflection about what I had learnt about Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara knowledge was that they too were able to perceive the whole environment, notice important detail, react immediately to their environment and had the oral communication capable of relaying truths over lengthy periods of time (millennia of wisdom in narrative). The hypothesis that began to form was that the experience and focus of Indigenous Australians over tens of thousands of years developed neurological equipment in their own knowledge, which I was seeing as a ‘literacy of the land’ (and sensing of the sea) that may be described within at least four categories:

- Holistic attentiveness (to all relationships from the air and water to children and international visitors),
- Acute observation (heightened sensual abilities, e.g. tracking),
- Alert responsiveness to the environment (presumably dependent on the above two categories, and observable through behaviour such as fire management, land management, water management, mimicry, rapid learning of languages and adaptability to different cultures) and
- Enduring narrative (performed through story, song, symbol and dance and maintained, with inbuilt auditing for consistency, for the purpose of teaching and maintaining Indigenous Australian knowledge).

The contention here is that Indigenous Australians developed a different, equally valid and valuable, way of living in and understanding the world and that they are not merely running behind on the same trajectory as Western and Eastern human cultures. It could

be that Indigenous Australian knowledge (as described by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in terminology that covers more of its breadth and depth than a “literacy of the land”) is as foundational to human ingenuity and future possibilities as literacy and numeracy have been considered to be hitherto. Rather than looking elsewhere for ideas on how to understand and work in harmony with our environment, would it be more appropriate to talk about expanding our understanding to incorporate Indigenous Australian knowledge as well as Western and Eastern knowledge? To do so would expand the mental capacities (individual equipment) with which to create responses (societal behaviours) to the wicked problems, particularly climate change, facing the world today.

Unfortunately, there has been an assumption (part of a racist narrative) that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge and environmental awareness is primitive and that whatever relevance it has is already known. This is false. This area of neuro-science is not discussed in my thesis and only referred to again in implications for future research.

The focus of this research is not Indigenous Australian knowledge. The focus is on non-Indigenous Australians taking responsibility for the way that they relate to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their knowledge. As a non-Indigenous person, it is not my place to describe Indigenous Australian knowledge, nevertheless, I have had to include descriptions and therefore quotations from Indigenous people. As such, I have not attempted to summarise or paraphrase the words of Indigenous people.

# 1 Introduction

Gary Foley used to tell my student activist group, “don’t worry about us, you work on your own mob” (Kowal, 2006, p. 47)

## 1.1 Introduction

As Homo sapiens reach 7.8 billion (Worldometer, 2020, May 27) their awareness of their place in the cosmos, their relationships to each other and their relationship to their environment is increasing, changing and growing in perspective (Christian, 2011; Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Harari, 2014). Humanity is becoming more cognisant of its impact on the environment and its ability and limits to direct the future of the environment and therefore human futures. Indigenous Australian knowledge includes strategies for understanding all life on Earth and its relationships within the universe around it; how to pay close attention to details in our immediate vicinity, in the night skies and over generations of time, communicated through nature and communicated through human narratives for over at least 7,000 years (Hamacher, 2011; Nunn & Reid, 2016). This knowledge, depicted as a “literacy of the land” in the prologue, is also highlighted by Wiradjuri woman, Kirsten Banks, describing how the position of the *Dark Emu* within *The Milky Way* communicates when emus are mating and when their eggs are available (Banks, 2019). Yet, while humanity is now well-placed to recognise the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge to human futures, the movement of Australian society toward embracing this knowledge is slow, perhaps too slow for its benefit to be realised. This study posits that Australia could raise the status of its Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population and add vital human knowledge to the world through the concerted effort of non-Indigenous Australians learning Indigenous Australian knowledge.

## 1.2 Brief overview of the research project

This research looks to identify the reasons for a perceived lack of interest in Indigenous Australian<sup>3</sup> knowledge and whether it is just based on a lack of awareness or whether there are narratives circulating within non-Indigenous culture that negate the value of this knowledge, creating barriers to an appreciation of its value. The study also seeks to develop consciousness of ongoing exploitation, practices that leak profits away from First Nations peoples and compromise the credibility of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Indigenous people’, ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ and ‘First Nations peoples’ are all used to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of Australia (Langton, 2018, p. 72). ‘Aboriginal people’ or ‘Torres Strait Islander people’ are used when only referring to one of these groups of people, and particular language group names are used where appropriate.

This research seeks to be part of the ever-increasing story of human knowledge and removing the barriers to appreciating the contribution that Indigenous Australian knowledge provides to human futures. It recognises that: a) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have aspired to teach their knowledge to non-Indigenous people since settlement began; and b) the despair that ensues when ones' knowledge is overlooked. In this context, this research aims to strengthen the embryonic 'Indigenous knowledge industry', at the direction of, and for the benefit of, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (with spillover benefits to the rest of Australian society and its economy).

### **1.2.1 Problem**

The status of Indigenous Australians' health, education, economic and other aspects of life is one of Australia's 'wicked problems'. Wicked problems are defined by their complex, entwined and seemingly irresolvable nature. The depth of writing about them also implies their seriousness and urgency (Australian Public Service Commission, 2007). The current (twelve-year-old) campaign tackling this problem of status disparity is being described as *Closing the Gap* (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2020). This initiative is grounded in the juxtaposition of statistics indicating the huge gap between the mortality, morbidity, incarceration rates and educational achievements of the Australian non-Indigenous and Indigenous populations. The 2020 Report (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet) clearly identifies the gap between the two demographics thus indicating the significant disadvantage for Indigenous Australians. Improvements in the status of Indigenous people continue to elude policy makers (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2020) as, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in general are the most socially, economically and culturally disadvantaged group in Australian society (Foley & Hunter, 2016).

A number of these issues are well-known and are recognised as societal inequities. However, one of the more subtle differences, which is not commonly described in current discourse, is the apparent gap between the aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to teach their knowledge and Australian government policy, which appears to continue to focus on advancement only through the medium of Indigenous people learning Western knowledge (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2018, n.d.; Dodson, 2007; NSW Department of Education and Communities, 2012; West, 2000). It is concerning to Indigenous people that their knowledge does not seem to hold any value in Western society as expressed by Yolngu, Yalmay Yunupingu (Pavlou, 2016; Rossingh & Yunupingu, 2016). The role of teacher is generally associated with a certain amount of prestige while the role of student generally holds a more

subordinate status. It would also seem apparent that teaching one's own knowledge is more empowering than learning knowledge from another culture, no matter how liberating that knowledge is intended to be. It is posited that a significant challenge underlying the disadvantage of Indigenous people is that mainstream Australia does not recognise, understand or appreciate Indigenous Australian knowledge and culture.

### ***Indigenous Australian knowledge is part of the solution***

What is not widely appreciated, and therefore sits at the heart of this fissure, is that Indigenous people managed the Australian environment and its land, fire and water systems for in excess of 50,000 years (Dodson, 2007; Flannery, 2005; Gammage, 2011; McMaster, 2020; Pascoe, 2014). First Nations peoples also managed their economy (Butlin, 1993) and accumulated all the knowledge related to managing all of these aspects of life.

There is evidence scattered throughout historical witness accounts of the "literacy of the land" that First Nations peoples developed, namely to (i) perceive the whole environment, (ii) notice important detail, (iii) react immediately to indications in their environment and (iv) retell enduring narratives representing millennia of wisdom in oral and symbolic communication (Hamacher, 2011; McMaster, 2020; Nunn & Reid, 2016; Pascoe, 2014). These abilities incorporate attention to auditing mechanisms capable of relaying reliable knowledge over thousands of years (Hamacher, 2011; Nunn & Reid, 2016). As described in the prologue, these four categories surfaced through reading Doidge's (2007) description of cultural evolution and the abilities of the 'Sea Gypsies', and the researcher's personal interactions with Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people. At least these suggested categories of Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing<sup>4</sup>, have not been as well developed in Western knowledge, and may be simplistically memorised as: Holistic attentiveness; Acute observation; Alert responsiveness and Enduring narrative (examples of these are available in the Fact Sheet provided to participants, Appendix Thirteen).

Two areas surface with respect to knowledge transfer of this "literacy of the land": Indigenous people teaching each other their knowledge, and Indigenous people teaching non-Indigenous people their knowledge. It is this second area that is the focus of this research as it so rarely occurs despite Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples attempting to teach non-Indigenous people their knowledge since their first encounters. In Victoria, Koori people ("Koori" is the collective name of the many different Aboriginal tribes and nations who come from South Eastern Australia'; Brearley, Thompson, Tolo, &

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<sup>4</sup> 'ways-of-knowing' refers here to the ways that people accumulate knowledge.



Sista Girl, 2010, p. 7) attempted to teach colonists from the first days of settlement, initially through inviting them to ceremonies (Robinson, 1998).

There are 21 Koori education businesses registered in Victoria for the purpose of teaching Indigenous knowledge (DEDJTR, 2016). These businesses would grow in strength if there were an increase in demand<sup>5</sup> for this knowledge. This premise is central to the purpose of this research and it is posited that strengthening these already established Indigenous education businesses, and the potential Indigenous knowledge 'industry' (at the direction of First Nations peoples), will increase:

- Recognition of Indigenous knowledge as relevant and important to caring for Australia's natural resources;
- Income for Indigenous people (therefore a direct opportunity for economic improvement);
- First Nations peoples' self-esteem; and
- (therefore) Ability to gain a meaningful role in the economy.

While the research is focused and specific it is not directed at a micro level on particular businesses; it is directed at a macro level to develop an understanding within a Western standpoint and therefore assist in building an awareness and appreciation of Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing. However, it is not focussed on creating top-down policy. This study is focussed on the exploration of the macro-environment in which individuals inhabit, and at the micro-level for the purpose of understanding how individuals can be stimulated to become more aware.

A part of the big-picture is that Australia has never had a government policy of learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; integration was only ever about 'integrating' Indigenous people into mainstream society (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2010; Goodall, 1996; Moran, 2005). Australia's current policies continue along similar lines of assisting Indigenous people to fit within the mainstream Australian paradigm, providing opportunities for Indigenous people to 'be like us' (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, n.d.; Dodson, 2007; NSW Department of Education and Communities, 2012; West, 2000). Yalmay Yunupingu explains her experience (Pavlou, 2016) as the Yolngu continue to be challenged in their attempts to teach their own children their knowledge. While it continues to be a struggle for Indigenous people to teach their knowledge to their children, it seems the political climate would hardly be ready for policy encouraging Indigenous knowledge to be taught broadly. Policy is

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<sup>5</sup> Demand is used in the economic sense of referring to a consumer's desire to purchase goods and services and willingness to pay a price for a specific good or service.

generally developed from research and consultation with stakeholders (Samnakay, 2017). Prior to policy development there must be awareness and interest within the population for policy to surface, it does not come from nowhere; “government's policies reflect the interests of the dominant social groups which control the state” (Datta-Chaudhuri, 1990, p. 38). Like reconciliation, interest in Indigenous Australian knowledge on the part of non-Indigenous Australians “is about a personal journey, a matter of the heart” (Dodson, 2004, May 25, p. 17). Therefore, the focus of this research is on increasing understanding (and awareness) of Indigenous Australian knowledge within Australian society. Such understanding is a first step toward developing policies to support the teaching of this knowledge at the direction of First Nations peoples and increasing demand from within the broader population.

### **1.3 The research objectives**

The dual outcomes that this research hopes to engender are:

- Expansion of opportunities for economic prosperity for Indigenous people through Indigenous Australian knowledge-based businesses;
- Expansion of opportunities for non-indigenous Australians to learn Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing.

Several questions surface in the context of a lack of mainstream appreciation of Indigenous Australian knowledge. The first and the one focussed on here being: How can Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing be brought onto the centre stage of Australian life so that it is valued, learnt and used to care for country again? What is central to modern Australian culture is ‘the economy’. Financial analysis and reporting are an hourly constant on news media. Also, what is valued in most of the Australian community is the ability to make money and participate in the economy, as highlighted by the policies of the Australian coalition government during the last two elections, 2013 and 2019 (Liberal Party of Australia, 2020; National Party of Australia, 2020). Australia is part of the Western capitalist economy (Robinson, Tsiaplias, & Nguyen, 2016). The ‘requirement for employment’ and ‘being involved in the “real” economy’ is seen as central to a better future for Indigenous people in Australia (Peterson, 2005, pp. 7-8). Also, the policies of the Hawke/ Keating Governments such as:

The establishment of the supra-department of Employment, Education and Training in 1987 highlighted the emphasis placed on education as a means to generate greater national productivity and international economic competitiveness. ... While equity and access were promoted, they were framed in terms of social efficiency, resulting in the individual and the economy being

placed centre stage. ... by the time of the election of the Howard Government in 1996 there had been a significant narrowing of the agenda for schooling. The efficiency or economic purposes of schooling had gained primacy over the public purposes of schooling (Cranston, Kimber, Mulford, Reid, & Keating, 2010, p. 186).

It is argued that to make an impact in Australia, the research questions need to place Indigenous Australian knowledge in the context of the economy.

It is notable that a significant part of the Australian economy is 'the knowledge economy' (Houghton & Sheehan, 2000; Yigitcanlar, 2010) and yet Indigenous Australian knowledge, unique to Australia, is a very small part of the courses provided by Australian Universities. An inspection of the number of courses offered at four major Australian universities indicates that there are very few on Indigenous Australian knowledge; see Australian National University<sup>6</sup>, University of Melbourne<sup>7</sup>, University of Queensland<sup>8</sup> and University of Sydney<sup>9</sup>. University courses form a significant part of the changing learning environment within the Australian economy, which "was once built around goods produced in industries such as manufacturing and agriculture and is now services orientated, built around knowledge and skills in sectors like health care, education and professional services." (Victorian Government, 2017, p. 6)

One area where Indigenous knowledge has been recognised by Western society is Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art, which has undergone a boom in the last 30 years. Pitjantjatjara people, who are now famous artists retailing large quantities of expensive paintings, some selling at \$33,000 each in New York (Olsen Gruin, 2019) were not painting thirty years ago due to its non-profitability. They worked instead as office, clinic, store workers and mechanics (Tjala Arts, 2015). Altman, who wrote extensively on the Indigenous Economy from 1970 to 2014, also noted that "the most significant factor in the decline of the [Art] sector has been reduced returns to producers" (Thomassin & Butler, 2014, pp. 38-39), that took place in the 1970-80s. Indigenous art is often based on Indigenous knowledge. Such art is one example of businesses exhibiting knowledge that is grounded in millennia of story. The fact that such knowledge is being valued through the art industry could well be an indication that such appreciation could

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<sup>6</sup> Australian National University website. Accessed 9 August 2017, retrieved from <https://www.anu.edu.au/study>.

<sup>7</sup> University of Melbourne website. Accessed 9 August 2017, retrieved from <https://coursesearch.unimelb.edu.au>.

<sup>8</sup> University of Queensland website. Accessed 9 August 2017, retrieved from <https://www.uq.edu.au/study>

<sup>9</sup> University of Sydney website. Accessed 9 August 2017, retrieved from <https://sydney.edu.au/s/search>

take place in relation to other Indigenous Australian knowledge-based businesses more broadly.

This study posits a positive relationship between Indigenous Australian knowledge and the wicked problem of Global Climate Change. The flawed human thinking that is driving the increase in greenhouse gas emissions (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Slaughter, 1999) could be addressed by learning from Indigenous Australian knowledge. This study seeks to increase opportunities for non-Indigenous Australians to broaden their thinking to include (at least) the holistic, acutely sensitive, alertly responsive and meta-narrating aspects of Indigenous knowledge. It is hoped that knowledge of this “literacy of the land” will connect people to their environment, leading to changed thinking followed by actions that will reduce human influence on Climate Change. The Western Area Regional Aboriginal Education Team (NSW Department of Education and Communities, 2012, p. 20) wrote “These ways of thinking and planning are our great gift to a world that desperately needs solutions...Unfortunately, this gift has not been accepted yet, or even noticed”. Here is a chance of shared human knowledge gaining a larger, more holistic perspective of Homo sapiens in the world, stimulating other ways of looking at life and its potential futures. In looking to Indigenous Australian knowledge this research is suggesting an expanded human perspective (not an alternative one); humanity can broaden its knowledge base and ability to solve Climate Change and other natural world problems. Adding to human knowledge in this important way would surely raise the status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. More directly, by valuing Indigenous knowledge, opportunities for economic prosperity will be expanded through Indigenous Australian businesses.

### **1.3.1 The research questions**

Therefore, to place this research outside the silo of one discipline and in the market place central to Australian life the first research question is:

1. What can be done to increase appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing?

It would be negligent to encourage rapid expansion of an industry without considering the pitfalls already evident and unaddressed; the exploitation and compromising of Indigenous Australian knowledge. This may seem contradictory to the lack of demand, however, there are numerous examples in the literature and surfacing in the data (of this study) where exploitation is taking place to the detriment of the knowledge, and with the loss of economic benefit to First Nations peoples. Thus, the second question is:

2. How can the embryonic 'Indigenous knowledge industry' mature/be supported so that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples reap the most benefit from their industry?

To call the distribution of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge 'an industry' is an attempt to have it considered seriously by potential customers and regulators within the economy. Literature by a number of First Nations authors indicate that Indigenous Australian knowledge cannot be reduced to just a commodity. Graham (2008, pp. 189 - 193) enables a glimpse of the depth and significance of such knowledge:

...there is no division between the observing mind and anything else...the physical and the spiritual...these aspects of existence continually interpenetrate each other. ...The world is immediate, not external, and we are all its custodians, as well as its observers....recognition that *ownership is a social act and therefore a spiritual act*.

The depth and significance of Indigenous knowledge is best managed by its custodians, thus this research is not attempting to dictate national policy for such an industry but to emphasise and encourage individuals to listen and learn from First Nations peoples, and in this way build a national appetite and respect for the knowledge.

#### **1.4 Establishing a research setting**

In light of the numerous Indigenous teaching enterprises, and the apparent goodwill expressed by organisations involved in reconciliation, it is important to take a close look at what is causing the ongoing exclusion of Indigenous Australian knowledge and what is really blocking the aspirations for economic inclusion. Langton (1993, p. 5) asks the Australian public to examine their colonial views and says that, "the dominant modes of representation of Aboriginality" need to be transformed. To do this non-Indigenous people must explore what narratives, thinking patterns and structures maintain the colonial hegemony. It is the non-Indigenous thinking within the broader Australian culture that this study aims to explore.

While it is clear that the participants need to be non-Indigenous people since it is their perceptions that are sought, the study also engages with Indigenous people in the research team. One of the three researchers supervising this study is Gai-mariagal, Wiradjuri, Dennis Foley, Professor of Entrepreneurship, University of Canberra. An attempt was also made to engage an Indigenous Reference Group. Reconciliation Australia (RA) was approached. RA is an independent, not-for-profit organisation established in 2001 to lead reconciliation; by building relationships, respect and trust between Indigenous people and the mainstream Australian community (Reconciliation

Australia, 2017). It has established a major strategy to “capture and extend the willingness and capacity of corporate and other organizations to improve the life chances of A&TSI peoples.” (Tedeschi, 2009, p. 15) This is achieved by inviting all businesses and organisations to create a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP), which:

- provide a framework for organisations to realise their vision for reconciliation;
- are practical plans of action built on relationships, respect and opportunities; and
- create social change and economic opportunities for A&TSI peoples.

(Reconciliation Australia, 2017)

More than 1,000 diverse organisations have created a RAP since 2006 (Reconciliation Australia, 2018). This is the most well-known strategy directed at improving the receptiveness of non-Indigenous Australians to Indigenous people and as such provides the best organisational setting to facilitate the Research. Unfortunately, RA were unable to act as a Reference Group for this research, however, they did provide an invaluable referral letter to organisations that have a RAP. It was via these organisations that participants were sought from a cross-section of industries, sectors and types of RAP. There are four types of RAP ranging from Reflect, Innovate, Stretch to Elevate. The resulting acronym, RISE, is no doubt intentional as each type represents a gradual increase in commitment and activity. (The original intention to engage participants who are not generally involved with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples was only partially achieved).

#### **1.4.1 Trading places**

The title of the thesis, *Trading Places*, aims to convey the notion of trading the position of those who teach with those who learn. It is also about trading the position of who is researcher and who is researched and about repositioning Indigenous Australian knowledge as a commodity of value in our places of trade. Furthermore, *Trading Places* refers to a new situation of Australia taking responsibility for its places of trade; stimulating policies and practices that will eliminate exploitative processes that compromise Indigenous knowledge and reduce the income of First Nations peoples. Finally, *Trading Places* aims to assist Australia to ‘trade out’ of its colonial hegemony and buy into a mindset that recognises the richness of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and values their knowledge.

Use of the word ‘integrating’ is deliberately both alluring and provocative. The word is fraught with meaning, as illustrated in the Australian Historiography literature. The real significance of the word in this research is in relation to Integral Theory, which is the ontological framework of the study (defined in Section 3.4) but introduced as a theory in

Section 2.6.5. In this context it is about making room in the hearts and minds of the nation for the voices of Indigenous Australians.

This research is not about non-Indigenous people taking responsibility for Indigenous Australian knowledge. This research focuses on encouraging non-Indigenous people to take a good look at their own thoughts in relation to Indigenous knowledge and working at deconstructing the barrier that exists between themselves and that knowledge. First Nations peoples are themselves taking their knowledge into the modern economy and non-Indigenous people have been appropriating Indigenous Australian knowledge since at least the example of Ramsey Smith stealing Unaipon's work (Unaipon, 2001) discussed in Section 2.3.3. Thus, it is irrelevant to philosophise about whether or not to integrate Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy. First Nations peoples in Australia are working on enabling their knowledge to be respected within the economy (Janke & Sentina, 2018). The task for a fair Australian society is to take responsibility for the Western market.

## **1.5 Summary**

This thesis proceeds with a review of literature depicting the changing worldviews of humanity which provide a macro perspective of the Homo sapiens<sup>10</sup> journey, allowing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to come into focus and the relevance their knowledge to become evident. The literature includes explorations of racism in Australia, and from this the research attempts to expose what is preventing the natural progression of expanding human knowledge to include the very different perspective of First Nations peoples. Critical to this study is examining why mainstream Australia is so slow to recognise the value of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge. Therefore, the approach outlined in Chapter Three is based on researching non-Indigenous people rather than First Nations peoples. The importance of non-Indigenous people taking responsibility for their own attitudes and therefore their contribution to this wicked problem was relayed by Gary Foley when he would tell Kowal's student activist group (Kowal, 2006, p. 47) "don't worry about us, you work on your own mob". Thus, the imprimatur for this research approach comes from Indigenous people. Complex problems require an approach that can engage with the complexity inherent in the situation, to draw out a 'future that wants to emerge' (Scharmer, 2009). Embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge is something that is 'wanting to emerge' and non-

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<sup>10</sup> 'Homo sapiens sapiens' (Semino, Passarino, Oefner, Lin, Arbuzova, Beckman & Limborska 2000) are referred to here as 'Homo sapiens'.

Indigenous people have understandings from within their own culture into what is inhibiting this emergence. The non-Indigenous participants' responses provide insight into the barriers and the actions that could remove these barriers. Chapter Four presents these findings. Chapter Five discusses the findings, which take us to the heart of who we are as human beings, not purely in terms of compassion but in terms of our essence and direction as a species, as a society and as individuals. Chapter Six summarises the thesis, sets out limitations of the study and includes implications for practice and further research. The epilogue is an extension of the outcomes in terms of personal reflections.



## 2 Literature Review

*It is astonishing how much [knowledge] has survived. (Langton, 2020, p. 4)*

### 2.1 Introduction

As a basis to answering the research questions (see Section 1.3.1), this chapter reviews the scholarly literature on Indigenous Australian knowledge and how it has been perceived and traded in the modern market. Commencing in the context of Business Innovation the literature shows that Indigenous people in Australia are active in the innovation field. The review first explores the discipline of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. There it is revealed that Indigenous Australian knowledge is valuable, is not easily defined in the academic English language, yet connects humanity with Mother Earth<sup>11</sup>, has struggled to be noticed since colonisation, has been deliberately excluded and has been exploited in the market. The literature on Australian Historiography illustrates the exclusion of Indigenous Australian knowledge from mainstream Australian society. It also provides some explanations for the ways in which that concealment continues in literature and in education today. However, literature also shows a large increase in First Nations authors and academics who are making their knowledge available to the Australian public. Literature from Western Philosophy is examined for clues as to what is hindering the view of Indigenous Australian knowledge from a Western standpoint. This perspective discloses that in theory Indigenous knowledge should be embraced as a form of synthesis. However, in reality, when Western literature engages with knowledge, such Indigenous knowledge is ignored. Many aspects of knowledge compartmentalised, further distancing Western knowledge from a holistic perspective (intrinsic to Indigenous knowledge). Within these discipline discussions, level of appreciation for Indigenous knowledge appears to continue to diminish despite increased public (and thus commercial) interest in specific aspects of Indigenous knowledge, especially in the arts and land-management techniques.

The relatively new discipline of Big History, together with the relatively new philosophy of Integral Theory, provide macro explanations and images of the context and development of Homo sapiens. These new disciplines may allow Indigenous Australian knowledge to come into a different, clearer view from the Western standpoint. This perspective perhaps enables Indigenous knowledge to be visible in the past. It could also show its relevance for present times and how the human species could be placed on a more positive trajectory for the future. These macro perspectives also make visible more of the barriers obscuring

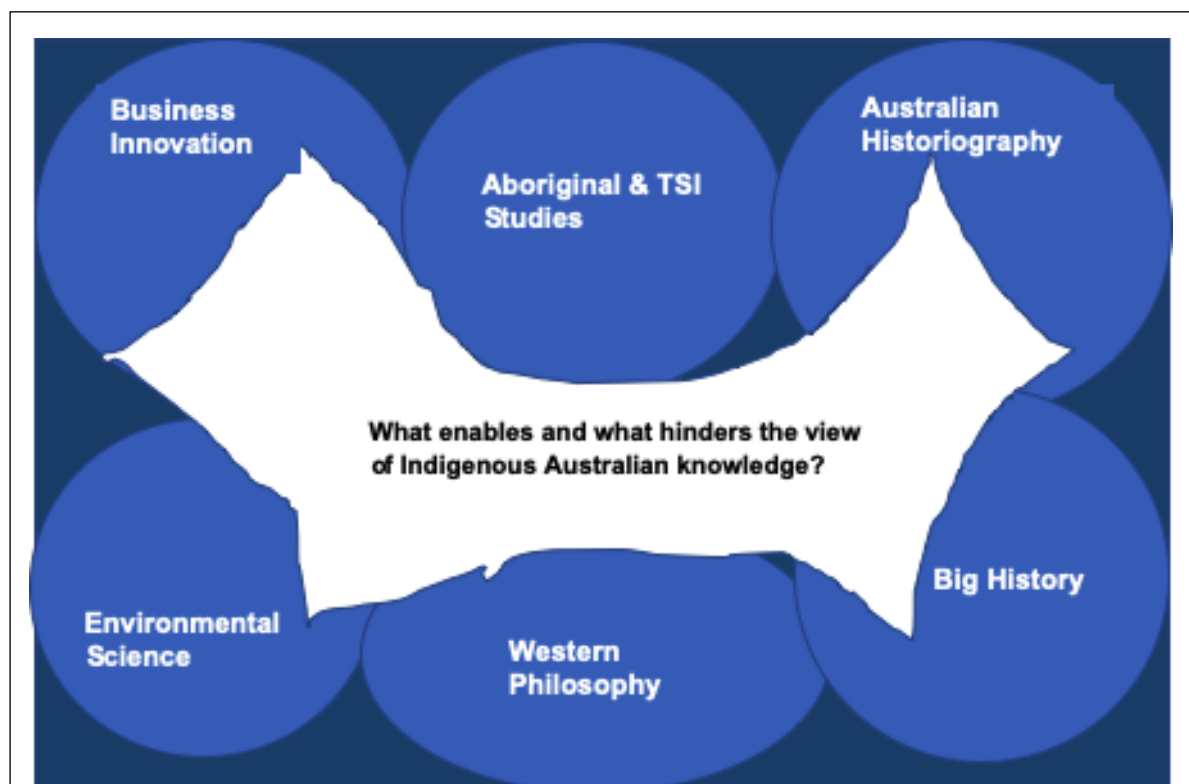
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<sup>11</sup> Denotes that there is an important relationship between humanity and planet Earth.

Indigenous Australian knowledge from view. Returning to a relatively micro level, the review examines the literature of Environmental Science which has started to understand the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Finally, the intellectual property literature indicates that efforts are being made to expand legal frameworks so that Indigenous knowledge is formally recognised. Sensitivity to ethical issues of trading with First Nations peoples need to be included in business education. The chapter ends with a summary returning the reader to the context for this research.

As a guide to this literature review, Figure 2.1 provides a pictographic overview of all the literature discussed in this chapter and its intersections with Indigenous Australian knowledge. In this review the reader sets sail across the ocean that is Western knowledge commencing in the sea that is Business Innovation, moving clockwise, and returning to the same sea in the form of intellectual property and ethical considerations. This journey circumnavigates the issue of what enables and what hinders the view of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

**Figure 2.1 Guide to the Literature Review**



To chart a course across an ocean needs navigational tools. The navigational equipment and tentative maps are accessed and explained through Integral Theory, which is also the

epistemological framework (defined in Section 3.4) for this research. An individual's reality changes depending on their perspective (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Wilber, 2001b). In terms of Integral Theory, it is important to view reality from as many different perspectives as possible, in order to map a more realistic view of any given situation. A multi-disciplinary approach has been recognised as necessary for comprehensive research:

The closing years of the twentieth century are witnessing a radical re-orientation of thought in the human sciences which defies conventional disciplinary boundaries and demands a new 'turning': away from the rationalising modes of modernity and towards a different grasp of the nature of knowing itself. (Hamilton, 1993, p. 5)

The use of strategic foresight for setting human direction is dependent on knowledge from multiple disciplines, not only from human sciences. As humanity begins to reflect on itself as a species through these disciplines, contemplating its futures with the complexities of an integrated cosmos it is engaging in strategic foresight to guide that future. The discipline of Big History and the philosophy of Integral Theory have emerged to look beyond the silos of individual (relatively recently separated) disciplines and promote holistic perspectives (Christian, 2008, 2011; Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Wilber, 2001b). There is a cacophony of voices in the world today even when focussing on academic expressions and when concentrating on a particular topic, making the navigational tools all the more necessary. This is particularly true when using Grounded Theory where the data is emerging from a small representation of the Australian population. Stars provide the most reliable equipment for guiding one's journey due to their consistent routine of movement in relation to the Earth. However, measurement of the movement of the philosophical stars underpinning Western knowledge has to be watched closely to determine what is influencing their larger orbit. Particularly when attempting to untangle a wicked problem because it is likely that what makes the problem so complicated is the human thinking that produced the tangle. Therefore, the focus is on a particular reality. In this case, the attitudes, and expressed thinking behind, the treatment of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Indigenous thinkers have said that life on Earth is holistic and that humanity "links to the land upon which they live" (Dodson, 2013, 0:50). First Nations peoples have tried many different ways to teach non-Indigenous peoples and are now finding innovative ways to do that in the market. All of this literature reveals how little exploration has taken place to identify and remove the barriers to perceiving Indigenous knowledge from a Western standpoint.

## **2.2 Business innovation**

Business innovation provides the context for this research as there are a number of Indigenous Australian business innovations that are sharing Aboriginal and Torres Strait

Islander knowledge in the market. Defining an Indigenous business which is based on Indigenous knowledge is not done here, as a non-Indigenous researcher is not well positioned to do so, rather examples are provided. The Victorian Aboriginal Business Directory lists 185 companies (Department of Economic Development, 2020). On that listing are five companies under the heading 'Education and Training', eleven under 'Cultural & Traditional Owner Services' and five are under 'Health, Allied Health Care & Social Assistance'. This is not to say that Indigenous knowledge is not embedded within the other 164 listings, these just appear to be the most obvious to use as examples.

Business Innovation is a topic that includes terminology that warrant defining for this study. To this end, the researcher sought commonplace definitions for: business; company; innovation; market, demand, supply and intellectual property. Donaldson and Walsh (2015) describe a modern world of economics where these terms can no longer stand in isolation from the world that surrounds them or from human futures, thus leading to definitions that are less traditional. The definition that they offer for business is, "a form of cooperation involving the Production, Exchange and Distribution of goods and services for the purpose of achieving Collective Value" (Donaldson & Walsh, 2015, p. 188). A single business, or a single 'firm' as they discuss it, does not operate in isolation from its responsibilities to society or the planet. In business, "Collective Value" is defined as, "the agglomeration of the Business Participants' Benefits, again, net of any aversive Business outcomes" (Donaldson & Walsh, 2015, p. 188). Donaldson and Walsh (2015, p. 181) are working from "a set of definitions that give precision to such everyday concepts as value, dignity and business success", and working from the premise that "most agree that business minimally involves the creation of value". Their discussion regarding the purpose of business has a blurred double image where questions are now raised concerning, value for who and what. Their definitions incorporate a new global perspective which includes business ethics.

Globally the social context has changed from the neo-classic mainstream economics that continues to view each part of society as separate (Donaldson & Walsh, 2015). Societal attitudes and consciousness have been changed as, "We have been witness to what can only be called dreadful corporate behavior over the past three decades. Business legitimacy, and the social trust that serves as its foundation, has been damaged" (Donaldson & Walsh, 2015, p. 182). The holistic definitions provided in a 'theory of business' proposed by Donaldson and Walsh (2015) meet not only with the more recent unifying dynamics of modern Western knowledge, (see Section 2.6) but also with the holistic perspective of Indigenous Australian knowledge (see Section 2.3).

A firm, business, company or corporation are all legal entities that conduct business through different structures (Donaldson & Walsh, 2015). As such they can be for profit or not-for-

profit entities. Indigenous businesses have used the company model as well as the social enterprise model to operate (Department of Economic Development, 2020).

An innovation is the product (noun) of the action, to innovate (verb). 'Innovate' can be defined as "to introduce a new process or way of doing things" (Hawkins, Weston, & Swannell, 1997). According to the Victorian Government business website (Business Victoria, 2019):

Innovation is often associated with the introduction of new products or services in your business. But it can also be about changing the way you do business. To be successful, innovation will need to be supported by you, your staff and all other business partners. Innovation embraces: new uses of technologies; improved industry methods; meeting changing customer demands or needs; better systems and processes.

Therefore, business innovation is a process of creating collective value through applying a new idea or applying an old idea in a new way. Indigenous people are taking their knowledge to the market in new ways.

A market is the place for the collection of buyers and sellers in which...the price of a product(s) is determined (Pindyck, 2012)...[It] traditionally was considered as a physical place where buyers and sellers came together to buy and sell goods. (Aghazadeh, 2016, p. 279)

The market is also the latent dynamic "for a particular item [good or service]...made up of existing and potential customers who need it and have the ability and willingness to pay for it" (Aghazadeh, 2016, p. 279). These types of "markets are socially constructed...and hence malleable and subject to multiple change efforts. Markets are always in the making: markets are not; they become" (Storbacka & Nenonen, 2015, p. 73). According to Aghazadeh (2016, p. 279) "the market encompasses various groupings of buyers, whereas a collection of sellers constitutes the industry." As such, it appears reasonable to define, for the purpose of this thesis, Indigenous people taking their Australian knowledge to the market as the Indigenous knowledge industry.

All markets are subject to the law of demand and supply and these two terms were central to the formation of the two research questions thereby necessitating definitions. "The most familiar ideas in economics are probably supply-and-demand-curves" (Folland, Goodman, & Stano, 2016, p. 23).

Demand relates to the quantity of a product in a market at a given time, people's desire for that product and what they are willing to pay for that product (Folland et al., 2016). There is a direct relationship between the demand and supply of a product; generally (within a range) as the quantity of the product available (i.e. supply) reduces there is more pressure on demand, which drives the price up (Folland et al., 2016). That is, assuming all other possible variables remain unchanged, people are willing to pay a higher price if there is less of the

product available. "...the demand curve predicts the behaviour of consumers as price only changes" (Folland et al., 2016, p. 23). The supply curve gives an estimation of the quantity of product that a supplier is willing to provide at a given price. There are many variables that contribute to the ability to buy and the ability to sell and they are described respectively as "demand shifters" and "supply shifters" (Folland et al., 2016, pp. 23-24). Demand and supply also relate to the allocation of resources used for the production of a good. For example, if there is low demand and a correspondingly low price for apples but there are plenty of apples that could be used to make cider then, if the price for cider is high enough to warrant the extra production costs, the producer may choose to allocate apples and other resources to the production of cider rather than only sell apples for eating (Folland et al., 2016).

An example of the operation of the 'law' of demand and supply can be provided in Aboriginal art sales between the 1970s and 2020. Demand for such art was low in the 1970s and prices were low. As demand increased, prices began to increase, however, much of the profits were going to middlemen, which meant that the artists (the real suppliers) were given little incentive to produce the art, favouring other more profitable sources of income (Thomassin & Butler, 2014; Tjala Arts, 2015). Since the last decade of the twenty-first century artists have organised more direct sales through their own businesses, thereby enabling the artists to gain more of the profit from their sales (Tjala Arts, 2015). Artworks sold through Tjala Arts at a 2019 exhibition in New York attracted up to \$33,000 for a single piece (Olsen Gruin, 2019).

What this research is concerned with is the social issues that distort the market for goods and services that are based on Indigenous Australian knowledge. As Storbacka and Nenonen (2015) describe, markets are socially constructed and malleable. There is little literature regarding Indigenous Australian knowledge or markets for its related produce. Primarily, there appears to be little interest and therefore low economic demand for Indigenous Australian knowledge generally, putting the fledgling industry at risk. Evidence of historical, and rumoured, experiences in the market indicate that there is potentially a devaluing of Indigenous Australian knowledge and the goods and services that it provides. There is a question as to whether an increase in interest in this knowledge would lead to increased risk of exploitation and compromising of the knowledge itself, through the forces existent in the market.

While Indigenous Australian knowledge is ancient it is also modern (Muecke, 2004) and it has never been stagnant. Stark illustrations of Indigenous innovation are evident in the fact that Noongar people created a dance from the military drill that they saw performed on a Western Australian beach between 8 December 1801 and 5 January 1802. Noongar people

then performed that recognisable drill complete with painted on uniforms and wooden riffles, as a dance for the next settlers at King George Sound in 1827 (Barker, Mulvaney, & Green, 1992). After Afghanistan men brought camels into central Australia, Aboriginal people quickly (within a generation) mastered the skills required for looking after domesticated animals (Paterson, 2018). Aboriginal peoples then started transport enterprises:

Aboriginal people providing transport services found a rare form of independence beyond farm laboring, for example, in the Murchison Ranges, Northern Territory, in the early twentieth century, some Aboriginal people ran a settlement maintaining at least a hundred donkeys used for donkey train transport. (Paterson, 2018, p. 7)

A more recent example of innovation is when a group of Yolngu men (The Chooky Dancers) were videoed dancing a Yolngu interpretation of *Zorba the Greek* and they became a national and international sensation (Tamisari, 2010). They also performed the main-part in a multi-media theatre play where “the group interpreted a sequence of parodic dances, including Gene Kelly’s 1952 *Singin’ in the Rain* comedy classic” (Healy, 2013, p. 4). These Yolngu dancers participated in the 2011 Chinese Central Television Spring Festival gala, which boasts a viewership of some 700 million people (Healy, 2013). All of these works “challenge with humour a number of fictions relating to the unchanging nature of Indigenous performance traditions, but they also dispel widely held assumptions concerning Indigenous people’s passivity in the face of change” (Healy, 2013, p. 2). From the on-line video, which provided the original source of this performance, it appears that these dancers did not produce these innovations to take to a non-Indigenous market but rather to entertain their own community (Yolngu, 2007). The old and new activities described above would fit within the definition of business innovation, as they created collective value through the application of a new idea.

Two examples show Indigenous people entering markets for the specific purpose of sharing knowledge. The first Indigenous opera, *Pecan Summer*, illustrates the flexibility of Indigenous teachers, with Deborah Cheetham (2010) putting a story of Cummeragunja into the Opera genre. Jaaning Tree restaurant by Indigenous hatted chef, Clayton Donovan, successfully displays some of the variety of original Australian foods in Sydney (Newton, 2016). These are just two examples of Indigenous knowledge-based innovations that First Nations peoples are taking to the market.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are strongly encouraged to become entrepreneurs although the field of research remains under-developed (Wood & Davidson, 2011, p. 311). Indigenous people who have engaged in enterprise development have been motivated to improve their economic situation, provide for their families and demonstrate self-sufficiency and self-determination (Foley, 2010). Enterprise development “has been a catch cry for

successive governments around the globe that strive to repair the poverty and social injustice that have been forced on Indigenous people under the tyranny of colonial dominance” (Foley, 2010, p. 65). Economic independence is desired and “self-employment is also seen as a major strategy to enhance the economic survival of indigenous peoples” (Wood & Davidson, 2011, p. 311).

Globally markets have become thirsty for knowledge, “the global economy has been transformed from a material-based economy into a knowledge-based economy. Previously the main sources of wealth were material assets such as gold mines, wheat fields and oil wells. Today the main source of wealth is knowledge” (Harari, 2015, p. 15). As such, Australia’s multi-billion-dollar knowledge economy has numerous protections: laws and regulations; policies and protocols; agencies and mechanisms for protecting the Western knowledge industry, which is so well established in Australia. All of these protections are important to maintaining a buoyant market for the knowledge available through this industry. The juxtaposition of measures taken and not taken to protect a market for Indigenous Australian knowledge becomes more obvious through the literature reviewed in Section 2.6.

In order to become an expert in a Western field of knowledge a person has to undertake extensive education and demonstrate at each level of knowledge their expertise, whether that be at Universities governed by the Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency or through vocational education organisations governed by the Australian Skills Quality Authority. Both are held to national standards through these bodies. There are examiners at every stage and institutions restrict what an educator is allowed to teach based on their level of qualification. The same protections, traditionally maintained for thousands of years by Indigenous people (Hamacher, 2011), have not been widely accepted. Thus, the market for Indigenous knowledge is underdeveloped, severely limiting the establishment of a strong ‘Indigenous knowledge industry’.

Intellectual Property rights are an essential protection for products. IP protections are essential to any business innovation (Trott, 2008) as no perceptive business would take their IP to the market without the guarantee that it will be protected. Distinctions have been made recognising that “Indigenous Australian knowledge is described ... as being ‘communal’, ‘cumulative’, ‘both individual and collective – interconnected’, and clearly remains the intellectual property of Indigenous Australians” (Muller, 2014, p. 69). The way that IP law has been written plays a significant role in hindering business innovation for Indigenous Australian knowledge, a point to which the literature review resumes in Section 2.8.



## **2.3 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies**

The justification for nominating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies as a 'sea' within Western knowledge is that the subject and related courses are offered through Western knowledge institutions. Albeit, some Indigenous academics have advocated for Indigenous Australian knowledge to emerge from under Western institutions (West, 2000; Peeler, 2020). Literature on the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge, difficulties in defining it, and its exclusion are described prior to outlining Critical Race and Whiteness Studies in this section.

### **2.3.1 Indigenous Australian knowledge is valuable**

Indigenous Australian knowledge has its own internal value, accreditation system and maintenance system (Graham, 2008; Hamacher, 2011; Muller, 2014; Nunn & Reid, 2016; West, 2000; Yunkaporta, 2019). Literature available through this discipline is directed at teaching within a Western knowledge base, maintained, monitored and measured by Western tertiary education standards. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies incorporate two different types of Indigenous knowledge; that which has been developed over millennia (and continues to evolve), and knowledge of the ways that the culture has been subjugated in Western thought since 1770. The primary focus of this research is to examine what is preventing the view of the former. However, it seems that the process of subjugation is intimately entwined with this research.

A brief description of the discipline of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies is provided by Nakata (2018, p. 1):

Australian Indigenous studies today constitutes a field of inquiry related to the past, present and future of Indigenous people and societies. Indigenous scholarly inquiry and production emerges at the interface of:

- (i) Indigenous people's traditional and contemporary knowledge, experience and analytical standpoints,
- (ii) the representations of these as they have been historically constructed by the Western disciplines, as well as
- (iii) the ongoing Western knowledge, methods and practice that continue to impact on Indigenous lives and shape Indigenous options.

All three of these dimensions are relevant to this research and are discussed in this and the two following sub-sections.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies is a comparatively new Western-based discipline with courses beginning in 1926 (at the University of Sydney, Department of Anthropology) and programs beginning in 1968 at Western Teachers' College in Adelaide, followed by the Australian National University (Bennett, 1998). The establishment of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in 1961 was a

real watershed moment for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Beginning with an interim Council, followed by an Act of Parliament in 1964 it signified a time when government policy displayed genuine interest in Indigenous Australian knowledge (Bennett, 1998).

Revisions to the Act in 1989, “changed the governing structure guaranteeing an indigenous majority on the Council and adding the function of maintaining and developing a collection of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies” (Bennett, 1998, p. 1).

AIATSIS conducts research in areas such as family history, environmental health, archaeology and sites research, native title, language and oral history and music. AIATSIS also funds research in areas such as health, rock art, music, arts, archaeology, biography, contemporary studies, education, history, health, women’s studies, housing, land rights, languages and linguistics, prehistory, psychology and anthropology.” (Bennett, 1998, p. 1) ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies’ is defined in the act as “study in relation to aspects of the culture, history and society of Aboriginal persons or Torres Strait Islanders” (Bennett, 1998, p. 2). What the phrase ‘aspects of the culture, history and society’ includes can be seen in the range of topics offered by the University of Queensland and the University of Melbourne. In the example of the University of Queensland, topics include “archaeology, prehistory, anthropology, Australian Studies, history, sociology, Aboriginal literature, linguistics, race relations, politics, music, government and religion as well as interdisciplinary subjects specially concerned with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island perspectives and approaches to knowledge” (Bennett, 1998, p. 2). Topics at the University of Melbourne (2020) include First Nations cultures, knowledge and research methodologies, aspects of historiography, key thinkers and concepts, ethics, colonialism, settlers, Indigenous health, land, law and government policies. However, the scope:

of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies can and at some universities does also include study in law, botany, education, social work, community welfare, psychology, sociology, commerce, engineering, economics, tourism administration, cultural geography, medicine, health studies and nursing, human biology and architecture. (Bennett, 1998, p. 2)

All of these topics are being presented in the context of Western knowledge in that they are part of Western institutions, being taught to non-Indigenous peoples as well as Indigenous people who have been raised in the context of a dominant Western culture.

Indigenous Australian knowledge that has been developed over at least 50,000 years, outside of the context of Western philosophy and its sciences is presented in a variety of ways within the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. The depth of knowledge available from an Indigenous standpoint is offered through tertiary courses, however, it is constrained as illustrated in the elders’ principles on the webpage of Southern Cross University:

We are and own this living culture. We do not need a 'book'... We as Elders have presented these things all our lives without being heard – we are often listened to but our message is not heard nor heeded. We take this opportunity to speak in the understanding that you will listen in the right way, hear us and learn (Gnibi College of Indigenous Australian Peoples, 2020).

Many universities have established centres and faculties devoted to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (Bennett, 1998). "Furthermore, there are courses taught overseas that contain elements of [Australian] Aboriginal Studies" (Bennett, 1998, p. 4)

Learning how to teach non-Indigenous peoples has taken some time and had varying success. Since Indigenous Australian knowledge was developed outside of the context of Western knowledge (Rasmussen et al., 2011) the concepts have been difficult to transmit to minds trained in (and therefore structured for; Doidge, 2007) Western thinking. Yiman Bidjara, Marcia Langton is one of Australia's most masterful and impactful teachers of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Like many Indigenous academics she positioned herself at the source of one of the rivers of Western knowledge, academia, and is in one of the world's most prestigious universities (Times Higher Education, 2020). She expanded the space for the teaching of First Nations knowledge and found innovative ways in "the non-listening, non-hearing" (Norris, 2010) Australian environment to reach and awaken the non-Indigenous public to racism (Langton, 1993) and a range of Indigenous knowledge. Langton (2020, p. 4) says that it is "astonishing how much [knowledge] has survived." Langton works closely with many other First Nations peoples and promotes and collaborates in the work of the Yothu Yindi Foundation:

...established in 1990 to promote Yolngu cultural development with community leaders and persons of authority from five regional clan groups: Gumatj; Rirratjingu; Djapu; Galpu; and Wangurri. The leadership and innovative program development of the Foundation are considered significantly positive forces supporting Indigenous cultural maintenance, not only in Northeast Arnhem Land, but throughout the country and internationally. (Yothu Yindi Foundation, 2020)

The Yothu Yindi Foundation have run the Garma Festival, just North of Gove for 21 years, selling out at 2,500 attendees each year (Yothu Yindi Foundation, 2020).

Maintenance of knowledge over thousands of years has been made possible via the use of memory techniques, oral systems of accountability and the incorporation of song-lines, dance performance and the use of metaphors (Hamacher, 2011; Nunn & Reid, 2016). A study into 21 Indigenous Australian stories about sea level rise from around Australia:

...provide empirical corroboration of postglacial sea-level rise... This method of dating Aboriginal stories shows that they appear to have endured since 7,250–13,070 cal years BP (5,300–11,120 BC). The implications of this extraordinary longevity of oral traditions are discussed, including those aspects of Aboriginal culture that ensured effective transgenerational communication. (Nunn & Reid, 2016, p. 11)

The auditing structures that existed within Aboriginal culture to enable the credibility of oral knowledge over generations is also described by Nunn and Reid (2016). These structures are especially necessary when conveying knowledge that may not be needed for many generations as in the response of the Moken people to the 2004 tsunami cited in the Prologue (Doidge, 2007).

Indigenous Australian Astronomy has been documented to some extent by Hamacher (2011) and he has made the point that “Although Westerners tend to think of science being restricted to Western culture, I argue in this thesis that astronomical scientific knowledge is found in Aboriginal traditions.” (Hamacher, 2011, p. 17). Further, Hamacher and Norris (2011, p. 1) note:

For more than 50,000 years, Indigenous Australians have incorporated celestial events into their oral traditions and used the motions of celestial bodies for navigation, time-keeping, food economics, and social structure.... as well as astronomical measurements of the equinox, solstice, and cardinal points.

This has been known and dismissed for centuries as Clarke (2007, p. 39) quotes from James Dawson in 1881, “Although the knowledge of the heavenly bodies possessed by the natives may not entitle it to be dignified by the name of astronomical science, it greatly exceeds that of most white people.” The depth of the knowledge was also recorded:

Of such importance is a knowledge of the stars to the aborigines (sic) in their night journeys, and of their positions denoting the particular seasons of the year, that astronomy is considered one of their principal branches of education. Among the tribes between the rivers Leigh and Glenelg, it is taught ... (Clarke, 2007, p. 39)

Indigenous people have kinship systems which are a complicated mathematical structure yet a prevailing narrative across Australia has been that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples had no mathematical ability (Matthews, Watego, Cooper, & Baturo, 2005): “Within Australia, mathematics education does not include Indigenous people and their cultures in its pedagogical approaches and, furthermore, it actually devalues Indigenous people and their cultures as too primitive to contribute to today’s society” (Matthews et al., 2005, p. 1)

Land management across Australia prior to 1788 has been documented by Gammage (2011) and Pascoe (2014) who describe in detail some of the magnitude of the ways in which the land has been managed. Newton (2016, p. 5) notes how Gammage’s work, “completely destroys the myth [fiction] of the ‘wandering savages’” (which has been a common portrayal of Aborigines, see: Clark, 1993; Goodall, 1996; Macintyre, 1987), and highlights “the intelligence, skill and inherited knowledge which informed [land management]” (Newton, 2016, p. 5). Newton points out the ways in which European Australians have embraced many foods from other cultures (from across Europe as well as Asian countries) while ignoring those traditional to Australia:

...turned their backs on the vast majority of the foods the Indigenous people have been eating for more than 50,000 years; ignored their sage and intricate management of the environment and its abundant foods (Newton, 2016, pp. 1-2)

Australian society is beginning to learn about sites where Aboriginal Australians managed sustainable farming. Budj Bim National Park, between Portland and Port Fairy in Victoria, was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site in July 2019 because of the most extensive and oldest aquaculture systems constructed for sustainable farming practices by the Gunditjmara society.<sup>12</sup> These systems nourished that society for at least 6,000 years:

...channels, weirs, dams, ponds and sinkholes to manage water and water flows [to] systematically trap, harvest and farm kooyang (eel)...[enabling] social, spiritual, geological, hydrological and ecological interaction and function...The highly productive aquaculture system provided an economic and social base for Gunditjmara society for six millennia...The ongoing dynamic relationship of Gunditjmara and their land is nowadays carried by knowledge systems retained through oral transmission and continuity of cultural practice. (Department of the Environment and Energy, 2017)

Cognisant of sustainable farming practices, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have witnessed that Western farming and “grazing caused a substantial shift from native plants to introduced crops and grasses and reduced native fauna ranges”, across their country. The impact of Western:

farming and introduced species has been profound, with deforestation, increased erosion, topsoil loss, flooding, soil degradation, increased salinity, water catchment degradation, reduced aquifer levels, degradation of natural springs, reduced water flows and poorer water quality including algal outbreaks and stagnant waters. (Paterson, 2018, p. 6)

Such observations provided consistent motivation for First Nations peoples to pass on their knowledge to the current and future generations of Australia (Graham, 2008; Wiggan, 2019; Yunkaporta, 2019). Injustices perpetrated on Indigenous people to drive them off land even when acquired under the rules of colonialism and farmed in Western ways are documented from Coranderrk Victoria to New Norcia W.A. (Cruickshank, 2017; Paterson, 2018). The resistance that Aboriginal peoples met strengthened their resolve to not only maintain their knowledge but to record the ways that their knowledge was being vanquished (Muller, 2007; Yunkaporta, 2019). Conflict resolution is recognised by Indigenous people over Australia as a relevant and successful part of their knowledge base illustrated in resistance, resilience and negotiation practices (Dodson, 1996; Dodson, 2004, May 25; Langton, 2018; Pavlou, 2016; Sizer, 2019).

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<sup>12</sup> Budj Bim National Park on 6 July 2019 was inscribed on to UNESCO's World Heritage List as Australia's 20<sup>th</sup> World Heritage place. See <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1577>

Evidence of Indigenous Australian knowledge such as at Budj Bim (Department of the Environment and Energy, 2017), the astronomy discussed by Hamacher and Frew (2010), the stories documented by Nunn and Reid (2016), the work of Gammage (2011) and Pascoe (2014) are surfacing in academic research. Furthermore, decades of work in teaching Indigenous fire management practices are being documented, utilised on public and private property and researched (McMaster, 2020; Steffensen, 2020b). The valuing of such research and knowledge is manifest in it being presented at conferences, inspiring further research, being discussed through public media and being applied in land management and in education.

### **2.3.2 Not easily defined**

There are many interpretations and perspectives of Western knowledge, showing that it is not easily defined. Similarly, Indigenous Australian knowledge is not easily defined in the academic English language. There is no attempt made here to define First Nations knowledge as it is not the place of any one person to be “speaking authoritatively on another’s knowledge” (Muller, 2014, p. 69). Also, there are numerous Indigenous authors who have provided academic descriptions of their knowledge, as described below and seen in Watson (2007).

Among First Nations academics who have attempted to define Indigenous Australian knowledge is Kombumerri, Mary Graham. She explains that “Indigenous Australian philosophy is more than just a survivalist kit to understanding nature, human or environmental, but is also a system for realising the fullest potential of human emotion and experience” (Graham, 2008, p. 181). She depicts two axioms; “the land is the law and you are not alone in the world” (Graham, 2008, p. 182) explicating that “The land is a sacred entity...it is the great mother of all humanity” (Graham, 2008, p. 182). She uses the English term “The Dreaming” to clarify that the knowledge “is a combination of meaning (about life and all reality), and an action guide to living” (Graham, 2008, p. 182), although other Indigenous academics and leaders see this term as an English minimisation (Cassidy, 2020; Foley, 2013). Some see the word “Dreaming” as uniting Western concepts of divisions of time as well as divisions between time and place while others see the word as reinforcing all of those divisions and relegating Aboriginal law to a distant imaginary world (McGrath & Jebb, 2015). Graham (2008, p. 182) specifies that:

The two most important kinds of relationship in life are, firstly, those between land and people and, secondly, those amongst people themselves, the second being always contingent upon the first. The land, and how we treat it, is what determines our human-ness.

Graham explains that the Aboriginal kinship system extends into land and “that a person finds their individuality within the group. To behave as if you are a discrete entity or a conscious isolate is to limit yourself to being an observer in an observed world” (Graham, 2008, p. 182). Muller concurs with Graham in saying that “the sacred ... resides in the relationship between the human spirit and the natural life force” (Muller, 2014, p. 83)

Conversations between people can begin more easily when likenesses can be identified (Habermas, 1987). Muller (2014, p. 69) looks for where “similarities might be found in how Western and Indigenous knowledge... [are] constructed and validated...finding possible connections, meeting points where discussions can begin.” Muller (2014, p. 66) also notes that “Indigenous knowledge creation and the Western construction of knowledge have some similarities but also many differences”. Bardi-Kija-Nyul Nyul, Albert Wiggan (2019, 3:48) describes similarities “Western science tends to refer to Indigenous knowledge as ‘Traditional’, ecological knowledge...I refer to it as Indigenous science, because it is the foundation of knowledge that was developed through the same principles as Western knowledge: observation; experimentation; analysis”. Such comparisons allow Western-trained peoples to find ways of appreciating this different knowledge on its own terms.

The difference between Individual and collective knowledge creation is a difference that attracted Muller’s attention. She finds that: “Collaboration amongst stakeholders is an integral aspect of knowledge construction. Innovative knowledge gains validity through collaboration, through critique and critical analysis of relevant stakeholders, to become accepted knowledge” (Muller, 2014, p. 71). This is noted by Muller as having “legitimacy in the Western knowledge creation process” as it does in Indigenous knowledge creation. However, there is a significant difference and incongruence with Indigenous research methods despite the fact that “collaborative knowledge development underpins Participatory Action Research methodology” (Muller, 2014, p. 71). In Western knowledge, it is the researcher who “retains control and has inherent power as the ‘professional’ researcher, the expert...the community is cast as having lesser skills than the researcher” (Muller, 2014, p. 72). Often the Indigenous community convey their knowledge only to have it depicted as the knowledge of the researcher (Muller, 2014). This was also described by the Aboriginal person who anonymously provided the basis of the first hypothetical example used in the second interview (Appendix 12), regarding the status of ‘researcher’ as well as controller of the ‘knowledge gained’.

A “useful and concise” definition for Traditional Ecological Knowledge is provided via a University of Melbourne study:

Traditional Ecological Knowledge as a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by

cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment. (Leonard et al., 2013, p. 57)

Differentiating between Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge and also pointing out the importance of maintaining balance in the environment, Apalech clan member and senior lecturer at Deakin University Yunkaporta writes that “Creation is in a constant state of motion, and we must move with it as the custodial species or we will damage the system and doom ourselves” (2019, pp. 45-46). Yunkaporta (2019, p. 47) recognises that there is no position from which an individual can be objective:

In contemporary science and research, investigators have to make claims to objectivity, an impossible and godlike (greater-than) position that floats in empty space and observes the field while not being part of it...No matter how hard you may try to separate yourself from reality, there are always observer effects as the reality shifts in relation to your viewpoint.

Debates continue between Western philosophers regarding how objective or independent a person's view can realistically be (Voros, 2008). Yunkaporta (2019) emphasises the inappropriateness of science being presumed and depicted as objective and he highlights that objectivity is not an aim in Indigenous Australian knowledge. Being a part of the whole, in constant relationship to all of its moving parts and playing a role in supporting that to which one is in relationship, is a responsibility of Indigenous knowledge, objectivity is not (Yunkaporta, 2019). First Nations peoples across Australia have repeated experiences of being drawn into what is supposedly objective science only to then read the Western bias embedded in the outcomes (Langton, 1998; Yunkaporta, 2019).

First Nations knowledge of processes for maintaining peace are highlighted by Muller (2007, p. 84) as “the respectful and consultative consensus-based model of governance and decision making that Indigenous people are familiar with can bring benefit to all Australians keen to learn.” She also refers, to that which is the essence of this research; “Indigenous knowledge, once disparaged as having little value, has become a site for knowledge prospectors keen to stake ownership over knowledge that they perceive ‘is not already under private ownership’” (Muller, 2014, p. 72). Both points seem to remain to be true; the prospecting recognises some commercial value in some Indigenous knowledge but, not recognising its true value, continues to attempt to subsume Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge under Western knowledge.

From the outside there are these pressures to commercialise aspects of particular Indigenous knowledge without its full, holistic approach, as noted by Yunkaporta, “Indigenous knowledge is not wanted at the level of *how*, only at the level of *what*” (2019, p. 49) which compounds external pressures on Indigenous knowledge. Comparing the initial invasion with the “cultural Armageddon” Yunkaporta writes about the danger that Indigenous



knowledge is subject to now from outside as well as inside; “a gradual contamination and unravelling of communal knowledge” (Yunkaporta, 2019, p. 70) as a result of current pressures. Pressures of colonialism that Muller (2007) points out, non-Indigenous peoples can wittingly or unwittingly generate. Yunkaporta is cautious about what knowledge he writes in his book because he is aware of “the way ideas can get tangled up and twisted in the marketplace of this civilisation, embraced and repackaged and marketed in forms that are often the opposite of the original concept or intent” (Yunkaporta, 2019, p. 73). Indigenous Australian knowledge cannot be simplistically defined, it connects humanity with Mother Earth, has struggled to be recognised since colonisation and yet has been exploited in the market. Literature about these issues is further reviewed below.

### **2.3.3 Indigenous Australian knowledge is excluded**

The literature reviewed on Indigenous Australian knowledge highlights how that knowledge has been excluded hitherto and the extraordinary effort that it has taken to make that knowledge visible from a Western standpoint (Foley, 2015; Gammage, 2011; Hamacher, 2011; Langton & Rhea, 2005; Newton, 2016; Nunn & Reid, 2016; Osborne & Guenther, 2013; Tjala Arts, 2015; Unaipon, 2001). Ngarrindjerri inventor, David Unaipon’s story is a stark and typical example of how Australia has been denied access to Indigenous Australian knowledge. He attempted to teach and apply Indigenous knowledge to Western society and researched and wrote an 80,000-word manuscript in 1924-5 (Unaipon, 2001). Ramsay Smith appropriated and edited his manuscript (Unaipon, 2001), adding the word ‘myths’ to the title and altering the teaching to a ‘novelty read’ as was typical of the time. Unaipon displays his mastery of the English language and the European perspective of the world as well as his deep understanding of Ngarrindjerri knowledge, ontology and philosophy, as did many other Indigenous people (Attwood, 1989; Van Toorn, 2006).

Remarkable knowledge and achievements are often unrecorded, passed over as ‘naturally occurring’ or credited to non-Indigenous peoples. Another classic example is that, there are few scholarly references on *The Law of the Tongue*, a unique relationship developed between the Yuin peoples and the Orcinus orca whale, where the Orca would assist humans in catching the Baleen Whale in return for the lips and tongue (Brown, 2014). The whaling industry in Twofold Bay and three generations of the Davidson family benefitted greatly from the knowledge for over a century (Brown, 2014; Clode, 2011), after initially considering the Orcas a nuisance (Crew, 2014). The Yuin people had this relationship with the Orca whales and used it to hunt the Baleen Whale long before European settlers arrived, explain Yuin elder Guboo Ted Thomas and daughter Lynne Hoya Thomas (Thomas & Thomas, 2014). Many Yuin people worked whaling with the Davidson family until *The Law of the Tongue* was

broken by non-Indigenous persons not leaving the Baleen for the Orcas to have their share (Crew, 2014). Zoologist, Clode wrote about the amazing qualities of the Orca and this very rare relationship between the Orca and human but less than 10% of her account mentions the Aboriginal people involved (Brown, 2014; Clode, 2011). She does mention the Taua, a close spelling for one dialect of the Yuin people, who are custodians of the knowledge of the Orca (Thomas & Thomas, 2014) and she states that, "It was this earlier relationship that prepared the ground for the cooperative whaling activities, and for this the European whalers had their indigenous crewmen to thank" (Clode, 2011, p. 115). The Aboriginal members of the whaling crew were also credited as bringing the great assets of "keen eyesight and excellent harpoon skills" (Clode, 2011, p. 119). Clarke writes a chapter on this topic (Cahir, Clark, & Clarke, 2018, p. 15) noting that "Indigenous people had a close relationship with the...(Orcinus orca) at Twofold Bay...over the hunting of Humpback Whales" but, then states, "There is no evidence to suggest that Aboriginal people used watercraft to actively hunt whales or dolphins." Clarke expresses his doubt that "Aboriginal peoples used their fragile watercraft...to kill even small whales" instead stating that "Aboriginal foragers took advantage of the stranding of whales" (Cahir et al., 2018, p. 89). Clode (2011) spoke to many marine biologists and found that none had ever heard of Orcas working symbiotically with humans to hunt whales and yet there are those who would believe that this came about in Twofold Bay only through the intelligence of Orcas and the newly arrived Europeans rather than credit the Yuin people. Clode (2019, pp. 38-39) highlights the historical discrepancy:

My previous research in *Killers in Eden* suggests that it was the pre-existing relationship between killer whales and Indigenous people that specifically gave rise to the collaborative hunting partnership in Eden. Despite an increasing awareness of Aboriginal whaling history in Twofold Bay, the Indigenous origin of this association remains rarely acknowledged, and more commonly attributed to European decent whalers.

It appears that for two centuries it has been possible to portray this symbiotic hunting relationship as something developed by non-Indigenous whaler settlers (Clode, 2019).

There is evidence that Australian education is more successful in teaching Indigenous children when it incorporates Indigenous knowledge (NSW Department of Education and Communities, 2012; Osborne & Guenther, 2013) and yet it is frequently excluded from the classroom (Pavlou, 2016; Rossingh & Yunupingu, 2016). Aboriginal education pertains to the discipline of Education, however, policies determining where and how it is, and has been, made available (or not) to Indigenous people is part of 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies'. Educationalists agree that teaching Western knowledge to Indigenous children is more successful when Indigenous knowledge is recognised and respected in the process (Guenther & Osborne, 2018; Rossingh & Yunupingu, 2016). Although the

importance of a “two-way learning approach” is well established as a principle in Indigenous education, it is continually questioned and has constantly had to be defended (Foley, 2015; NSW Department of Education and Communities, 2012; Osborne & Guenther, 2013; Pavlou, 2016). This resistance to the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge within Indigenous education is an example of exclusion. The exclusion of Indigenous knowledge across all features of Australian life has been discussed within the second and third aspects of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies as listed above by Nakata (2018). The reasons for such exclusion are considered below in the next section.

### **2.3.4 Critical Race and Whiteness Studies**

Critical thinking is undertaken through many processes and models by examining and evaluating the reasons and evidence for claims on any topic. Carnes (2011, p 21) posits that critical theorists “focus on society, structures and systems in context rather than the search for positivist truth”. Critical Race Theory (CRT, utilised as a tool of analysis in chapter three) recognises that the concept of race has been constructed as an artificial division between human beings on the basis of skin colouring (Bernal, 2002; McDougall, 2002; Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2011). This division serves as a theoretical framework to analyse the empirical field data and will be discussed in the context of methodology in the next chapter. CRT posits that the constructed narrative works to subjugate People of Colour, with economic benefit flowing more directly towards people with lighter skin (Bernal, 2002; McDougall, 2002; Zamudio et al., 2011).

With the idea of lighter skin privilege emerges Whiteness Studies which analyse the concept of Whiteness and attempt to explain and disrupt the subjugation of People of Colour by bringing attention to the ways that national and global societies have created language, systems and structures that favour a particular type of human being. Such human beings have lighter skin colouring (Nayak, 2007). Whiteness Studies regards “whiteness less a matter of skin pigmentation and more as an organising principle” (Nayak, 2007, p 738). Goenpul academic, Aileen Moreton-Robinson posits that “whiteness assumed the status of an epistemological *a priori* in the development of knowledge in modernity by universalising humanness” (Moreton-Robinson, 2004, p 75). She states that by “analysing this relationship we can come to understand the silence, normativity and invisibility of whiteness and its power within the production of knowledge and representation” (Moreton-Robinson, 2004, p 75). Whiteness Studies specifically focuses attention on people who identify as not being in a minority but see themselves, consciously or unconsciously, as part of ‘the norm’, where whiteness represents the dominant, more powerful culture (Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Nayak, 2007). Whiteness Studies requires these learners to question the ways that privilege and

power flows toward them and how this has taken place in Australia, constructing the assumed powerlessness of First Nations peoples (Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Nayak, 2007).

The task today is nominated by (Moreton-Robinson, 2004, p 87) as:

to name and analyse whiteness in all texts to make it visible in order to disrupt its claims to normativity and universality. The power relations inherent in the relationship between representation, whiteness and knowledge production are embedded in our identities. They influence research, communication and our everyday lives. Whiteness as a regime of power that secures hegemony through discourse has material effects on the entire social structure and is an area of study worthy of investigation and critique.

Literature relevant to the exclusion of Indigenous knowledge, which is studied within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, is discussed in this section under five headings. Beginning with the exploitation of Indigenous knowledge in the market today, as a current example, the discussion then traces back through perceived sources of this exclusion: colonisation, integration, paternalism and racism. All of these are framed within the context of Whiteness Studies.

### ***Exploitation in the market***

Despite the general disregard for Indigenous Australian knowledge it has been and continues to be unfairly exploited in the market. A recently resolved example of the exploitation of Indigenous Australian knowledge in the market is the case of the rights to the works of Albert Namatjira. It had been Australia's longest running copyright battle. It was resolved in favour of his family and clan who had been denied any rights or revenue from his work for more than 30 years. Namatjira, an Arrernte man from Central Australia, had sold part of the copyright to his friend John Brackenreg of Legend Press in 1957. Namatjira died in 1959 and his will gave the rest of the copyright to his wife Robina and his family. However, the administration of his will was handed to the Northern Territory public trustee which sold the full copyright to Legend Press for \$8,500 in 1983. The family was never consulted. Legend Press put restrictions on the use of Namatjira's paintings and images and the royalties to his family dried up. The lengthy legal battle came to an end with Mr Philip Brackenreg of Legend Press signing over the rights to the Namatjira Legacy Trust for \$1 after the intervention of Dick Smith (Rimmer, 2003; Thorpe, 2017).

“Indigenous Australians are concerned that their knowledge is being appropriated without their consent or knowledge and for little or nothing in return.” (Janke, 1999, p. 632).

Managing Indigenous Australian knowledge in the modern economy has been a concern for First Nations peoples with “big commercial interests knocking on our doors...to extract information for exploitation without reference to the original producers of that knowledge” (Nakata, 2002, p. 288) being a concern.

Research into Indigenous ecological knowledge, being undertaken by non-Indigenous people revealed that despite having protocols in place to protect the Aboriginal intellectual property a researcher wrote up a “new species”, which immediately resulted in another non-Indigenous person looking to commercialise its use (Searle & Mulholland, 2018, p. 22). To provide an indication of when and where this took place, Searle and Mulholland (2018) state that the study was undertaken with workers from the South Australian Department of Environment Water and Natural Resources, who spoke of recent work.

### **Colonisation**

Colonisation has “duped people in the settler society”, as well as Indigenous people, explains Muller (2014, p. 65) when she invites non-Indigenous people to “reflect on how the process of colonisation has challenged the humanity of settler society” (Muller, 2007, p. 83). The question remains for all Australians, those profiting and those disadvantaged by an unequal society: “Can we decolonise our minds” (Langton, 1993, p. 8)? Langton’s frustration in trying to address this issue is palpable in *The First Australians* (Perkins, 2008).

There is a direct link between colonisation, the subjugation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge and the health status of First Nations peoples today; “Much of the burden of ill health suffered by Indigenous people today can be traced directly back to colonization” (Rix, Wilson, Sheehan, & Tujague, 2018, p. 253). It was not coincidental that Pitjantjatjara elder Rene Kulitja spoke about this connection at an Indigenous mental health conference. Kulitja illustrates the barrier between Indigenous Australian knowledge and a Western standpoint, from the perspective of the Indigenous standpoint (The Lowitja Institute, 2019, 3:10). First Kulitja illustrates what life was like prior to European settlement, which did not arrive where her family was living until 1924 (Duguid, 1963) with a clear view of, and connection to, the whole environment. Before she demonstrates what it feels like to be perceived and treated like people without knowledge, Kulitja instructs the audience to “Think carefully and watch carefully” and her incisive performance portrays a tiny window from which one is able to perceive the world from “under the blanket of English” (The Lowitja Institute, 2019, 6:10). Kulitja uses a blanket as a metaphor for the language of “English”, which she describes as the whole Western culture and the way that it obscures nature and Indigenous knowledge (The Lowitja Institute, 2019).

To research the barriers to viewing Indigenous knowledge from a Western standpoint it is necessary to consider literature in the field of Indigenous-Settler relations. Maddison (2019) explains the flaws in Australian colonialist thinking in political terms; first recognising that there is no “Aboriginal Problem”. The problem is the limited thinking of the settler who cannot get beyond the colonial fantasy that:

...with the right policy approach, the right funding arrangements, the right set of sanctions and incentives, Indigenous lives will somehow improve. This is the colonial fantasy...At the heart of the colonial fantasy lies the belief that colonialism is already over. (Maddison, 2019, p. xviii)

Maddison, Clark and De Costa (2016) investigate "...whether and how reconciliation in Australia and other settler colonial societies might connect to the attitudes of non-Indigenous people in ways that promote a deeper engagement with Indigenous needs and aspirations...[yet] ...a large body of the population remains disinterested and unengaged." There is a tendency for non-Indigenous Australians to speak about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as "they or them" while referring to non-Indigenous peoples as "us and we", with a general reluctance to take responsibility for engaging and a tendency to deflect responsibility to government or others who are perceived as better placed to engage (Maddison et al., 2016). In this context, Weuffen (2017) explains how non-Indigenous teachers are reluctant to engage directly with Aboriginal communities reflecting a colonial mentality. Colonialism has produced a non-Indigenous attitude of "us and them" with the Indigenous "them" being regarded as inferior with no knowledge to contribute to Australian futures, leaving Indigenous people marginalised and voiceless, while non-Indigenous people assume a position of unhealthy superiority, quite ignorant of the country that they manage (Maddison et al., 2016; Muller, 2007).

### ***Integration***

The word 'integration' has a legacy because of the way that it has been used and applied to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people since 1965. The Australian Integration Policy, 1965-1972 (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2019) was in itself an attempt to break away from the Assimilation Policy, 1951-1965 (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2019), however, its wording does not reflect the meaning of the word 'integration' in the way Wilber (2001a, 2001b) uses it; which is to bring together all aspects of reality. The common definitions of integration are "combining one thing with another to form a whole and, in social contexts, as the intermixing of people or groups previously separated" (Bohensky, Butler, & Davies, 2013, p. 20). However, Bohensky et al. (2013, p. 20) recognise that the meaning "can readily subvert another important dimension of meaning: that the outcome of such processes is equal participation". This process of equal participation is also clearly what is intended by Besson (2004) to advance the integration of the laws of the diverse member states of the European Union (EU). Besson is working to give value to the diverse perspectives of all member states so that the EU can achieve cooperative coherence: "Associating European integration with a unique virtue of integrity helps to see all authorities in all political entities in Europe as contributing to the same goal of further integration" (Besson, 2004, p. 266). The idea of creating a whole, national identity that provides equality

to all members has never been offered to the First Nations peoples of Australia (Grant, 2019a; Morris, 2018; Reynolds, 1972).

The language and practices of non-Indigenous people were already entrenched in Australian attitudes by 1965 and so those at the interface with Indigenous people continued to apply settler assumptions without regard for the thoughts or feelings of Indigenous people (Attwood, 1989). While the Integration Policy states that “Aboriginal people could continue their cultural beliefs and live alongside others of different cultures” (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2019) the prevailing behaviour continued to be that of the Federal and State Ministers who established the Assimilation Policy only 14 years earlier: “All Aborigines and part Aborigines are expected to eventually attain the same manner of living as other Australians” (Reynolds, 1972, p. 175). Thus, the idea of integration continued to imply that Indigenous peoples would be absorbed into Western society and that society would remain unchanged; avoiding the potential of becoming more whole.

### ***Paternalism***

A number of sources also show that paternalism has been a dominant behaviour (practice and policy) of the Australian Government toward First Nations peoples. An example of the paternalistic attitudes and expectations toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Attwood, 1989) is that although access to Pensions were made available to First Nations peoples in 1960 *The Social Services Act* allowed Aboriginal allowances to be paid to a third party; non-Indigenous institutions (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2019). The government intervention into Indigenous communities from 2007 returned to this stance of believing that non-Indigenous peoples know best how to resolve issues affecting First Nations peoples (Anderson, 2007; Dodson, 2007). By contrast, Howson depicts the era of self-determination as a thirty-year operation driven solely by Coombs ending with the election of Howard who proceeded to dismantle ATSIC and the Self-determination Policy from 1996 (Howson, 2006). Howson writes this conservative opinion piece from a position of paternalism in support of the actions of Howard and in clear contrast to Indigenous leaders who had attempted to prevent this dismantling (Anderson, 2007; Dodson, 2007). Self-determination was the only period of Australian Government policy when the voice of First Nations peoples was officially sought and it lasted from approximately the beginning of AIATSIS in 1964 to the dismantling of ATSIC in 2005 (Bennett, 1998; Burney, 2019; Howson, 2006).

### ***Racism***

A simple definition of racism is provided by Berman and Paradies (2010, p. 217) “as that which maintains or exacerbates inequality of opportunity among ethnoracial groups”. More

involved descriptions of racism include explanations about the assumed superiority of the Western world and whiteness (Grosfoguel, 2016). In Australia racist inequity shows up as the privileging of Western and white people as well as through ideas, attitudes, systems and structures (Mapedzahama, 2019). Anti-racism is the opposite of 'racism' while 'non-racism' "[s]ituates racism as extreme, overt, highly visible behaviours that consist of irrational and independent actions of individuals. Non-racism marginalises the historical legacy and contemporary renderings of systemic racism in contemporary society" (Mapedzahama, 2019, p. 8). Thus, non-racism or 'colour blindness' perpetuates systemic and structural racism through ignoring it and remaining silent about it (Mapedzahama, 2019).

Racism, in the form of attitudes and practices, continue to obstruct an unbiased view of First Nations peoples in Australia (Sarra, 2005). A study of 11,099 people over ten years shows that three quarters of Australians hold an unconscious negative bias against Indigenous Australians which seeps into their decision-making (Shirodkar, 2019). It does not go unnoticed, it has visibly been "etched in its racist colonial policies such as the 'White Australia' policy (overturned in 1973)" (Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama, 2018, p. 6). Yet discussion about racism, particularly in relation to First Nations peoples is often silenced and ignored. In the same article Kwansah-Aidoo and Mapedzahama (2018, p. 7) quote Soutphommasane from his last speech as Race Discrimination Commissioner "...for all we have been transformed into a diverse and vibrant nation, racism remains alive in our society, and not only as a vestige of an old bigotry and chauvinism". Erroneous conceptualisations of human development have been propagated in Australian society "...not only by legal but also by 'science fictions' that arise from the assumption of superiority of Western knowledge over Indigenous knowledge systems" (Langton, 1998, p. 9). Langton also spells out "...the result of which is, often, a failure to recognise the critical relevance of [Indigenous knowledge systems] to sustainable environmental management" (Langton, 1998, p. 9). Racist policies, practices and attitudes thus barricade Indigenous knowledge from visibility according to Langton and other Indigenous leaders and academics.

Indigenous leaders continue to bring the issue of racism to the attention of the public, often by way of the public broadcaster, ABC. Djap Wurrung/Gunditjmara business woman, Jodie Sizer is owner and co-CEO of PricewaterhouseCoopers's Indigenous Consulting. She was interviewed about racism in AFL given her new role on the board of Collingwood Football Club. This was in the same week that two documentaries were released about what took place for Adam Goodes at the end of his illustrious football career. One of those documentaries was also being shown that week to every AFL CEO, in line with the AFL's



efforts to overcome racism. Sizer (2019) did not have to see the documentaries to know that the way Goodes was treated was racial discrimination.

'Truth-telling' is a cornerstone of Reconciliation Australia, who refer to it as 'Historical acceptance' (Reconciliation Australia, 2017). 'Truth-telling' is one of the three main components requested by the Uluru Statement from the Heart (Burney, 2019), a documentation of Indigenous consensus across Australia, done at the request of the Australian Government, but rejected as an outcome (Mayor, 2019). Truth-telling refers to making public the ways that the Australian Government has and continues to subjugate the knowledge of Indigenous Australians. The truths being referred to are those that are known by First Nations peoples and have been well documented from Western knowledge, historical records (Attwood, 1989; Attwood & Markus, 2004; Burney, 2019; Cahir, 2012; Clark, 1998; Critchett, 1990; Goodall, 1996; Reynolds, 1972, 1987, 1998, 2003). Sizer spoke with authority about the negative impact of racism in Australian society. She spoke of the importance of Truth-telling, most particularly about "...history and the impact of that history today. From that hopefully we can have a valuing of Aboriginal ways of doing. We have knowledge that ensured the sustainability of this country for thousands of years." (Sizer, 2019, 38:44) In stating her perception of Australian society's attitudes toward Indigenous Australians, she set out a 20-60-20 rule where:

...there are probably about 20% of the population that are really strong advocates, that get it and there are always 20% who I think will always struggle to understand and I think that is because they won't really engage, for whatever reason; and I think there is about 60% in the middle of the Australian population (Sizer, 2019, 11:56)

What Sizer said next goes right to the heart of the problem, of influencing the public and thus, leadership on this issue in Australia because it relates to who is 'swaying'/ leading the public. The swaying of the 60% "...depends on what information they have access to and have been informed by" (Sizer, 2019, 12:13). She referenced:

...different chapters in history where you see [the middle 60% swaying], overwhelmingly in the 1967 referendum there was such a significant support in advocating for the rights of Aboriginal people. We saw it in the Bridge Walk and in the Movement for Reconciliation, and now I hope that we see it in the Treaty. (Sizer, 2019, 12:38)

Sizer (2019) explains that the Australian public needs assistance to help them realise that:

Racism is a real thing ...Truth telling is the most important; having a conversation around every table in the country where we feel comfortable with our history and the impact of our history on today...What that means in our schools, our workplaces or our sporting field, that we just have to be honest with ourselves about what has taken place. There is not a week that goes by that there is an Aboriginal person in Australia who has experienced racism. (Sizer, 2019, 9:05 & 10:15)

In promoting Indigenous knowledge Sizer referred to a past Collingwood Football Club president who said: "If Aboriginal people were more like us they might be doing okay" and suggested that:

Maybe it should be the other way around, that Aboriginal ways of doing and the values that we have of reciprocity and respect, and sustainability and community, and working together are all alive. There is so much that we can learn, and to be part of our identity going forward in our every day. (Sizer, 2019, p. 39:41)

Bunuba woman, June Oscar AO, expresses the link between ignoring First Nations knowledge and the status experienced by Indigenous people as 'the gap', stating:

For too long there has been denial about Indigenous society, knowledge systems and our existence in Australia before European arrival. The continuation of this legacy of denial is why we continue to experience marginalisation, and structural and systemic discrimination at all levels across different sectors in our own country. (Oscar, 2020)

The fact that "there is a pervasive refusal in Australia to see [that] the past [is] replicated in present structures" prevents the country from beginning "to fix the many issues that affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people," which is why, "reaching our potential as a nation begins with Truth Telling" (Oscar, 2020). There is consensus among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and many academics that racism continues to be a significant issue for Indigenous people and that such racism impacts on the social and health status statistics in the *Closing the Gap Report 2020* (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2020; Grant, 2019a; Maddison, 2019; Maddison et al., 2016; Muller, 2007; Oscar, 2018).

When Kulitja describes English as being like a blanket covering an entire First Nations' way of life, she is illustrating much more than the words in the language, substantiating Moreton-Robinson's (2004) claim that:

colonial experiences have meant Indigenous people have been among the nation's most conscientious students of whiteness and racialisation. Participant observation was our method for acquiring knowledge of our total environment and it was deployed to gain knowledge about white people. Indigenous knowledge of whiteness is more than a denial of dominant assumptions regarding the reality of race and the superiority of whites; such knowledge is not simply a reaction to what whites do and say. (Moreton-Robinson, 2004, p 85)

There is much more about the way that the English language is used that subjugates Indigenous peoples and also paints white speakers and their knowledge as objective and superior. Such inferences of superiority attached to language gives permission to vanquish Indigenous peoples through: exploitation of Indigenous knowledge; colonisation of Indigenous peoples and their lands; referring to integration as a one-way process; patronize First Nations peoples as childlike; and believing that there are genetic differences that divide humans into a hierarchy of races. This is the essence of Whiteness; more than a belief in

superiority it is total construction of a societal 'playing field' so that it can be described as flat while the gravitational pull indicates that it is not, given indications that all resources are flowing to peoples with lighter skins and seemingly away from First Nations peoples.

### **2.3.5 Reconciliation**

Reconciliation between the Indigenous people and wider Australian society would enable a clearer view of Indigenous Australian knowledge. However, critics of the Reconciliation policy and implementation argue that the process instigated by the Australian Government in 1991 "to address progressively, colonial injustice and its legacy" (Short, 2003, p. 491) has been diverted from its path toward:

a treaty to right the wrongs of the past [because]...once under way it used language far removed from that of the treaty movement. Instead of laying the foundations for negotiating a settlement with indigenous peoples on equal terms, the process was framed in nation-building language which implicitly refused to accommodate indigenous aspirations of difference. (Short, 2003, p. 506)

The work has continued under Reconciliation Australia since 2001 (Short, 2003, p. 506), however, it faces continual opposition from the fronts of this ongoing tension (Langton & Davis, 2016; Morris, 2018). The continued denial of an Indigenous voice at the negotiating table (Morris, 2018) is not congruent with the policy of reconciliation, which seeks to hear equally from Indigenous people in negotiating a way through (Short, 2016). Conflict theory posits that positive change can take place in society by resolving the issues of people who are marginalised under existing power regimes (Hungerford, 2008; Sherif, 2015; Short, 2016).

That Australia has a problem with its First Nations peoples is in the approach and thinking of non-Indigenous, settler Australians according to Maddison (2019) and Spittles (2006). While most Australians want reconciliation, they see it as something for Indigenous people to do:

The Council for Australian Reconciliation reported that "83% Australians want to reconcile with Indigenous peoples" (CAR, 2000c, p.32) ... Paradoxically however, the same survey shows that "most see reconciliation as an Aboriginal issue, not as an issue for all Australians" (Newspoll et al., 2000, p.36), therefore despite non-Indigenous egalitarian attestations, it appears reconciliation is fundamentally perceived as something Aboriginal people need to do." (Spittles, 2006, p. 11)

Leading with a vision of a reconciled nation, Sizer (2019) speaks about her desire to see the cultural practices that are unhesitatingly embraced in New Zealand, reflected in Australia. Fully aware that to get to that point in Australia a lot of work needs to be done in bringing the Australian population along, "My end game would have that sense of pride, where people walk side by side" (Sizer, 2019, 40:12).

Many years of experience and training in conflict theory and reconciliation brought the ideas of Pádraig Ó Tuama to an Australian audience. He points out that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have opened a way for reconciliation by using language based on inviting non-Indigenous peoples into a process of Truth-telling. He says that what he has heard Indigenous people asking is “that you respect us so that there is a possibility of us being in a relationship with you in the future” (2020, 31:26). They are saying, he clarifies:

We imagine a present and a future of...being in relationship with each other...because...in the midst of calling for treaty and reparations [First Nations peoples] are also saying, AND we are in relationship with each other and let's be in relationship with each other in justice and in language and truth (Ó Tuama, 2020, 31:38)

Ó Tuama expresses that in conflict theory, the above terminology is a very generous offer, it “is not easy peace language” for colonised people to use. He explains that conflict takes as long to heal as it has endured, “you are looking at 200 years of ‘sorry’ rather than a weekend or an annual commemoration” (Ó Tuama, 2020, 32:28). As an etymologist, Ó Tuama illuminates the origins of the word ‘remember’, saying ‘re’ means repeating and ‘membering’ means putting together physically. Therefore, re-membering is about putting back together that which has come apart:

creating something in body, here in front of us. It invites us into an ethical question about how to re-member the past. And to re-member the past in a way that we are paying attention to the morality about what we are doing. (Ó Tuama, 2020, 33:50)

First Nations leaders are familiar with conflict and reconciliation theory and terminology, and utilise it in their ongoing struggle; “If the past was once used as a trap for Aboriginality, we have seen a transformation, whereby Aboriginal peoples have reclaimed the key to the trap and have found the ‘liberating power of remembrance’” (Dodson, 1994, p. 11).

Ó Tuama wants the audience to be under no illusion that the process toward reconciliation is easy:

Peace is so difficult. Peace involves the kinds of arguments that you wish you didn't have to have. Peace involves staying in the room with people where you'd much rather walk out and peace involves saying things to people that you usually say about them when they are not there... peace and reconciliation are exhausting and brilliant and challenging (Ó Tuama, 2020, 20:17)

He wants Australians to understand that reconciliation requires a lot of work, on the part of non-Indigenous people. Patrick Dodson points out that “reconciliation is about a personal journey, a matter of the heart”, and suggests that perhaps “the personal journey must be undertaken before we can confront the broader matters that divide us as a nation” (Dodson, 2004, May 25, p. 17). A personal journey engaging one's heart is necessary for reconciliation (Dodson, 2004, May 25) and, as outlined in the Prologue and the methods employed (described in Section 3.8) informs this research.

While there is widespread reluctance on the part of non-Indigenous people to engage and learn from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Dodson, 1996; Howson, 2006; Maddison et al., 2016; McConnell, 2006; Norris, 2010; Oscar, 2018) there are those who have been recognised by Indigenous leaders for taking their direction from First Nation Australians and being courageous leaders. In delivering the Coombs memorial lecture Wiradjuri/Scottish Linda Burney (2019) recognised the commitment of Herbert Cole ‘Nugget’ Coombs (who was Governor of the Reserve Bank 1960-1968, and served no less than eight Prime Ministers throughout his public service career) praising his extraordinary advocacy for Indigenous Australians. Numbered in Coomb’s achievements is the establishment of AIATSIS, as a tool for maintaining connection with country and culture; assisting that important re-membrance (Dodson, 1994; O’Tuama, 2020).

Also delivering the Coombs memorial lecture, Yawuru, Michael Dodson (1996, p. 2) argued that Assimilation is about what Whitefellas want for themselves and what they want for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples but that Nugget listened to Indigenous people, “cared about us, thought about what we wanted, what we saw as our futures, what is our concept of what is our place in our country.” Dodson (1994) also delivered a speech about William C. Wentworth (M.P. 1949-1977) who he quoted as looking forward to a time when Aboriginality, as defined by First Nations peoples, was respected by Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Wentworth had the “courage and willingness to challenge and transcend the stereotypes that dominated his generation” (Dodson, 1994, p. 11). He “and many others, ... built a ground concentrated with the resources that will allow Indigenous people of the future to exercise our right to define and create ourselves and our lives” (Dodson, 1994, p. 11). Coombs and Wentworth worked towards a reconciled Australia. These lectures are intended to extend that legacy and so Burney (2019) spoke of the direction determined by Indigenous people for Australia to achieve reconciliation today; the Uluru Statement from the Heart.

Using an Indigenous methodology of research for practical reconciliation, non-Indigenous journalists “were challenged to reflect upon their world-views, whiteness and professional ideologies and practices, and how these might be disrupted” (Williams, Finlay, Sweet, & McInerney, 2017, p. 14). Melisa Sweet writes with Gamilaroi, Luke Pearson and Bardi, Pat Dudgeon (2013, p. 109) on “the importance of Indigenous media as information sources for non-Indigenous audiences, and as having an important role in reconciliation processes.” Yorta Yorta, Summer May Finlay (2020) writes to non-Indigenous peoples on how to be a good ally and really work with Indigenous people.

### 2.3.6 Reconnecting humanity to the environment

Indigenous Australian knowledge connects humanity, not only with each other as outlined in peace processes such as the Makarrata (Oscar, 2018), but with Mother Earth (Wiggan, 2019). Connection to the environment is another re-membering, another reconciliation available to Australians who listen to First Nations peoples (Graham, 2008). This is spelt out as the relationship between land and people and people to each other, by Graham (2008, p. 181):

The land is a sacred entity, not property or real estate; it is the great mother of all humanity. The Dreaming is a combination of meaning (about life and all reality), and an action guide to living. The two most important kinds of relationship in life are, firstly, those between land and people and, secondly, those amongst people themselves, the second being always contingent upon the first.

Dodson (2013) expresses that Indigenous Australian knowledge can connect humanity with Mother Earth and that this is important since there is evidence that humanity is not caring for this planet appropriately (Koller, 2020; Whitburn & Linklater, 2019; Wiggan, 2019). It is not only Indigenous people who recognise that a transition from the dominant social paradigm to the new ecological paradigm “requires a transformation in the way we, as Western humans, define ourselves in relation to nature” (Koller, 2020, p. forthcoming). Yawuru, Patrick Dodson suggests that non-Indigenous peoples need to be reminded that they are part of this world, planet Earth and connected to their environment:

I think if we can get the Western people to understand that they're born inside this world and not as astronauts that have landed from some other alien place, then I think there'll be a lot more harmony in how we look after the globe. (Dodson, 2013, 26:03)

Muller (2014, p. 81) writes in more intimate terms about the soul of the land:

For thousands of years it has been a central belief of the Warragamay People that this Country Ngalgwirri...is the home of Yaminie, the Creator Spirit - it is Rainbow Serpent Country. We believe that Yaminie dwells within this Country, rising from the soul of the land, the waters of the river, to create, to protect, to guide the growth of all that is here, blessing and indwelling in all that - is.

Dodson (2004, May 25), Sizer (2019), Wiggan (2019), Muller (2014) and Graham (2008) note that non-Indigenous people seem to have lost connection with the environment and with each other; between human groups. When O'Tuama (2020) speaks about re-membering he is specifically referring to reconnection between humans who have come into conflict. Yet these Indigenous people are inviting non-Indigenous peoples to not only connect with them through reconciliation but to learn how to connect to the country and the environment.

The availability of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander courses and the increase in available Indigenous knowledge in literature provides evidence that another future ‘wants to emerge’ in Otto Scharmer (2009)’s terminology. Such a future may be one in which Indigenous Australian knowledge is respected, valued and taught. Evidence (albeit minimal) of this knowledge being appreciated and transferred exists in: natural resource management (Macdonald, 2019; Mazzocchi, 2018) (see also CSIRO<sup>13</sup>); histories and art (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2018; Gammage, 2011; Hamacher, 2011; Nunn & Reid, 2016; Tjala Arts, 2015) and education (NSW Department of Education and Communities, 2012; Osborne & Guenther, 2013). Nevertheless, before a new trajectory for increased interest in Indigenous Australian knowledge can be imagined, it is necessary to take a look at what is obstructing a corresponding rise in appreciation. Obstacles are visible in the literature above and in Australian historiography.

## **2.4 Australian historiography**

Traditional historiographical methods usually create a sequential story as depicted by Michelle Ballif (2014, p. 243): “render every event significant only insofar as it becomes evidentiary to and subservient to a satisfying narrative with a proper beginning, middle, and end—all of which follow, chronologically, in a linear, logic of time”. The result depends on the perspective of who is telling the story. The literature reviewed from Australian historiography illustrates the disparate views, exclusion of Indigenous Australian knowledge, the rise in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander authors and academics and the way history is taught in Australian schools.

### **2.4.1 Disparate views**

Australian historiography explains the ways in which Indigenous Australian knowledge has been, and continues to be, excluded from Australian society. Australian histories paint Australia’s foundations with conflicting depictions, with one version stating that on arrival the British discovered and settled Australia, civilising and Christianising the Aborigines (Clark, 1993). The other portrayal of history is that the British invaded Australia killing and dispossessing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of their land and economic base (Clark, 1993; Goodall, 1996; Macintyre & Clark, 2004). Clark (1992) wrote the first volume of Australian history from the first perspective and then, revising his view, spent the rest of his life trying to incorporate the second perspective in the other five volumes.

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<sup>13</sup>CSIRO showcase Indigenous Futures <https://www.csiro.au/en/Showcase/Indigenous-Futures>

History debates are still raging over which of these narratives should be presented to the public and taught in schools, informing the nation on how Australia should consequently conduct human affairs (Kilroy, 2016). According to Macintyre (2004) it was not until the 1960s when Henry Reynolds began writing on Australian history that anything was told of how the, hitherto characterised 'grand' beginnings of Australia from the first historical perspective, impacted on Aboriginal people. Until then Australia's history was generally portrayed as a peaceful settlement where the Indigenous population quietly moved out of the way of progress by a superior race (Macintyre, 1987). Since then Reynolds has not been the only historian who has revealed the many massacres and heartbreaking stories of displacement of and resistance by Aboriginal people (Clark, 1993; Goodall, 1996; Macintyre & Clark, 2004).

Counter histories from the first historical perspective have been written disputing Reynolds' account of events such as Windschuttle (2002) and Hirst (2005), putting another stake in the ground to claim the nobility of Australian settlement. The intensity of these 'History Wars' includes partisan appointments to universities, museums, school curriculum writers, political advisors (Macintyre & Clark, 2004) and the board of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (Bonnell & Crotty, 2008). This perhaps reveals the extent to which various factions are prepared to go in an effort to maintain control of the dominant paradigm. The battles are emotive and call on readers to examine their values and on writers to examine their means of expression, as anything written on this topic contributes to discussions about implications for policy (Macintyre & Clark, 2004). It has been argued that a consequence of these 'History Wars', which include a persistent opposition to the wishes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, is a current debate as to whether Indigenous people should be encouraged and supported in their efforts to live on their homelands and teach their knowledge to their own children (Dodson, 2007; Pavlou, 2016). Those arguing for the exclusion of Indigenous knowledge are still winning battles as illustrated in current Australian government homelands and education policy (Pavlou, 2016), battles to have Indigenous fire knowledge recognised (Mazzocchi, 2018) and the *Australian Curriculum: History* (Weuffen, 2017). Literature on First Nations histories has progressed since the 1960s, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices becoming more pronounced and, in some cases, genuine value being attributed to their knowledge (Clark, 1993; Mazzocchi, 2018; Muecke, 2004; Swain, 1993).

#### **2.4.2 First Nations' perspectives**

There has been an increase in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander authors and academics, making Indigenous Australian knowledge more accessible. From the 1990s Indigenous



histories have significantly increased in breadth and depth. More and more Indigenous people have been telling their own stories, incorporating their Indigenous as well as their broader Australian perspectives (Flick & Goodall, 2004; Lester, 1993; Meehan, 2000; Morgan, 1987; Peris & Heads, 2003; Reynolds, 2005; Riley, 2001). Meehan (2000)'s autobiography provides telling and typical examples of the impact of the Australian government's treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. She studied the policies and describes the Assimilation Policy (1936 to 1965) that shaped her life:

Their aim was to take more control over Aboriginal people and force them to learn the new white ways. Under this policy the government had the powers to remove Aboriginal children from their natural families. This was a direct attempt to eradicate Aboriginal culture. (p. 263)

As a woman who was isolated from her Aboriginal family and culture from the age of five to her late twenties, Meehan writes from experience about what assimilation is and is not:

People probably think that just because we live in the city and eat the same foods as they do and speak the same language and dress the same way that I have assimilated. The difference is that to assimilate one has to conform to the values, beliefs, ethics, mores, and accept a certain lifestyle but I breathe a living culture every day. (Meehan, 2000, p. 291)

Meehan (2000) describes that living an Aboriginal culture involves a much deeper understanding of that culture than evidenced by what is seen superficially. She grew up believing "white society's opinion of Aborigines, that we were the lowest on the social heap" (p. 115), and "we were dumb, dirty and lazy" (p. 223), even though her loving, adoptive parents did not believe or suggest any of those things; the attitudes were all around her and throughout the education system. While she was frustrated, angry and terribly insecure as a result of being suddenly severed from her family at a young age and subjected to these societal attitudes, she knew that she had been lucky with her adoptive parents and her husband, enabling her to build her self-esteem (Meehan, 2000). She was never told the exact contents of the letter "that the Welfare wrote" to her natural mother "except that she should have all her children dressed and when and where she should put them on the train" (p. 297). All her family tried to console her mother and they discussed "hiding from the Welfare and the police but they knew if she didn't obey the letter that the police would come and...take them anyway" [so Donna was put on a train] "full of Aboriginal children" (p. 297) at the age of five and separated from her brothers. She was 28 when she was finally reunited with her Aboriginal family.

Meehan describes learning how much the Aboriginal people of Brewarrina knew about their social and political situation, but how powerless they were to act. To Meehan this was clear when they clearly described "race relations, police attitudes, black deaths in custody, land rights, unemployment, education, youth, women, substance abuse, housing and the

Aboriginal history of Bre [Brewarrina]. ... these people knew the answers but were powerless to make any changes" (2000, pp. 262-263). She explains that "I had to go to college for two and a half years to learn what they already knew" (Meehan, 2000, p. 263). These and other biographies (such as those listed above) discuss the very personal stories, impressions of the situation and perceptions of both First Nations and non-Indigenous societies in Australia in recent times. Among the expanding depth and breadth of opportunities to learn from the perspectives of Aboriginal people today is Wiradjuri Anita Heiss' edited book of 51 short stories about *Growing Up Aboriginal in Australia* (Heiss, 2018).

Non-Indigenous authors (Attwood, 1989; Muecke, 2004; Rose, 2000; Swain, 1993) have also moved to a different position from which they have increased the breadth of their view to perceive both European and Aboriginal worldviews. In seeking root causes related to the current positioning of Indigenous Australians, Attwood, Swain and Muecke, take a larger 'systems' perspective (than their contemporary historians) in analysing the inter-related influences; looking at the whole social system surrounding Indigenous Australians. Attwood (1989) opened up the conversation to this deeper level of analysis by illustrating the ways in which Europeans defined Aboriginal people firstly, by stereotyping them and secondly by oppressing Indigenous people across the nation in the same ways. According to Attwood, there is the provision of a universal experience where First Nations peoples were controlled from their education and job opportunities to who they could marry. Then, there is the empty promises regarding an equal place in Australian society. Such actions enabled Indigenous people to recognise the systemic ways in which they were being subjugated by settlers of all descriptions, thus, almost simultaneously changing their collective identity (Attwood, 1989).

This deeper reflection is continued in Swain (1993)'s thesis, that as Aboriginal people encountered a variety of strangers whose worldviews informed them, they adapted their knowledge and worldviews accordingly. He describes the possibility of bringing together two diametrically opposed philosophies of life (as undertaken by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples), and states "That Aboriginal and European world horizons differ is therefore not a quandary but a promise that understanding itself is possible" (Swain, 1993, p. 4). A promise that non-Indigenous peoples have generally, hitherto not taken up (despite the capacity being modeled by numerous Indigenous people). Rose (2000) incorporates both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews by presenting the perspective of the Yaralin people in the way that they want their story told to a non-Indigenous audience. Muecke (2004) also illustrates this approach, asking why Indigenous knowledge has not been given the status of philosophical knowledge, and puts forward the case for why and, in some part,

how Australia could come to recognise Indigenous Australian philosophy. He laments, “Whitefella knowledge of Indigenous Australia is...very shallow.” (Muecke, 2004, p. 166).

### ***Adaptability to new concepts***

First Nations adaptability to new concepts is visible in historiography. After only a couple of generations of living under colonial rule, Aboriginal peoples illustrated their depth of understanding of Western knowledge in their correspondence, understanding the system of governance, written and spoken English, and the depth of meaning of Christianity as it was taught to them. Before almost universally recognising the hypocrisy in the way that Christianity was applied to them, Aboriginal peoples often displayed their understanding of it (Attwood, 1989). As an example, in 1880 Johnny Phillips visited Maloga mission from Coranderrk mission and addressed the people in English, explaining what he had learnt about Christianity, that non-Indigenous and Indigenous people are loved in the same way as, “We are all of one blood” (Matthews, 1880, p. 22), thus, demonstrating his understanding of Christian teaching and its metaphors.

First Nations peoples of Australia display a wide range of worldviews historically and in recent times, in relation to many aspects of life, including politics and Christianity. Meehan (2000) describes herself as a Christian in her autobiography. There are, however, some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have rejected Christianity:

My Aboriginal culture has always held me in good stead. I know that all those things that I was told as a youngster are true. Not like the things that the missionaries told me. I am still waiting for those things and my prayers to be answered and I am 63. (Department of Human Services South Australia, 1999)

Patrick Dodson who was ordained as a Catholic priest describes that Christians:

...try to interpret a world through a Christological prism...Western Christian views, it is more about morality. It is more about moral codes. It is more about relationships to power and authority. It is very much linked to exploitation of resources and control and domination of people of difference and subjugating people to a way of life that is alien. That has been the history of Australia and it is still an ongoing history.” (Dodson, 2013, 6:02 & 6:44)

Dodson’s description was made in juxtaposition of Indigenous spiritual connection to land and the environment; i.e. country.

### ***Concealing Indigenous Australian knowledge***

Historiography provides some explanations for the ways in which the concealing of Indigenous Australian knowledge took place and continues. The exclusion of Indigenous people, culture and knowledge has been identified as racism (Langton, 2008) and has been described in historiography as well as in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (as above). In all the representations of Indigenous people over the duration of colonisation “our

voices have been notably absent” (Dodson, 1994, p. 4). From 1967 to 1996 it was noted that progress had been made by and for First Nations peoples.

Then during the period of the Howard Government (1996-2007), Australia saw the manifestation of a neo-conservative impetus to resume assimilation under the guise of “integration” (Anderson, 2007; Dodson, 2007; Langton, 2008; Pearson, 2009). The political climate in Australia became more and more difficult for Indigenous people as a “...strident political discourse that is not sympathetic to Indigenous rights, and challenges the notion of cultural inclusivity, and a government that has taken steps to dismantle some of the structures associated with the idea of Aboriginal self-determination” (Anderson, 2007, p. 153). Indigenous academics and many other:

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples described the Howard years as a ‘living nightmare (Graham 2007)’ during which many of the hard-won rights achieved in political struggle over the previous 30 years seemed to slip from their grasp (Maddison, 2019, p. 232).

In addition, educationalists and historians have explained the way that Howard personally involved himself in dismantling Indigenous involvement in the way that Australian History is taught in schools (Bonnell & Crotty, 2008; Parkes, 2007; Taylor, 2010).

Histories that have been justified as building “National Identity” have undermined the very principles that form Australia’s identity and potential future as a unified nation. The relationship between the future and portrayals of the past is explained by Parkes (2007, p. 162):

What is at stake in these history wars is not only “national identity” ...but also our conceivable future, because...more than history is at stake in how the past is represented. The shape of the thinkable future depends on how the past is portrayed and on how its relations to the present are depicted.

In this way, the future is described as depending on the way the past is portrayed and the way that the present is experienced. What actually took place and takes place for sections of a society is their reality, as the Indigenous autobiographies testify. Documentation of the processes involved in developing the *Australian Curriculum: History* further illustrate the flaw in thinking that a “National Identity” and values can be taught in isolation from the way that people experience being treated, as described in the following section.

### **2.4.3 History in Australian Schools**

School curricula worldwide change responsively to new knowledge (Zajda, 2010); reforms have taken place around the world in response to dynamics such as globalisation and ideology. In writing about politics and school education in Australia Cranston, Kimber,

Mulford, Reid and Keating (2010, p. 192) discuss the changing purposes of the education system with managerialism taking over from social-democracy:

...school-based management agendas of the 1990s and 2000s, and the federal government's desire for a national curriculum, there has been a steady departure from the social democratic priorities of the 1970s. Allied with such a shift...there has been a retreat from the democratic equality (public) purposes of education to a much greater prominence on social efficiency (economic) and social mobility (private) purposes.

Eight years after putting Indigenous knowledge in the back seat, after the 2009 implementation of the *Australian Curriculum: History* (ACH), Weuffen (2017, pp. 68-69) examines the factors contributing to the formation of this curriculum and concludes that:

...developing a national curriculum from such a competitive neo-liberal ideological position promotes an Australian education system as one focused solely on producing skilled, employable citizens. As this is done, so the argument goes, an education system focused on human values, respect for difference and local connections is backgrounded, and the notion of European dominance, as asserted in the homogenous and hegemonic curriculum, is maintained. The result is a curriculum that backgrounds Koorie perspectives.

Prior to the development of this more utilitarian curriculum, Australian schools had a dearth of material regarding the perspective of First Nations peoples up until the 1970s. Australian School curriculums began to include authors such as Reynolds during the 1990s, with the introduction of a new history syllabus in NSW in 1992 (Parkes, 2007). However, there was a conservative backlash to, among other things, acknowledging the impact of colonialism on First Nations peoples; Geoffrey Blainey referring to all such writers as 'black armband' historians. Subsequently in 1998 another syllabus was introduced in NSW (Parkes, 2007). Prime Minister John Howard, picked up the term "black armband historians" and used it to derided the alternate view of Australia's history arguing that "the balance sheet of Australian history is overwhelmingly a positive one" (Taylor, 2010, p. 20). Howard played a lead role in the conservative push for a national Australian school history curriculum (Cranston et al., 2010; Parkes, 2007; Taylor, 2010).

The Howard Government intervention into the teaching of Australian history is recognised by Zajda (2010, p. vii) as an example of "the neo-liberal ideological imperatives of education and policy reform, affecting schooling globally". Taylor (2010) describes this explicit political intervention from the perspective of one who was closely involved in history education policy at the Federal Government level from 1999 to 2009 and he was invited to participate in the Howard initiated national history summit of 2006 and subsequent consultation. Taylor (2010) focusses on the manipulative mechanics of the political action involved in the formulation of Federal level education policy (2010). These mechanisms included appointing unqualified people to design a curriculum while Taylor was at the same time engaged to report on

criticisms of the existing national history education process (Taylor, 2010). Other actions on a national history education policy were calculated to exclude the opinions of the states and territories, women, Indigenous people and history educators. Taylor (2010) also refers to providing inaccurate reports on the outcomes of the 2006 History summit to the Murdoch press. Howard was outwardly upfront about the assimilationist agenda he wanted but deliberately deceived stakeholders involved in public processes leaving many “very angry that they had been taken for a ride” (Taylor, 2010, p. 30). Political tools that were also being utilised in non-transparent processes regarded funding and appointments to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) described by Bonnell and Crotty (2008).

Weuffen (2017) provides the most current picture of the outcome of the ‘history/culture wars’ on the Australian school system as she explores “the ways in which teachers take up and/or resist Eurocentric notions of the ACH”, explaining that the ACH promotes a Eurocentric perspective of Australian history that:

...attempts to silence all other possible perspectives. This argument contrasts markedly with the justification of the cross-curricula priority area articulated in the rationale in the Australian Curriculum which seeks to enable students ‘to develop an understanding of the past and present experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, their identity and the continuing value of their culture’ (Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2014). (Weuffen, 2017, pp. 72-73)

In her conclusions, Weuffen (2017, p. 183) states that her “analysis exposes the curriculum itself as the main influencer of teaching practices that are Eurocentrically inclined”. She notes that there is “...one VCE syllabus, Indigenous Languages of Victoria: Revival and Reclamation...[that] appears to step beyond such constructions, offering up an interesting and important contrast, and perhaps step, towards a more equalised curriculum.” (Weuffen, 2017, p. 189)

At the end of Howard Government period, despite many attempts at manipulation of the school curriculum, consensus among the educational community deemed that history curricula would not be effectively altered (Taylor, 2010). It was not until the Rudd Labor Government was in power that the national *Australian Curriculum: History* was adopted, with specific nomenclature identified as “a privileged Eurocentric lens” (Weuffen, 2017).

Grant Rodwell (2017a) identifies ‘moral panics’ as another motivation influencing the adoption of school history curricula. He writes that the 2005 Cronulla race riots “...provoked a nationwide moral panic...leading to Howard's push for a national history curriculum which would instill 'Australian values' in school education students. The repercussions of this moral panic lasted at least a decade” (Rodwell, 2017, p. 368). Rodwell (2017b, p. 369) explains this as the part played by racism in Australian history:

While race riots have been scarce in Australia, this is not so with racism-provoked moral panics...racism also was a principal driver in First Nations Australians-European relations in Australia. This often feeds into school education, where again under the proposed national history curriculum school education, students would learn a particular view of these relationships.

Rodwell (2017b, p. 369), by researching all articles covering "Indigenous violence during 2006", comes to the conclusion that: "Much of the reporting reflected a moral panic, associated with what was reported as a 'vicious cycle' of sexual abuse and violence".

Rodwell (2017b, p. 373) proceeds to discuss the dynamics surrounding the phenomenon of 'moral panics' and its alignment with youth and hence people's perceptions of what youth should learn at school:

In his overview of the concept and phenomenon, Thompson (1998, p.44) considered possible reasons why research on moral panics so often engages with youth issues: "No age group is more associated with risk in the public imagination than that of 'youth'". Indeed, youths are in an invidious position. They "may be regarded as both at risk and a source of risk in many moral panics".

In the context of youth being in a transitional status between childhood and adulthood, Rodwell (2017) describes the part played by the 2005 Cronulla race riots. He posits a link between the phenomenon of moral panic and school educational policy that was placed in the schools, thus impacting on the morals of the youth cohort attending school after the Cronulla riots (Rodwell, 2017, p. 376):

...we can state with some certainty that the moral panic surrounding the Cronulla riots brought about much bipartisan agreement on the need for an ACH, albeit, political elites and compliant school educational bureaucrats would determine the content of the curriculum.

In support, Cairns (2018, p. 1) describes how "Political interference in history curriculum intensified during the Howard government years" as reinforced by other educationalists (Cranston et al., 2010; Parkes, 2007; Taylor, 2010). In addition, Cairns (2018, p. 1) explains that "The Victorian Liberal-National Coalition Opposition expressed similar arguments to the Howard Government at the start of 2018. They argued the Victorian curriculum had inadequate coverage of Australian history, religious tolerance and Western Enlightenment principles". A close look at the "Enlightenment Principles" (see Section 2.6.3) illuminate how these principles underpin a democratic society and Australia's values, justifying the conservative argument for teaching them as a basis for "Western civilisation". However, these principles have been applied in very different ways in the exposition of history in schools throughout Western-based Australian society over the last 240 years. This difference only appeared after the 1960s with the emergence of histories that included an Indigenous perspective (Reynolds, 1972). It was the First Nations perspective to which Prime Minister Howard so often derided as the "black armband" histories (Parkes, 2007).

These histories point out the ways in which the Enlightenment principles were not applied to the treatment of First Nations peoples (Attwood, 1989; Attwood & Markus, 2004; Critchett, 1990; Reynolds, 1972, 1998, 2003).

In education, “curriculum wars have been going on in Western societies for at least 24 centuries” (Sears, 2011, p. 273). Schools are the vehicles for grand narratives and the places where “ideological battles and culture wars, filled with rhetoric about patriotism and nation building, are fought” (Yunkaporta, 2019, p. 133). Taylor (2010, p. 22) emphasises the significance of history education through the “huge numbers involved. We are dealing with the minds and hearts of approximately 3.5 million school students in Australia [each year], attending over 9,000 schools and taught by almost a quarter of a million teachers”. Australia’s political climate and the thinking that goes behind policy development is significantly dependent on the way that the minds and hearts of the population are taught and formed (Taylor, 2010).

A set of resource materials has been developed by Marcia Langton, launched in 2019, “to empower all teachers to integrate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives in their teaching. These resources provide engaging examples to assist teachers in implementing the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories and Cultures cross-curriculum priority in the classroom.” (University of Melbourne, 2020) The teaching of history and other subjects related to Indigenous Australian knowledge, in Australian schools has never been easier. However, the motivation to access these teaching materials, and how well they are transmitted and discussed depends on individual teachers and their attitudes. Nothing much will change if the teacher’s attitude relies on the cultural attitudes within the Australian population in which history has been severely impacted by a racist narrative (Attwood, 1989; Maddison et al., 2016; Norris, 2010). Despite this, there are some teachers that are aware of the history and attempt to incorporate a First Nations perspective (Weuffen, 2017).

In advocating for Western education to be available in a way that expands his peoples’ capacity Noel Pearson states that the way forward is:

to achieve a complete bi-cultural capacity. That is, for young Cape York people to be completely fluent in their own culture and the wider culture – and to move with facility and capacity between the two worlds (Pearson, 2009, p. 77).

As numerous Indigenous peoples have shown, including Pearson, complete command of both sets of knowledge is beneficial. There are also Indigenous leaders who have voiced these aspirations for all Australians to be bi-cultural in this way: Dodson (2004, May 25), Sizer (2019), Muller (2014) and Graham (2008) so that they too might come to know the country.



The literature in Australian Historiography illustrates the subjugation of Indigenous Australian knowledge in conjunction with the dispossession of First Nations peoples of their land (Attwood, 1989; Reynolds, 2003). The ways that concealing Indigenous Australian knowledge in education today continues can be seen most clearly in the History Wars (Bonnell & Crotty, 2008; Macintyre & Clark, 2004) and establishment of the *Australian Curriculum; History* (Cranston et al., 2010; Parkes, 2007; Rodwell, 2017; Taylor, 2010; Weuffen, 2017). As such it can be seen that a potential Indigenous Australian knowledge industry was damaged in the potential market long before 'knowledge' was even considered as a commodity for the Australian economy.

Literature also shows a large increase in First Nations authors and academics who are making their knowledge available to the Australian public through historiography, as there was a rapid rise after the establishment of AIATSIS and the 1967 referendum (Bennett, 1998). While the promise of increased capacity for all Australians to know more about their country and its original custodians exists, offering an expanded view from two distinctly different worldviews, the path toward its uptake continues to be slow with non-Indigenous students continuing to be a challenge to educate (Gnibi College of Indigenous Australian Peoples, 2020; Nakata, 2018; Pavlou, 2016; Weuffen, 2017). It is Big History and Integral Theory that indicate potential change to this trajectory from a larger perspective (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Voros, 2018). Big History is used as a key input for strategic foresight; considering what could take place in the future for Homo sapiens, based on full knowledge of humans and their journey hitherto (Harari, 2014; Voros, 2019). From an Aboriginal perspective "Aboriginal society is accustomed to looking to the long term, and thinking strategically. A society which has a custodial ethic has to do this" (Graham, 2008, p. 183), thus, Indigenous Australian knowledge is part of Big History.

## 2.5 Big History

Big History, in unison with the new philosophy of Integral Theory, provide images and explanations of the Homo sapiens journey that enable Indigenous Australian knowledge to come into view from the Western standpoint, as illustrated below by the work of Yuval Noah Harari (2014). Not only is the knowledge visible in the past but its relevance is becoming evident for present times and for placing the human species on a positive trajectory for the future. It is also these macro perspectives that make visible more of the constructed barriers obscuring Indigenous Australian knowledge from view.

Big History provides a view of the entire Homo sapiens journey in the context of its universal environment (Voros, 2019). Homo sapiens' population has rapidly increased reaching 1

billion in 1840 and 7.787 billion in 2020 (Worldometer, 2020, May 27). This increase indicates the magnitude of the task involved in educating this, prolific and impactful species in a period when, according to some, “Life as we know it is threatened by human behaviour” (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011, p. 153). Simultaneously, Homo sapiens’ awareness of their place in the cosmos, their relationships to each other and their relationship to their environment is changing and growing in perspective (Christian, 2011; Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Harari, 2014). Within the last 150 years humanity has learnt that planet earth is over four billion (not, as some believed, 6,000) years old, rotates around the Sun (not vice versa), the Sun is part of a galaxy and that galaxy is one of billions in the universe, and that Homo sapiens is (most likely) the result of a slow biological evolution (not made to order), and so old paradigms are being crushed (Christian, 2011; Gaarder, 1995; Harari, 2014).

Providing a macro view of Homo sapiens from which people can evaluate fundamental aspects of the entwined Western and Eastern cultures, Harari (2014) puts the development of agriculture and the comparison of oral and written knowledge into perspective (Harari, 2015). The value of agriculture and written knowledge are so ingrained in mainstream cultures that their importance to human development are rarely questioned, are taken to be factual (Harari, 2014, 2015) and provide underlying assumptions central to standpoints that cast a shadow over the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Some archaeologists studying the transition of Homo sapiens from foraging to farming have recognised that “the question of why Aboriginal people did or did not ‘become farmers’ is flawed, as it risks adopting a teleological worldview that places primacy on farming over foragers, and maintains a conceptual marginalization of Aboriginal people” (Paterson, 2018, p. 11). Paterson (2018) suggests that if the topic is to advance investigations need to examine relationships between humans and Australian environments.

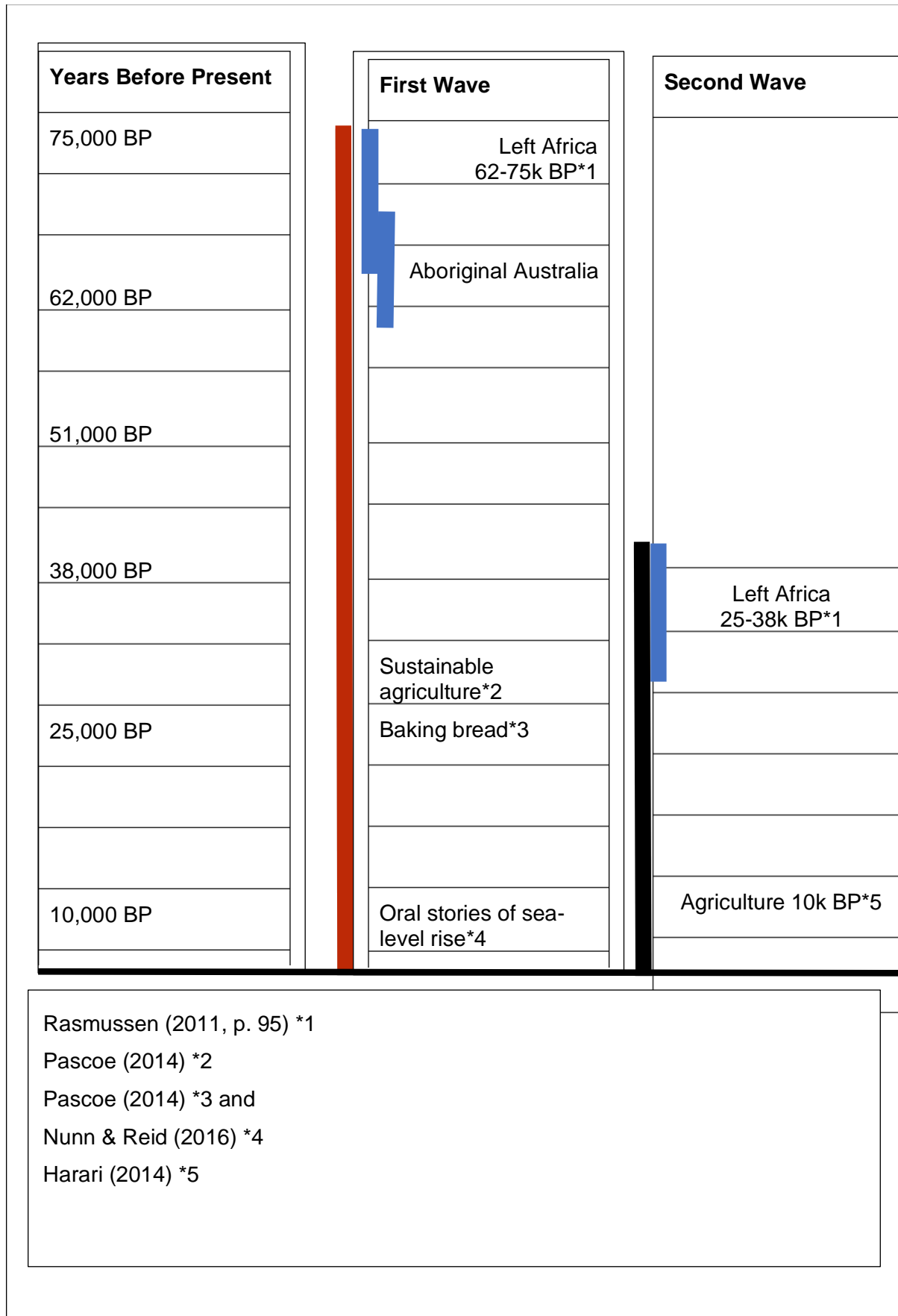
### **2.5.1 Timelines that challenge old perspectives**

The conclusions of a genome sequencing study suggest that between 75,000 and 62,000 years ago the first wave of modern Homo sapiens to leave Africa were those who, after spending approximately 10,000 years travelling, arrived in Australia becoming the Aboriginal Australians (Rasmussen et al., 2011). This work posits that no interaction that took place between the Homo sapiens of this first wave and those of the second wave until at least 24,000 years after the first wave had passed through the continent of India (Rasmussen et al., 2011). The remainders of the population from the first wave, which according to this study remained outside of the Australian continent, interbred with the people of second wave when they moved from Africa through India at least 24,000 years after Indigenous people

arrived in Australia (Rasmussen et al., 2011). This study also suggests that all other Homo sapiens (including Indigenous peoples such as the Inuit, Maya, Inca and Maori) descended from the second wave of humans that left Africa at least 24,000 years later (Rasmussen et al., 2011) thus "...our results favor the multiple-dispersal model in which the ancestors of Aboriginal Australian and related populations split from the Eurasian population before Asian and European populations split from each other" (Rasmussen et al., 2011, p. 95). "This means that Aboriginal Australians likely have one of the oldest continuous population histories outside sub-Saharan Africa today" (Rasmussen et al., 2011, p. 98). Unaipon (2001, p. 4) also describes the Aboriginal Australian journey out of the North West into Australia as: "Nearly all tribes scattered about Australia have traditions of their flight from a land in the nor-west, beyond the sea, into Australia" however not all Indigenous people of Australia agree with this proposition.

The interpretation of this data can be more easily seen in a depiction of a timeline (as per Figure 2.2) where it is seen that Indigenous Australian knowledge has developed over thousands of years. Archaeological evidence has shown that these Aboriginal people who arrived on the Australian continent at least 52,000 years ago, \*1 on Figure 2.2 (Rasmussen et al., 2011) were baking bread 30,000 years ago \*3 on Figure 2.2 from grains that had been nurtured through sustainable agriculture, \*2 on Figure 2.2 (Pascoe, 2014). The significance of the proposition from Rasmussen et al (2011) is that Aboriginal peoples developed their own knowledge completely independently from Western, Eastern and any other human knowledge until trade began at least 24,000 years after Aboriginal peoples had been managing their land, culture, knowledge and economy autonomously. It is not known when trade between First Nations peoples in Australia and other peoples began, however, trade with Macassan people "dates back to at least the 1700s" (Clark, 2013) and was well underway in Northern Australia in 1802 (Barker et al., 1992). More recent work has suggested that the timeline in Figure 2.2 expands Aboriginal occupation beyond 62,000 years to a possible 120,000 years (Bowler, Price, Sherwood, & Carey, 2018).

**Figure 2.2 Timeline view**



### 2.5.2 Big History and strategic foresight

Big History is used as a key element of strategic foresight in Futures Studies; considering what could take place in the future for Homo sapiens based on knowledge of humans and their journey (Voros, 2019). The first International Future Research Conference was held in Oslo in 1967 (Moberg, 1969). While reviewing Galtung's work *On the Future of the Future of the International System* from this first conference, Moberg (1969) illustrates how easily Australian Aboriginal peoples were categorised as 'primitive' and assumed to be known as, and discussed as representing an early example of humans. Moberg (1969, p. 299) begins with a quote from Galtung, then makes his own pronouncement about 'primitive societies':

...a 'society' is 'a self-sufficient social structure in the sense that it will remain essentially the same if the rest of the world is removed'. There are primitive societies which could be called societies in this sense, for example the Aborigines of Australia. But are there any such obvious cases in the more developed part of the world?

This statement is an example of how limited strategic foresight would be if futurists continued to attempt to understand change in humanity based on earlier flawed views about Homo sapiens and their history. Such flawed views remain and are persistent, with numerous examples scattered throughout many disciplines of this worldwide assumption that identifies Aboriginal people as "remnants of a past, doomed to extinction, that 'the old Aboriginal world is now facing its final twilight' and that Aboriginal people are 'powerless to defend themselves against the final onslaught'...continue to construct us as innately obsolete peoples." (Dodson, 1994, p. 4)

Only Harari (2014) credits Aboriginal peoples for having the foresight to have chosen not to use agriculture, as he spells out the draw-backs it created for Homo sapiens. Diamond (1998)'s popular account of human history continues the oft-taught linear timeline, upholding the assumption that Western agriculture represented significant progress for Homo sapiens and providing a specific excuse for Aboriginal peoples not developing Agriculture.

Big History is crucial to strategic foresight as it provides information, and models from amalgamated information about the way humanity has changed, is changing and therefore how Homo sapiens could be in the future (Christian, 2011; Voros, 2019). There are innumerable variables to consider when contemplating such a future thus necessitating comprehensive models of human knowledge such as that described by literature in Integral Theory (Wilber, 2001b). The intellectual models described by Big History and Integral Theory are claimed to enable a comprehensive approach.

In his article about integrating Indigenous knowledge into Western science, Environmentalist Fulvio Mazzocchi (2018) recognises the power of story and image as ways to motivate

people. He does this by quoting the work of one of the first, yet little recognised futurists, Frederik Lodewijk Polak (Van der Helm, 2005):

...images of the future are important because their organizing power pulls people toward them, and as such they contribute to establish the sense of a privileged society, culture and knowledge system, towards which humanity as a whole should tend.

In this article, Mazzocchi (2018) uses several disciplines in navigating a way to move humanity onwards, recognising the importance of Indigenous knowledge to achieving a positive direction. In doing so the study also recognises the importance of decolonising the future:

...the future itself is, at times, represented in deterministic ways. As a consequence, there is the need to develop an alternative, and plural vision of the future...to “de-colonize” the future, recognizing both the unpredictability of nature and the role of human agency, which includes creativity and the possibility of paradigm shifts.” (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 25)

Much work on the significance of story and image and the way that such metaphors influence the future was also done by Elise and Kenneth Boulding (Boulding, 1991; 1961). It is in the transformation of stories of the past that enable people like Bill Wentworth (Dodson, 1994) to imagine a different future. In speaking about Bill Wentworth, Dodson recognised that although from:

the stock of a people which colonised this country and our people...a direct descendant of one of the founders of the Australian constitution...in which Aboriginal peoples were invisible [he] transformed his past. It was his capacity to transform the past which allowed him to become a source of liberation for the future (Dodson, 1994).

This transformation did not make Wentworth any less patriotic, he demonstrated his love for his country and its future through fully embracing the reality of its past.

The advocates of Big History and Integral Theory argue that such an approach is the optimum approach to the design of social, political and environmental changes that will be most likely to guide humanity towards its best potential futures (Voros, 2019; Wilber, 2001b). Big History has meaning in not only investigating “outwards” regarding extra-terrestrial beings and “inward” toward human consciousness but “onward, towards the future of our civilization (and even our species)” suggests Voros (2019, p. 29).

## **2.6 Western knowledge and Integral Theory**

More and more information about Indigenous Australian knowledge is becoming available to the Australian population. However, ensuring sufficient exposure to such information, to be able to appreciate it, is not easy in an environment that has ignored this knowledge for so

long. Therefore, an exploration of literature from Western Philosophy provides clues as to what is hindering the view of Indigenous Australian knowledge from a Western standpoint, and what could enable the view to flourish. This examination leads to literature regarding a relatively new philosophy; Integral Theory.

### **2.6.1 Development of Western knowledge**

Western knowledge has a history that illustrates the ways in which knowledge has grown through its interaction with difference. This is shown through at least three avenues: the expansion of knowledge throughout Europe with its interactions there from 400 BC to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century; recognition that Western knowledge had roots from interactions between other cultures prior to 400 BC (Grant, 2004; Oppy, 2013); and Hegel's (1770 – 1831) proposition that thesis and antithesis lead to synthesis (Acheson, 2003).

Western knowledge development began with Western philosophy around 400BC (Grant, 2004). However, this did not stop the influence of previously culturally embedded narratives influencing Western thought (Jung & Hull, 1968). The early Western philosophers focused on finding natural explanations for natural processes, and matters of primary concern were whether human reason or human sense perceptions were the most accurate means to acquire knowledge (Grant, 2004). Throughout the development of Western philosophy, amidst the scientific discoveries of Copernicus (1473-1543) and Newton (1642-1727), Christianity was promoted by philosophers/theologians such as Aquinas (1225-1274) and Spinoza (1632-1677) and Newton's own faith was never shaken; he regarded the natural laws as proof of the existence of God (Grant, 2004; Kišjuhas, 2018).

As posited by Rasmussen et al. (2011), depicted in Figure 2.2, it is likely that Indigenous people arrived in Australia independent of all other branches of modern humans and developed their own unique, relevant and modern human knowledge which hitherto has been virtually ignored by the second wave of humans (except for those who traded in Australia prior to 1770, Barker et al., 1992). While some ideas such as agriculture were communicated to First Nations peoples in Australia in the last 10,000 years, not all ideas were accepted as appropriate by Indigenous people (Harari, 2014).

A dramatic change in political power and recognition of intellectual thought occurred circa 1500 AD, according to Eden (2001). Hitherto when a territory had been conquered there had been a transfer of political power from one culture to another involving the "appropriation not only of the vanquished culture's material wealth by the victors, but also its intellectual wealth" (Eden, 2001, p. 154). Consistent with this tradition, Erasmus arranged for the publication of classical Greek and Roman antiquity, establishing intellectual property laws

and thus expanding an intellectual community and widening the material boundaries of the empire (Eden, 2001). Erasmus, in collaboration with his friend and publisher promoted “the relation between friendship and wealth, material and intellectual” (Eden, 2001, p. 148). Intellectual property is very pertinent to valuing knowledge and literature on this topic, relevant to Indigenous businesses is reviewed in Section 2.8.

### **2.6.2 Enlightenment**

Time and space do not permit a thorough investigation of the original works of the numerous Enlightenment philosophers, therefore the work of Outram (2019) is used to assist this outline. Immanuel Kant took issue with the portrayal of the Enlightenment as almost a single entity – a ruling by rationality – because he saw the Enlightenment as a new dynamic of questioning as was taking place with the diverse views being expressed by Enlightenment thinkers; that is “a series of interlocking, and sometimes warring, problems and debates” (Outram, 2019, p. 3). Outram (2019) argues that Habermas and Foucault took up Kant’s view that the Enlightenment was not complete, instead it is an ongoing exercise of intellectual engagement with society and politics that has taken place and continues to take place. There have been:

many different Enlightenments, whether national or regional, Catholic or Protestant, of Europeans and of indigenous peoples. The diversity mirrors the inability of eighteenth-century people themselves to make any single definition of Enlightenment (Outram, 2019, p. 7).

The Enlightenment enabled criticism of civilisation being voiced by the French Enlightenment philosophers, which led to the French Revolution (1789 to 1799). This was an example of “the critical use of reason in the public realm as an agent for change” (Outram, 2019, p. 7). However, the passage from individual to cultural attitudes, and then to societal systems and structures has been a lengthy and unsteady journey (see details of such passage in Section 2.6.5 on Integral Theory). This is evidenced in the social sphere during the French Revolution when people opposing Robespierre (a leader in the revolution) were beheaded. An example of this included Enlightenment philosopher Gouges who was only 46 years old when she was decapitated (Gaarder, 1995).

Enlightenment philosophers fought actively for what they called the natural rights of the citizen including every individual’s right to freedom and to be treated equally (Outram, 2019). These rights were extended in international law at the time of global colonisation to include Indigenous peoples, however, these rights were ignored in the colonisation of Australia (Reynolds, 2003).



### ***Defining Western knowledge***

In a sense every philosopher attempts to define knowledge. Western philosophy primarily grapples with questions associated with 'What humanity is and what surrounds it?' Those, and related questions, are still unanswered (Voros, 2008). During the Enlightenment (identified by some as roughly 1685-1815, but ongoing according to others such as Outram, 2019) the question everybody was concerned with was, what is there to know about the world. Two main possibilities had been drawn up; either the world is exactly as perceived by empiricism (believing all knowledge of the world comes from the senses) or it is the way it appears to our reason by rationalism (believing that the basis for all human knowledge lay in the mind) (Outram, 2019). There are so many different philosophies and theories within Western knowledge, yet none eased the plight of First Nations peoples at the hands of colonial rule (Attwood, 1989; Reynolds, 1998, 2003). While some philosophies, such as Integral Theory show a potential to understand the holistic perspective of Indigenous Australian knowledge rarely have theorists articulated such connections. Connections have finally emerged this century with Muecke (2004) in historiography (see Section 2.4.1), Edwards (2002) in Integral Theory (see Section 2.6.5), and Mazzocchi (2018) linking Big History (see Section 2.5.2) with environmental science (see Section 2.7). Numerous First Nations academics have also published many books and papers on Western knowledge (see sections 2.3 and 2.4). Most notably in the context of the Enlightenment, where Moreton-Robinson (2004) and Painter (2010) identify the origins of defining Western knowledge and excluding Indigenous knowledge on the basis of race:

To recognise that whiteness has shaped knowledge production means academia would have to accept that the dominant regime of knowledge is culturally and racially biased, socially situated and partial. Such recognition would not only challenge the universal humanist claim to possess impartial knowledge of the Indigenous other, it would also facilitate recognition of the subjects of other humanisms to whom whiteness has never been invisible or unknown. (Moreton-Robinson, 2004, p 88)

According to Outram (2019) such recognition would be part of the ongoing Enlightenment.

### **2.6.3 Indigenous knowledge rejected**

Western perceptions of Indigenous Australian knowledge began forming prior to 1770, when Europeans had already established ideas about Indigenous people generally (Norris, 2006). The rejection of Indigenous knowledge is partly visible in the history of Western philosophy through the notion of "The Noble Savage" (Das, Jackson, Kleinman, & Singh, 2014; Peters-Little, 2002). The "othering" of cultures that are not Western, and seeing nature as divorced from Western ideas (Hage, 2017). This "othering" explains in part the rejection of all forms and types of Indigenous knowledge that are strongly nature-bound (Jung & Hull, 1968). The Western Enlightenment principles informed some societal processes (as a form of

reunification) but not others, notably the treatment of Indigenous people (as a way to separate from them). The reunification and separation of knowledge post-Romanticism, together with the interaction between philosophy and anthropology (Das et al., 2014; Habermas, 1987; Manjali, 2016) results in the rejection of Indigenous Australian knowledge as a valid approach to thinking (Hage, 2017).

Despite British settlement in Australia taking place during the epochs of Enlightenment and Romanticism, these ideals are not represented in the way that the State handled Indigenous people across the country; being treated as equals was far from their experience (Attwood, 1989; Critchett, 1990; Goodall, 1996). Jung's (1968) concept of 'the collective unconsciousness' begins to explain how the seemingly progressive ideas of individual citizens and their rights and responsibilities in society were inconsistently applied to populations, generally excluding minority races and Indigenous peoples across the world (McDougall, 2002).

It is important to be cognisant that the 18<sup>th</sup> Century British authorities in Australia were aware of the Enlightenment principles and the internationally agreed laws on the rights of Indigenous peoples during colonisation (Reynolds, 2003). One indication that these principles were in operation in 1788 was that Watkin Tench (1758-1833), a British marine officer on the First Fleet, was avidly learning from the Eora people in Australia about what these First Nations peoples knew about the world (Tench, 2009) illustrating not only a thirst for knowledge but recognition that Eora people, while very different from himself were people with knowledge. Tench and fellow First Fleet marine William Dawes (1762-1836) also spoke up for the rights of Indigenous people in objecting to instructions to kill Eora people (Tench, 2009).

Australian society is founded on the Enlightenment principles; however, those principles were not extended to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; First Nations peoples were not treated as equals (Attwood, 1989; Goodall, 1996; Reynolds, 2003). There were many massacres, systemic dispossession of their land, separation from their families, and exclusion from education, employment opportunities and citizenship (Attwood, 1989; Critchett, 1990; Goodall, 1996; Grant, 2016; Reynolds, 1987, 1998; Robinson, 1998). There were not many visible signs of the thinking behind these massacres but there is at least one, which was recorded after Bunduba Jandamarra killed policeman Richardson to free a large number of people in chains who were being led to jail for spearing cattle:

...the editor of the North West Times on the 2nd October, 1894: It would be a good time for the Western Australian government to shut its eyes for say three months and let the settlers up here have a little time to teach the nigger the difference

between thine and mine...it would only have to be done once and once done could easily be forgotten about. (Muecke, 1983)

The Western Australian Government response was in keeping with this advice, the massacre was allowed to take place. This is inconsistent with the principles of the Enlightenment. This and all of the other murders, massacres and land dispossession are consistent with pre-Enlightenment thinking and behaviour. The way that the Enlightenment principles were/are applied or denied throughout Australian society historically and in the present have a significant impact on how the principles are taught. Systemically, structurally and institutionally, the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have not been equal and remain unequal in relation to non-Indigenous people. As a result, there is no expectation of non-Indigenous people learning from First Nations peoples, and instead every stimulus is applied for Western knowledge to be taught and projected into Indigenous life (Attwood, 1989; Maddison, 2019).

#### **2.6.4 Separation and reunification of knowledge**

Western knowledge has separated into many disciplines, at least 19 in Australian research (Norton & Cherastidham, 2018). This compartmentalisation makes it more difficult to align Western knowledge with the holism of Indigenous knowledge. “While modern Western Europeans have seen themselves as having a separate existence from the ‘natural’ world, Aboriginal people consider that the social and physical aspects of their lives are closely intermeshed and therefore inseparable” (Cahir et al., 2018, p. 1). Concern has been raised by some scholars since at least the 1980s about this segregation within Western knowledge:

...empirical studies suggest that there is relatively little interaction between those teaching courses such as bioethics or engineering ethics in biology or engineering departments and their counterparts in philosophy or religion departments. An analysis of the professors in academia suggests that most participate in one, and only one community of scholars. (McGraw & Biesecker, 2014, p. 1)

Many aspects of life have been separated throughout the development of Western knowledge and its disciplines, which has led to a siloed approach to work and issues (McGraw & Biesecker, 2014; Wilber, 2001a). A specific example of this in Australia is the story of the commoditisation of water, first as an asset linked to land and then sold separately on a water market. Meanwhile Indigenous Songlines link water, land and humans (Moggridge, Betteridge, & Thompson, 2019; Morcolm, 2019). The parting of philosophies after the era of Romanticism is described by Jurgen Habermas as no longer fitting for the human consciousness that reflects on the relationships between itself and the various disciplines and arenas of knowledge:

The philosophical tradition...of a philosophical worldview...can no longer refer to the world, of nature, of history, of society, in the sense of a totalizing knowledge.

Theoretical surrogates for worldviews have been devalued, not only by the factual advance of empirical science but even more by the reflective consciousness accompanying it. (Habermas, 1984, p. 48)

The tendency to separate disciplines, nature from humanity, and researchers from the objects of their inquiry, has been evident in Anthropology. “Historically, anthropology’s subject has been the non-white ‘Other’, and it is only in recent decades that the study of white people has become an accepted part of the discipline” (Kowal, 2006, p. 39).

Indigenous people have been researched from many angles as ‘the other’. In the last 15 years anthropology has started to reflect on and research the thinking of the anthropologist and Western society (Kowal, 2006). Anthropologists have asked for the perspectives of First Nations academics to interpret what can be seen of Western knowledge from an Indigenous standpoint. In this context, Moreton-Robinson was invited to provide the afterword to *Moving Anthropology*. In doing so she was “rejecting a myopic gaze on the ‘Indigenous problem’ and studying the social dynamics of the problems that white Australians present for Indigenous people” (Lea, Kowal, Cowlshaw, & Charles Darwin, 2006, p. 220). Moreton-Robinson goes on to explain that:

The ‘other’ is usually not envisaged as those who will read and engage with the text for their function is to remain the object of study. Thus, the production of knowledge about the ‘other’ is ‘socially managed, regulated by the general concerns of social authority, and self-imposed by the specific interests and concerns of the disciplinary specialist.’ (Lea et al., 2006, p. 220)

The problems that non-Indigenous Australians pose for Indigenous people are many and complex. Habermas developed a “model of societal evolution which is based on his theory of communicative action” (Zacharias, 2007, p. 86). In relation to the ‘Knowledge Economy’, Habermas posited that the power elite in society manipulate the populous into seeing knowledge in the same way that, as Marx described, the muscle power of the working class was also exploited. Frankel (2018) concurs with the description of such a world and therefore criticises the alternative ‘social democrat’ view of attempting to convey Indigenous knowledge with an expectation to spreading power more equitably. Frankel sees this as a fantasy as, in such a world, Indigenous knowledge would also be exploited and compromised, as identified by Janke and Sentina (2018) and Nakata (2018). This justifies caution on the part of Indigenous people who work to maintain their control over their own knowledge as they navigate the market in its current form (Yunkaporta, 2019). It also illustrates some of the complexity of the wicked problem of status and power of First Nations peoples (Briggs, 2007; Frankel, 2018).

Bringing the various parts of Western knowledge back into closer relationship, with each other and with the whole, became the work of philosopher Jean Gebser and astrophysicist Erich Jantsch who did much to integrate human knowledge. Gebser focussed on the

evolution of human consciousness. Combs (2018, p. 1) describes the importance of cooperation to the human species as “a spirit of working together as individuals...between political units...and a spirit of working together between the human and the many other species with which it shares the Earth”. He then describes Gebser’s evolutionary model as:

...consciousness [that] provides a uniquely valuable framework from which to examine the topic of cooperation. The very meaning of cooperation as well as its forms of expression change with each successive evolutionary structure of consciousness. The potentials, qualities, and limits of cooperation thus depend on the structures of consciousness from which it is born. (Combs, 2018, p. 1)

Both Gebser and Jantsch provide evidence of, and belief in, a creative, evolutionary dynamic within all aspects of life, as a positive force. This stance of faith fits with an idea or image of a transformational society rather than belief in an equal measure of random destructive and creative forces. This was also Kenneth Boulding’s “Evolutionary Vision for the pattern connecting evolution at all levels of reality, from cosmic/physical through biological/ ecological/sociobiological to psychological/ sociocultural evolution” (Jantsch, 2019, p. 1). Jantsch (2019, p. 1) explains that the concept has been:

...most notably pursued over the past few decades [prior to 1981] by General Systems Theory. But its focus is not so much on systems, or any structural entity, than on the processes through which they evolve...the commonalities in the evolutionary dynamics at all levels of reality.

From fields as diverse as human psychology to physics and philosophy, some intellectuals have thought about the ways that all aspects of life are integrated (Voros, 2019; Wilber, 2001b). This may provide an opportunity for Western philosophy to recognise the integration in Indigenous philosophy as described by some authors. For example, Muller writes (2014, p. 87) “Our metaphysics flow from the sentience of Country, the land and waters and all that is in or on them, and the connectedness that follows from the time of creation.” This belief that life is positive and a sacred force is not dependent on an illusory story but on all aspects of the environment from land, water, sky and the moving, living universe (Muller, 2014). It states a belief that the universe and life on Earth are a positive force of creation and it places humanity, not at the centre of that universe but as part of it with a relationship and responsibility to it (Muller, 2014). As written by a number of authors, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples watch and listen to all aspects of their environment and recognise the rhythms that take place throughout, with a holistic perception of the universe (Graham, 2008; Muller, 2014; Yunkaporta, 2019).

Four general areas of literature have so far been reviewed: business Innovation, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies, Australian historiography and some aspects of Western knowledge. This literature has demonstrated a significant increase in Indigenous authors, academics, leaders, artists and intensified interest in Indigenous art, land management

techniques and 'Acknowledgement of Country'. Nonetheless, racism is said to be experienced by every Indigenous person (Sizer, 2019), and is seen to translate into very little interest for an Indigenous Australian voice to be enshrined in the constitution (Morris, 2018) or for Indigenous Australian knowledge to be taught in schools (Taylor, 2010), even to Indigenous children (Pavlou, 2016). The following sub-section examines the potential for the ideas of Integral Theory to enable Indigenous Australian knowledge to come more clearly into view from a Western standpoint.

### **2.6.5 Integral Theory**

Integral Theory provides an understanding of holistic thinking from an expanded Western perspective, albeit incorporating Eastern perspectives (Wilber, 2001b). This approach opens a potential door to the perception of holism through an Indigenous perspective. A brief description of this theory is provided in this section.

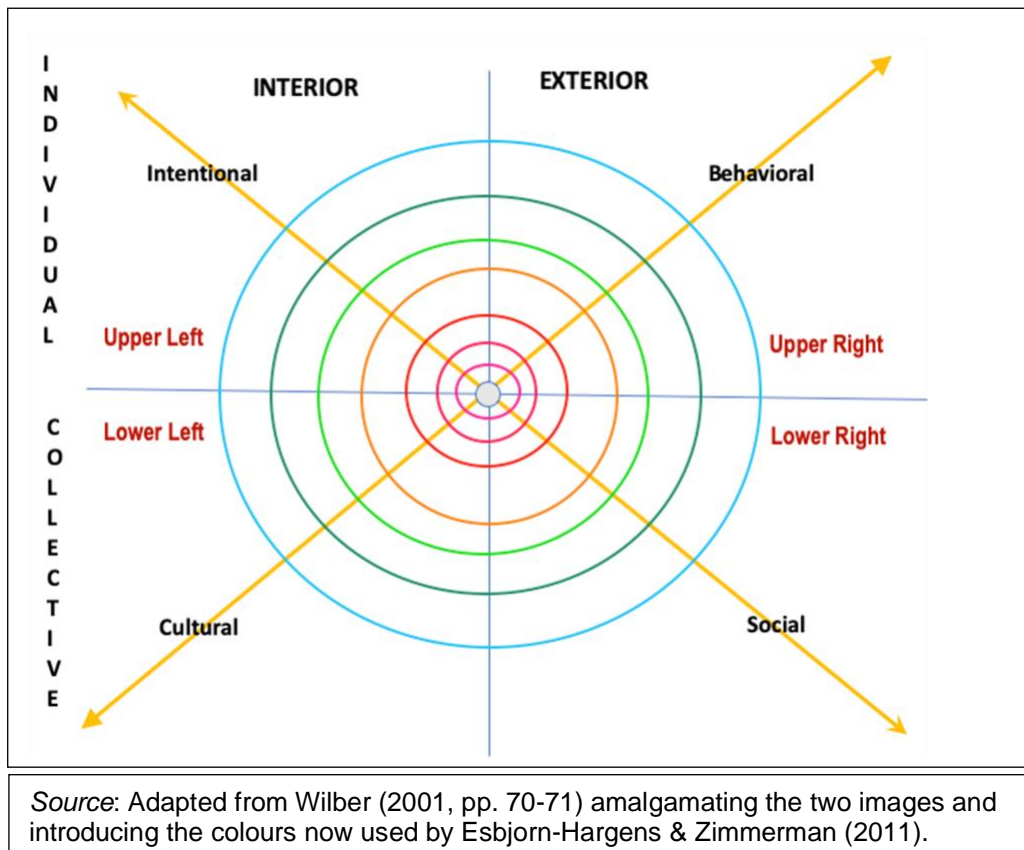
Wilber gathered the many disparate theories of life, "besides such Eastern traditions as Vedantic Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism-such fields as ego psychology, humanistic psychology, existential psychology, Jungian analysis, social therapies, psychoanalysis, psychosynthesis, bioenergetics, structural integration, and Gestalt therapy" (Wilber, 1975, p. 115) as well as "string theory" (Wilber, 2001b, p. x). He then ordered them until he saw what he describes as the All Quadrant, All Level (AQAL) model (Wilber, 2001b). As stated by Folland et al. (2016, p. 18) "...models are abstract simplifications of reality". Integral Theory suggests that the world consists of a vast complexity of integrated factors. These factors are divided beyond the separation of objective (exterior) and subjective (interior) perspectives of reality recognising four categories of reality, constantly at play and constantly changing, providing an intellectual framework for holistic thinking (Wilber, 2001b) described in Figure 2.3.

The right-hand quadrants represent the objective measurable world and the left-hand quadrants represent the subjective, internal world (Wilber, 2001b). The arrows moving through the four quadrants and the circles radiating through them are explained below as levels. What sits within the Lower Right Quadrant (LRQ) is everything that is measurable (i.e. exterior) and collective (beyond the individual), which includes Earth, the stars, as well as social infrastructure such as roads, airports, social institutions and policies (Wilber, 2001b).

The Australian Constitution, ATSIC legislation (1990 – 2005), ATSIC the organisation, the Australian education system and Indigenous Australian education advisory boards, all fit within the LRQ; social quadrant, according to Wilber (2001b). Indigenous Australian

businesses and where knowledge is taught also fit in the LRQ. The knowledge behind such businesses is both individual (in the mind of the teacher, Upper Left Quadrant; ULQ) and collective (within Indigenous Culture, Lower Left Quadrant; LLQ). Integral Theory does not simplify the universe, social dynamics or human knowledge by separating them into these quadrants but recognises the complex systems of which they are all part (Wilber, 2001b).

**Figure 2.3 All Quadrant All Level (AQAL)**



Complex systems theory takes into consideration the constantly changing parts that cannot be controlled. As described by Stockton (2016, p. 69) this framework of complex systems “offer a more appropriate frame, as such systems are not closed and controlled, but open and dynamic, with the same causal power resulting in different outcomes and different causal mechanisms producing the same outcomes”. This is particularly relevant to addressing Wicked Problems as they are embedded in a wide variety of disciplines necessitating multi-disciplinary approaches (Briggs, 2007).

A central feature of Integral Theory, also exhibited in Figure 2.3, is the levels of evolutionary development, illustrated by the arrows moving through each of the quadrants as well as the concentric circles. Each circle moving outward from the centre, according to Wilber (2001b) represents a higher level from which a more inclusive view of the surrounding complexity is

visible. The levels suggested within the individual human are based on work completed in the field by psychologist Graves (1970), which was later coloured and represented as Spiral Dynamics by Beck and Cowan (2007). Wilber (2001b) incorporated Spiral Dynamics into Integral Theory and the AQAL model also positing that the same evolutionary process is evident in each of the quadrants. Integral Theory constitutes the basis of the ontological perspective of this research, and describes one of three foresight theories used in the epistemological perspective discussed in Chapter 3.

### **2.6.6 Metaphors and mythology**

Metaphors have been used in stories for thousands of years by Indigenous Australians, they are part of First Nations knowledge (Graham, 2008; Muller, 2014; Unaipon, 2001; Yunkaporta, 2019). Metaphors are also conceived as the basis of human thought by some philosophers (Boulding, 1961; Inayatullah, Izgarjan, Kuusi, & Minkkinen, 2016; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Metaphors “do not just describe reality but they constitute reality. They are foundational in disrupting the present, unlocking alternatives, and creating new futures” (Inayatullah et al., 2016). Metaphors are vitally important to human thinking as they rapidly convey mega-data without detail (Moore, 2009). The value of such myths for sharing information is illustrated in the story of the Moken people evading the impact of the tsunami that killed 230,000 other people as described in the Prologue (Doidge, 2007). “Myth is, after all, what is more true than true” (O’Tuama, 2015, p. 8). Myth is the story form of metaphor. Academics refer to the metaphor of “standing on the shoulders of giants” as a way to convey the process of learning from prominent scholars in a discipline, in order to add to human knowledge. From a Western standpoint perspective, despite philosophers that recognise the significance of metaphor, it seems the word “myth” has come to be equated with fiction (Hawkins et al., 1997) rather than knowledge coded in narrative intended for multi-generational use (Moore, 2009; Muller, 2014).

When the conceptual information in a metaphor is erroneous, such as the implication that Indigenous Australian knowledge is primitive and outdated, the metaphors can be damaging to human knowledge and human advancement. While Chinese mythology has been linked to current cultural practices with negative impacts on the environment (Ye, Chen, & Young, 2014), Indigenous Australian land-management practices are now being recognised as inhibiting carbon release and thereby having a positive impact on reducing climate change (Mazzocchi, 2018). There has been some recognition of Indigenous Australian knowledge in relation to internal personal development (Brearley et al., 2010). Still, the discipline that has taken the most notice of Indigenous Australian knowledge is Environmental Science, albeit,



for many years much literature has illustrated substantial misunderstanding of this knowledge (Langton, 1998; Mazzocchi, 2018).

## 2.7 Environmental Science

Globally and from a large range of disciplines Indigenous Australian knowledge is being drawn upon particularly for its understanding of the relationship between human futures and nurturing the environment, and potential to mitigate the impact of Climate Change. After much advocacy by First Nations peoples for the use of Indigenous Australian knowledge in modern Australian land management, literature now reflects the attempts at integration of such practices in Natural Resource Management (Lewis, 1989; Mazzocchi, 2018; Standley, Bidwell, Senior, Steffensen, & Gothe, 2009). A further example is that, Australia's Bureau of Meteorology recognises Indigenous knowledge on its website<sup>14</sup>, depicting 16 sites of Indigenous weather knowledge from around Australia.

French, environmentalist, Fulvio Mazzocchi is advocating interdisciplinary research and serious efforts to integrate Indigenous knowledge. Mazzocchi (2018, p. 20) states that it is perhaps the epistemological ground that is the most difficult to reconcile. In this context, Indigenous knowledge is important to human futures and therefore necessary in order to circumvent rhetoric that posits the term progress with the presumption of superiority of Western rationality. Mazzocchi continues to state that:

...the possibility of a sound integration depends on the possibility of building an overall framework that would be able to recognize, really value and accommodate different, and possible conflicting, interpretations of reality and knowledge criteria...Developing such a framework requires a circumvention of key issues within the Western narrative (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 20)

This scientist recognises that integration of Indigenous knowledge is an important issue because he believes that "the future of human knowledge itself depends on what kind of approach is adopted on this matter" (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 20). He points out that "cultural and epistemic diversity may be [as] necessary as biodiversity is for nature" (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 20). Recognising the unexplored potential in the diversity of this knowledge, he urges scientists to understand the differences in theories of knowledge warning against the potential "transformation into some kind of globalized monoculture, where only a single type of knowledge and science is genuinely recognized as such" (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 20). Many environmental scientists agree with Mazzocchi, stating that: "Biological diversity is increasingly being linked to cultural diversity suggesting that combined biocultural resources are integral to the survival of life on Earth" (Ens et al., 2015, p. 134).

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<sup>14</sup>Bureau of Meteorology Indigenous Weather Knowledge website <http://www.bom.gov.au/iwk>

The argument put forward by Mazzocchi (2018) is highlighted by the example he cites of an Australian case history of using Aboriginal methods of prescribed burning in Kakadu National Park policy. He explains that the benefits of the “Aboriginal fire regimes create landscapes that are ecological mosaics, and are very important to preserve biodiversity; they allow the reproduction of fire-dependent plant species and, by creating buffer zones, the protection of fire-intolerant floristic communities such as monsoon forests” (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 23).

Using this example where Western scientists and Aboriginal peoples are both involved in management, he illustrates the difficulties “which become manifest at different levels, as reflecting the deep differences between the two cultures involved” (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 23). Thus, the issue is for Western academics to understand Indigenous Australian knowledge and incorporate this distinctly different knowledge into their system of thinking. He describes that in the:

Aborigines' view, Westerners are afraid of burning at the right times. [while in National] Park personnel's view...Aboriginal burning practices are 'haphazard and carried out on an ad hoc basis; they do not follow ecological reasons, with the risk to endanger the fragile habitats...' (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 23).

Mazzocchi argues that Indigenous people know much more about the environment than Western scientists had previously recognised as they “seem to have perception of the complex ecological processes that relate and integrate different areas, and the multiple systems of cause-effect relationships involved” (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 23). The Aboriginal rangers managing the land know the important role that fire plays in bringing about integration of different habitats:

...as well as the distribution and relative abundance of flora and fauna species. Actually, their fire practices are anything but random. Rather, they are an interesting example of IK's [Indigenous Knowledge's] ability to understand the complexity of nature (Mazzocchi, 2018, p. 23).

In another study in north Australian tropical savannas, Western scientists recognised that Indigenous people of Australia importantly:

...not previously reported in the ecological literature...constructed water wells that provided them with extended use of country into the dry seasons, built and managed fisheries to enhance and extend their food supplies, and created extensive walking paths (Preece, 2013, p. 241).

This evidence is similar to the practice of extending food supplies found over 3,600 kilometres away at Budj Bim in Australia's South-West Victoria. This evidence demonstrates that the First Nations peoples have “continuity of knowledge and management practices” (Preece, 2013) in these landscapes. This history provides evidence that Indigenous people were not at the mercy of their environment in ways that had been previously imagined by non-Indigenous people (Preece, 2013). Further it is suggested that current government

“should consider that traditional management practices over many thousands of years were active and ubiquitous, and continued into the present era and probably shaped the biota of the region” (Preece, 2013, p. 241). Wiggan (2019, 7.15) emphasises that:

We need to seriously appreciate and integrate Indigenous knowledge as part of mainstream operating processes, not only in conservation and land management. It has to be in so many other industries and other aspects of our life.

Wiggan (2019) recognizes that Indigenous knowledge comes face to face with Western knowledge, not primarily in Environmental science, but ‘at the coal face’ of the mining industry and unless this knowledge is incorporated into industries it will continue to be overlooked. The fact that Indigenous Australian knowledge, its importance and its opportunity to assist Western environmental knowledge has often been overlooked is further evidence of the lack of interest in such knowledge. Bohensky et al. (2013, p. 19) note that six academics provided papers in 2004 discussing efforts to view “Indigenous knowledge and their roles in managing ecosystems through the lens of social-ecological systems” an important perspective in understanding how “to cope with uncertainty in complex adaptive systems” (Bohensky et al., 2013, p. 19). However, citing another twelve Australian works from 1969 to 2001 they:

...observed a remarkable void in the 2004 [ publication, in] ...resilience scholarship more generally: experience from Australia was largely absent, despite this country’s extraordinary indigenous cultural diversity and innovative research at the interface of indigenous and conventional science knowledge in a variety of traditions...(Bohensky et al., 2013, p. 19)

Consequently, Bohensky et al. (2013, p. 19) strive for “further understanding of theory and practice for integration of Indigenous Ecological Knowledge (IEK) and conventional science relevant to the Australian context.”

Apart from the recognition of Indigenous Knowledge, the literature also demonstrates the communication difficulties between Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives of prioritisation and preferred methods in the practice of Natural Resource Management in Australia (Ens et al., 2015). It is argued that Australia could benefit from a “more strategic direction to enhance the recognition of Indigenous people and their knowledge, ecosystem science and management” (Ens et al., 2015, p. 133).

The studies by Mazzocchi (2018) and Ens et al. (2015) seek to explain the immense conceptual differences between Western science that has separated all forms of reality and Indigenous knowledge that perceives knowledge as holistic. This Indigenous perspective is also being explored by academics at the Centre for Australian Studies at the University of Cologne. Notably from this Centre, Adone and Bruck (2019, p. 1) posit that through Indigenous Australian knowledge “Human beings are seen as part of the ecosystems and cannot be fully grasped or managed if separated from it.” Issues related to Homo sapiens’

potential extinction can be traced to the “separation of humanity and nature” according to McBrien (2018, p. 400). McBrien (2018, p. 405) highlights that “grassroots environmental and indigenous justice movements are the best hope of combatting the ecological crisis today” suggesting that solutions need to be focussed there. The book review by McBrien, and the book under review – *The Shock of the Anthropocene* by Bonneuil and Fressoz – highlight the importance of the work of Mazzocchi, building communication between Indigenous knowledge and non-Indigenous knowledge. Similarly, Adone and Bruck (2019, p. 1) aim “to achieve a better understanding of the complex nature of the interconnectedness between humans and nature...[focusing on]...three themes vital to life: Fire, Water and Land.” This requires exploration “from different angles including anthropology, linguistics, literary and cultural studies and geography” (Adone & Brück, 2019, p. 2).

According to Tagalaka Steffensen (2020a), if Australian environments are burnt the correct way, land can be managed to reduce the hazards and protect ecosystems. An Indigenous fire practitioner who has been teaching fellow Australians for over ten years explained that Australia broadly does not:

...have the expertise in the current land management to look after the land in the right way...the landscape now is just full of fuel and it was backed up to the communities. We have been saying...elders ‘ringing the bells’ for this happening for a long time now, even 20 years or more. (Steffensen, 2020b)

That is why: “We need to start training people to read landscapes, understand the soil, understand when to burn the right ecosystems at the right time.” (Steffensen, 2020b, 37:20)

There are new circumstances that have to be considered such as “We...have vegetation that doesn’t belong to this country...lantana and other weeds...flammable neighbours that don’t belong in certain ecosystems. That come out of ecosystems that don’t have fire...very flammable plants.” (Steffensen, 2020b, 37:27)

Steffensen (2020a) makes clear that, despite enormous changes in vegetation and weather, this ancient Indigenous knowledge of observing nature and responding to its needs is relevant to Australia today and in the future. In writing about traditional knowledge revival he and his mentors explain that the importance of “connecting people and communities to their immediate environment is now more urgent than ever” (Standley et al., 2009, p. 9), because of the known impact of humans (McBrien, 2018). Many environmental scientists agree that “Biological diversity is increasingly being linked to cultural diversity suggesting that combined biocultural resources are integral to the survival of life on Earth” (Ens et al., 2015, p. 134). There are increasing numbers of environmental scientists, globally, who are recognising Indigenous Australian knowledge as important to human futures.

## **2.8 Business Innovation - Intellectual Property and Business Education**

### **2.8.1 Intellectual property**

Intellectual property rights are essential to business innovation (Trott, 2008). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are entitled to protection of their intellectual property; in the case of this research this refers to Indigenous knowledge. Over the last 20 years the international system for protecting intellectual property “was fashioned during the age of industrialisation in the West and had been developed subsequently in line with the perceived needs of technologically advanced societies” (World Intellectual Property Organisation, 2020). However, the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) – which was formed in 1967 with the mission “to lead the development of a balanced and effective international IP system that enables innovation and creativity for the benefit of all” – has been making progress toward the protection of traditional knowledge systems. In 2000 an intergovernmental committee was formed, which, in 2009, agreed to develop legal instruments for the protection of traditional knowledge. A delineating statement provided by WIPO begins to explain why the subject is not easy to define and protect.

Traditional knowledge is not so-called because of its antiquity. It is a living body of knowledge that is developed, sustained and passed on from generation to generation within a community, often forming part of its cultural or spiritual identity.

Another indication for why the protection process is slow is that there is a lack of interest on the part of ‘developed’ countries. WIPO explains that the negotiations have been initiated by ‘developing’ countries but the other stakeholders involved are also “some developed country governments ... with indigenous populations” and they do not all share the same views.

Australia has made progress in relation to protection of Indigenous Australian knowledge since 2005. Langton and Rhea (2005, p. 45) relate the sentiments of the Chairman of the Northern Land Council around protection of biodiversity and Indigenous knowledge:

...as Western-trained government conservation officers encroached onto Aboriginal lands with plans for how the environmental values should be preserved. To do this properly, Mr Yunupingu said, it was important for the federal government to respect and recognise the value of traditional knowledge systems about environmental management, ‘caring for the country is what we have done for tens of thousands of years and we intend to keep doing that’. He explained his intentions in this way:...‘we know that the best, and in fact the only way to do it is to take advantage of both traditional and contemporary knowledge systems. We want to make sure that Aboriginal people learn about contemporary methods and that non-Aboriginal people learn about our knowledge and experience’.

### 2.8.2 Formally recognising Indigenous knowledge

Valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge involves recognising the systems that maintained it for thousands of years. Unfortunately, there has been a practice of attempting to subsume Indigenous knowledge within Western education systems. Despite the recognition of the role of Aboriginal peoples in creation of Indigenous knowledge, this knowledge is taught in universities often by non-Indigenous peoples through a non-Indigenous lens, illustrating a blindness to the systems necessary for maintenance of the knowledge. It also raises intellectual property concerns:

Old 'scientific knowledge' continues to be used and traded today. "Western knowledge specialists or scientists remain the most common teachers 'of Indigenous Knowledge, traditions and practices via the interpretations of representations of it in the English Language' that have been filtered through the discourse of Western knowledge...promulgated for the profits they generate." (Muller, 2014, p. 73)

Work has been undertaken for at least three years on reforms in Intellectual Property laws to enable the market to support Indigenous innovation. Wuthathi (Aboriginal) and Meriam (Torres Strait Islander) business woman, Terri Janke is an international authority on Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property (ICIP) and is well placed to be developing legal protection for Indigenous Australian knowledge. Janke and Sentina (2018a, p. 7) reflect on the consultations and advice provided to the Australian government on this protection of Indigenous Knowledge:

Problems first arise in understanding the nature of Indigenous Knowledge. Whilst many definitions of Indigenous Knowledge are offered in both international and Australian laws and literature, little is known about its composition, characteristics and its inextricable links to culture. There is also limited data and understanding about the economic value of Indigenous Knowledge. Yet, it is so widely being used commercially without the consent of Indigenous people and without benefits being shared with the community.

While the Commonwealth has the power to enact laws that specifically protect the knowledge of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, hitherto, Indigenous people have been working "within the framework of existing intellectual property, biodiversity and cultural heritage laws" (Janke et al., 2018, p. 5). Janke and Sentina (2018b, p. 55) conclude that there is "...a number of shortfalls in the current Australian legal system in providing rights that Indigenous people require in relation to their Indigenous knowledge." A "particular challenge in this arena is the lack of a shared understanding of Indigenous Knowledge and intellectual property issues, and how those might best be addressed. But there is a gathering momentum, from diverse quarters, to face such challenges" (Janke, 2018, p. 1). The problems and the promise of intellectual property protections for First Nation peoples' knowledge are visible in the literature. Notwithstanding that potential progress, it is the

groundswell of understanding across the Australian population that would bring this promise to fruition.

### 2.8.3 Business education

One may “hear people claim that entrepreneurship is un-indigenous or un-Aboriginal” but “It’s a Black Thing!” as much as anyone else’s (Foley, 2015, p. 118). Gai-mariagal Wiradjuri Dennis Foley points out that “Gunditjmara, Coranderk or Eurobodalla people [are] just some of the many, many groups who have engaged in enterprise” (Foley, 2015, p. 118). Agreeing with Foley, the Victorian Government (2017, p. 6) states that “Aboriginal people in Victoria have a history of enterprise, including mining and large-scale aquaculture, long before European settlement”. Despite setbacks that have resulted in Indigenous people owning a business at about a third the rate of other Victorians, indications are that Indigenous enterprise is growing. This government has the Victorian Aboriginal Economic Strategy 2013-2020 – which is being driven by the Victorian Aboriginal Economic Board – and the Tharamba Bugheem Victorian Aboriginal Business Strategy 2017-2021. The Federal Government also has many programmes directed at the advancement of Indigenous people via Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples increasing their Western knowledge of the mainstream economy<sup>15</sup>.

Innovation in the market is set out by (Trott, 2008) in:

...the wider context of innovation, in particular the role of the state and the role of the market. It has shown that innovation cannot be separated from political and social processes. This includes both tangible and intangible features, including economic, social and political institutions, and processes and mechanisms that facilitate the flow of knowledge between industries and firms. It has also shown the powerful influence of the market on innovation...and, frequently overlooked, the pattern of consumption of the new product or new service.

The above relates closely to the arena of this study, not in detailed terms of who, or what numbers of people are accessing specific businesses, but in general terms of attitudes in the market. Such attitudes detract from demand for Indigenous Australian knowledge-based businesses, and practices that may be hindering the supply chain for such knowledge. Business innovation cannot take place in an environment that has an opposition to the fundamental goods and services on offer; i.e. an industrial revolution could not have taken place if society was anti-industry (Trott, 2008).

Market failure and government intervention in the market are topics of debate according to Chaudhuri (1990, p. 25) who defines “market failure” as “the inability of a market economy to

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<sup>15</sup> Indigenous Business Australia provides online reading material, workshops and business consultants to assist in Starting or Growing a Business, Investing and Asset Management. Accessed 11 March 2020, retrieved from <https://www.iba.gov.au/business/>.

reach certain desirable outcomes in resource use". For decades market failure has been used as justification for government policies and financial support for companies and industries, particularly in the areas of technology and research and development (Dodgson, Hughes, Foster, Metcalfe, 2011). "Innovation is an economic act that may rely not on new technology but on new perceptions of market opportunity" (Dodgson, et.al., 2011, p. 1154). Broad policy approaches to national innovation systems vary from country to country with free-market economies such as the USA also using subsidies to target innovation, and coordinated economies sometimes relying on the free-market for innovation, and no countries (at least till 2011) utilising Complex Evolutionary systems to navigate an approach to innovation that is based on systems thinking (Dodgson, et.al., 2011). For industry innovation to be successfully encouraged by governments it needs to be considered within the complexity of markets in the twenty first century.

The knowledge economy would not be thriving the way it is in Australia (Department of Education and Training, 2018) without a market for the knowledge, trust in Australian tertiary institutions, the legal frameworks and requirements for high standards that ensure markets continue to benefit from education and innovation both nationally and internationally. This section shows that the fledgling Indigenous Australian knowledge industry also cannot flourish if the market does not recognise its value and the knowledge itself is compromised through lack of legal frameworks to protect it.

## **2.9 Summary**

In this study the application of Western knowledge is questioned for its ability to see a culturally different knowledge base. This chapter has attempted to show through the extant literature and experiences of Indigenous individuals that from a Western standpoint, Indigenous Australian knowledge has been squeezed somewhere between reason and romanticism, creating an untenable situation. However, there are clues from many different perspectives that enable a viewer even from a Western standpoint to recognise that Indigenous Australian knowledge exists and has value. It is through reading and listening to First Nations voices that Australians can begin to see Indigenous Australian knowledge through the lens of its authors.

Reviewed literature clearly illustrates past exclusion of Indigenous Australian knowledge from Australian society. However, literature from a wider, global and philosophical perspective reveals an alternative narrative where this knowledge could be coming into view. From a macro perspective of the Homo sapiens journey Indigenous Australian knowledge appears in clear view. Not only is the knowledge visible in the past, but its relevance is



becoming evident for present times and for placing the human species on a positive trajectory for the future. This study aims to show that a result of linking knowledge, in a multi-disciplinary approach in this chapter, there is the “promise that understanding is possible” creating a bridge across the vast difference in “Aboriginal and European world horizons” Swain (1993, p. 4).

It has been argued that humanity is in the position of re-thinking its place in the universe and the stories that will sustain it and unite it in coming centuries (Harari, 2014). It may therefore be positioned well to unite concepts of human knowledge by including that which was developed over more than 50,000 years, over the large continent of Australia, by modern humans of one of the oldest living cultures on earth. What may restrict this promise is illustrated by the work of Langton (1993), Norris (2010), Williams et al. (2017), Maddison et al. (2016) and Searle and Mulholland (2018) that racist beliefs and attitudes continue to sit unquestioned in Australian culture like stagnant ponds after the flood of colonialism.

This chapter reveals that little exploration has taken place to identify and remove the barriers to perceiving Indigenous knowledge from a Western standpoint. The chapter also engaged with theories and approaches that explain why such a situation continues to exist in academia, as well as in broader discussions of racism. There is relatively little literature and very few strategies directed at increasing interest in Indigenous knowledge in the 97% of the Australian population that are not First Nations peoples. Nor is there research/literature around why demand for such Indigenous Australian knowledge is low or how to improve the receptiveness of it by non-Indigenous Australians. This gap in literature is evident in the societal discourse around the topic of Indigenous Australian knowledge, which, when it does occur, typically focuses on racism and the denial of racism. The shallowness of this dialogue also contributes to the lack of literature, strategy or policy designed to ensure that the growing Indigenous Australian knowledge industry is not exploited and that its profits primarily benefit Indigenous people, as can be seen from the website of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (n.d.). This is a consideration that needs to take place concurrently with the strategy to increase demand for Indigenous knowledge, lest the opportunities be appropriated by non-Indigenous entrepreneurs, and the depth of Indigenous ontology be compromised as a result.

### 3 Research approach and design

*Reflect on how the process of colonisation has challenged the humanity of settler society  
(Muller, 2007, p. 83)*

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the approach to and the design of the research. Table 3.1 outlines the overall study approach by sections in this chapter. Sections 3.2 – 3.7 are an explanation of the approach and reasons for the choices in this study. Section 3.7 provides the detail in the research design and reasoning behind design and implementation decisions. Section 3.8 addresses the challenges confronted in the study and the chapter concludes with a summary.

**Table 3.1 Overall research approach**

3.2 Research paradigm	Constructivism
3.3 Ontology	Integral Theory
3.4 Epistemology	Integral Futures
3.5 Conceptual framework	Barriers to perceiving Indigenous Australian knowledge
3.6 Theoretical perspectives	Critical Race Theory, Grounded Theory & Standpoint Theory
3.7 Research methodology	Participatory Action Research
3.8 Research design	Theory U exercises and Focussed Conversations

#### 3.2 Research paradigm: Constructivism

The research paradigm provides an explanation of the research approach, in order to understand the generation of knowledge. Constructivism is the research paradigm of this thesis, recognising that knowledge is constructed within the human mind (Lincoln, 2001). Constructivism is most easily understood in relation to positivism because that paradigm has dominated the understanding of Western knowledge for a long time (Lincoln, 2001), hence it will be described first. The positivism paradigm perceives the world as containing facts that only need to be revealed to constitute knowledge. That is, the universe consists of given realities and these realities can be examined to find the truth that lies within them (Lincoln, 2001). Positivism sees the world and every aspect of reality as measurable and definable. Whereas, constructivism sees that, while the external world may be definable in human terms, knowledge is only a human perception of that reality. Constructivism recognises that

as soon as an external fact is measured it is being constructed as part of a human framework and a human story. The external world largely exists independently of human thought (the Earth rotates around the Sun), however, the interactions between human beings and all elements of the external and internal world are dependent on the narratives constructed by humans about the world. Human interactions with empirical reality may not have an impact on the phenomena being measured, however, all constructed knowledge has an impact on what humans do in relation to all dimensions of reality (Lincoln, 2001). Constructivism not only recognises that knowledge is socially constructed but aims to reconstruct knowledge.

### **3.3 Ontology: Integral Theory**

The ontological perspective of the researcher is that reality exists in at least four forms and all of those forms of reality interact in an integrated, holistic manner. Those four forms are described in the literature review under Integral Theory (see Section 2.6.5). To make explicit the ontological perspective of the researcher a brief summary is provided here. There are objects and phenomena in the physical realm that are measurable, which exist exterior to the human (the Sun and its movement are an example). Physical reality also takes place inside individuals, an example is a living cell and its relationship to substances coming from the circulatory system. Other dimensions of reality are invisible aspects that are internal to individuals (thoughts are an example) and those that are internal to a collective (such as cultural attitudes). Among the interactions that take place between these four realms is the influence that human society has on that with which it engages. Fundamental to the researcher's perspective is that human society has an impact on reality.

### **3.4 Epistemology: Integral Futures**

The epistemological perspective relates to what is knowable; how the inquirer understands the nature of knowledge. The future cannot be studied because it does not exist yet, however, what can be studied is current images of the future (Voros, 2007, p. 73). Images of the future have an influence on how human futures are shaped (Dator, 1998). Futures work undertaken by Dator (1998, p. 305) reveals four main categories for human images of the future: continuation; collapse; disciplined society; and transformational society. Images of transformational society emphasise change taking place in current forms of technology or human spirit and making way for higher emerging forms (Dator, 1998). The movement of human societies and individuals through levels as described in the AQAL model could be

classified within Dator (1998, p. 305)'s category of "transformational society" and recognised as a belief in relation to human development, rather than an ontological fact.

Wilber (2001b) posits that all four quadrants of the AQAL model need to be considered in knowledge generation, particularly when the knowledge relates to addressing a complex issue such as a wicked problem. The AQAL model guides this study's inquiry within the context of Integral Futures which recognises a wide range of perspectives as valid to inquiry, and recommending an epistemological and methodological choice based on circumstances (Voros, 2008).

Human beings are constantly shaping their society. Indigenous people created sustainable farming practices that shaped the Australian environment and their future (Gammage, 2011; Pascoe, 2014). Inayatullah (2009, p. 11) assists in our understanding of the complex dynamic of human agency and the influence of human structures on an individual's agency:

Complexity theory suggests that the future is patterned and chaotic; that is, it can be known and yet unknown, or explained but not accurately predicted. This 'both-and' perspective is especially useful in reconciling classical dichotomies such as agency (individuals can influence the future) and structure (structures define individuals and limit what is possible).

There are three foresight theories at play in this research. One is Integral Theory, which uses the AQAL model of human development as a predictor of change (described in Section 2.6.5). Embedded within this theory is also the use of Big History as an indicator of larger patterns of human behaviour that can be used as models for estimating future patterns. The second is Causal Layered Analysis (introduced below) positing that the images of the future held in peoples' minds today are a significant predictor of the future. Thirdly, from a limited non-Indigenous understanding gained through experiencing (see Prologue) and reading about Indigenous Australian knowledge (Graham, 2008; Muller, 2014; Pascoe, 2014; Steffensen, 2020a; Yunkaporta, 2019), it appears that the clearest predictor of the future for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is the condition of the land and environment (country). The long-term predictor, that is strongly related to the condition of the land, is how the land is being cared for and the security of the knowledge to care for country, not only for the immediate future but to be taught for generations to come (Pascoe, 2014; Steffensen, 2020a); referred to here as "literacy of the land". Again, from a limited perspective, this foresight method appears similar to that of climate scientists who are warning of the degradation of significant environmental factors and related education of populations to mitigate damage from human behaviour (Brace & Geoghegan, 2011; Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Spie, 2017). The first and third of these three approaches are utilised by Esbjorn-Hargens and Zimmerman (2011) in their ecology book.

A PhD is a way to understand what shapes society (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). It is an agreed, rigorous, critical process for developing human knowledge (Reason & Bradbury, 2001); a process that has been entrenched in academic institutions, influencing society, for hundreds of years (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). A PhD provides a framework for generating and analysing knowledge, and is expected to be a reasoned, critical analysis of data and its relevance to human knowledge (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016). Although created by an individual or a team, the product in the form of a thesis draws on other documented human knowledge and, in this way, ideas are shared and debated.

Knowledge has also been generated in other valid ways by Homo sapiens. It is the relationship between modern society and knowledge generated by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples that is the focus of this study. When an organisation seeks an Indigenous business to supply cultural awareness training (to expand its capacity to relate to Indigenous people) the action is visible in the LRQ (see Figure 2.3). When a manager says, “Can’t we just have half a day training (rather than a full day)?” it is an exterior individual behaviour (URQ). The thoughts and reasoning behind making such a request are interior and individual (ULQ).

Recognising that each human consciousness holds images of the future (ULQ) that can influence potential futures, Upper and Lower Right quadrants, (Voros, 2008), this research focuses on the images projected by non-Indigenous peoples onto the futures of existing and potential Indigenous Australian knowledge-based enterprises. Engaging non-Indigenous people in the reconstruction of their perspective of Indigenous knowledge (ULQ), the research seeks to reposition Indigenous Australian knowledge as a commodity of value (LLQ) and to be treated as such in the market (LRQ). It is understood that it will take more than this one piece of research to accomplish such an outcome. However, it is the goal of this critical research to challenge existing images and create opportunities to re-envision alternative futures. Futures approaches can enable such opportunity through questioning existing power relations and evoking alternative images of the future as depicted by Inayatullah (2009, p. 13):

...to disturb present power relations through challenging our categories and evoking other places or scenarios of the future. Through this historical, future, cultural, and civilizational distance, the present becomes not only less rigid, but remarkable.

This allows the future to become less rigid in the minds of those engaging with the questions as also explained by Inayatullah (2009, p. 13):

This allows spaces of reality to loosen and new possibilities, ideas, and structures to emerge. The issue is less what is the truth, than how truth functions in particular policy settings, how truth is evoked, who evokes it, how it circulates, and who gains and loses by particular nominations of what is true, real, and significant.

“[A] simple definition of Integral Futures: it is futures work undertaken through or carried out using an ‘integral’ approach” (Voros, 2008). An Integral Futures perspective posits that one cannot expect to address a complex issue such as racism in a siloed approach or even within one quadrant; it requires an All Quadrant All Level (AQAL) framework as shown in Figure 2.3 (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011). According to Integral Theory, subjective knowledge in individuals and collectives need opportunities for critique (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011). Critical self-reflection can enable subjective knowledge to be weighed against new information from a changing world, providing an opportunity for individuals, as well as cultures, to alter their subjective knowledge, expand their understanding of an issue and grow their consciousness (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011).

Individual humans hold images, metaphors and myths (ULQ) of the future that influence human behaviour and thus can influence potential futures (Boulding, 1961; Inayatullah, 2009; Voros, 2008). Boulding (1961) reveals that human worldviews are grounded in deep foundations of story, symbols and metaphors. Inayatullah (2009) explains in his theory on Causal Layered Analysis that these images sit at the foundations of cultural (LLQ) and individual thought (ULQ) in societies. Wilber (2001b) describes the powerful interaction between individual frameworks (ULQ) and collective frameworks (LLQ, culture). Harari (2014) describes the way that human story, sitting at the foundation of human consciousness (Upper and Lower Left), directs unified behaviour (LRQ).

“Futures studies...is far more sensitive to the role of myth and symbols, it is that which often creates the future at the deepest level” explain Wildman and Inayatullah (1996, p. 726). This concept that individuals and human society are being led by stories is also described in the work of Boulding (1961), Harari (2014), Inayatullah (2009) and Wildman (2002). A metaphor to describe this concept is human society depicted as a ship on the ocean, moving in a direction as determined by its rudder and propelled by its engine, sitting as just the top of a very large submarine. It is the submarine that contains the rudder and the engine. It is the submarine which is the collective consciousness and sub-consciousness (LLQ) that contains the human stories, metaphors and symbols. It is the front bulge of the submarine (LLQ) that extends into the future prior to the ship entering those waters. The submarine affects the social behaviours exhibited in the LRQ before the behaviours are exhibited. An example of this is the influence of Christian stories that dominated the collective consciousness (LLQ) of the Western world until at least 1966, when Time Magazine asked if God was dead on its front cover (Elson, 1966). Until the 1960s Christian missionaries had been very active converting local populations to Christianity in Africa and the Pacific for a hundred years (Akena, 2012; Munro & Thornley, 1996). When Australian rugby player, Israel Folau, posted controversial comments on social media in 2019 he was repeating the version of the

Christian story that he and millions of people around the world had been told; a story full of imagery and symbols that, according to Causal Layered Analysis (Inayatullah, 2009) is strongly embedded below a person's worldview. Another rugby player, Taniela Tupou, (SBS, 2019) said that all of the Pacific Islander rugby players agree with Folau's comments. We should expect that their children, being born today are likely to carry these beliefs, as they will be carried into future society (LRQ) from the collective understanding (LLQ) via stories, symbols and metaphors, until they are questioned.

The Christian story is firmly implanted in Pacific Island culture but as Harari (2014) points out, that story is being questioned in Western democracies. We see evidence of that change in public opinion of same-sex marriage and the sacking of Folau from the Rugby team for breaking the Professional Players Code of Conduct. Futurists sometimes refer to the phenomenon of projecting the existing power structure onto the future as 'colonising the future' (Sardar, 1993, 1999; Sardar & Inayatullah, 2003). Homo sapiens are becoming conscious of the power of story and of the need to create new unifying stories (Harari, 2014). Futures work has been tasked, suggests Inayatullah (2004, p. 12) as "not so much to better define the future (forecast more accurately or gain definitional agreement) but rather, at some level, to 'undefine' the future, to question it." Thus, in order to create a more fitting environment for Indigenous Australian knowledge-based businesses the epistemological approach suggests this research needs to question the relationship that Australian society takes to Indigenous Australian knowledge.

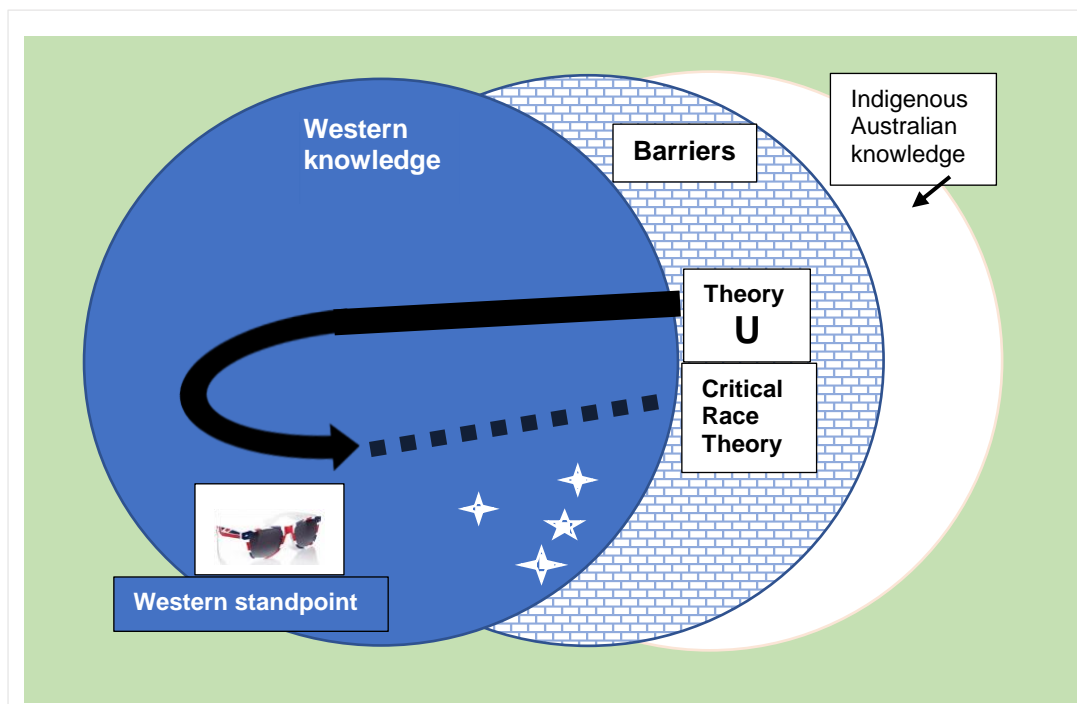
In the above metaphor the engine is being propelled by the collective consciousness and sub-consciousness (LLQ) as well as the established institutions (LRQ). The rudder is being steered by the LLQ and the actions of established institutions in the LRQ (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011). However, as recognised in the literature, thoughts precede action (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011) and therefore conscious decisions to steer the rudder of human society begin with the individual in AQAL's ULQ, (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011). It is the individual conscience that chooses to question institutional religion. Individuals drafted Australian law which was the basis for the National Rugby League (NRL) to draft its Player Code of Practice. This is an iterative process whereby individuals make up their own mind (ULQ) and make decisions (URQ) that lead to collective attitudinal change (LLQ) and collective decisions (LRQ). It is individuals who choose to follow or not follow the NRL Code (invisible in thought; ULQ) but visible in behaviour (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011). Based on Wilber's theory of everything (2001b), which incorporates Spiral Dynamics (Beck & Cowan, 2007) it will most likely be individuals, questioning established philosophies (inwardly and outwardly; ULQ and URQ) and incorporating new ideas that will create the new stories, then to be refined and crafted by

collectives, that will guide Australian society toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge.

### 3.5 Conceptual framework

In the context of these theories, the conceptual framework that guides the research, depicted in Figure 3.1, situates Indigenous Australian knowledge in a position of obscurity, totally eclipsed by Western knowledge viewed from a Western standpoint. In the view between the Western standpoint and Indigenous Australian knowledge is a barrier, which ensures the inconspicuousness of Indigenous knowledge. Critical Race Theory suggests that this barrier consists of narratives that obscure the perception of value in peoples considered to be of 'another race'. As 'racism' is a broad term that does not identify the barrier/s in a way that makes obvious the mechanisms for dismantling them, Grounded Theory is being used to investigate the narratives that could be the supporting struts of the barriers. Theory U and Focussed Conversation (described below) are the methods being used in this study to surface and question relevant narratives. Glimpses of Indigenous knowledge are visible through the disciplines of historiography, art, natural sciences, and education, and are depicted in the conceptual framework by four exaggerated stars (within Western knowledge) seen through a Western perspective.

**Figure 3.1 Conceptual framework**





Like any framework, this is an oversimplification of the situation. With the large number of disparate ontologies, epistemologies and philosophies it is difficult to conceptualise Western knowledge as one sphere. Equally Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have developed knowledge from the many (well over 200) First Nations, representing different philosophies also, and therefore cannot easily be depicted in a unified sphere either.

### **3.6 Theoretical perspectives**

The theoretical perspective is of Critical Race Theory (Zamudio et al., 2011), Grounded Theory (Urquhart, 2012) and Standpoint Theory (Harding, 2009; Luttrell, 1990). Critical Race Theory posits that there are narratives that prejudice the opinions of non-Indigenous people toward Indigenous people and suggests that there may be narratives that prevent non-Indigenous Australians from noticing Indigenous knowledge (Zamudio et al., 2011). Critical race theorists “give voice to the experiences and truths of those without power while simultaneously asking citizens to question the master narratives we have come to believe.” (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 5). The emphasis of this study is on the second part of this statement; inviting citizens to question the master narratives, which could be blinkering Australian society from appreciating Indigenous knowledge. This research recognises both forms of institutionalised and hegemony-based racial discrimination as discussed by Zamudio et al. (2011) and Norris (2010); however, “neither form of racism is...conscious” (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 23). It is because both of these forms of racial inequity are subconscious that the study uses both a personal and creative method (Theory U) and questions intended for critical self-reflection (Focussed Conversation) to explore the issues. This exploration is not proposed to be psychological in searching for language to ‘catch people out’ but designed as a mechanism for reflecting on their own futures and that of First Nations peoples in Australia.

Critical Race Theory provides a broad theory of occurrences in society. Understandings of racism are a significant part of this ‘wicked problem’ particularly because it is an emotional concept that is perceived very differently depending on someone’s point of view (Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Zamudio et al., 2011). Racist concepts described by Norris (2010) are not being successfully challenged, as Norris’ title indicates, “The More Things Change [the more they stay the same]”. Perhaps it is not necessary or helpful to use the word, ‘racism’. It is the concepts embedded in the nature of ‘racism’ and the unnamed ‘blinkers’ to perceiving Indigenous Australian knowledge that are under investigation.

Grounded Theory, where the theory emerges from the data collected is being used to enable the data to formulate the theory (Urquhart, 2012). Grounded Theory provides a basis to

identify and substantiate what ideas are inhibiting perceptions (Urquhart, 2012). By enabling participants to freely express their views the responses can be analysed for ideas that match or differ from narratives that have been described in theories of racism, or in other ways blinker perception of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Standpoint Theory is also utilised as it is “widely used in research projects focussed on race, class, sexuality” (Harding, 2009, p. 192) to highlight that different views of reality, society and power are informed by what is visible from one’s position (race, status, sexuality) /standpoint. These “social theorists, are involved in a debate about truth, knowledge claims, and power...that challenges both conventional wisdoms and the basis for Western rational thought” (Luttrell, 1990, pp. 635-636). People experience and therefore learn from a particular position/standpoint in society and each “standpoint produces a different view on and knowledge of the ‘relations of ruling’-the composite range of structures, practices, and ideologies that govern social relations” (Luttrell, 1990, p. 636). To learn from a different perspective an individual must first learn what is involved in their own construction of knowledge.

### **3.7 Research methodology**

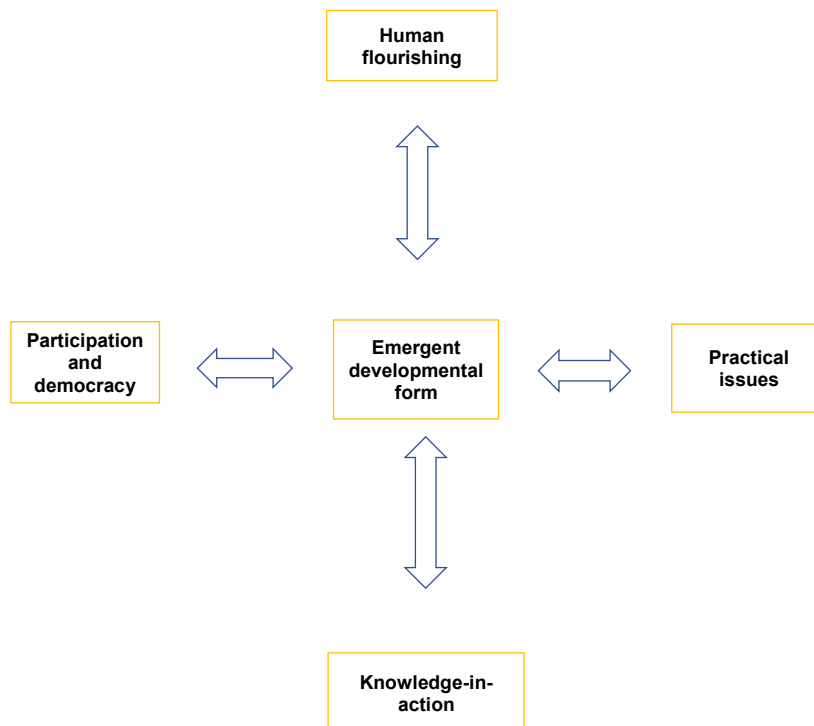
This study has a coherent research methodology based on Integral Theory and its application via Participative Action Research. As such approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at Federation University was sought and granted (Appendix 25 contains the original approval).

An Integral Futures perspective recognises that knowledge is co-dependent and co-created, exemplified by the AQAL framework. Such an epistemological perspective, attempting to address the moving parts situated in a ‘wicked problem’ like Indigenous peoples’ disadvantage (Briggs, 2007), logically suggests a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach (Voros, 2008). Reason and Bradbury (2001, p. 1) define action research as “a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview” and illustrate its five interdependent characteristics as depicted in Figure 3.2.

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is the methodology being used. PAR supports Constructivism, in that knowledge is socially created; however, it is the insistence and persistence of action research practitioners to develop knowledge-in-action (bottom Figure 3.2) leading to ‘human flourishing’ (top in Figure 3.2) that separates it from pure constructivism. PAR is future focussed (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). While this is the basis of the methodology, the completion of knowledge development will not really take place until

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander feedback enters the dialogue (as described in the next paragraph).

**Figure 3.2 Participatory Action Research**



Source: Reason & Bradbury (2001, p. 2)

This study is specifically designed to uncover perceptions, aggregate data and, using literature, to generate practical knowledge to meet the realities of the Indigenous situation in Australia today. Thus, begins with the practical issues (right-hand side in Figure 3.3). In this context, they relate to Western perceptions of Indigenous knowledge and the difficulty for Indigenous teaching businesses to gain traction with so little perceived demand for their knowledge. Participation and democracy (left-hand side in Figure 3.3) relates to the involvement of stakeholders, and on equal terms. Stakeholder participation has been limited to the non-Indigenous participants, which somewhat restricts the ‘emergence of a developmental form’ (centre Figure 3.3) because while self-reflection is important, feedback from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stakeholders is also needed to guide the reflection. It is hoped that dialogue between different stakeholders will take place through the distribution of the findings from the research and responses to the thesis. The knowledge-in-action (bottom Figure 3.3), is facilitated through the self-reflection of the participants. The reflection is not only on the self but the self in relation to one’s own culture and its impact on

another culture and the social consequences of that impact today and for the future. The knowledge is extended through drawing the data through the literature and the theories of Integral Futures and Causal Layered Analysis.

The Human flourishing (top Figure 3.3) intended as a result of this study extends to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians as well as the rest of humanity. It is hoped that the study will contribute to raising awareness of the value of the perspectives provided by a holistic Indigenous Australian knowledge base in mainstream society, enabling an increase in demand for Indigenous Australian knowledge, leading to an increase in the profitability of these knowledge-based businesses, and increased pride in Indigenous Australian knowledge and culture; a flourishing of Indigenous Australian knowledge, culture and people. For non-Indigenous Australians, the study could increase pride in their nation as it recognises and incorporates the significance of Indigenous Australian knowledge into Australian knowledge, under the direction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Some of the knowledge has been kept intact for over 7,000 years due to strict adherence to accountability systems (Hamacher, 2011; Nunn & Reid, 2016) and it is important to maintain these systems lest the knowledge be compromised, therefore while embracing the knowledge is encouraged, control necessarily remains with Indigenous custodians.). Pride too, in Australia promoting knowledge that could help to mitigate Climate Change and other natural world problems. More generally, humanity as a species, could benefit from gaining a closer connection to the natural world, a relationship that could enable all to flourish. Therefore the 'flourishing' is a long-term goal, and this study hopes the knowledge gained contributes to that goal.

The five characteristics in PAR together "imply an action turn in research practice which both builds on and takes us beyond the language turn of recent years" (Reason & Bradbury, 2001, p. 2). Such an 'action turn' is necessary in developing knowledge useful to changing the perspective of mainstream Australia and thereby raising the status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia today.

### **3.8 Research design**

This section outlines the six stages of the research design. Table 3.2 depicts the complete research design as originally conceived. Aspects of the design that did not eventuate are in blue italic font. Each of the stages are described in sequence: Indigenous Reference Group (see Section 3.8.1); Participants (see Section 3.8.2); Interview One, Theory U (see Section 3.8.3); Analysis, report and feedback (see Section 3.8.4); Interview Two, Focussed

**Table 3.2 Research design**

Stages	Steps	Activity
1 Indigenous Reference Group	1.1	List, rank Indigenous bodies whose aims match those of the proposed research. Five organisations were listed.
	1.2	Write to an Indigenous body providing information on the proposed study and request an opportunity to present the research proposal.
	1.3	<i>Presentation to an Indigenous body to solicit their involvement as the Reference Group.</i>
	1.4	<i>Information to Indigenous Reference Group to promote the research through their website.</i>
	1.5	<i>Formally credit the Indigenous Reference Group for its contribution to the research, as they see fit.</i>
2 Participants (accessed through RAP Organisations)	2.2	Select 30 RAP organisations
	2.3	Contact 30 Organisations, <i>meet with RAP coordinator</i> . 162 RAP organisations were contacted before 26 participants volunteered.
	2.4	<i>Contact Indigenous businesses that have been engaged in the (30) organisation's RAP and/or Indigenous Cultural Awareness Training</i>
	2.5	<i>Select 30 participants</i>
3 Interview One Theory U	3.1	Invite individuals to participate in the research,
	3.2	Participants self-selected/Schedule Interview One
	3.3	Conduct Interview One with each participant
4 Analyse & Report and receive guidance	4.1	Code data (Interview One) and analyse
	4.2	<i>Report to Indigenous Reference Group for feedback on the progress of the research and record feedback</i>
	4.3	<i>Report to Indigenous businesses engaged in organisations' RAP, as appropriate.</i>
5 Interview Two Focussed Conversation	5.1	Invite participants to Interview Two, approximately three months after first interview
	5.2	Conduct Interview Two with each participant
6 Analyse & Reports and Thesis	6.1	Code data (Interview Two) and analyse, using NVIVO, Microsoft word and CLA
	6.2	Develop report for Reconciliation Australia <i>Reference Group, Indigenous businesses &amp; RAP Organisations.</i>
	6.3	Email report to Reconciliation Australia <i>Reference Group, Indigenous businesses &amp; RAP Organisations.</i>
	6.4	<i>Record feedback from Reference Group, Indigenous businesses &amp; RAP Organisations.</i>
	6.5	Write the thesis.

Conversation (see Section 3.8.5); and Analysis, report and thesis (see Section 3.8.6). Reasons for why certain elements were changed are explained.

### **3.8.1 Reference group**

The notion of trading places between those researched and researchers is an important idea for this study, as described in Chapter 1. The intention and original design concept (see Appendix 1) attempted to involve Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the research process, facilitating a 'trading of places' through an Indigenous reference group and feedback from Indigenous businesses. In the quest for a suitable reference body, a list of criteria that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations might share with the research was generated:

- See benefit in and ability to use the results of the study.
- Have aims matching the aims of the study.
- Have an interest and ability to act as the Reference Group, involving provision of feedback on, and endorsement of, the research methodology and, allocating time at two more of their meetings to hear the results of the first and second interviews, again providing feedback.

The reference group would not be asked to convene separately from their normal meetings therefore the board members of the self-selecting Indigenous body would comprise the reference group. Two organisations, Reconciliation Australia (RA) and one other, were formally approached through a letter requesting an opportunity to present the research proposal. The rest of the strategy for a reference group was abandoned on the realisation that the request was too imposing. The fact that Indigenous people are overloaded with work and responsibilities particularly when they are in work roles or on boards became obvious. To request their involvement in someone else's research (on a reference group) is not only a burden but a perpetuation of exploitation of Indigenous knowledge without due compensation. Between writing the confirmation of candidacy document, for this research, and its presentation it was evident that it would not be possible or appropriate to involve Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people in reflection and feedback within the study.

One of the three researchers supervising this study is Gai-mariagal, Wiradjuri, Professor Dennis Foley, Professor of Entrepreneurship at the University of Canberra, hence providing some basis to the claim of trading the places of researcher and those researched (non-Indigenous Australians). It is also hoped that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples will critique this research when it is submitted to the broader community of researchers as a PhD. Thus, the final research design did not include the two reference bodies represented in

Appendix 1, making the remainder of the image superfluous, as it is more clearly represented by Table 3.2.

Reconciliation Australia (RA) wrote a letter of introduction (Appendix 2) to RAP organisations that was then attached to the request (Appendix 3) along with the *Plain Language Information Statement*, invitation (Appendix 4). This referral was extremely helpful and the most likely reason for the reasonably high ratio of responses. The ratio of RAP organisations that forwarded the invitation to potential participants could not be measured because such a process would have breached confidentiality with prospective participants. Whether any potential participants received the invitation within a targeted RAP organisation cannot be gauged. A response rate is indirectly visible in the ratio of participants to organisations approached (26 participants from 162 RAP organisations approached = a ratio of 1:6.23).

### **3.8.2 Participants**

Participants were recruited from organisations that have a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP, described in Chapter 1). It was originally thought that selection of participants would take place in conjunction with a contact in each RAP organisation and aiming for people who showed little interest in the RAP, however, this would have created an ethical dilemma, compromise the anonymity and voluntary nature of each participant and further bias the study. A rationale was planned for contacting an initial total of 30 organisations, targeting a cross-section of RAP organisations (with representation from organisations with all four types of RAP: Reflect; Innovate; Stretch and Elevate, described in Chapter 1), in the nominated South East Australia geography (Melbourne, Sydney, Canberra and regional Victoria and NSW) and across a range of sectors (government, community, education and private, as depicted in Appendix 5).

The recruitment process was complicated given that there was a lengthy covering email (Appendix 3) with two attachments; one being the letter from RA (Appendix 2) and the other being the *Plain Language Information Statement* invitation (Appendix 4). This included the request to forward the invitation to two or three prospective participants, within nominated job roles (senior managers in finance, business or economics) and without sending names to the researcher. These documents were reviewed many times in an attempt to lessen the likelihood of the initial contact forwarding names to the researcher and to increase the likelihood of the initial contact forwarding the request to potential participants. The final review required an amendment to the ethics approval which was gained (Appendix 25).

The other miscalculation was in not anticipating the number of available organisations in the designated locations. A ratio of 1:6.23 participant responses was not going to produce six

participants in a regional location that only had six RAP organisations. On 1 September 2018 the number of RAP organisations on the RA website, that were within the designated region, was reviewed clarifying that there were more RAP organisations as well as more national organisations based in Sydney (Appendix 6). There were not enough organisations with RAPs in regional NSW or regional Victoria to adhere to the February 2018 projection, which led to the rationale being updated as outlined in Appendix 7. These revisions did not distort the original concept of a cross-section of 30 participants from a cross-section of RAP organisations and across South East Australia. When 19 definite participants had been reached and calculations indicated that the 66 requests still 'in play' equated to  $(66/6.23=10.6)$  a probable 10 or 11 more participants; there was a risk of overshooting the 30-mark. The proportion of participants from each of the various sectors, were monitored to influence the sending out of the latter invitations and the targeting of follow-up phone calls (as indicated in Appendix 7).

While the plan was to have one participant per organisation per location, some of the details were misread. There were more than a few (4-5) organisations where the people receiving the email to the organisations made assumptions (the original email was not as clear as it should have been). This resulted in a few unexpected responses. Two of these responses strongly indicated that management in the organisation had consulted and consented to the participation of two people in one location in the organisation. Since the participants were interviewed as individuals and there was no link to the organisations' perspectives, it did not matter that there was more than one participant from two organisations (i.e. two organisations had 2 participants in the one location, and one of these organisations provided a third participant in another location). The inconvenience (of more than one person participating) to the organisation had already been weighed up and approved by their management and the participants. On both occasions the participants had communicated with each other prior to volunteering and therefore their participation was not anonymous to each other but their interviews were separate and confidential. Hence, follow-up phone calls to the RAP contacts were made as quickly as possible after sending the email request to clarify the need to maintain the anonymity of the participant. One contact remarked, "Oh, you mean you want them to be anonymous to *me* also!" In all other cases where a second volunteer emailed the researcher they were thanked and informed that they were not required, as planned.

Each potential participant was provided with the University HREC approved *Plain Language Information Statement* invitation (Appendix 4) outlining the research in brief. Participants also received a consent form (Appendix 9) via email prior to the interviews, which reinforced the message that participation was entirely voluntary. These documents, necessary for



ethics approval, really heightened the likelihood that participants would only surface from those interested in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. It was very unlikely that a person with negative views toward Indigenous people would volunteer to share those views (albeit confidentially) in a workplace that so prominently displays its commitment to the advancement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through a RAP. Nevertheless, all but two participants were very familiar with hearing negative attitudes toward, and barriers to, the appreciation of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Participants were all non-Indigenous, although one participant described themselves as “one eighth Native American, with no physical ties [to a] Central or Eastern tribe”. The participants were aged between 29 and 72; Australian residents, including five immigrants of Indian, Fijian, European and Canadian heritage ranging in residency from 12 to 40 years in Australia. Overall, 26 participants were involved in both interviews. The break-up of these 26 are: 13 females and 13 males; senior managers with qualifications and experience in finance (8), economics (6), business (16) and one other. All came from the following sectors: government (8), private (11), education (2) and community (5). The industries they were involved in were governance, insurance, education, finance, health, water, communications, research, transport, law, engineering and social services. The seniority of the participant’s positions in their organisations are illustrated by their job title: 11 participants had ‘Senior’ or ‘Manager’ in their job title (one was in an international corporation); nine participants had ‘Director’, ‘General’, ‘Senior Manager’ or ‘Deputy CEO’ in their job title (one was in an international corporation); four participants had ‘Head’ or ‘Associate Vice President’ in their job title (one was in an international corporation); and two had ‘Principal’ or ‘Partner’ in their job title with both in international corporations. There were four participants whose roles were entirely focussed on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, three whose role included outcomes for First Nations peoples and four who were on their organisation’s RAP committee. The roles of 15 participants have no relationship to Indigenous people. Thirteen participants either work with or have worked with Indigenous people. Three participants studied with Indigenous people and ten participants have not studied or worked with Indigenous people. All of the above participant characteristics, and those in the following paragraph regarding their organisations are depicted by bar charts in Appendix 8. (It is interesting that four participants had been in the defence force and three were defence force officers, as this representation seems disproportionately high.)

One bar graph in Appendix 8 depicts both the prominence and size of each organisation from whence a participant came. The prominence of the organisation is depicted under four categories: International corporation (5); Australian organisation (15); State organisation (4); and Regional organisation (2). The size of the organisation is depicted by nine categories of

employee numbers: 80,000 or more (1); 60,000 - 79,999 (1); 40,000 – 59,999 (2); 20,000 – 39,999 (3); 10,000 – 19,999 (2); 1,000 – 9,999 (4); 501 – 999 (2); 101 – 500 (6); and 100 or less (5). The last bar graph in Appendix 8 depicts the type of RAP in the organisation from whence participants came: Reflect (3); Innovate (10); Stretch (7); and Elevate (6).

Pseudonyms were chosen at the very beginning of the research through the distribution of the letters of the alphabet on a chart, long before any participants were sought. (Short names were allocated to each letter and since 30 was the target there were originally eight names that each shared a first letter with another pseudonym. The list was scrutinised for a balance of gendered names; resulting in four gender neutral, 13 female and 13 male names.) When no more than 26 participants came forward a couple of participants were renamed so that all of the letters of the alphabet were in use and once only. It was due to the fact that they had been previously designated a name that the final pseudonyms resulted in: 11 female names (6 of whom are male participants) and 11 male names (6 of whom are female participants) and four gender neutral names allocated to two female and two male participants. There was no way to influence the self-selection process and so it is remarkable that the study achieved a perfect gender balance (not that gender plays any part in the analysis).

A strategy for the study was to engage participants who have generally not had an involvement with Aboriginal and Torres Strait peoples. To do this the invitations went to organisations that did not have Indigenous wellbeing as the main focus of their work, and the request was directed to senior managers in finance, economics or business. This had some success. However, it is not surprising (given that people were volunteering and the nature of the research that had been described) that all clearly had an interest in Indigenous people.

### **3.8.3 Interview One: Theory U**

Theory U was the method utilised in Interview One whereby the interview consisted of two Theory U exercises back-to-back. A description of Theory U and why it was selected is provided here prior to describing the actual exercises and questions asked.

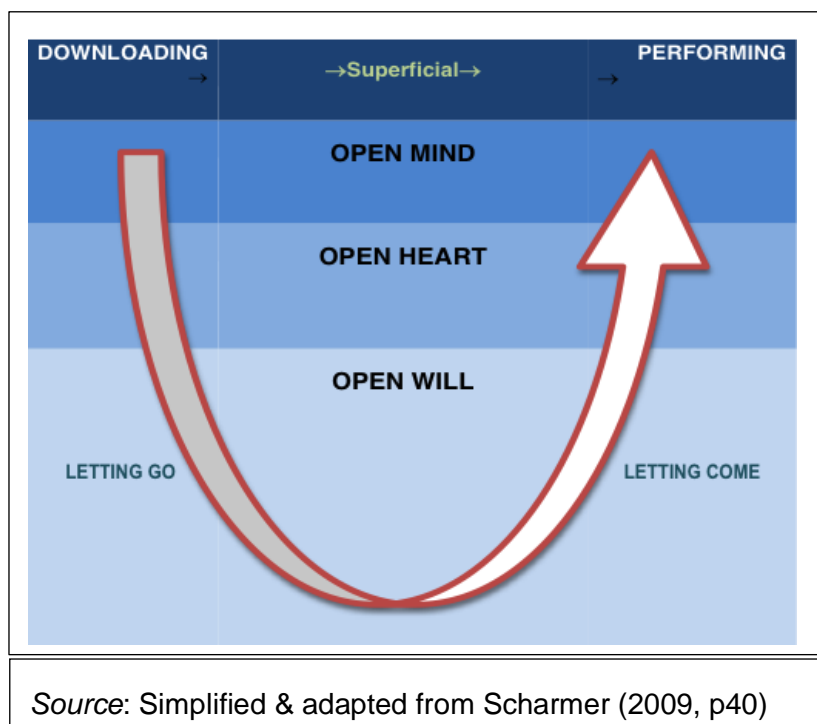
Theory U developed by Otto Scharmer (2009) is a collaborative method designed to invite people to communicate deeply so that they can develop trust and enter a state of openness and mutual purpose, together creating suggestions to remove nominated barriers. It also attempts to surface images of the future that individual human consciousness holds (ULQ in Figure 2.3). The theory is depicted by a 'U', from whence it gains its name, in Figure 3.4. The shape of the 'U' describes the dynamic and movement which the theory proposes for creative communication taking participants together, through layers to the bottom of the 'U'

and back up the other side. Scharmer suggests that everyday interactions of communication often remain at a superficial level (see “Downloading” on the top left of Figure 3.4) and if people open their minds they can (travel down the left-hand side of the ‘U’) and move to a deeper level of communication. If they open their hearts they can move more deeply down the left-hand side of the ‘U’ and if they can open their ‘will’ they may position themselves at the bottom of the ‘U’ from whence they can communicate creatively. Then begins the journey up the other side of the ‘U’ returning to the surface with a creative solution that can be practically applied (called “Performing” on the top right of Figure 3.4).

Scharmer links Theory U to Wilber’s AQAL model (2001b):

The journey of the U is a journey of integrating all the levels and quadrants that Wilber talks about in his integral theory. While on the first level of the U all four quadrants are separate and exterior to each other, the closer we get to the bottom of the U, the more these quadrants and levels become intertwined, until at the bottom of the U they all collapse into a single point-the point of stillness and creation. (Scharmer, 2009, p. 374).

**Figure 3.3 Theory U**



Theory U provides a deep sharing and deep listening approach to human interaction and is very similar to a concept prevalent in many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages which means “listening deeply and respectfully in ways that build understanding and a sense of community” (Brearley et al., 2010, p. 4), see also (Ungunmerr, 2017). This concept of “Deep Listening ... integrates dimensions of all of these [Theory U] elements.” (Brearley et

al., 2010, p. 14). Theory U was adopted to create a study that works collaboratively with participants, in order to engage them from their perspective and provide opportunities for them to critically question societal narratives, as referenced in Critical Race Theory (Bernal, 2002; McDougall, 2002; Zamudio et al., 2011). Further, it was envisaged that the design would enable participants to recognise and describe barriers that may be preventing their view of Indigenous Australian knowledge from a Western standpoint (illustrated in the conceptual framework). Engaging highly educated, senior managers in the exercise of investigating their own thoughts was used to create practical knowledge in response to the issues perceived by them in relation to their images of preferred futures for Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Theory U provided creative and engaging activities providing the best opportunity to bring in the unconscious mind and discuss the material from a less conscious perspective. Thus, the participants were encouraged to open their minds, open their hearts and open their will, for the purpose of moving to a deeper position of communication (as described in Theory U). This method is just as satisfactory if the participants remain on the 'Downloading' level, providing only their first thoughts. These interviews are necessarily sincere reflections on thoughts that are culturally generated, providing time and space to further reflect on the origins and validity of these thoughts, as an individual. The two Theory U exercises conducted in Interview One are described briefly here with full details in Appendix 10. Both exercises were recorded.

The first exercise was entitled *Personal sculpture four direction reflection* and copied directly from an exercise taught to the researcher by Dr Peter Hayward who learnt it from Otto Scharmer at a conference. This exercise involved the participant creating a sculpture about their own life and future. Each was then asked to view their own sculpture by standing to the East of the artwork and the researcher stood opposite and asked the following questions as both moved around the points of the compass: What do you love? What ignites your best energies? What are the key conflicts and hard truths that you are going to face going forward? What is ending in this situation (wanting to die)? What is wanting to emerge in this situation (wanting to be born)? If this situation were designed for you to learn from, what might it be trying to teach you? What is the deeper purpose or calling that you feel (currently)? Would you like to, change your sculpture such that it better represents the emerging future that you want to create? The questions are not standard but slightly complex. Participants tended to describe their philosophy and while the material was not used in the analysis, participants were invited to take a photograph of their sculpture, which many did.

This sculpture exercise worked well, as every participant willingly engaged. Thus, the first 20 minutes of the interviews were deeply personal and not material to the analysis. The exercise was a 'warm-up' by viewing themselves and their own future possibilities through their own sculpture from the four points of the compass. Each individual participant's human relationship to their place on Earth and its relationship to the solar system and night sky are relevant to human knowledge and, so, relevant to this research.

The second exercise was an adaptation of the first Otto Scharmer exercise and involved the participant selecting an artwork that they felt represented the current and future possibilities for Indigenous Australian knowledge. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art was made available from three sources: Tjala Arts (2015); an on-line exhibition in The Guardian (Bell, 2017) and some physical pieces belonging to the researcher. Again, the participant was asked to stand to the East of the artwork and the researcher stood opposite and asked the following questions as both moved around the points of the compass: Describe why you chose this artwork. How do you feel about this artwork? What are the key conflicts and hard truths that Indigenous Australians are going to face going forward? What are the key conflicts and hard truths about Indigenous Australian knowledge that Australians are going to face going forward? What is ending in this situation (wanting to die; represented in the artwork selected)? What is emerging (wanting to be born)? What do you feel that Indigenous Australians could teach you? What purpose might Indigenous Australian knowledge have? Is there another piece of artwork from the sources here that better represents the change that you would like to see for the future of Indigenous Australian knowledge? This approach is much less confrontational than asking direct questions about Indigenous status in Australia. When someone mentioned 'racism', 'negativity' or 'the magnitude of the task' they were asked: How do you experience, see or hear (said reality)? Where appropriate (time permitting, flow of conversation) some were asked how their journey led to such awareness.

### **3.8.4 Analysis, report and feedback**

Stage 4 involved transcribing and coding all the data from Interview One using *NVivo* and *Microsoft Word* to identify common patterns and outliers; analysing the grounded evidence therein. Also, as a tool for interpreting the findings, Inayatullah (2004)'s Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) was used and is described below. A *Brief Summary of First Interviews* (Appendix 11) was prepared for the participants to reflect on in the second interview. A written report was simultaneously sent to Reconciliation Australia but there was no feedback expected or requested.

CLA divides human perceptions into four layers. The superficial layer is referred to as the litany (or discourse) as this is the most audible and visible aspect of a situation. Litany is

what we hear or see in the news, the headlines. The second layer, beneath the litany, is concerned with systemic causes, sometimes seen as documentaries that analyse the news. The third layer is deeper and rarely seen on television as it discusses the worldviews behind the systems. The fourth layer is the deepest, the level of myth and metaphor that reside in the subconscious mind, and sometimes find expression. As described in Section 3.4, empirical reality is viewed and constructed by the human mind that perceives it. Inayatullah (2004, p13) describes it thus, “behind the level of empirical reality is cultural reality (reflections on the empirical) and behind that is worldview (unconscious assumptions on the nature of the real).”

There is a similarity between Theory U and CLA. They both have four layers, the top layers both begin with the most obvious. They both journey to deeper human consciousness (Inayatullah, 2004; Scharmer, 2009). They both attempt a deeper connection between people. They both gain the greatest creativity and insight at the deepest level. They both advocate returning to the surface to action new ideas (Inayatullah, 2004; Scharmer, 2009). Inayatullah (2004, p16) expresses the importance of returning to the level of daily activity to implement changes:

CLA does place a ‘higher’ value on depth, but does not call for ending up at the deeper levels. Movement — up and down levels — is the key. Remaining at the worldview or myth level without attention to the systemic or the litany is just as likely a recipe for disaster.

People may become aware of necessary change at the deeper levels but for change to take place it has to be actioned at the systemic and structural layer and it has to become mainstream discourse. To use the Israel Folau case as a quick illustration (SBS, 2019) Table 3.3 outlines the different perceptions using CLA.

It is not important to be pedantic about what fits into what layer but to take yourself (and/or group) through the process of thinking at these levels (Inayatullah, 2009). The theories of CLA and Theory U (Inayatullah, 2009; Scharmer, 2009) were both designed for deeper analysis of issues, creative interaction, to generate new ideas between people and they are both future focussed and as such match the epistemological framework and goals of this research.

**Table 3.2 CLA map of Folau / NRL example**

CLA levels	Folau	NRL Standard 2019
<b>Litany level:</b> what is said on the surface/ headlines	Israel Folau broadcast Christian, homophobic messages on social media	NRL publicly support players who identify as GLBITQ
<b>Systemic level:</b> Where worldviews are embedded in culture, language and societal structures	Sections of a Christian community that are against same sex unions.	NRL Players Code of Conduct that binds players to not denigrate people's sexual preference (aware of its links to suicide). Christian Institutions in society. Anti-discrimination law.
<b>Worldviews level:</b> Understandings / perceptions of how society and the world function	Folau, as an individual and part of a particular Christian community, sees alternate sexual preferences as undermining his beliefs of Christianity. Understandings of 'Free Speech' and the role of Christianity in society.	The broader population of Australia, represented in the NRL see acceptance of the GLBITQ community as important to upholding Australian values of equality.
<b>Metaphor level:</b> Symbols, songs, rituals and stories that underpin and galvanise worldviews	Symbols of Christianity as used by this section of the Christian community	Symbols of multi-culturalism and a universal humanity with equal human rights

### 3.8.5 Interview Two: Focussed Conversation

Stage 5 consisted of conducting the second interviews outlined briefly in this section and detailed in Appendix 12. Logistical coordination with the availability and locations of participants altered the initial plan regarding the proximity of the first and second interviews, therefore timing will be described first. This will be followed by a description of the method then a brief description of the second interview.

The first seven interviews were scheduled as soon as the participants had committed their intention to participate and conducted between 22 June and 2 August 2018. After that the positive responses to the request slowed with a total of 19 participants committed by 12 September 2018. The 26<sup>th</sup> participant committed on 16 October 2018. Since the second interview included a reflection on the compiled total data from all the first set of interviews, none of the second interviews were conducted until all the first interviews had been completed. All 26 participants from Interview One committed to and carried out Interview Two. Due to the long-time taken to complete the first set of interviews, the time gap between the first and second interviews for each participant varied from one week to seven months apart with all second interviews completed by 21 February 2019.

Another method conducive to engaging emotion as well as rational thought was used in Interview Two. The Focused Conversation (or ORID Conversation) method, was developed by the *Institute of Cultural Affairs*, as part of a suite of methods called *Technology of*

*Participation* (Nelson, 2001; Spencer, 1989). ORID stands for the four parts of the Focussed Conversation method: Objective (data), Reflective (emotive response), Interpretive (analytical) and Decisional (recommendations) level questions. This method is designed to engage participants by encouraging them to share their perspectives in a way that moves from data, through emotional responses, collecting interpretations before expressing conclusions drawn by the individual respondents. In group situations this can lead to consensus to act together.

Interview Two comprised of two focussed conversations and was more conventional than Interview One. Interview Two did not involve creating material objects or moving around. The first conversation began with a reflection on the *Brief Summary of First Interviews* and focused on the potential of Australian society to increase interest in Indigenous Australian knowledge. Time was given for the participants to read the *Brief Summary of First Interviews* prior to asking the following questions:

- What words or phrases grab your attention?
- Is there anything that you have been thinking about that may or may not have come up at the first interview which isn't represented here?
- What feelings come up in relation to the story presented here?
- To what extent do you agree that Australia is on a journey toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge?
- How do you interpret this category of 'White paralysis'?
- How do you see the relationship between this information and the goals of your organisation's RAP?
- What does the summary indicate to you about the level of appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge in Australia?
- What would assist you, or your peers, to have more interest in the future of Indigenous Australian knowledge?
- What can be done, (at a policy level) to increase appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing?

The second conversation focused on difficulties experienced on the supply side of Indigenous knowledge-based businesses; exploitation of Indigenous knowledge and the question of how Australian society can take responsibility for its places of trade; the market. It began with four case studies (two hypothetical and two historical) being read to the participant. The hypothetical cases were provided by anonymous Aboriginal people:

1. A university did not employ Indigenous people to teach their Aboriginal subjects. Also, a professor at that university had gathered song and dance information through his studies, but when the Indigenous community wanted to present this data to support a land claim, it was refused by the university. The professor stated that the Intellectual Property and the copyright belonged to the university and would not release it.
2. A large company that provides a diverse range of services won an Australian government contract to deliver work in Indigenous communities. The company subsequently used the knowledge gained during this government funded project, to establish an Indigenous unit within its company. The Indigenous people who are employed by the company within this unit are young and somewhat disconnected from the traditional lines of accountability



and credibility. The unit is very lucrative for the company as it enables them to win many major contracts involving a requirement for Indigenous knowledge. The company is competing successfully against smaller Indigenous companies that do maintain their traditional links.

Historical cases:

1. The story of the stolen work of David Unaipon (Unaipon, 2001) cited in Section 2.3.3.
2. The story of the rights to the works of Albert Namatjira cited in Section 2.3.3 (Thorpe, 2017).

The following questions were asked in relation to all the above cases:

- What words and phrases stand out for you in these cases?
- Do you have other examples of behaviours that lead to more money flowing to non-Indigenous people than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people?
- Where did you learn what you know about Indigenous knowledge?
- How do you feel about these cases?
- What are the consequences of such actions?
- What measures (government practice &/or policy) could be put in place to guard against exploitation and ensure that 'Indigenous knowledge industry' profits benefit Indigenous Australians in the first instance?

(There is an embryonic "Indigenous knowledge industry" with hundreds of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander businesses attempting to teach their knowledge.)

- How can this embryonic Indigenous knowledge industry mature so that Indigenous Australians reap the most benefit from it, without compromising the knowledge-base, and losing income through leakage away from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples?
- What could be done in your organisation to raise consciousness of the importance of protecting the Indigenous Australian knowledge industry from losing control of the knowledge or the income?

The university's HREC also conveyed that it was important to leave participants with a two-page *Fact Sheet on Indigenous Australian knowledge* lest the research leave a potential void. It was a huge challenge to attempt to write anything of substance that could represent the vast amount of Indigenous Australian knowledge. However, the *Fact Sheet on Indigenous Australian knowledge* (Appendix 13) containing some well documented information concerning care for country and directing participants to seek further resources was developed and provided to each participant.

Interviews One and Two, flowed very smoothly. Two minor incidents occurred. One First-Interview was reduced to 30 minutes due to the researcher underestimating the time taken by the Sydney bus to reach the participant's location. The other incident was an illness of a participant which led to their late arrival and reduced the second interview to 35 minutes. All other interviews either finished on, or over, time.

### **3.8.6 Analysis, reporting and thesis**

Stage 6 encompassed transcribing and coding data from Interview Two and analysing the data using NVivo and Microsoft Word to identify common patterns and outliers. At this stage, the data analysis from Stage 4 (the first interviews) was also blended with the data analysis from Interview Two in order to find emerging patterns and properties.

A second interim report was provided to Reconciliation Australia on 25 October 2019 comprising a compilation of all the comments made by the 26 participants (during both interviews) about their organisation's RAP or RAPs in general, which is a bi-product of the research. The participants and the organisations remain anonymous and therefore all identifying comments, including linguistic idiosyncrasies were eliminated or modified. This stage includes writing the PhD thesis.

After the thesis has been examined it will be provided to Reconciliation Australia and all 162 of the RAP organisations that were approached for the study. This will broaden the distribution of research outcomes and maintain the anonymity of the participants and their organisations (by not providing reports only to the organisations from whence participants came).

## **3.9 Challenges**

Challenges of the research design that were anticipated included: 1) the amount of time involved for the interviews; and 2) convincing the interviewees to prioritise the amount of time requested. Strategies to minimise these challenges were to shape the exercises to the benefit of the participant (the first 30-minute exercise was focussed on their aspirations). The exercises and interviews directly align with furthering the goals stipulated in the organisations' RAP. However, the request remained a considerable ask of the participant and so it is to the credit of the individuals, illustrating their commitment to advancing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, that they each committed 125 minutes of their valuable time to this research.

Another challenge revolved around the 'messiness' and unconventional nature of Integral Futures (using the AQAL framework) and Theory U (using the Scharmer/ORID methods), and their application. The research approach and design are necessarily complex as any research intending to address wicked problems needs to be. Application of the research approach requires cognisance of the complex and multi-faceted nature of wicked problems and recognising that any mitigating effort impacts on all dimensions of 'the problem', often in unintended ways (Australian Public Service Commission, 2007). This complexity

necessitates that any research in this area must be designed with these many related aspects in mind, incorporating multiple perspectives, while at the same time focusing efforts on a concise project. Maintaining clarity regarding the approach and each step of the process, and keeping calm within the innate messiness of the process is an anticipated challenge.

### **3.10 Summary**

The complexity of the approach, theory, framework, methodology, design and methods chosen were rewarded with many participants expressing how much they enjoyed the process, particularly in the first interview. It was also gratifying to hear the many perspectives, ideas and deeper philosophies expressed by the participants. The findings, presented in the next chapter, reveal a deep level of commitment and thought on the part of the participants even by those who had clearly not spent much time previously considering the issues discussed in this thesis. This aspect in itself illustrates a significant value of action research; engaging people in thinking about situations that they would otherwise not have considered. It also shows that when people are given an opportunity to consider the status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples more deeply, they have contributions far ahead of the current Australian government responses.

## 4 Findings

*Truth telling is the most important; having a conversation around every kitchen table in the country where we feel comfortable with our history and the impact of our history on today (Sizer, 2019, 10:35)*

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the findings of the study within the context of the conceptual framework (Figure 3.2), with descriptions of what can be perceived of as Indigenous Australian knowledge from a Western standpoint today, as well as observations of barriers and participant ideas for overcoming those barriers.

Seeing Indigenous Australian knowledge through a Western framework often reduces it to merely an interesting aspect of ‘the way early humans saw the world’. An illustration of this is Western language used by participants in describing knowledge such as defining Aboriginal knowledge of fire in land management as “back-burning”. Other ways of glimpsing Indigenous Australian knowledge were identified where individual interpretations are influenced by the existent mental framework of the observer. Deeper stories at the metaphorical level reveal what lays beneath a participant’s worldview.

Seven sets of data are explained here. They show the perceptions of the participants as they described what they could see of Indigenous Australian knowledge and how they experience the barriers to such knowledge from a Western standpoint (albeit two of the participants are Indian and Fijian migrants). This data is presented as: Awareness of Indigenous Australian knowledge; Barriers to seeing this knowledge; Manifestations of not valuing Indigenous knowledge in the market; Impressions of the purpose of such knowledge; Preferred futures for Indigenous knowledge; and Ideas for valuing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge. Metaphors used by participants for the current and future possibilities of such knowledge is the seventh dataset that is used to present the findings. Elucidating sections of this chapter are eight of the artworks used in the interviews that were selected by participants. The other three illustrations used here to explain discussion points were drawn by participants. The full array of 24 artworks that were selected by participants are displayed in Appendix 16 along with the metaphors used by them. A general interpretation of the meaning of these findings is presented in the summary.

## 4.2 Awareness of Indigenous knowledge

Participants were asked in the first interview to select a piece of art that they felt represented, “the current situation and future possibilities of Indigenous Australian knowledge”. In doing so they began to talk about their perceptions of this knowledge (listed in Appendix 14). These perceptions are represented in Table 4.1. The first 14 rows in Table 4.1 (from ‘Land management’ to ‘Language’) are labelled with terms that were used to describe topics of knowledge believed to be held by First Nations peoples. All 14 descriptors correspond with aspects of Indigenous Australian knowledge that have been identified in prior research (Dodson, 2013; Graham, 2008; Langton, 1998; Langton, 2013; Langton, 2018; Muller, 2014; Pascoe, 2014; West, 2000). There were only five standout descriptors identified by the participants: land (19 participants); community (19); environment (16); family (12); and culture (11). The remaining descriptors only attracted two to five participants. The sub-total shows the number of terms nominated by each participant from the 14 categories. Two participants were quite unaware of any of these aspects of Indigenous knowledge and nominated none; both of these participants are migrants with 25 and 12 years residence in Australia. The last five categories listed in Table 4.1 under the sub-total have been nominated by participants but are not strictly spheres of knowledge; they reflect broader awareness and interest by the non-Indigenous participants of the value of Indigenous ‘life’. Only one of these five categories attracted a substantial number of nominations; that being ‘Very old form of knowledge’ (14).

Land management was referred to as part of Indigenous Australian knowledge by nineteen participants, however, only Gert referred specifically to ‘fire management’ in terms of land management. This stands out as fire management is one of the spheres of First Nations’ knowledge that has been most explored by Western science and is now included in Australian land management practices. A few participants did talk about being familiar with fire management in the second interview after reading the Brief Summary of the first interviews.

The ‘Environment’ was listed by sixteen participants to describe the kind of knowledge that they believed First Nations peoples of Australia had (and have), and many noted its importance at this juncture in human history (with Homo sapiens impact on Climate Change).

**Table 4.1 Awareness of Indigenous knowledge**

Participants by code	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	T
Identified IAK																											
Land management	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√			19
Environment; sustainable; conservation; preservation; natural balance; nature		√	√	√	√		√		√	√		√		√		√		√	√	√		√		√		√	16
Community; relating to people; look after each other	√	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√			19
Family; kinship			√							√				√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√		√	12
Growing food; agriculture		√									√	√								√							4
Water, rivers							√										√			√				√			4
Spirituality			√				√				√	√				√											5
Medicines										√	√	√								√							4
Traditional healing									√	√										√							2
Sense of direction; map; geography					√		√					√															3
Astronomy, cosmos		√	√		√					√			√														5
Entrepreneurs; innovation									√	√										√							3
Culture: song; dance; stories; ritual; ancient traditions; hunting; travelling	√				√		√		√	√		√	√	√			√				√			√			11
Language		√								√								√									3
Sub-Total	3	4	6	2	4	0	6	1	5	10	5	5	2	4	2	4	5	4	4	8	2	4	2	6	0	2	
Keep life simpler																			√					√			2
Complexity; diversity		√							√		√		√	√				√			√						7
Richness;		√							√		√		√				√										5
Very old form of knowledge			√		√				√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√		√	√	√	√				14
Resilience; forbearance;		√	√	√																			√	√			5

'Community' was also nominated by 19 participants as something that they would like to learn from First Nations Australians. Specific points were added by the following three participants. Olive recognised how Indigenous people could teach her "more about how to be connected to other parts not just me and my nuclear or extended family. All Australians could learn a lot from that culture." Cath extended the knowledge of community to the prospect of engaging with the local Indigenous community to learn about how such a community would approach efforts to increase Indigenous procurement and increase Indigenous employment. Further, Cath recognised that the Indigenous community would approach these efforts in a community-oriented manner and what she sought to learn was how the local Aboriginal community would manage increasing Indigenous procurement and employment. Bobby noted a particular aspect that she had heard in her work "...one of the ideas that comes from the Western financial system is, 'there is something wrong with these Indigenous people because they just keep sharing their money around. If you give it to one person it just leaks everywhere.'" Yet, Bobby took another perspective suggesting that, "...instead of teaching a different way of being", Western culture could learn how to be less individualistic, "...the sharing of the resources that they have with their community. What is wrong with that?"

Nine participants talked about learning to live together in community; harmoniously looking after each other. Liam had the most to say and encompassed the main points raised by other participants although his depth of understanding came from his unique interest in the topic of conflict management:

They are a people who could live, more or less together in harmony with the land and focus on stories and spirituality. But not go, 'who can be the first to make a gun?' You kind of gloss over that but it is an extraordinary achievement. If you are looking at ways for how to live with one another, think well, 'how did they do it?'

Liam also warned, "You have got to be careful of lapsing into Rousseau-vian issues" as he recognised that his perspective may sound like Rousseau's long-ago refuted views.<sup>16</sup> In his second interview Liam added substance to his knowledge of First Nations disputes when he explained work that he had done in a Commonwealth Government department with Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUA). He was very aware that First Nations peoples of Australia have processes to resolve conflict.

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<sup>16</sup> Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote that Indigenous peoples were in the original pre-civilized... "state of nature" and one of the myths of the "noble savage" was that they were "noble – inherently and essentially good...with an uncorrupted child-like innocence" it was the "...institutions of absolute monarchy and tyrants everywhere that undermined and corrupted the natural goodness of people" (Warner & Grint, 2012, pp. 969-970).

Family and/or kinship was nominated as a significant aspect of Indigenous knowledge by 12 participants. The absence of “The interconnection or the ties that Aboriginal people have to each other” in the Fact Sheet was picked up by Olive, “because I think that is such an important part of the culture around the way community is created.” This remark came in the second interview and reinforces how strongly some participants viewed this aspect of Indigenous knowledge, which was, by some participants intertwined with the topic of kinship ties.

Culture was nominated by 11 participants. Song, dance, stories, ancient traditions, hunting, travelling and art were all listed as practices conveying cultural knowledge. Gert recognised several of these as pedagogical tools. ‘Language’ required a separate listing as it was referenced three times as knowledge independent of culture. Language is a mechanism for conveying knowledge, moreover, Rex identified that the languages developed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples include references to aspects of knowledge that are not necessarily known in Western society, “A new language to express connection to place. A unique language, that’s uniquely Australian, that connection. A language that binds us together as a society.”

Five participants identified ‘Spirituality’ in First Nations culture and in connection to the Australian landscape. What was meant by ‘spiritual’ was only specified by Pam as she strived to express her sense of the purpose of Indigenous knowledge. She said that ‘spiritual’ was the closest her description came to anything she knew:

If we are based in Christian religion but there is another view of the world and how all of the different parts of the earth and environment fit together ... that’s a very different view of a, ... there’s a different sphere of thought and understanding that somehow intertwines us with the earth and the place that we live and the elements. I don’t know how you put an adjective on that like ‘spiritual’ or something but certainly around that.

Food production spoken of by four participants as Indigenous Australian knowledge. The fact that food was grown according to the conditions of the environment and taking advantage of the full spectrum of variety available, as opposed to only using a few crops that can be prolific but require manipulation of the environment, was pointed out by three participants.

Knowledge regarding water and/or rivers existed within First Nations’ culture, was recognised by four participants. The only person to mention “survival skills” was Gert, such as knowing “what weather is coming and where to find water”. Ern spoke of such skills in his second interview.



Medicine as a component of Indigenous knowledge was listed by four participants.

Traditional healing was noted by two participants, with Jan recounting a story of experiencing a healing process that was conducted by an Aboriginal woman during a lunch break at a cultural training seminar:

She just put her hand on my heart. I started crying uncontrollably (and I worked out what it was, long existing personal stuff) it was me finding myself and I felt that it happened literally in an hour spending time with someone.

Spatial intelligence and its usefulness to humans was referred to by Liam. He had encountered this in an army unit that had about 25 per cent Aboriginal soldiers. On his arrival other army officers had told him of the uncanny ability of a man who was from Elcho Island (about 1,000 kilometres from where they were based) to know where he was in respect to where he had been. Liam also witnessed this ability. The other two participants listed knowledge of geography (Ern) and knowledge of places on Indigenous land, identified for landscape architects on Western maps (Gert). Five participants recognised that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples studied the night skies and used the information gleaned for environmental practices as well as cultural rituals.

“Entrepreneurship and/or innovation” were listed as Indigenous Australian knowledge three participants. These had been (inadvertently) left off the list in the Brief Summary, to the disappointment of Ian as he had clearly mentioned business acumen in the first interview. He had also suggested, “A [different] way of problem solving” and “innovation”. Jan too listed innovation and lateral leadership (a concept that clearly enhances the ability to live and work together). Tom noted that there are a lot of Aboriginal enterprises starting up that he felt, “a lot of people would be interested in how they run those collectives, businesses and how they all work together and in community.” While Liam did not specifically nominate entrepreneurship as knowledge held by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, however, he did relay a story about a previous boss who was a Wiradjuri man who, noticed a void of Aboriginal business role-models and “wanted to be a role-model as a leading Aboriginal business person”.

The last five categories listed on the chart, under the sub-totals in Table 4.1 reflect broader awareness. “Keep life simpler” was used as a category or purpose of Indigenous knowledge by two participants, however, it is not a phrase used by First Nations peoples to describe their knowledge (Graham, 2008; Muller, 2014; West, 2000; Yunkaporta, 2019) and appears to be a naïve description of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

‘Complex, diverse’ (7); ‘richness’ (5) and ‘Very old form of knowledge’ (14), are general descriptors rather than specific spheres of knowledge. Their inclusion illustrates a broader

awareness of, and interest in the age, complexity, diversity and richness of Indigenous Australian knowledge. All of which are used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as descriptors in academic papers and books (Graham, 2008; Muller, 2014; Yunkaporta, 2019). The last descriptor ('Resilience; forbearance' with five participants) relates to knowledge that has enabled First Nations peoples to carry on in the face of the sustained opposition to their knowledge and way of life for over 230 years of Australian colonisation.

Yvonne demonstrated little awareness of Indigenous Australian knowledge, the oppression that they have suffered and their attempts to overcome their societal exclusion. She did note that their involvement in humanity's current struggles could be beneficial to Homo sapiens' future, implying a possible awareness of knowledge of environmental management that could be applied. Although her main point was, and she returned to this not only in the first but the second interview, that if only Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples would stand up and be strong they would benefit psychologically and financially. Although Yvonne was the only participant who expressed this, it is apparent that she is not alone among Australians (immigrants or otherwise) who are unaware of the 'standing up' that has been done by Indigenous people and the significant historical events that ensured their repression at each turn (Attwood, 1989; Goodall, 1996). References to these have been raised by participants and listed under barriers. The ability of First Nations peoples to rise above these repressive events is what Bobby, Cath, Dave, Will and Xavier referenced with 'Resilience' and demonstrate the awareness of these participants of the inseparability of this Australian history from access to Indigenous knowledge.

In summary, 14 specific descriptors related to Indigenous Australian knowledge, and another five general categories, were identified by the 26 participants. The following four descriptors were the most recognised by participants as significant aspects of Indigenous Australian knowledge: land management (73%), environmental management (61.5%) and maintaining strong community and family relationships (19+3=80.8%). Culture was noteworthy for 42.3% of participants in the context of sharing knowledge. The other eight specific descriptors of knowledge were each nominated by only 2 to 5 participants (i.e. 7.7% to 19.2%). No one mentioned 'tracking' in the first interview, which is surprising as Aboriginal knowledge about tracking has been well documented and highlighted in the popular movie, "Rabbit Proof Fence" (Pilkington, 2002). Only Ern in the second interview mentioned 'tracking' before the factsheet was provided. Six participants were concerned about apparent loss of Indigenous knowledge. In relation to the non-specific categories, only 'Very old form of knowledge' (14 participants, 53.8 %) registered significant nomination. These figures would indicate that

even among this study's participants who are interested in Indigenous Australian knowledge, there is relatively little awareness.

Almost all participants expressed a desire (ULQ, Figure 2.3) to learn more about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge. This keenness to learn from First Nations peoples is indicative of Australians who are within the second group (depicted in the serpent as) moving towards embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge. It is the extent to which this desire exists within Australian culture (LLQ, Figure 2.3) and what hinders that desire that this study is investigating.

### **4.3 Barriers to seeing Indigenous Australian knowledge**

All (26) participants contributed to the picture that has emerged of barriers that hinder Australians from seeing the knowledge of First Nations Australians. Several participants talked about aspects that are linked and penetrate different layers of causality. Five barriers are identified and set out in this section: racist meta-narrative and blindness to it (4.3.1); colonisation (4.3.2); the Australian education system (4.3.3); fragmentation of Australian society (4.3.4); and philosophies guiding human behaviour (4.3.5).

#### **4.3.1 Racist meta-narrative and blindness to it**

A sense that large quantities of deeply embedded negative attitudes toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples reside within Australian society was spoken of by the majority of participants. Racism emerged as a predominant barrier to perceptions of Indigenous Australian knowledge. As such, when the public believes First Nations culture to be inferior this attitude is a palpable barrier to perceiving that Indigenous Australian knowledge is relevant to the future. Overcoming such racism was seen as tremendously difficult. Those who did not recognise the enormity of the task illustrated their ignorance of the situation. Presented here are the ways that participants explained their awareness of racism at the surface, systemic and structural levels.

Racism was only mentioned by six participants (Cath, Dave, Ian, Liam, Olive & Will) and another five participants (Ern, Quay, Verity, Xavier and Zeb) used the word 'prejudice' in the course of answering the questions. However, when a participant mentioned "negativity", "a long way to go", "stigma", "the magnitude of the task", "there is a lot of intolerance" they were asked: How do you experience, see or hear (said reality)? Also, where appropriate, time permitting and depending on the flow of the conversation some were asked how their journey led to such awareness.

At the extremes of participant awareness of racism were Dave and Sue, with Sue in denial and Dave indicating a belief that racism is the obvious and therefore the only topic that needs to be discussed. Verity was one of 12 participants who described ways that they have experienced racism in current times. Eleven examples are related here and a total of 17 fuller participant comments are in Appendix 15: Barriers - a) Racism. For Verity it came as a shock:

I have friends who have come from a marginalised group and I [expected] a greater understanding ... I was talking about a project that I was working on in an Indigenous space and the comment that just came "All the kids sniff petrol or glue". That was quite shocking. It was flippant and everyone was laughing.

Being "cognisant of a lot of the trauma experienced" as Ian regularly hears, or hears of, racist remarks and behaviours directed at young First Nations peoples and how it impacts on them. The experience of seeing such racism also disturbed Harry (H):

I know someone who works in the Northern Territory ... a police officer. ... He shares some really horrible jokes on Facebook and it really upsets me. People laugh at them and comment on them. ... like going to the service station and drinking metho.

The fact that an individual who works for the Northern Territory (NT) police force can maintain and spread such racist stereotypes indicates that perhaps the NT police force is not doing as much as they could to change the attitudes of its employees; which takes the conversation to the level of systemic racism. Systemic racism in Australia seems to be based on a meta-narrative that negates the importance of First Nations peoples and justifies their colonisation. Three participants quoted oft used phrases that they have heard as part of the narrative for denying responsibility for or even interest in Indigenous people. Verity reported hearing "That had nothing to do with me. My parents came and worked hard. I worked and nothing was given to me." Jan had caught "oh just forget it, it was too long ago". While Dave heard:

It was a long time ago. Why don't you just get over it. I don't have anything to apologise for...not all white people, not all Australians... I sat on twitter last night watching it unfold. It's there. It's there all the time, but it is there in real life as well.

There was an awareness that such comments are part of a larger narrative that places "the blame" for the current situation of First Nations peoples on themselves, noted Olive.

Two others spoke about hearing that First Nations peoples need to forgive. Verity reported that:

...last week, somebody said, 'Indigenous Australians need to go, this happened in the past, forgive. You have got to forgive and then move forward because we can't change the past', which is also interesting as well because, you are asking people to forgive when they have lost so much and they have been left behind and marginalized by society so much. That is a lot of forgiveness needed there.

Genuinely horrified by “the atrocious past...what has happened to the [Indigenous] community by white people. I can’t imagine that forgiveness is possible, given the horrendous stories, the lost generation and slaughter” and that some segments of the Australian community, “belittle and get aggressive with them” said Cath. She then reflected by placing herself in their shoes and asking “If I’m a member of the Aboriginal community, I’m going, ‘how do I forgive?’...How can I work, keep engaging with the white community to get better outcomes for everyone?”

However, Cath went on to suggest that Aboriginal people might ask themselves “How are people treating us now, as opposed to how we were treated years ago?” She appears to be quite unaware of the way in which she is supportive of the meta-narrative of the “Colonial Fantasy” (Maddison, 2019). Unfortunately, as many participants pay testament, the way that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are treated today is often not good. Table 4.2 provides a range of other selected examples on racism in Australia today.

Australia is made up of many different attitudes across its large geography with racist attitudes seeming to be stronger in different locations observed Abbey, Olive, Kim and Will. This alludes to Australians being products of their environment and three participants (Tom, Fred and Quay) indicated that people are also products of their time, speaking about “generational change”. The permeation of racist meta-narratives through Australian culture (LLQ, Figure 2.3) is pertinent to how it can be arrested and is discussed in Chapter 5.

Blindness to Indigenous Australian knowledge and to seeing racism could stem from naivety and cynicism. Two participants seemed quite resistant to talking about racism. Sue said:

But that thing that people don’t care about [Indigenous Australians] I really don’t think that that is as bigger problem as some may have suggested. Well, it’s not in my experience anyway.

Sue went on to describe the enthusiasm with which employees at her organisation attend Reconciliation events:

People are incredibly interested and NAIDOC week alone we had in the order of 300 people at the morning tea. We had (name of Aboriginal author), who wrote the book, (named) speak to us. A number of people read the book in advance of her presentation... People want to be engaged.

When asked whether she had come across people who do not care, Sue responded:

I have come across some who have made derogatory comments, and so forth but within that same conversation when you start getting deeper into the discussion about the lack of opportunity and so forth, you see them coming around...They are coming from a position of ignorance and they are just repeating stereotypical statements.

There is clear admission here that Sue has heard ignorant comments stereotyping Indigenous people (racism). She went on to emphasise her experiences of people's "interest and fascination with the depth and breadth of history and culture of Aboriginal society [rather] than people shitting all over the [Indigenous] community."

**Table 4.2 Selected quotations on racism**

<b>Part't</b>	<b>Barriers - racism</b>
<b>Cath</b>	I don't know what's causing it but Australia is still run by white people... [There is] an underlying assumption that we know best. Some of it is around ignorance. People can be racist, when we have been brought up in white Australian schools.
<b>Ern</b>	Prejudice that exists in society... There is a complete lack of knowledge for the majority of white Australians, lack of knowledge and probably for a lot of people a lack of empathy in respect of Indigenous circumstances and disadvantage. People need to recognise the real disadvantage that Indigenous folk suffer.
<b>Fred</b>	'Hard-core', while I would not have phrased it myself that way, I think it is very true. There are some segments in our society that have a view about our Indigenous heritage and people, and not much can be done to change those views.
<b>Harry</b>	Feel a little bit sad about how Indigenous people are treated. People say, 'they only draw dots'. I just don't see how they break that stigma attached to what people say about Indigenous Australians and what they do. Things are happening like National Reconciliation Week, NAIDOC week and RAPs, I am not sure that it will be enough.
<b>Tom</b>	Growing up my [relationship] would make crude jokes or back handed comments that I always knew weren't right...  There is a housing block near [where I live] with Aboriginal and lots of different people living in there. When Aboriginal people walk around the corner my elderly neighbours will say things like, "They are coming down this way!" This sort of backhanded comments from these older generations. Maybe its new generations, but most people I know are not like that. I don't hear that in younger generations. ... all these older people have come through a time when Aboriginal people were looked down on, "They're just trouble makers, rah, rah."
<b>Xavier</b>	The hardships and just helping people understand, educating the majority of the population about the ramifications of the stolen generation, and it is not just the person that was stolen. There are generations to come that are still feeling that hurt and that pain and it's a tricky thing to communicate and understand.
<b>Yvonne</b>	A key conflict is being seen as legitimate; a positively contributing member to society.  I'd spoken to many Australians prior to migrating to Australia and they generally had very negative opinions of Aboriginal people in Australia.

Xavier spoke about educating non-Indigenous people but was evasive about why they needed educating:

It astounds me that as a country we don't honour and respect them as much as what I think we should, and what they deserve...I am hoping that as these next generations are educated and I think they already are a lot more compassionate, empathetic and have a more worldly view.

Responding to the request to summarise the essential points in his first interview Xavier said, “There’s a long way to go but there is also hope.” In attempting to address the follow-up query: “A long way from what?”; Xavier resumed the topic of educating non-Indigenous people.

Continuing to educate people on how to be involved and understand. Watching the football on the weekend and watching them have an Acknowledgement of Country. You know, those sorts of things.

Then he swapped, mid-thought, to the communities up North:

...the hardships they face. Some of the devastating things that are happening up in those communities, which I don’t think that what we have been trying to do is working...I don’t know what the answer is there.

The next question was still linked to what Xavier was attempting to “educate [non-Indigenous] people” on: “So, it is not racist comments that you hear?” Xavier replied:

No. I am fortunate to live in a community where, that’s not how we think. I am conscious that I am a very fortunate person and that is how I have been raised. And definitely, my parents weren’t racist, I would never have heard a racist comment from them.

This is a person who watches the Australian Football League (AFL) and referred to an Acknowledgement of Country (recognition of the traditional custodians of the land) in the context of AFL as a positive advancement in educating the Australian public but did not mention Adam Goodes or behaviour toward him that drove him away from the game at the end of the 2015 season, which was noticed by those sensitive to racism prior to the two documentaries; *The Final Quarter* and *The Australian Dream* (Grant, 2019b, 2019c).

The following comment from Sue is possibly an indication of naivety. It was said in the context of what she could learn from Indigenous people:

Living off the land...Living with little basically, I think, is what they could teach me. Much like Fijians. I found when we went to Fiji, they had so little and yet they were so happy. And yet, in contrast, in Western society, we have so much and I think that depression is at record levels, as are suicides.

Noting the resilience of Aboriginal people is one thing but to say that they are “happy like the Fijians” is naïve, and ignorant of current suicide rates within the Aboriginal community.

In response to the question regarding, “examples of behaviours that lead to more money flowing to non-Indigenous people”, Sue deliberated over giving preference to Indigenous companies:

From a shareholder point of view (because we are literally using other people’s money), we can’t preference an Indigenous company if they are 50% higher in cost than competitors, but all things being equal, yes, we can absolutely support Indigenous supply.

Then she sandwiched some stereotypical racist language between her ideas about leveraging uniqueness:

If the products that are supplied are not supplied by others then there is a unique advantage in that. So, it is not about Indigenous companies just sitting back and saying, 'we deserve this because there has been injustice perpetrated on us historically.' I think that will be a really challenging stance moving forward. Let's look at what we have got and the richness and the incredible points of difference that we have and how do we use that to secure more work.

One has to question why this statement about Indigenous people stereotypically demanding (and not deserving) justice was used in the context of Indigenous procurement. The language and sentiment point to a racism that is not being talked about openly by Sue.

Common misconceptions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture that denigrate Indigenous knowledge are linked to racist narratives and two of these were raised by participants. They are presented here and will be discussed in Chapter 5. Gert talked about gender specific roles, "feel like that is almost another patriarchy." Liam also stated that, "women were not well treated" and there was "a lot of superstition, a lot of magic."

Another element of the racist meta-narrative that has been used to justify Australia's invasion was pointed out by Liam; "Here's a classic question, would Aboriginal people have been better off if Phillip had not come? Someone else would have come." He also challenged it:

...the hard truth is that we are awful, we did awful things. We have this view of ourselves as, we were not so bad; the Americans they had slaves they are worse than us, the Belgian Congo...South Africa...All that is true but we were too...the things that were done by us, or in our name or in our governments' names were pretty awful. Australians have to own up to that.

These are the layers that were linked by the participants: racism as behaviour at the surface, systemic and structural levels. The layers are further exposed by the participants in the following four barriers.

#### **4.3.2 Colonisation**

Colonisation and the damage that its enduring systems and structures have caused were discussed by seven participants. Speaking about the disappointment Mary felt in relation to continued racism she began describing the reasons behind it, "a disappointment that is a function of Australia's educational system, partly of our history..." Fred concurs:

What is obvious is the fact that today Australians (and I say generally) are not aware of Indigenous culture it is not by chance, it is more by design through various policies, whether written or unwritten, that have been passed down over decades and a couple of centuries.



The continuation of the colonial mindset as the systemic manifestation of racism was described by Ian; “In our media. Through our political messaging. Through the inaction of the Australian populous to say sorry. In our treatment of history...we don’t talk about genocide; we don’t talk about slavery.” Thus, colonisation is seen by Ian as a structural manifestation of racism “The omission of Indigenous knowledge in our education system, our language system, all forms of communication really...from school books to street signs. It’s just, been erased. I guess that is the greatest form of racism really.” It was racism that socially engineered structures to exclude Indigenous Australian people and their knowledge geographically, communicated Ern. Such separation, to Ern, led to lost opportunities for learning and the reinforcement of racism due to unfamiliarity with First Nations peoples. An essential point expressed by Ern, Fred, Ian, Jan, Liam and Mary was stated by Quay as, “we have got to unpack some of the 200 years of history in order to open up a new pathway”.

It would seem that colonisation and racism have an iterative effect on non-Indigenous people’s attitudes toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their knowledge, as many participants suggested that racism came as a result of colonisation. The narratives that circulated to ensure that colonisation took place and the subsequent history taught to perpetuate those stories and the position of power assumed by the colonisers, disadvantaged First Nations peoples. Participants talked about the impact of colonisation on: loss of Indigenous Australian knowledge; guilt and fear within the non-Indigenous population; responsibility and blame for the current situation; confinement of Indigenous knowledge through colonisation and the Australian education system. These are the subjects of the following paragraphs including Section 4.3.3.

Fourteen participants were concerned about the loss of Indigenous knowledge. Most of these perceptions indicated two barriers, one is that through the process of colonisation large numbers of Indigenous people who held knowledge were killed, the vast majority were dispossessed of their land, severing them from knowledge, and prevented from using their languages to maintain the knowledge. Another barrier is a perception that so much knowledge has been lost, and the remaining First Nations peoples are so damaged through colonisation that there is no knowledge left and therefore there is no opportunity to learn from Indigenous people. Two participants reflected that view, which also appears to be part of the racist meta-narrative. While Tom recognised that knowledge had been lost, he was among 14 participants who were also aware that much had been retained and he noted that, “as a non-Indigenous person I am unable to know how much knowledge has been retained or lost”. (For further quotations on loss of knowledge see Appendix 15:c)

Feelings of guilt as a result of Australia's colonisation were spoken about by four participants (Bobby, Harry, Ian and Kim). Ian explained how colonisation is "related to this sense of guilt. We colonised what was a country that had people living here and White Australia changed laws to suit the colonisers' needs." He described counter-narratives that have surfaced:

There is a recognition (depending on how deeply you may have engaged with any of that [counter] narrative) that that was very unethical and unfair. At the very base level verses understanding the full trauma that has occurred, there is a continuum of understanding within this group of highly educated people... What goes with that is a sense of guilt that you have benefitted from the outcome of some of those policies, and agendas and group thought.

Fear was nominated by Harry and Olive as the stem for denying responsibility of the Indigenous situation today and the need to get beyond that for Australian society to embrace First Nations' knowledge. While Kim felt the guilt, she could see that it was difficult for other people to recognise their responsibility and their role in relation to the way that Indigenous people have been treated over the last 230 years: "It is hard for people to accept guilt for something that is not directly their responsibility". However, Kim understood that she and millions of other Australians have benefitted from the system that has been established; the same system and structures that ensured that Indigenous people were dispossessed of their land and did not have a treaty to provide even the minimum opportunity to participate in the new system. As such Kim accepts a responsibility to correct those systems and structures today.

Conveying an attitude of doing everything possible towards advancement for Indigenous people, due to firm beliefs in justice, Olive proceeded to reveal a contradiction in her own belief about a state government's self-determination policy as well as the same apparent contradiction in the implementation of the policy. She said that the Victorian Department of Justice did not take advice from Aboriginal peoples when the changes in mandatory sentencing laws (that will have a disproportionate impact on Aboriginal people) were going through the parliament because:

Law and order is one of those political, front of the Herald Sun, issues and it was at odds with the other great work that they [government] have been doing.

Knowing this, when Olive interviewed Aboriginal people to discuss what should be done to further the self-determination policy, she was surprised when:

We actually uncovered that from a different Aboriginal point of view, some thinking that Aboriginal self-determination is just a legalistic sort of a framework that is not really going to really make a difference.

Olive makes it clear that she believes this view to be incorrect, apparently unable to see the contradiction in the implementation of the state government's policy. Olive also expressed bewilderment as to "how do you get beyond educating yourself?" and wanting "more

guidance by Aboriginal people about what they want us to do” while clearly not seeing a need to further explore the perception of Aboriginal people regarding the state government policy of self-determination as superficial or misleading.

In relation to the *Uluru Statement from the Heart* Olive indicated that:

...it needs to be, but then it comes back to that colonialism, “Why do they get a privileged voice, compared to another part of the community. So, it is...going to be an uphill battle. We had ATSIC. It folded. That was an attempt at an Aboriginal voice, and governance.

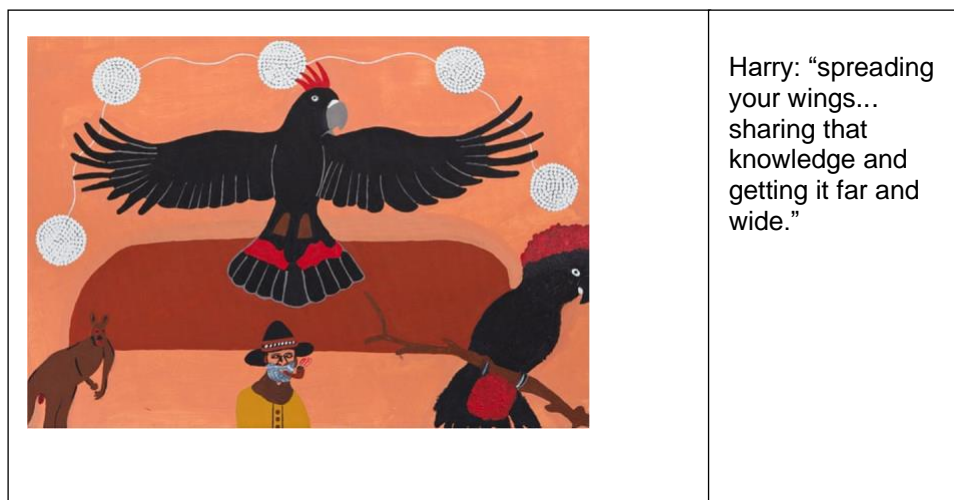
Not recognising that there are many Aboriginal authors who address the questions raised here.

Responsibility and blame were discussed in different ways. None of the participants referred to the specific government policies that benefitted themselves or their families by providing access to Australia’s mining resources, land, education, health or employment. However, three participants (Kim, Liam and Olive) did refer to benefitting at the expense of First Nations peoples under the establishment of colonialism. The Fijian participant (who will go without pseudonym in this case lest too much information be revealed about an individual) was aware that the ways that history played out in Fiji and in Australia impacted on the Indigenous people of Australia more severely than the Indigenous population of Fiji.

Empathy for First Nations peoples who had been torn away from their land was explicitly expressed by two participants (Quay and Rex) after they independently related their personal connection to the land that they had grown up on. Both recognised how much longer generations of Aboriginal people had lived on that land and therefore how much deeper their connections had been to it. While, Sue really stood out in her expressions of love for her own land around her home and her connection to it, she did not show any recognition that that same land had been preloved and what it might have meant to the Traditional Owners to have been dispossessed of it.

Fifteen participants lamented Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture being confined in various ways and isolated from Western society as a result of colonisation. Words used included: ‘contained’ (Will); ‘outside’ (Liam); ‘disappearing into a vortex’ (Yvonne); ‘left behind’, ‘lost’ (Verity); ‘imprisoned’/ ‘containing Indigenous Australians’ is the way they are being perceived (Abbey); ‘separateness’ (Kim); ‘perpetuate the *us and them*’ (Noel); ‘pushed into a certain box’ (Quay); ‘the boundary around it’ (Pam) ‘pockets’ and ‘separate lily pads’ (Fred); ‘separate streams’ (Ern). The concept of confinement was also illustrated in reverse through Harry’s aspirations for First Nations peoples and their knowledge, expressed as a metaphor, of uncaged birds spreading their wings, as per Illustration 4.1:

**Illustration 4.1 Artist; Wayne, Wemba Wemba. Spirit of Australia (Bell, 2017)**



Colonial history was recognised generally by participants as part of the reasoning behind the narratives shared that identified Indigenous knowledge as being left out of Australia’s education curriculum. It was this systemic and structural racism that Fred was referring to when he talked about “entrenched racism”; a whole population, educated in those narratives for generations.

#### **4.3.3 Australian education system**

An allegiance between the Australian education system and colonisation was recognised by 20 participants. Abbey’s expression of the failure of the education system was typical of these participants and also includes an exasperation of what Australia is denying its own population in “engaging all citizens with the deep traditions of our land” through the school system:

...even when I (and I’m not that old but when I) went through school, there was very little that we learnt about Indigenous culture apart from some very superficial commentary relating to how Australia was settled by Britain...children need to understand...that it is more than just a British outpost.

Their lack of a First Nations perspective in education at school and the fact that it has taken them years to get an understanding of what actually took place in the past with the Indigenous people of this land and/or to learn something about Indigenous Australian knowledge was spoken about by 17 participants. Six participants did not attend school in Australia (five are immigrants), however, three of these have children (aged 9 – 14) and shared the perspective that their children are not learning much about Indigenous Australian knowledge or the impact of colonialism on First Nations peoples. Of the other three

participants: one was visited in his primary school class regularly by a nationally prominent, local Aboriginal elder; another recollected “Dreamtime and it would have been the colonisation in high school”; and the third and youngest participant, attended religious schools that had significant curriculum on social justice and thereby learnt about the impact of colonialism on First Nations peoples and something about Indigenous Australian knowledge. After having a learning experience as an adult, Abbey said:

What blew me away the most was just the complete lack of learning that goes on in schools ... about holistically what the culture of their [Australian] land is. It was just astounding, what I didn't know.

The connection between the reports on *Closing the Gap* and learning from First Nations people was identified by seven participants. Ern's suggestion was archetypal, saying that if Australia wants to change the statics associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples it needs to change its relationship and that begins with listening to Indigenous people. If the first you learn about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is in your adult life you are already struggling to hear those voices and see the importance of First Nations peoples, explained Abbey:

I felt (I don't want to say that I felt racist but) like I had had my eyes closed (and I don't think I had), it was just that there wasn't that opportunity and it just wasn't made a priority. ... I was completely floored by just the depth of the [Indigenous] culture that we just don't get the opportunity to engage with as children, and that is when you need to.

As someone who works in the broader education system and has been working on a project to embed Indigenous Australian knowledge within Australian curriculum for a long time Will had a unique perspective. Although Will is in a senior position with years of experience and qualifications in the field he is not in a position to have a final say as curriculum takes a long time to develop and moves through many layers within the system before reaching a teaching environment. He has to convince others along the way of the merits of his team's work. Will explained how his team had “worked over time to have Aboriginal ways fairly well embedded” into a curriculum, and while some of those things had been included the next layer had been cut out:

...we have had to turn around and work again towards embedding them...There is still work that we have to do to...bringing other people with us. So, even when you think that you have got somewhere...[I] didn't realise that we were going to have to go back and re-work that.

This is an example of the depth of work that goes on in the education system on the one hand and the undermining impact of the weight of ignorance on the other. Will explained how he was trying to convey to others the importance of including First Nations knowledge and pedagogy for the general population not only for Indigenous students. There are

organisations and individuals that are working hard to change the curriculum, but there is still significant resistance due to the sheer numbers of people within the Australian population who have such little understanding of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Vicarious learning is taking place as a result of the teaching provided to some children today as described three participants. Jan recounted taking her child to an ANZAC Day celebration where they heard the Maori's sing their National Anthem (in Maori & English languages). Her daughter looked at her and asked, "Why don't we do that?" The child then asked her primary school principal the same question and two years later the children of that school are singing the Australian national anthem in English and the local Aboriginal language. Harry related how he had run into a neighbour with his daughter at a NAIDOC event. On being asked what the Aboriginal flag represented:

Straight off this 5-year-old said, 'black is for the people and red for the earth. The Earth, the sun, the people'. My neighbour and I turned to each other and went, 'Did you know that?' I was like, did I learn that at school? Did I forget, did I ever?

All participants were inspired by Pam's description of her daughter's enthusiasm after Aboriginal learning experiences at preschool (quoted in the *Brief Summary of First Interviews*). However, 12 participants including Pam questioned the extent of such early learning, "You can only hope that her experience isn't just because of the kind of preschool she's at. If that is happening everywhere that's a positive future." The proportion of ignorance within the Australian population was spoken about as a significant barrier to seeing and valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge.

#### **4.3.4 Fragmentation of Australian society**

In the first interviews participants spoke about attitudes within sections of Australian society that are fragmented and the need for leadership to overcome this fragmentation. Alone, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples make up a very small proportion (<3%) of Australian society and as Noel stated this leaves them vulnerable, "they can, have and potentially will continue to be ignored". What determines the status and position of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia, and thus regard for Indigenous Australian knowledge, is the differing attitudes of the Australian public across the ULQ and LLQ spaces in Figure 2.3. Recognising that there are many different, complementary Indigenous Australian creation stories, Tom suggested the Rainbow Serpent as an image for change in Australian society toward embracing Indigenous knowledge as seen in Illustration 4.2:

**Illustration 4.2 Artist; Tjimpayi Presley. Kapi Tjukula Tjuta (Tjala Arts, 2015, p185). Artist; Patjiparon Mick, Snake (1984)**



After the first set of interviews an image began to emerge of Australian society depicted as a serpent creating a path toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge. The depiction of Australian society is drawn as five sections (with four labels) of a serpent indicative of five categories of attitudes fragmented across the spectrum from those clinging to a colonial mindset to those moving toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge. The image of the serpent/spectrum depicts the barriers emanating from three groups of perceptions within Australian society (“hardcore/ horrendous”, “Know little/ don’t care” and “White paralysis”) that are actively or unwittingly held within an existing colonial framework. Only the head of the serpent is seen to be uninhibited by colonial ideas.

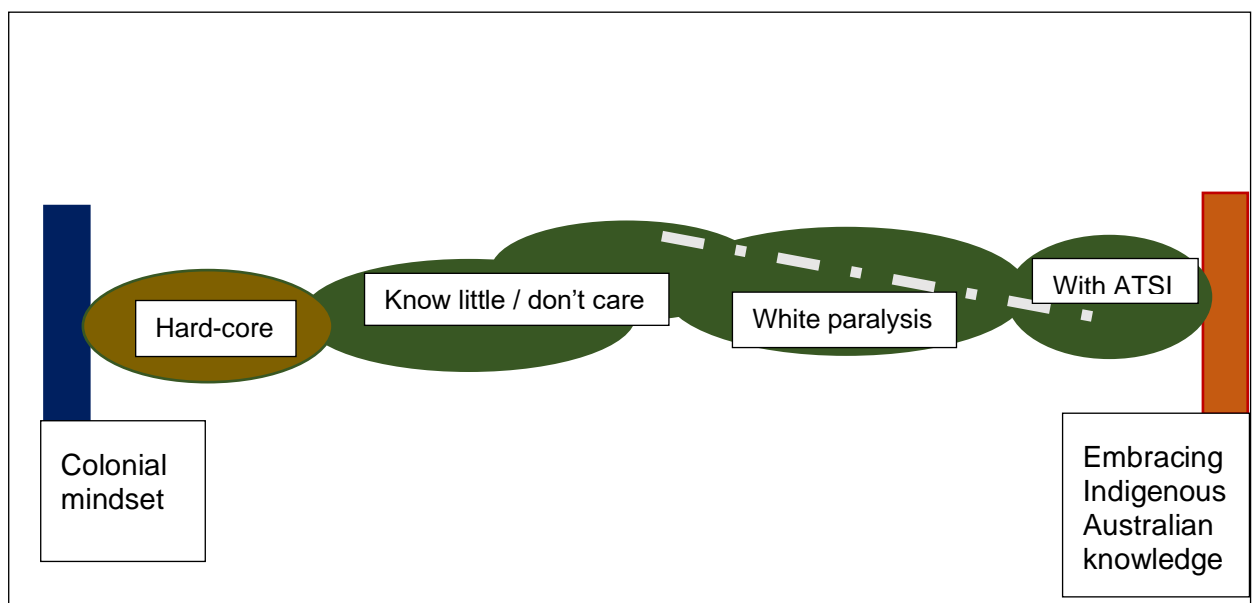
The following depiction of Australian society was used in the *Brief Summary of First Interviews* (Appendix 11) with Ian’s words representing the four main groups of Australian attitudes that had been alluded to by most of the participants:

1. Embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge, in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have with them non-Indigenous people working by their side: “You have the kind of group of people who are engaged on a daily basis, and understand things and can support and help and fight”;
2. “White paralysis: “White Australians often might care about or say that they care about [First Nations peoples] but they can’t engage...probably feel that they are overwhelmed and they don’t know how to engage”;
3. “Those who know little and don’t care” (go along with derogatory commentary and jokes); and

4. “The hard core/ horrendous”, [those who speak disparagingly about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people].

A simplified version of the same serpent/society is represented in Figure 4.1, as it was depicted in the *Brief Summary of First Interviews*. The small sliver of Australian society who voluntarily participated in this research are represented (disproportionately, in Figure 4.1) by the broken white line. Most participants depicted Australia as on a journey toward greater recognition, respect and appreciation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, their cultures and their knowledge; toward embracing Indigenous knowledge (represented as an orange rectangle on the right). Those who did so also expressed aspirations for an era of listening to and learning from First Nations peoples soon, while articulating the considerable obstacles challenging those aspirations.

**Figure 4.1 Australian society as a serpent**



All participants were hopeful of progress; however, they all expressed varying degrees of doubt about Australia’s willingness, ability and hence the amount of time such a transition would take. There is a probable hard-core group still in the Australian population that are not willing to open up, suggested a few participants and Pam suggested that it is time to:

Accept that there's a proportion of the population that are not worth worrying about (in terms of the non-Indigenous Australian population) ... We'll try and get the mass of the populous and we'll all move on together without them.

The fact that there was an encouraging ratio of one organisation with a volunteer participant for every 6.23 organisations contacted in itself indicates that it is not difficult to find people



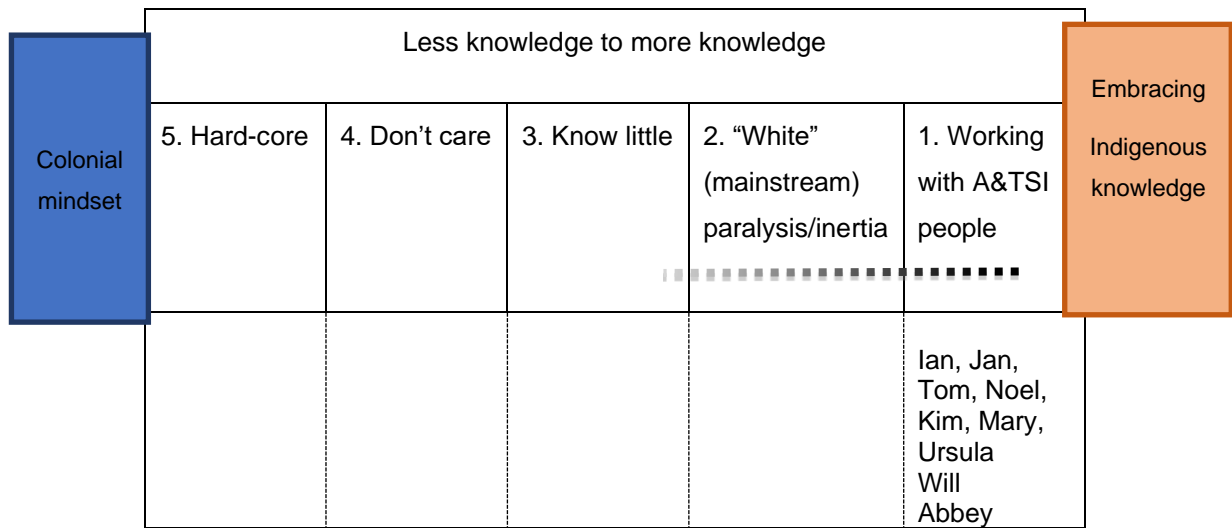
who are interested in the topic of Indigenous Australian knowledge, even among those who may not have given it much thought. However, Dave stated: “That a huge percentage of Australian people don’t care about [First Nations peoples]. Just DON’T CARE”. The responses in the first interview were quite emotive, with four participants (one male and three females) shedding a tear while reflecting on the situation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples today.

Many participants also suggested that it was impossible to appreciate the magnitude of the proportion of society that adheres to colonial attitudes. A couple of participants suggested that it is possible that Australian society is being led ‘backwards’, by the “Hard core/horrendous” and the “Know little/ don’t care”, toward a colonialist view represented on the left of Figure 4.1 as a blue rectangle.

During the second interviews these categories were more clearly defined into five segments with five labels. It is the second category that was labelled “White paralysis” in the *Brief Summary of First Interviews* (redefined by the majority in the second interviews to something more like “Mainstream Inertia”) comprised of people with a keenness to do better that is potentially the largest segment of Australian society, which is the way Abbey saw it.

A continuum from “no knowledge to knowledge”, was suggested by Olive as one of several participants who noted that there was a range of knowledge along the attitudinal segment of “White paralysis.” In Figure 4.2, which came after the second interviews, all participants are depicted by a broken line strengthening in shade as knowledge is seen to increase. Two (Ursula and Ian) of those who work closely with Indigenous people felt they had clear direction identifying themselves with category one. Ursula said that she does not see a reluctance to act in the places she goes, such as boards. Some of the participants provided sufficient evidence to identify where they fit on the spectrum illustrated in Figure 4.2. Overall, nine participants have been placed in category one. The other 17 participants seem to fit into category 2, although, it could be argued that two are possibly in category 3. All in category one also identified that they had more to learn, indicative of a willingness to continue learning from First Nations peoples.

**Figure 4.2 Depiction of participants across the serpent spectrum**



One of the participants revealed that he was “one eighth Native American” but was unable to nominate from where, beyond “Central or Eastern tribe”. He is not one of the nine participants nominated in category one in Figure 4.2, as his language leant far closer to the colonial mindset which shows the dominance of colonisation on this person’s family over four generations. Literature tells us that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples do not want their descendants to become disconnected from their land, culture and knowledge in the way that this participant has been separated from his. These group labels are arbitrary, estimated by each person, all of whom placed a slightly different understanding on them. Similarly, the corresponding attitudes were approximated by participants and the researcher (those attitudes are spelt out in Chapter 5). What follows is the way that “White paralysis” was described by participants.

### **White paralysis**

All participants were asked in the second interview how they interpret the category of “White paralysis” that had been defined by Ian. Sue responded, “I don’t like the term. Paralysis suggests nothing can be done and I don’t believe that. So, my interpretation is that it is simply not true.” In seeking deeper comment, the interviewer chose to describe the example of the Federal Government endorsing a process of Indigenous consultation on recognition in the *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act* in the following way:

After 13 forums around the nation culminating in a large meeting of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who produced the Uluru Statement from the Heart, which was presented to government. The Prime Minister’s response was, “no, this is not a desirable solution” [media release 26 October 2017]. There might be people

who agree with the Uluru Statement (or at least say that they do) but not much is happening. This is an example of where the person who suggested “White paralysis” is coming from. Rather than, “nothing can be done”, the way the person described this category is that there are non-Indigenous people who align themselves with Indigenous people but seem to be stuck and silent and unable to act.

Sue said:

My response to that would be. You know people have to take responsibility for their actions, and stop expecting everybody else to do things for them, particularly the government. I think, where there is knowledge, even small steps, personal steps can be taken towards change. Let’s stop expecting the outer world to deliver the change for us. We need to instigate that change.

Further to this comment, the interviewer spoke again stating: “It seems that Malcolm Turnbull was speaking on behalf of Australians assuming that, probably through focus groups, that is where the Australian population sits, and there has not been an outcry.” Sue responded to the interviewer’s intervention with:

Why isn’t there more outrage? Yes, I imagine that people’s answer to that question might be that people don’t see it as that big an issue. People get outraged when they perceive there to be an issue...And why don’t people perceive it to be an issue, because they are not aware that it is an issue. And it all comes back to awareness doesn’t it? So, what is the issue, why is it an issue and what are the implications of the issue?

Sue was not aware that an Indigenous voice to Parliament is a big issue for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and that those advocating for an Indigenous voice see a strong connection between First Nations peoples being denied a voice and the statistics that are held up as important to address under the *Closing the Gap* strategy and programs. Sue admitted that Australian society has a very low awareness of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Yet her optimism was constantly expressed, “Even here, we just completed our Reflect RAP and the rise in awareness from the beginning of the RAP to 12 months later was quite significant.” In both interviews Sue referred to the incredible interest of people at her workplace. She finished her account about interest in the book about a stolen child, with “But it wasn’t a story of sorrow. It is no different to other situations, you know, she had challenges and she overcame them, no different to other people with depression, anxiety and other things.” Sue explicitly says that “the whole purpose of RAP events is to raise awareness” and yet even her awareness of the unique history and hurdles set in front of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is watered down to a story about overcoming challenges “just like everybody else”. This account of Sue’s responses is either an example of “Know little” or “White paralysis”, despite her dislike for this term.

Descriptions for defining category of “White/Mainstream Paralysis/Inertia” were provided by seven participants and are set out in Table 4.3. They range from wanting to be seen “doing

the right thing” without taking a deeper interest, to “fearful of doing the wrong thing” and therefore not doing enough.

**Table 4.3 Quotations regarding White paralysis**

<b>P</b>	<b>Barriers - White paralysis</b>
<b>B</b>	I think it is common, it is there. Maybe, people do that when there aren't clear answers and there aren't clear methods for how do we incorporate knowledge when there is no clear strategy or framework laid out. That is when that avoidance tends to happen. That's the work of those individuals with a passion for this kind of thing, is to set that framework and to set that conversation and make it easier for people who are aware and are interested to get them engaged. Rather than paralysed with, “don't know what to do”.
<b>P</b>	In marketing terms, that is your low hanging fruit, that's where the opportunity is. What we have to find is, what is the language, what's the argument and what's the hot buttons (marketing speak) that moves these guys out of complacency. But in the world of behaviour change and in most things we deal with in society that's the tough bit. If you find the right button you are away.
<b>Q</b>	It is those who appreciate doing a welcome to country, but don't really care, other than the fact that “I've ticked the box, I've said the right words.” You know, we mentioned the leaders past and present but outside of that its wiped, “I have done my piece”. Rather than thinking more deeply about what does that mean.
<b>T</b>	I do definitely identify with that group and I think that there is definitely a portion of Australia that needs to, we need to have that discussion. And I think there are a lot of things happening around that space. I definitely feel like I am up in this group as well [alongside A&TSI peoples]. We work every day with Aboriginal people.
<b>U</b>	I think that people are in a state of low knowledge and not interested or able to move to another level of understanding... rather than use the word paralysis, I would rather use the word, ‘inertia’, which is rather different I think. Inertia is a sort of passivity. Paralysis is a condition. ... ‘paralysis’ to me implies a thing that you are experiencing but can't change.
<b>V</b>	I found that people are genuinely interested, but I was just thinking, it comes back to that White-paralysis, people genuinely don't know what their role is in the narrative.
<b>W</b>	Their biggest barrier is they are fearful of doing the wrong thing or saying the wrong thing. ... it is just that fear of knowing where to start, or how to go about something.

Australian culture is not seen as White any longer by several participants including the one with Indian heritage who said that he saw himself and all other immigrants as part of the blend of the mainstream. That there was tension between that “Mainstream” and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples was apparent to him. “White” no longer captures the essence of the Australian population Rex also explained, “this framing of White paralysis” could be creating “another barrier for engagement” in that it potentially provides immigrants of non-Anglo origins a reason not to engage, which then also provides Anglo immigrants the same excuse, leaving only the earlier generations of immigrants to possibly think of themselves as the only ones benefitting from the dispossession of First Nations peoples. “Mainstream” was not used to indicate a large proportion of people but rather as an alternative to the term “White”. Several participants alluded that the way to reduce racism

and increase interest in Indigenous Australian knowledge is through working on this group; on the segment of society that has the least resistance to First Nations peoples.

Opinions about who and what constitutes the “Hard-core/horrendous” group were very different across the participants. Quay talked about Australian leadership standing with Adam Goodes when he was “being vilified and called names on the sporting field a few years ago”. While Tom and Ian saw that Adam Goodes was left to suffer that episode on his own with insufficient leadership calling out the behaviour as racist. John Howard’s words and actions in government were seen by Tom and Ian as part of the hard-core group pulling Australian society toward colonial attitudes. Reflecting on Federal Government directives in 2019 to celebrate Australia Day on 26 January and punishing local government councils that chose otherwise, Tom suggested this was a part of the “Horrendous” behaviour. While Quay did not recognise any government leadership as pulling Australia toward colonialist attitudes.

It was the notion of inaction in the phrase “White paralysis” that sparked Rex’s imagination:

I recognise that completely because our lives are busy. Everyone’s life is busy, and your life at certain stages are even busier. If I reflect on my circumstances, I have a young family, both of us work, there are lots of things that we are very fortunate [in having] but time is not one of the commodities that we have that is freely available for us.

This led to speculation about how to motivate behavioural change at a cultural, societal level:

So, from that perspective of being mainstream with all the pressures that sit with similar life, do people have the capacity to engage, in more? And, how do you create that capacity to engage more? ... I am actually thinking about those moments that matter from a behavioural change perspective, around interpreting and translating First Nations peoples’ knowledge into our culture, our mainstream culture, may have more impact...you need to put people ‘in the moment’ to engage...Everyone agrees, yes, we should have shorter showers, but once you are in that shower, what is that reminder in that moment that is going to stimulate behavioural change?

Ideas provided by participants discussed later in Section 4.7 go some way toward identifying potential activities to remove barriers to seeing Indigenous Australian knowledge. However, it is probably the perceptions of the purpose of Indigenous knowledge that provide the most clues to what may or may not motivate behaviour change in this area.

While immigrants continually add significant aspects of their culture to Australia, migrant and other participants suggested that immigrants almost always integrate into what is commonly referred to as ‘mainstream Australia’. That is, today’s immigrants will follow the lead provided by mainstream Australia, they do not generally determine Australian direction in relation to Indigenous affairs. Two immigrant participants stated that the creation of a multicultural society breaks down racism, which could have a positive influence on the way that

Indigenous people are viewed by mainstream Australia in the future. However, in contrast, Quay speculated in the first interview that large numbers of immigrants “who know nothing about Australian history full stop” detract from an agenda to promote Indigenous Australian knowledge. This raises the question of whose responsibility it is to lead Australian society, including new immigrants toward familiarity with Indigenous knowledge.

### **Leadership**

Disappointment “with the leadership at the government level” was felt by five participants, one of whom was Ursula who understands that the journey of Australia toward embracing Indigenous knowledge is “happening but it is just awfully slow. There is not much leadership outside the Aboriginal community to take us there.”

The fact that the RAP in their organisation was playing a significant role in leading its staff was indicated by 20 participants. Five (Cath, Gert, Ian, Pam and Verity) talked about the RAP providing a structure that supports the leadership in an organisation on this journey with its staff. Several also said that the leadership in their organisation were totally committed to the success of their RAP and that their leadership had a big influence on whether or not staff took the RAP seriously. A few spoke about the impact that ripples through Australian society when organisational leadership is committed, especially when they have a staff of 30,000-80,000. It is not just the staff and their family, says Pam:

...it does filter through the company but beyond ... that gets people talking and caring about it. Hopefully that then spreads beyond the organisation. It becomes something that I discuss with my friends and [impacts] their organisations.

In response to Australian society being depicted as a serpent, Quay said, “I don’t think that we will ever see Australia driven by Aboriginal culture.” His reasoning being that the proportion of First Nations peoples in the Australian population is too small. However, his worldview illustrates that there is a deeper philosophy to be explored in attempting to identify the barriers to seeing Indigenous Australian knowledge.

### **4.3.5 Philosophies guiding human behaviour**

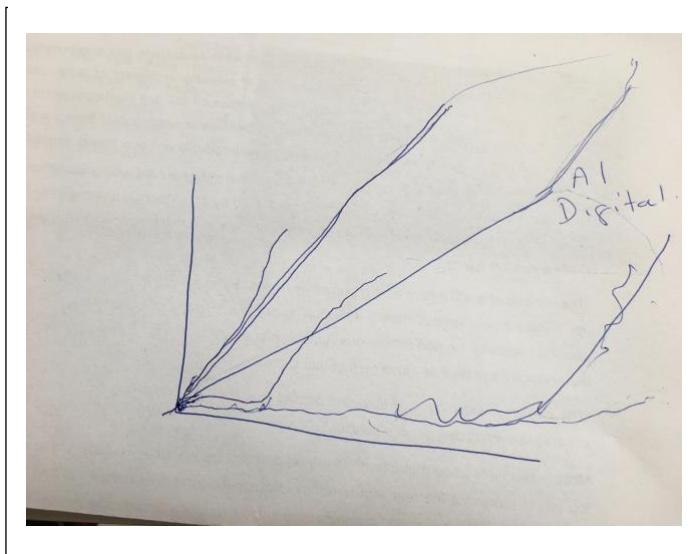
Presented in this section are the thoughts posed by six participants in response to their own philosophical questions. Thus, revealing their deep-seated beliefs and the metaphors that form the foundations of their worldviews and values and therefore influence the decisions they make, including where they focus their attention (Boulding, 1961; Inayatullah, 2009; Inayatullah et al., 2016).

Fred spoke for over three minutes, as he struggled to express his understanding of the direction of humanity within the context of appreciating Indigenous knowledge:

... you see this exponential rise in modern living but at some point, the two shall meet and hopefully it will not be that we have so taken over the Indigenous and moved the Indigenous world up to where we see ourselves moving into the future because it will be sad, we will be losing their perspectives and that is very important.

Twenty minutes later Fred returned to this concept and drew a graph (see Illustration 4.3) and he explained it as he did. This doodle captures the essence of what lays beneath Fred's previous disinterest in Indigenous Australian knowledge.

**Illustration 4.3 Artist; Participant Fred. Depiction of knowledge trajectories (2019)**



The corner where the axes meet [a 90° angle] is the stone age of civilization. There are some things in society that have gone on this trajectory [drawing the line at a 45° angle from the bottom axis]. This is now about artificial intelligence and digital and robotics and everything else [written at the end of that line]. And there is a certain section of society that are going over here [drawing the line coming out at a 10° angle from the bottom axis.] Now this gap is widening, and one would hope that at some stage (it can't fit here) it needs to meet up [drawing the bottom line moving up] to have that single view of humanity and worldliness. But, I can't see that it'll happen any time soon. But what I do see is that the challenge is for us if we want to achieve this meeting of the minds. But it will be sad to see this [10° trajectory] forced to move into there [lightly drawing an arc between the bottom 10° line over to the AI/ digital 45° line]. I would rather, okay this [the 10° trajectory] needs to move up a bit, maybe.

At this point Fred started to struggle with his image, "It is more, somewhere into, ah, I can't [pause]. It is the Indigenous cultures of the world that connect us back to our humanity."

Agreeing with Fred in seeing a deeper connection between the purpose of Indigenous knowledge and the direction of humanity as a whole, the researcher suggested that perhaps the trajectory of Indigenous people rose from the corner at a 60° angle (on Illustration 4.3), sketching the top line, and suggesting, "If the vertical axis is knowledge, humans have been

developing knowledge about the environment and astronomy for thousands of years.

Particular 'cultures' seemed to move away from nature and now science is bringing people back in contact with nature and adding artificial intelligence, but pulling people back to the 60° angled line, and Indigenous knowledge." Fred laughed saying,

You actually turned it really the other way around and I think that [pause], I think that you are right. What you say there is exactly right. Because when you think about things like meditation, things like that. They are all very much about nature and understanding the human body and mind. So, that is what real science is. Maybe they are coming together. When the artificial world comes to realise, 'yeah, this is what real life is all about. This is how we should live.' This needs to meet [drawing the lines meeting at the top righthand corner]. This is so much better than what I had. [Fred scratched over the 10°-line saying] This is bad (laughing).

The conflicting ideas that Fred was struggling with, he had not really put together before and very readily agreed that, what appears to be a common myth about where Indigenous knowledge sits in relation to Western knowledge, is quite possibly upside-down.

The perception that Western knowledge and society are more advanced than Indigenous Australian society was described by Yvonne. Furthermore, she indicated an unusual understanding of human development and human nature, sharing the source of her theory about a small percentage of the human population being corrupt, and the importance that its author had put around the corrupt behaviour in relation to the direction of humanity:

There was a very good article that I read about the development of humans through history (all the way from ape up) saying that there is always a very small percentage (like 2 or 3%) of the tribes and animal groups that doesn't play fairly. If you go to an ape population there is this 2-3% that don't play fairly. Actually, the group is stronger as a whole because that group don't play fairly. A really interesting article; it made a really convincing argument, that is why, one of the reasons that human society has been so successful is because we have an element that don't play fairly and that it is absolutely necessary for evolution.

For clarification the researcher asked, "The theory is that for us to have evolved the way that we have evolved we needed 2-3% of our number to play unfairly?" Yvonne responded in the affirmative, so the researcher asked, "When you think about the alternatives that we might need right now, where we have evolved to, maybe it wasn't the best process?" Yvonne, who was not well pleased with the place at which humanity has arrived, responded thoughtfully and reconsidered the proposition, "Yeah, that's right [the unfair players were there] to evolve to where we have evolved to, so, maybe it is not the best process as a key part of our evolution." Rex's comment too "that human nature, especially Western nature has, there is a level of exploitation that flows through every culture." A preparedness to accept corrupt behaviour as part of human nature is indicated by Rex. In making the point about the similarities in humans in Indigenous and Western societies, Liam pointed out that every



society (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) has laws to keep these failings in human nature in check and to protect its citizens.

Apart from the metaphors used by many while choosing art works, Fred, Liam and Tom were the only participants who provided a separate image from their deeper understanding of life, however, other participants used language to refer to their philosophies. Christianity was referred to in very different ways by Pam, Ursula, Yvonne and Liam but all in relation to the relevance of religion in educating and guiding humanity.

Ideas of “primitive, civilized and uncivilised” peoples seem to rotate around deep-seated ideas of human development, religion, agriculture, knowledge, conflict management and therefore reveal fundamental barriers to the view of Indigenous Australian knowledge. One of Quay’s responses included an explanation of a linear view of human development from “an anthropological book”:

The Australian Indigenous folk were probably the most creative and adaptive to their environment. They just had the harshest environment. If you look at where populations flourished, ... they had native crops and native animals that were easily domesticated that grew well in those climates, which then led to western style settlement ... therefore it led by chance to have people as academics, reading and writing ... then because of the land bridge connections ... led to Greece, Romans and Christianity.

Diamond (1998) is the book to which Quay is referring. Quay related this to the view that Westerners had on arrival in Australia:

There is a view that Indigenous Australians were backward in a way, intellectually, when we arrived, or an incapable society, whereas it’s not the case. They were probably doing far better than any white settlement could have done under the same circumstances. And when you think about explorers or others, or shipwreck groups landing somewhere and how they fell apart in the same environment when the Indigenous folk were surviving.

Pam provided an example based on new graduates coming into her organisation who are saying that schools should “just be teaching kids how to code so that they can be programmers because that is the future”. Pam pondered, “Is our curriculum teaching kids what they need for the future?” as she mulled over creating the balance in the school curriculum that best equips people to survive in future Australian society.

We’re still teaching kids the stuff that we’ve always taught them but by the time they get out of school, what is it 20% of the jobs that exist now will still exist and there is going to be all this other stuff ... then what’s the tension between that new world, what the future is and how you prepare the kids for that. ... there is all this other stuff that is really important about growth as a person and as a human being.

With this quotation Pam captured the tension between equipping people to do work that currently exists and the capacities required for the different potential directions in which human society could move, including the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge.

For Liam too, it was the consideration of what should be taught in schools that led to deeper commentary about particular ideologies based on philosophies of life. Liam stated that:

Recognition or empathy towards Aboriginal people ... it's claimed by the Left, I would say falsely. A lot of people who would describe themselves as Right-wing have very strong attachment and are wanting to do this better. In fact, some of the ways the Left have done it, has I don't think, been helpful.

He made this comment after a description of "radical leftist" views that came up in relation to doubting that Indigenous knowledge should be in school curriculum, "I am just worried about what we are trying to do to our kids and I don't want to be too utilitarian". He did not think that school should only be about teaching people to work but, "I am a bit suspicious of most of the left's hijacking of the education curriculum". He did believe strongly that, "we should make a bigger effort to try to understand history, general Australian history, understand Indigenous history, understand Indigenous ways-of-knowing more at schools".

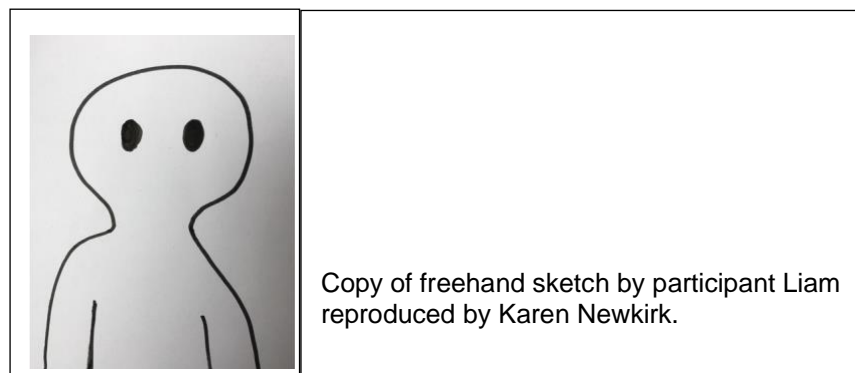
Among the materials available for the participants to use to sculpture their personal journey was a nativity scene. It was used twice. Yvonne placed it with some other religious symbols stating, "This is everything that I am against." Yvonne is a committed atheist seeing institutionalised religions deviating humanity away from their full potential. (Perhaps seeing religion as lower than Fred's 45° angled line, pulling people away from real knowledge.) Ursula did not use those symbols but stated, "I am a humanistic atheist". Ursula is focussed on and dedicated to improving the world that she knows to exist, which includes Indigenous Australian knowledge, without a belief in an afterlife. Ursula too sees religion as a distraction from reality.

"At the top is the nativity scene, which represents my life long belief in God," said Liam as he placed the nativity scene first. His broad perspective of God was influenced by the standpoint of an Aboriginal man or an Aboriginal man's image of God fitted Liam's image:

In 1991 I had the privilege of standing on the banks of the Roper River in Arnhem Land, with a local elder ... named Neville. I was camped there for the night, just by myself, ... and Neville came around. ... As we were talking Neville showed me the stars. What he showed me that night (in European tradition we tend to draw, drawings between the dots of light. We connect the stars to come up with pictures and hence the horoscope and that sort of thing). What Neville showed me was that people from his area, at least, look at where the stars aren't. ... what he showed me in the stars that night, was the representation of, you see it a bit [roughly drew the Wandjina spirit figure on the white board behind him; see Illustration 4.4] in Indigenous Art, this figure. And, it is quite distinctive in the stars in the sky. He

showed it to me and it was like looking ... at one of those Escher drawings, all of a sudden you look at it a different way and it is a different thing. And, he explained to me that (and Neville was a Christian man) he identified that figure with God the father, the creator who gave the Aboriginal people their laws and their customs and the culture, just as he gave the Israelites the ten commandments. And, he said, 'then Jesus died for everyone'. It was an extraordinary, powerful and deep way of thinking about the world and Aboriginal culture and equating it to all Indigenous cultures around the world as God given. It was an extraordinary call.

***Illustration 4.4 Artist; Newkirk, K. Sketch of participant Liam's sketch of Wandjina Image (2019)***



Liam appears to concur with Neville's understanding that the creator of the universe, his God, had created Indigenous people as equal to all other humans providing them with important knowledge.

'Human nature' was mentioned by ten participants including Rex who, said "It is a really interesting thing, that human nature, especially Western nature has, there is a level of exploitation that flows through every culture." Nine of these participants spoke about this aspect of human nature as something that always has to be monitored, needing laws to control it in society. Yvonne shared another perspective on human nature while reflecting on the percentage of people who corrupt the market:

90% of all people are good people, they do want to do the right thing. It is only small numbers on either side that do take advantage and who don't want to do the right thing. They have a significant impact, things like this [case studies of Indigenous knowledge exploitation]. A huge percentage of that small percentage tends to be people who are in positions of power.

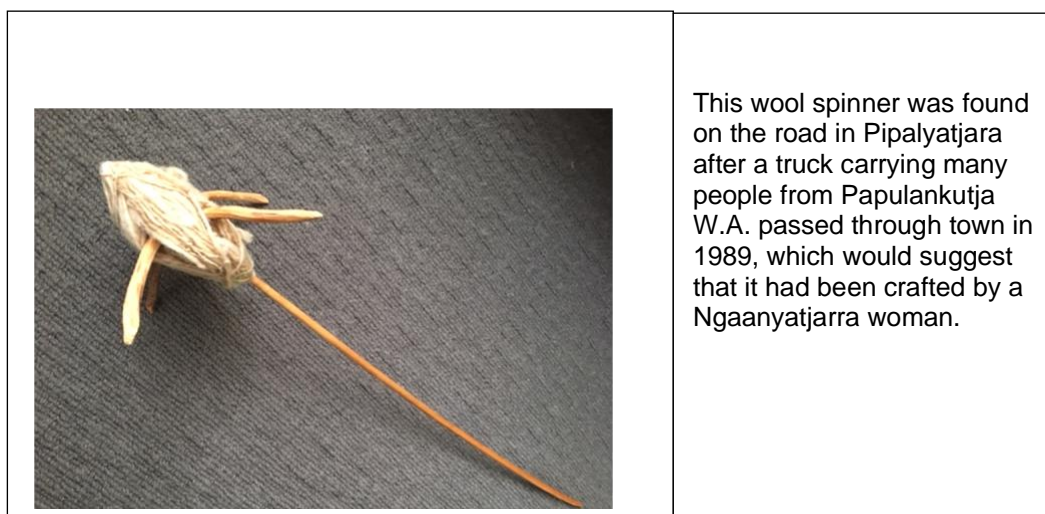
Zeb spoke about the drawbacks of capitalism but was quick to say "I'm not a communist either. ... [but] Western society ... it always comes back to dollars and cents". He was looking for "an astronomical shift, to measure success by other means... such as the gross national happiness measure [that is used] in Bhutan". Zeb was posing the question of whether Australian society needs an enormous shift in principles if it is going to embrace

Indigenous knowledge and value it in the market. Ern too expressed the need for a “revolutionary change in our relationship with Indigenous people and how they’re viewed”.

Being able to value Indigenous Australian knowledge is dependent on being able to see it and apparently being able to see it is blocked by preconceived ideas. Using Illustration 4.5 Pam spoke about these preconceived ideas as illusions that need to be burst:

I keep coming back to this [the wool spinner in Illustration 4.5] ... it could represent Indigenous history, perhaps it was originally like this fluffy piece in the middle, harmonious and happy and then white man turned up and put spikes through it. ...we are going to have to pierce a few holes in things, pop a few bubbles.

***Illustration 4.5 Artist; Ngaanyatjarra woman. Wool spinner (circa 1989)***



Pam described what those bubbles might be:

Non-Indigenous people’s unwillingness to engage on the issue and to genuinely deeply think about it. I think that there are some people that get behind it and say, ‘yes, we should do this’, and they do that maybe just from a basic human perspective, that we’re all people ... But that gets you to acceptance,

Due to the vast difference between Indigenous Australian knowledge and Western knowledge Noel suggested that there is a conflict in the way that Westerners view knowledge. The only way to appreciate First Nations’ knowledge is to tune in with attentiveness to different perspectives:

There is no inauthentic way of doing it. ... There are no shortcuts to find an understanding or an appreciation of Indigenous history, knowledge, culture. There is still a view that it can be adapted. That it can be ‘short-cutted’. That it can be compromised to a structure that is ours, that we recognise and understand and are comfortable with.

Using the painting depicted in Illustration 4.6 Noel illustrated the issue of maintaining an “us and them”, and explained the current situation as:

There are two creatures on it but they are both looking away from each other and looking outside, at the edges, instead of looking at one another or with one another, or instead of looking at all of the complexity that is going on inside.

**Illustration 4.6 Artist; Andrew, Wailwan. Creation of the Castlereagh River (Bell, 2017)**



He saw this picture as a clear “representation of the view on Indigenous Australian knowledge and whether we are or aren’t accessing it and understanding it”. Noel perceives that “the willingness to listen is still missing”, however, he does not see the situation as hopeless, “I see plenty of hope. I don’t see it as dominant. It is still a fight in which hope is still in the minority.” Having described this barrier, he then explained:

That there is a significant amount to learn, to grow, to understand within before looking outwards. That there are potential answers, complexity and understanding that is in an immediacy of ourselves without having to look so far in the distance.

In the context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people it is easier to frame “the problem” as theirs and not ours and to position oneself as the charitable one assisting the unfortunate other with ‘their problem’ explained Noel. He also makes the point that by ignoring the inside of ourselves and our casual interactions we are contributing to the very problems that we are attempting to solve. He describes a fear of facing ourselves and our vulnerabilities “We ignore them because they’re closer to home and it admits, it’s an acceptance and a vulnerability that you are part of the problem. That you are also to blame.” Finally, he spoke about a dynamic of charity when he said, “it’s easier to look at the external

for the complexity and the challenges because it feels more like a benevolence or a philanthropy”.

This context of “theirs” did not only surface in relation to “Indigenous”/ “non-Indigenous”, it came up in relation to other non-Indigenous people. Five participants spoke about the attitudes among their peers, for example, Harry and Verity’s examples of racist behaviours were found to be amongst their peers. In making the case of the importance of educating the Australian populous at a young age, Dave spoke about a cohort of age-related peers, “We are a hopeless case; we are gone. Anybody who is passed school age is a lost cause. It is too late for us.” Rex made a similar comment. This dimension of who needs to be brought along and how “we” connect with “them” and “ourselves” (at a deeper level) was raised in these ways as potentially an important concept in how Australian society is led toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge. “Blokes will go to the football and make an off the hand joke. They haven’t made that step of recognising that making the joke is wrong,” observed a male participant (whose pseudonym is female), noticing that his football mates, as distinct from others in his wide variety of peers have not been made aware of the need to catch up to a non-racist society.

The language of “us and them” was also applied to the “others” that people perceive within the fragments of Australian society. Liam said that he expected the “hard-core” to be made up of people from a low socio-economic profile. Tom thought that the hard-core tended to be “old people”. Abbey felt that racism was more prominently displayed in rural communities. Mary said that she was quite sure that her profession would constitute more of the front group, aligned with First Nations peoples.

Use of the words “they” and “them” often portray this “othering” discussed by Noel. Xavier uses that language as he grapples with which direction Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples want to go, “It is so hard for a culture that, on one hand, you would love to give them the opportunity just to stay how they were, if that’s how they want.” Then he commented on First Nations peoples who choose to teach their knowledge, saying “then also look at, the world has evolved”. Xavier often did not complete sentences, but he has said the equivalent of: “...the world has evolved [therefore knowledge should evolve]” implying that Indigenous knowledge has not evolved with the world.

This proposed struggle, expressed by Xavier, of needing to determine a future direction for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is not a choice that non-Indigenous people need to make, as clearly expressed by Noel. The choice is to support, or not, the direction that Indigenous people set for themselves. Twenty-one of the participants apparently recognised

that to support the First Nations' agenda requires action on the part of non-Indigenous people.

#### **4.4 Awareness of Indigenous knowledge in the market**

Conveyed in this section are the ways that participants talked about Indigenous Australian knowledge in the market, how it has been and should be regarded. Participants provided examples of current behaviour in the market that they saw as exploitative and the consequences of such immoral behaviour. They also offered thoughts on an apparent contradiction of knowledge management and other tensions. One participant provided a case study of project management that is including Indigenous Australian knowledge.

##### **4.4.1 Behaviour in the market**

Evidence of exploitation in the market had been seen by 11 participants. The following examples are summarised from the full responses that are provided in Appendix 18: i) Non-Indigenous people charging overpriced fees for work contracted to them by Indigenous organisations; ii) Falsification of Aboriginal artwork; iii) Indigenous art that was purchased over a hundred years ago where the artist cannot be identified, but not coming up with an alternative way to reimburse the community for its use; iv) Indigenous people being preyed on for inflated loans; v) Architectural companies presenting themselves as capable of Indigenous community engagement when they are not; vi) Companies using Indigenous information that was unwittingly passed on (in ignorance of its economic significance); vii) Companies claiming to have Aboriginal partners when they do not; viii) Mining companies that manage to not regenerate Aboriginal land they have stripped, despite legal obligations to do so; ix) Avoiding government procurement policies with artificial Indigenous Joint Venture (JV) partners.

All participants responded to the questions about the scenarios supplied in the second interview generically, as the questions were intended. Specific scenarios also triggered examples of exploitation seen in the market today from some participants. Noel provided a full description of some of the dynamics involved in the current market:

There's well documented and well criticised information around the concept of 'black-cladding'; finding one Indigenous person and they become a joint venture with a business that has been around for a hundred years.

He talked about attempts to mitigate such damaging behaviour:

There have been some changes, like tinkering around with JV laws... they are upping the due diligence in unpicking the authenticity of the business, and each year they get verified.

Untoward business practices were also described by Noel, “the dominant culture taking over and exerting influence, power and control and sidelining the Indigenous knowledge” as ‘natural’ attempts to circumvent the system and suggests “the best way” to remedy the situation:

...is just shining a light on it and putting the accountability on every part of the puzzle. Government gets in trouble because they are claiming numbers that aren't real...The same at the corporate level; corporates beating their chests saying look at what we are doing, but you shine a light on it and you unpick some of the businesses to get better over time.

Non-Indigenous businesses who are paid for an outcome while tapping into Aboriginal knowledge (as described in scenarios one and two) without duly recognising the origin of the knowledge, is a part of the Western business world that is accepted practice Tom explained: “while it is not necessarily malicious it is lopsided. When a request is made in return, such as in the case of the university with documentation for a land claim, the knowledge should be provided back to the community” (see Appendix 19).

Participants voiced five different perspectives on the societal impact of the behaviours in the market that were illustrated in the case studies: i) Disadvantage to First Nations peoples; ii) Advantage for the perpetrators, which impacts on society in three ways. The vast majority of participants identified the societal impact as the negative impact on societal trust and progress; (with ten recognising the) negative impact on Indigenous knowledge. However, one participant took the resolved examples as ‘Indicators that society has improved’.

The terrible financial consequences for the victim and their families particularly in the last two scenarios was pointed out by 11 participants. It was the negative impact on the agendas of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples that Bobby noted. Similarly, Tom spelt out that the first, hypothetical case about the university and the Aboriginal peoples’ land-rights claim, “That is their home! That is their everything,” that has been undermined.

The disadvantage to the descendants of Namatjira also concerned Verity:

The family had to *fight*. For the family there is a massive economic consequence. A judge in his right mind would not only be compensating them but the damage that's done in terms of, if they had had those royalties coming in, what would that have meant for the children in terms of schooling and education? Monetary compensation doesn't make up for that. You can throw all the money you want, but that one action has dramatically affected every output for that family.

Similarly concerned, Tom stated, “for David Unaipon, that was 80 years, 3 or 4 generations of his family [had income] completely taken away from them”. Meanwhile as Harry observed, “there doesn't seem to be any consequence really” for the perpetrators.



It was observed that the types of behaviour described in these scenarios have far ranging impacts on social precedents. Eight participants noted that there were no consequences to the perpetrators in these scenarios. These are manifestations of “systemic racism, which advantages those in power, the perpetrators.” recognised Dave. While Will expressed it this way, “There isn’t much, actually, in the example of the company (scenario two) they are rewarded really. They are getting a contract over somebody else, an Aboriginal owned and managed enterprise.” Pam expressed that, “up until there was a negative impact for the people doing it, it was reinforcing for them that what they were doing was status quo.” The behaviours were thus noted to be reinforced in society.

Systematic racism is also highlighted by Yvonne who was among 23 participants who talked about the bad social precedents:

For the Aboriginal people who had their intellectual property taken from them, the consequences for them are that they will feel disenfranchised. They might feel like they are not part of the greater community. They will probably feel some hypocrisy, in that other people, other communities are not living by the laws and they may see one thing and hear another and nothing being done.

The consequences of that erosion of trust were highlighted by Abbey:

It widens the divide. It widens that mistrust. There is a mistrust of Western culture and society. It just makes that journey towards true reconciliation and true awareness around the whole country that much slower, that much harder.

Perpetuation of, “disempowerment and reinforcing the inequality of the past and that colonial, ‘we are the conqueror’ type, ‘you don’t have a right’” was emphasised by Olive.

Among those who talked about the impact of ignorant behaviour on society was Mary who also raised the impact on knowledge itself:

It is a reckless indifference to the impact of that ignorance. Disastrous consequences in terms of the recognition, preservation, protection and support for the flourishing of Indigenous knowledge, but also a tragic missed opportunity to build trust and build relationships.

The ways that Indigenous knowledge and knowledge itself is undermined by exploitative behaviours was commented on by nine participants. Bobby stated, “The consequences of knowledge itself getting watered down and what is assumed to be knowledge (that isn’t) being brought into an organisation.” Reflecting on scenario two, but speaking about his knowledge of the market today, Noel related his concern about the way that the procurement policy was being undermined, denying society of the intended innovation:

The hypothesis [behind the procurement policy] is that a diversity of thought is better for better outcomes and the same thing with the diversity of supply chain. If what is purported is that the difference on how you approach problems or the businesses that you engage with coming up with innovation and solutions and that is the end goal, then you are not doing anything by getting an Indigenous business, which is in

the same structures, thought processes, culture; the same way of problem solving as every other business.

If Indigenous people and their knowledge are “just bundled up” into the same type of large corporation that dominates the market, Noel observed, then the main benefit to society (from the procurement policy) is lost; the unique perspective of Indigenous knowledge disappears.

While Sue did say, “what an injustice, a travesty, how dare they?” her tendency to see things in a positive light stood out again in her response to the question of consequences as she emphasised that the two historic cases were eventually resolved:

Good on Dick Smith for bringing this result to fruition. The family were absolutely entitled to [Albert Namatjira’s] work and his copyright and any compensation that came with it. I am thrilled for that conclusion. David Unaipon, again, what an injustice. It angers you to think that people do this. But again, justice has prevailed in that instance. It would be lovely that things would happen retrospectively, but obviously that’s not happening. Anyway, a good outcome in that instance as well.

The implication of this kind of optimism is an impression that society has changed and there is no longer a need to focus attention on remedying such behaviour or exploring the causes of it. Similarly, Xavier said that the two historic examples, “give me hope that although it was a long journey at least the right decision was made in the end”. While well-read Liam was “shocked” to learn of these examples he recognised that the consequence of such action would “subvert, disenfranchise and alienate” First Nations peoples.

The case studies were used as examples of behaviour in the Australian market to focus the attention of participants on activities that illustrate current relationships to Indigenous knowledge. Participants provided other examples of exploitation, pondered the consequences of such actions in terms of First Nations peoples, unethical advantages to non-Indigenous people, power relationships in society and the undermining of Indigenous knowledge itself. That this pattern in the market is evidence of systemic racism was identified by Dave and Ian.

#### **4.4.2 An apparent contradiction**

The case studies raised an apparent contradiction for five participants. The perceived contradiction was talked about by Gert, Harry, Kim, Liam and Rex in three different ways: 1) How do you increase demand (from a Western audience) for the knowledge while protecting the rights and income back to the people but not in a way that they sign over the rights (Kim, Gert & Harry)? 2) How do you share knowledge without it then being used? And more specifically, if you share knowledge and someone (non-Indigenous) becomes an expert in that knowledge they have a right to sell their expertise (Liam). 3) “But do we really want to put a price on knowledge and care for the community and education?” (Rex).

This seeming contradiction is discussed in Chapter 5. Here the concerns are presented as they were raised by the participants. Harry put it simply, “there is a real conflict between wanting that knowledge to be shared in a way that just continues to get out to people without taking away from the [Indigenous] community”. Gert explained her concern:

I think that there is kind of a contradiction there, about sharing the knowledge and people using it because knowledge does change and does evolve and for people to understand it they need access to it and they need to be able to use it in their own way. So, there is a kind of a contradiction in there, I think, about spreading knowledge but it is still ours. Because spreading knowledge is sharing knowledge and you can't then have complete control and authority over that knowledge any more.

Kim worded the contradiction differently, teasing it out and attempting to answer it in this way:

There is that incompatibility between approaches of storing and passing on knowledge. They are such different approaches and means by which knowledge is transferred. Western culture if you put money (and everything has a value and that is how knowledge is moved around) it is all about who pays for it. It seems so incompatible with; this is handed from an elder to people in the community. That is quite difficult to reconcile: the demand for a Western audience of the knowledge with protecting the rights and getting money back to the people but not in a way that they sign over the rights. You want the knowledge to be shared and for the profits to go to the right people but you don't want a copyright to be on something that then makes it hard to share.

Kim continued to weigh the contradiction with its intricacies, reported on later. Liam heard the contradiction in relation to non-Indigenous people not being encouraged or allowed to teach Indigenous Australian knowledge:

You have raised one interesting question, which is ‘can a non-Indigenous person be an expert [in Indigenous knowledge]? Can [they] be credited with expertise on Indigenous issues? That first example where a non-Aboriginal person was teaching Aboriginal subjects, that seems to me to be mistaken. Because we can have a Chinese expert on Shakespeare. ...you can't deny the mantle of expert to people because they don't fit in a certain cultural or ethnic group. You have got to acknowledge that knowledge and expertise can come both ways. Or else you couldn't do this; what do you know about Indigenous knowledge, if you are non-Indigenous? Well, you can learn, that is what knowledge is. ... we need objectivity.

(Intellectual Property laws and other market protections, in place for Western knowledge are discussed in Chapter 5.)

The “conflict between wanting to get that information out as widely as possible while only 3% of the population truly have that information” could be resolved through, “not letting it leak” but having “controlled checks and balances” suggested Harry. While the concern for Rex was worded this way:

There are two drivers going on in here; one is raising awareness in society and to raise awareness in society then you have got to share knowledge and educate and grow, but then if, at the same time it is around protecting economic IP then, wow then you are putting a constraint on it, so there is huge tension there that exists.

The intricacies of using Indigenous knowledge were audibly weighed, in education (Kim); in Business (Ursula); and using Indigenous stories for the public good (Rex). Kim contemplated the use of Indigenous knowledge in books used in schools:

It is like an argument that all Australians should be able to hear the tale of the Rainbow Serpent in primary school. That should be something that every Australian has a right to hear and to learn about, but a book that tells that story, those proceeds should go to a community. Where do you draw the line between something that should be accessible for everyone? I guess, it is when money is being made off the good. If it is a book there is money. Maybe in situations where it is a story that belongs to all or a lot of Aboriginal people then that money should just go into a mutual fund that gets spent on goods or services or programs that benefit those people.

Kim reflected on the use of the knowledge produced by Aristotle and Pythagoras and the fact that no royalties have been passed on to their descendants.

The people who created the maths don't really get any of the income flow anymore. It is the people who just recycle the material ... Maybe that is what is upsetting about it. It's that the people who just take it, because it is not theirs, write it in a way, yes they are adding something to it because they are making it accessible or they are adding in pictures, but then they get all the money, not much goes back to the original founders of the knowledge.

The scenario described in the hypothetical about a large company was very familiar to Ursula who said that she knows it exactly but noted that the related issues are complex:

I could name a company that does precisely what you describe hypothetically. I think it does [reflect the moral concerns]. The complex issue in that case is, what are the things that actually trigger? How do you work out, what is a decent level of knowledge and respect for all of those origins on the one side, instead of just leveraging that background on the other to access opportunities? It is not easy to know that.

Ursula went on to describe the situation of supporting Indigenous school children to get a Western education through scholarships and boarding schools. Acknowledging that these young people have been completely taken out of their community environment and go through all their high school education surrounded by non-Indigenous students.

They are the ones who are most likely to access tertiary education and therefore maybe end up working for that hypothetical company. It is understandable that they may become distanced, to some extent, from their origins. But it is not easy to define where that acceptable boundary is. That is a difficult scenario, which you painted. It is a good scenario.

The discussion indicates the degree to which the participant engaged with the scenario and examined the ethical implications.

A scenario around the potential use of Aboriginal knowledge within Rex's work was explained by him. Rex works in an organisation that supplies water and sewerage services for a fee. There are many such organisations across NSW, ACT and Victoria. Most of these water organisations provide learning materials and have education programs that they take to schools because, as Rex explained, water is a vital element of human life and as such it is important that citizens are knowledgeable and responsible about its use. The participant's organisation has "identified that we would actually like the story of water to start with a Dreamtime story...use an Aboriginal story about the origin of water", publicise the story and teach it in their schools' education program.

We go to schools and we have a program that talks about: the benefits of saving water, caring for the environment and also the health benefits of drinking water over sugary drinks and bottled water; drink tap water. There is a whole engaging of the next generation to value water and the environment.

Use of the story would change the foundation of their education program, described Rex, to giving "an aligned view of water and that historical storage and context." He was perplexed as to why it was taking so long to gain approval to do this:

Sounds like an easy thing, or it should be something that is a priority, but it has been very difficult to get that commitment to do that from our First Nations people. There is no resistance from the water industry or government or traditional [European] structures. So, it comes down to priorities.

It is telling that Rex characterises the issue as one of 'priorities'. Earlier, when separating "economic growth for First Nations people" from "Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander knowledge around care for country or care for community", he had warned that, "we need to be a bit careful that those two things don't collapse into one another". He also raised some questions surrounding his organisation's dilemma.

We are not sure what the block is but it is not progressing. There is a lot of complexity inside of that. That is why I started [talking] with economic development and cultural learning; when those two merge together then there are ulterior drivers. One view you could take is that if this story isn't licenced correctly...they would be concerned that they won't get an economic benefit from sharing that story. Then the question goes to, is that then becoming a barrier for cultural and Indigenous knowledge being integrated into the way that we do things?

He was aware that the topic regarding the way that First Nations knowledge is approached in the Australian education system is relevant:

There is another question that's currently going on at a higher level, what is the school curriculum around Indigenous knowledge? ...maybe there is some nervousness there. They want to have a more-broader curriculum.

Rex said that they were also struggling to gain, “an aligned view within Traditional Owners around what is the story of water, because there are different families and different groups too”. Without any sense of irony, he went on to ask, “do we really want to put a price on knowledge and care for the community and education?”. He seems not to see that the industry he works for and his society has put a price on water; an asset that he describes as “a fundamental essential service”. Water is regulated in Australia for its quality and its use and it is a commodity; bought and sold. Perhaps it is a function of a siloed society that he doesn’t seem to recognise that his society commoditised knowledge a long time ago and does not pose the questions to Westerners that he raises in relation to First Nations peoples, “does this need to be their source of income?” Rex, raises the question of whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples should profit from the use of their knowledge “I would argue, is this a key economic area for growth for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people?” then his subsequent question of whether the profit would then be distributed evenly:

if you’re collapsing that into the same thing, is that going to be equitably shared throughout particular communities as well, First Nations people? That knowledge will be held for a few but not by everyone, potentially... I think that economic growth and all those sorts of things, and knowledge around care for country, I would be cautious about collapsing it into one, I think they are two separate distinct things.

Aware of some of the complications of the issue Rex still put forward a moral argument in support of making the knowledge available for the water organisation’s schools’ program.

#### **4.4.3 Valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge in the market**

Valuing Indigenous knowledge through engaging First Nations businesses to deliver work in their organisations was talked about by several participants. Caterers were often mentioned. Xavier also referred to engaging a business that taught traditional Aboriginal games as a team building exercise for their organisation. A rap-dancing business also ran a successful and engaging team building exercise at Abbey’s workplace. Mary talked about knowing “a number of organisations that are working very hard to support and grow Indigenous businesses” and described a project that she is involved in where there are a number of Indigenous people in lead roles including as:

business advisors who work directly with small Indigenous businesses that want to scale up and grow, provide more employment opportunities. [Large company] plays a facilitation role, funding comes from one of the large banks and we provide the legal support pro-bono.

That there “are some fantastic examples of people and organisations taking the time to help drive that long-term change and recognising the complexity” said Mary. Comments made by

her and the two participants above illustrate her point, that many are working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to see Australian society value First Nations knowledge.

One participant is working on a project that is building a precinct at a university (in the interests of maintaining anonymity the participant's pseudonym is withheld). The precinct is based on "imbedding the university's Reconciliation Action Plan and [UN] Sustainability [Development] Goals within part of the university." It is "working in partnership with students, and staff and researchers. And looking at how we foreground Indigenous knowledge from beginning to end." Conceptualisation of the project has taken place over a long period of time:

We have these beautiful ideas and the concept of this project. We have a really beautiful Indigenous Engagement Strategy that has been going for some time, which has created this really beautiful and incredible pool of knowledge and, I think, engagement and a groundswell of support from senior management down to our incredible students who are doing amazing activity.

Significant engagements have included:

local First Nations people partnering with students on projects that they are excited about that might be sustainable food for instance or it might be working with a researcher on microclimates and with our architects who are incredible too. So, you have these wonderful moments throughout this very complex project, but you also have a whole range of complexity, which is the governance where all different actors push and tension occurs. There are, some less positive things.

The precinct is more than the construction of several buildings:

One of the core principles is that it is a landscape led project, so, it is really making sure that we protect our landscape. It is also a project that is seeking to return the university back to its natural grade and, recognise our cultural heritage too. So, reinstating the original creek, we are bringing back [local flora and fauna, some of which continued to utilise the drain that replaced the creek], and that is all working with our Indigenous students, staff and elders. Not only is our engagement team 100% Indigenous led, but also the architect is Indigenous led.

The university project team have learnt:

from our Indigenous engagement that the First Nations peoples used to come and make camp in the ground. There was a billabong here and 400-year-old trees back there; built on now with concrete and lawn, which is what happens, isn't it. We are stripping back the campus's history and how it relates to the university and different language groups.

Buildings from the 1880s will remain providing an interface between the two human cultures represented in the landscape:

Creating the opportunity for people to engage through pedagogy and digital way-finding in a dialogue between the two perspectives; that tension. Over time there will be a very strong landscape narrative and we are bringing back nature. [Art] students, tell a story and talk about what is meaningful, extending it out to activation, because it is not just art.

The tensions between the dominant culture and the precinct's intensions are felt by the participant and Indigenous stakeholders, despite the participant's efforts to cushion harmful remarks:

At a university, it is a wonderful place. It is exciting but it is also challenging particularly when you are talking big dollars. People are supporting a project that can impact on their reputation. A potential risk that I have to manage for them. The project's manager is the face of it, so I have to make sure that things look rosy for them... I find that very hierarchical political setting a bit challenging. But then also particularly our Indigenous engagement team thinking about how I protect, (not protect – that sounds a bit...) ... that they have the space they need and don't feel conflicted or have the pressures. Priorities shift very quickly when you talk about money.

The project is ambitious:

What is ending is (hopefully, well my hope, aspiration) the university's more hierarchical approach to the project and Indigenous knowledge will change, go away; that the approach we are taking can flourish at the university, and hopefully across Australia and globally. I guess, the colonial past won't disappear but that reverence for it. To imbed these principles in the university's strategic psyche. I hope what will flourish, the inability for students to not be able to engage with one another... and with their connection with this space.

This project provides hope and inspiration that a transition to valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge is already beginning.

This section reports on participants' perceptions of the way that Australian society has allowed Indigenous knowledge to be treated in its places of trade. In summary, this cohort of participants tended to think that Australian society is transitioning toward embracing Indigenous knowledge, with one significant example of this taking place set out in the university case study. However, a small number felt that the process for doing so is so slow given the barriers previously identified, and that this transition may never be completed.

#### **4.5 Impressions of purpose of Indigenous Australian knowledge**

The responses given by each of the participants to this question, "What purpose might Indigenous Australian knowledge have?" are available in full at Appendix 20. What follows is an outline of what is said in those quotations. The responses were made in relation to artwork they had chosen. (All artwork chosen and metaphors used are contained in Appendix 16).

Why would Australians want to know about Indigenous Australian knowledge wondered Fred: "We learn for a purpose...I am not aware of the purpose of what getting to know about Indigenous culture is going to be." This doubt was addressed by 24 of the participants

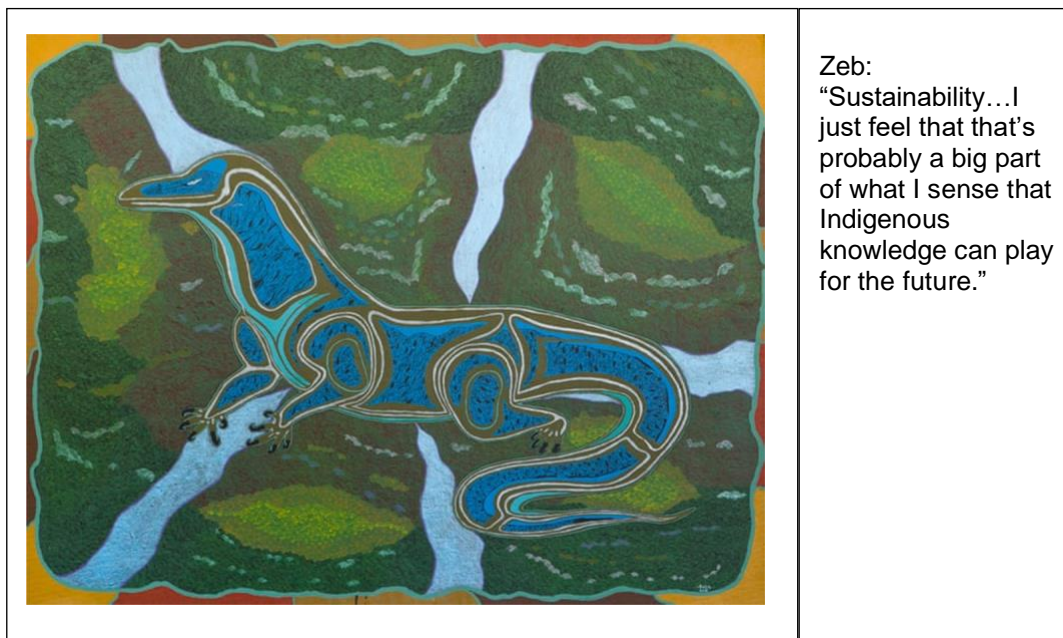


simultaneously revealing more of what is visible regarding this knowledge from a Western standpoint. Ten participants delved into multiple purposes encompassing: i) to create a sustainable future; ii) to link people and country; and iii) to provide perspectives (and thus, learnings) currently not evident to the majority of Australians.

It is interesting since 'Environment' and 'Community' were the two major components of Indigenous knowledge nominated by participants, that Liam designated a purpose for each. Firstly, its purpose is "to use technical knowledge to help us manage things [natural resources] better" and secondly, "to enrich our Australian way of life, particularly the dominant motif of individualism towards greater collectivism and greater sense of community and greater sense of inter-dependence between people and family groups".

Creating a sustainable future through extending the Indigenous notion of managing natural resources in a better way was raised by nine participants. As an example, Zeb selected an image of a robust environment (see Illustration 4.7). In Zeb's view Indigenous knowledge could play a big role in creating practices for a sustainable future for Australia and globally. Zeb feared that, "if we are not doing enough to keep the environment in a steady state then it is going to be a pretty ordinary place for my grandkids".

***Illustration 4.7 Artist; Doza. Gunnai/Kumai (Bell, 2017)***

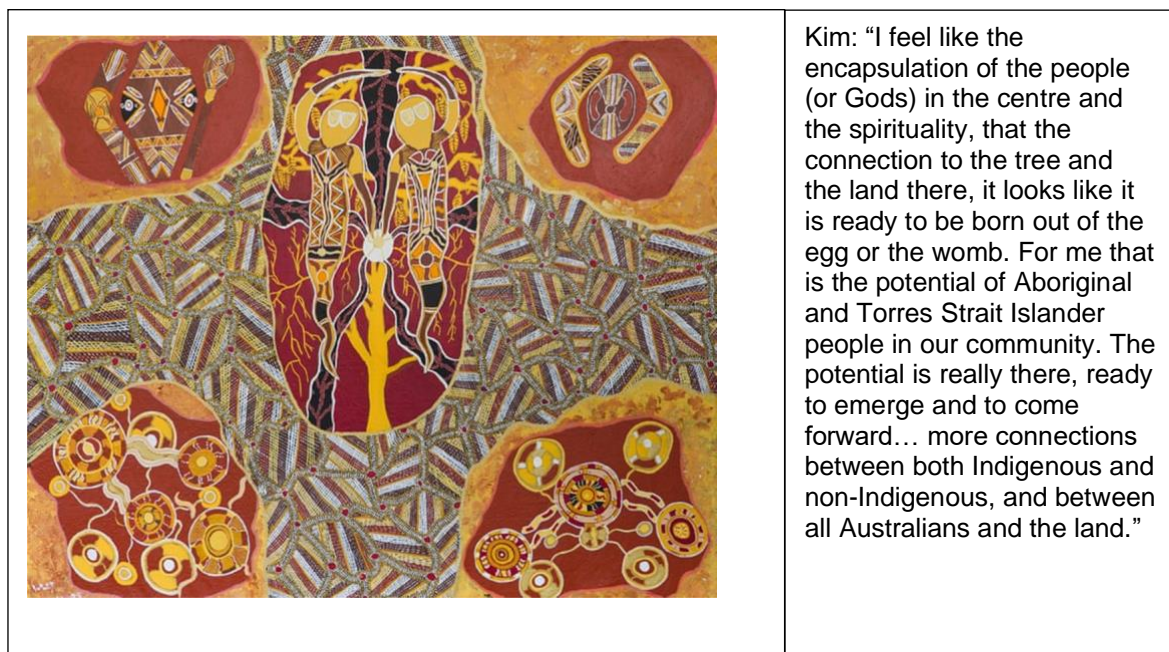


Sustaining society and the environment could be achieved by integrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge into Australian society, expressed Ian:

Western society is now acknowledging that we've strayed so far from what is good for humanity and Earth. A lot of Indigenous knowledge is/was light-years ahead of us, in terms of the way that we treat each other and our environment.

That “knowledge they had to survive 70,000 years. We should harness it for the betterment of humanity: wellbeing, natural balance, lateral leadership”, Jan saw the knowledge as having “application everywhere”. That knowledge has the purpose of linking peoples and country according to Abbey, Rex and Kim. Rex extended the idea: “to provide a connection; a connection to past, a connection to each other and a connection to the future”. A perceived purpose of Indigenous knowledge by Kim is enabling a connection between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, and to connect all Australians to the land. Kim also saw a womb with First Nations peoples’ potentials ‘ready to be born’ as a metaphor in this picture:

**Illustration 4.8 Artist; Wally, Mutti Mutti. Origins (Bell, 2017)**



The importance of Indigenous concepts that Australians are missing were related by Pam, Ian, Kim, Dave and Ursula. Pam emphasised the importance of “another view of the world ... a different sphere of thought and understanding”. Ian stated, “There are different knowledge systems and we tend to preference some but they are not necessarily the best ones for us physically, emotionally, developmentally.” Kim emphasised, “The practices of how knowledge is transmitted and kept and shared and lived ... It is very different from Western culture.” Dave stressed the need for long-term perspective. Ursula said, “It’s an ancient culture and it’s got a significance of its own.”

Five participants identified the purpose of Indigenous Australian knowledge in terms of understanding history. Yvonne suggested a generic purpose involving the development of Homo sapiens, “History most obviously is learning where we came from, how we developed and learning from our past mistakes” (see Yvonne in Appendix 20 for full quotation). The other four incorporated similar thoughts to the sentiment expressed by Cath that:

Learning (helping me and the white community) to be more open minded about, the stories about the horrible things the white community has done to the Indigenous community. If we are going to move forward there are still a lot of ‘sorrys’ to be given out by the white community.

However, one participant, Dave, did not see ‘purpose’ in terms of history at all, stating: “That Aboriginal culture is not ‘history’; does not belong in a museum or hanging on an art gallery wall... It’s telling us to open up and to see that ‘art is culture is life’.”

Reasons for why it is important to learn more about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge were expressed by 24 participants. It is the extent to which this aspiration can be seen through a nominated ‘preferred future’ of Australian society that points to an alternative view of the value of Indigenous knowledge, and thus a pathway to overcome the barriers identified earlier.

## **4.6 Preferred futures**

Depictions of preferred futures for Australia that incorporate the First Nations peoples and/or Indigenous Australian knowledge in a more inclusive way than currently exists were expressed by every participant. The significant quotations that make this point are listed in Appendix 17, and many images of these are expressed in Appendix 16.

The notion of sharing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge with the rest of Australia and incorporating it into Australian life was expressed by ten participants. In some cases, the idea of creating a united, ‘One Australia’ (like New Zealand) was conveyed as a reason for wanting to embrace Indigenous Australian knowledge. A few participants were aware of the potential mixing of this idea with the concepts of assimilation and integration and specified more clearly their aspiration. Others were less aware of the impact of assimilation and integration policies on First Nations peoples and so made the recommendation without recognising what needs to be avoided if Indigenous Australian knowledge is going to be valued.

Xavier talked about being proud of and ‘owning’ Indigenous Australian knowledge:

I look at this and say, this is my history, I’m not an Indigenous person but it’s my history and I would love to own it more and be allowed to own it more. And, I look a little bit in regards to the Kiwi, Maori, New Zealand culture.

The way that Maori culture is at the forefront of New Zealand culture was talked about by six participants. It was noted by Ern that, “A lot of [non-Maori] New Zealanders speak Maori, whereas the number of Australians that could speak any Aboriginal language would be miniscule”.

Three participants not only spoke about their desire for non-Indigenous people to embrace Indigenous Australian knowledge they talked about ways that they perceived behavioural change taking place; two participants referred to an Acknowledgement of Country being done at weddings. Jan explained that a colleague of hers, “Anglo as, Scottish heritage” reported having an Acknowledgement of Country at her wedding. Xavier said that as MC at a wedding he made sure that he did an “acknowledgement of the local Aboriginal people ... I love seeing a couple of people really nod”.

“Integration” has a very negative connotation because of the way it was used in the past, which was mentioned by Tom and Ian, who were very cautious of the use of the word. These two participants and Liam regretted the renewed use of “awful language” in public media to describe ‘One Australia’. Liam said, “those sorts of words have been suborned and suburban-ed [a pun on being brought into common use].” Tom and Ian expressly advocate for unity in diversity where Indigenous Australian knowledge is valued and respected and only used at the direction of knowledge holders. They did not want such Indigenous recognition to be subsumed into a ‘One Australia’ which implies that Australia is based only on Western knowledge and Western frameworks and systems. Quay made a similar point regarding the ‘boxed’ impression given to Indigenous youth:

open that box and give them every opportunity. But realise that what we are asking them is to take the opportunities of a Western society,...all the programs to get Indigenous kids into university and the rest of it, that’s for them to assimilate into what we believe is the right way of living.

The observation and question raised by Liam were “We have seen traditionally ‘integration’ as a one-way process. Why not make it a two-way process?” Then he used some words that blur the concepts of two-way-learning by not being totally mindful of how knowledge is maintained:

That means that Aboriginal people would need to loosen some of their control over what is traditionally seen as Aboriginal stuff. Now that might be challenging for some. But if we want to say that Aboriginal culture is Australian culture that is kind of what we have to do.

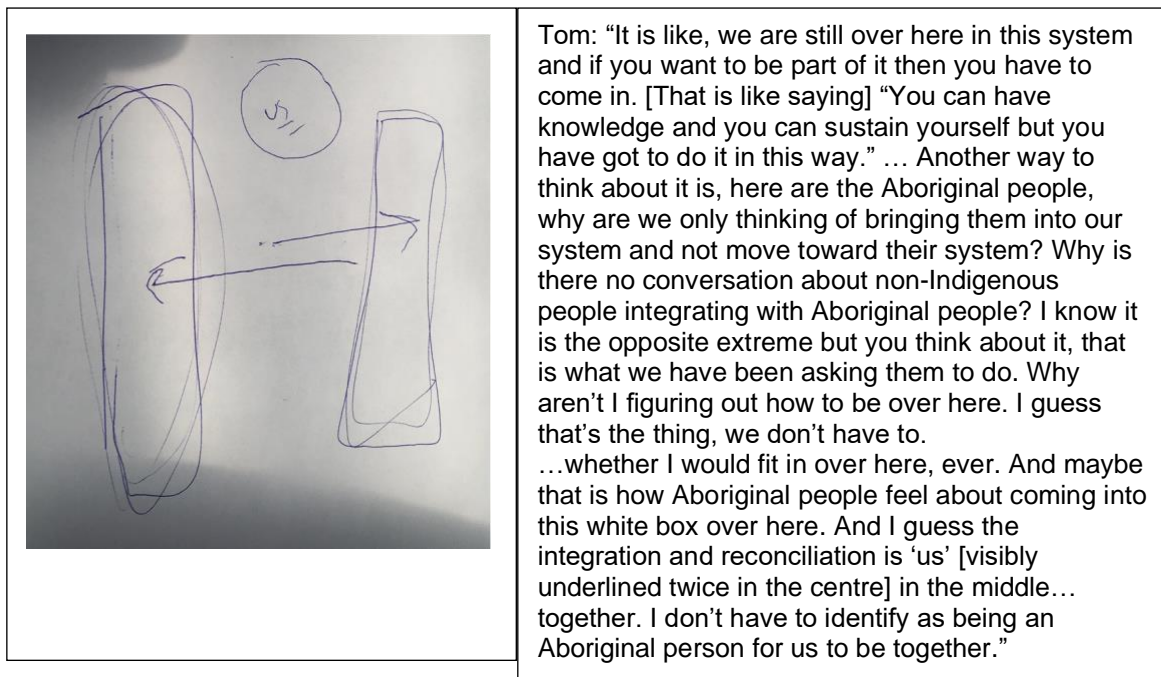
Liam showed some awareness of the inappropriateness of his statement with, “But I think that there would be some Aboriginal people who will be, maybe not feel comfortable with that.” However, the understanding as to why “loosening control” would not be seen as

respectful or appropriate in terms of maintaining the quality of knowledge was expressed by Tom:

There is a level of knowledge that Aboriginal people very rightly have to themselves. And that is how they have organised this knowledge, over thousands and thousands of years, for a reason. How to translate that and give non-Aboriginal people a love for that, an understanding of that. I think that would enable non-Indigenous Australians to be more connected to that information. That is a really interesting juxtaposition. Keeping information, Aboriginal people have many reasons for that, and getting other people to embrace or understand that knowledge without stepping over what they need to, what their responsibilities are.

As long as “integration” is associated with First Nations’ loosening control of their knowledge it will continue to be an inappropriate term. Pam observed: “the boundary around it, the guarding, that knowledge is under threat”. Ian described that he would like to see Indigenous Australian knowledge embedded “into the way we think and teach and do business and perform a range of activities.” Ian also explained why he steered away from the word, ‘integrate’, “It can start to feel like homogenise.” For Ian, while technically ‘integrate’ is the ‘correct’ word “the use of the word is not great” as it has been used to “overpower” people in the past and even today. Tom also unpacked his unwillingness to use the word ‘integration’ saying: “I just don’t want it [Indigenous knowledge] to be watered down, or think that Aboriginal people have to conform to White peoples’ way.” Through his own drawing, Tom made his point in Illustration 4.9.

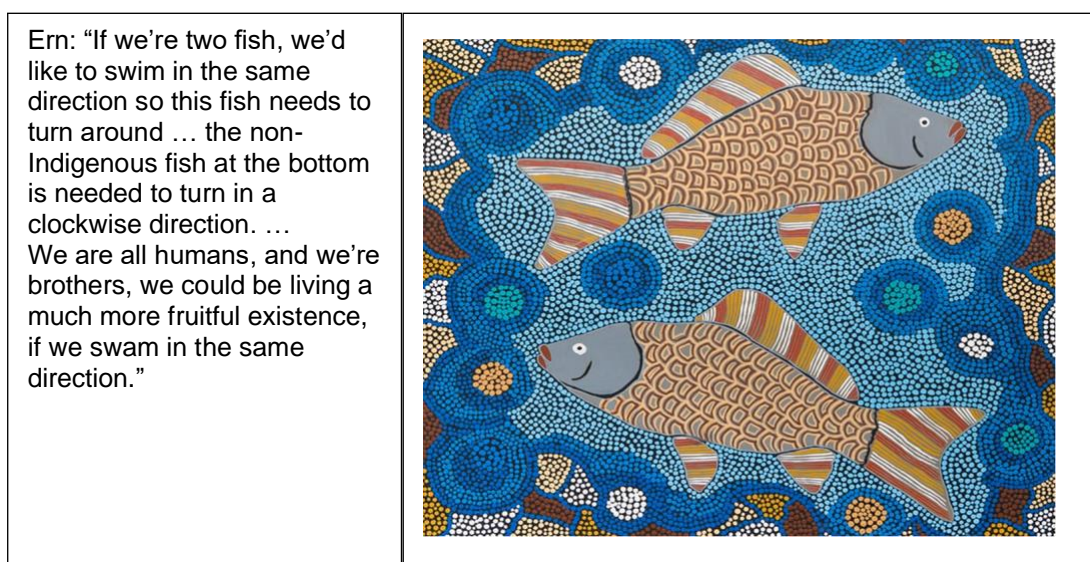
***Illustration 4.9 Artist; Participant Tom. Move toward their system (2019)***





A metaphor that places the responsibility for unity on non-Indigenous people was used by Ern in Illustration 4.10, suggesting they/we seek direction from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

**Illustration 4.10 Artist; Glenda. Mirror Image (Bell, 2017)**



The question of whether Australia's policy ambitions for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are only enabling Indigenous people to progress in Western society and whether Australia is taking into consideration the direction that First Nations peoples have articulated and what could be learnt from them was raised by Tom, Ern, Ian, Liam and Quay (not all men as the pseudonyms suggest). The difference between the current government approach and the approach of this research was unpacked by Liam, as he gleaned from the invitation, noting that the government attitude is one of "giving them a better chance" to do well in Australian society through:

Tailoring the education and by things like the Indigenous procurement policy ... which is good in so far as those things that are mainstream Australia are in fact mainstream global culture like going to school, getting a job, these are the dominant economic leitmotiv of global society. So, that is good.

He continued articulating his understanding of the purpose of this study:

But what you are focussing on is how do we prise and uncover, bring to the fore specific Aboriginal knowledge. So, this is not Aboriginals becoming more white, this is about ... treasuring Aboriginal knowledge and how that might apply to the challenges that we face. And that is a really different sort of question.

Liam's awareness is particularly notable in light of the lack of awareness of a few other participants. Given that half of the second set of interviews focussed on exploitative behaviour by non-Indigenous people in the market and the questions were directed toward

what non-Indigenous people could do to address the exploitative attitudes and behaviours within Australian culture, it is interesting that it was not only Xavier who made suggestions about what Indigenous people could be taught. This leads to the final set of findings about what the participants considered as ways of valuing Indigenous knowledge.

#### **4.7 Ideas for valuing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge**

The second set of interviews culminated in requesting ideas to remedy the situation so that Indigenous knowledge could be valued in the future in its own terms. In no way should it be assumed that these participants were approached as experts or that they have developed a plan. Many participants provided ideas throughout the second interview bringing the total number of ideas to 163 from all 26 participants. These ideas should be viewed as no more than a brainstorming exercise by a mainly disengaged, but varied, cohort of participants. This is not to say that there are no worthwhile ideas contained therein. Like any brainstorm, there are 'ideas' that do not even seem like ideas, and some that may spark better ideas.

In seeking a mechanism for portraying the ideas most easily and depicting them as closely as possible to their context, a matrix was constructed. Listed vertically, the headings in the left-hand column (labelled a-f) describe the level of society for where the idea is/could be directed. (The few ideas directed at Indigenous people were re-allocated by the researcher to the 'Self' line as suggestions for non-Indigenous peoples to extend their personal reflection.) The horizontal headings, across the top (numbered 1-4) depict groups of ideas in arenas of strategy. Thus, Table 4.4 depicts all 163 ideas in four strategic areas that could be implemented at six levels of society. The table shows in each cell the number of ideas (bolded in 10pt) and underneath each is a list of the initials of the pseudonym of the different participants who contributed to those ideas. The tallies for each row are listed in the left-hand column. The tallies for each column are at the bottom. The matrix and the assignment of ideas was put together by the researcher; it should be noted that any one person could arrange these ideas in a variety of different ways. Details of all 163 ideas are set out in Appendix 21 (listed from 1a through to 4f).

**Table 4.4 Matrix of participant ideas**

<b>Strategy</b>  <b>Action by</b>	<b>1) Listen to and learn from First Nations Australians</b>	<b>2) Embed Indigenous Australian knowledge in life-long learning with First Nations peoples</b>	<b>3) Work with First Nations peoples to increase visibility of Indigenous Australian knowledge</b>	<b>4) Value and strengthen the embryonic Indigenous Australian knowledge Industry</b>
a) Self 25	<b>10</b> D, J, L, I, O, P, S, V, W = 9	<b>2</b> M, N = 2	<b>8</b> S, O, W, V, Y = 4	<b>5</b> D, G, P, W, Y
b) Peers 5	<b>4</b> O, S = 2	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b> V = 1	<b>0</b>
c) Organis'ns 44	<b>6</b> B, C, O, U, V = 5	<b>4</b> P, Q, W = 3	<b>16</b> B, C, E, M, S, T, V, X = 8	<b>18</b> C, D, H, K, P, Q, R, T, V, X, Z = 10
d) Local gov't 4	<b>1</b> P = 1	<b>2</b> A, P = 2	<b>1</b> Q = 1	<b>0</b>
e) State gov't 21	<b>2</b> O, Z = 2	<b>17</b> B, E, M, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, X = 11	<b>0</b> as below	<b>2</b> R = 2
f) Federal Gov't/ Leadership 64	<b>14</b> C, E, F, P, T, V, Z = 7	<b>3</b> L, S, U = 3	<b>9</b> E, G, L, M, O, V = 6	<b>38</b> A, B, C, E, F, G, H, J, L, O, P, Q, R, T, U, V, Y = 17
<b>163</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>63</b>



The ideas are directed towards six different levels of society, beginning with the Self as can be seen with 25 ideas; then 5 for Peers; 44 for organisations; 4 for local government; 21 for state government and 64 ideas for Federal Government and national leadership. There are four strategic arenas: 1) Listen to and learn from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (37 ideas); 2) Embed Indigenous knowledge in life-long learning with First Nations peoples (28); 3) Work with First Nations peoples to increase visibility of Indigenous Australian knowledge (35); and 4) Value and strengthen the embryonic Indigenous Australian knowledge Industry (63).

In the larger context it could be interpreted that each idea is seeking to take Australian society, and individuals within it, from a position of ignorance to a position of awareness of Indigenous Australian knowledge. However, the orientation of each participant, as described, is not necessarily from a broad or enlightened perspective of Indigenous knowledge. The orientation of the participant determines the real meaning behind each idea, for example on its own, “increase the visibility of Indigenous Australian knowledge” could be hijacked without a broader policy direction explicitly aligned to and stating, “at the direction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples”.

Beginning with the “Self” row, there was general consensus that if Australian society is to move toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge individuals within society, who are aware of the need, each will have to act, beginning with themselves. Pam put it very clearly, pointing to the right-hand end of the serpent in Figure 4.1, “It is about how us at this [right] end help to bring along the rest of them.” Twelve participants created the 18 ideas about the need for non-Indigenous individuals to take responsibility for their own education on Indigenous Australian knowledge. Three examples cover the spectrum of opinion under “Self”. First Nations peoples taught Olive that as a non-Indigenous person she needs to, “educate yourself”, she reported. Dave was the most emphatic in insisting that non-Indigenous people should not put the onus on First Nations peoples to teach the basics of colonial history and Indigenous knowledge, saying that it is obvious that “we don’t know enough” but hearing “We need to know more. We need to understand more”, can often be that:

...we use that as an excuse not to do and to act...and we put the burden on those we wish to understand to educate us. Well, it’s not their job to educate us. It is our job to educate ourselves.

An Aboriginal person who Ian knows, “has done a little video saying, ‘don’t expect me to teach you everything about Aboriginal knowledge’. She has created it about all of the silly things she gets asked”. Some participants were aware that there are many sources

of information (books, documentaries, tours and events) available for individuals to educate themselves on both the issues that surround the circumstances of Indigenous people as a result of colonisation and also to learn from First Nations peoples about their knowledge. Self-education was described by some participants as something that everyone needs to continually return to as there is a lot to learn and it is an ongoing, iterative process.

In the “Peers” row, three participants put forward six ideas signifying that as individuals learn they need to share their resources and bring their peers along with them. Olive indicated that as a non-Indigenous person “one does not know how to determine what to do”. The fact that many First Nations peoples are well aware of every government approach that has been exercised, how they have been interpreted and put into practice by non-Indigenous employees was recognised by Ian, Jan and Tom. While Olive heard insights but had trouble understanding them. Listening, hearing and understanding the different perspectives are part of the process of self-education and can be expanded by discussing issues and resources with Indigenous and non-Indigenous peers, as advised by Jan and Ian; learning from Indigenous people has to be utilised in working out how to walk together.

In the “Organisations” row, 15 participants provided 41 ideas about ways that organisations can value Indigenous Australian knowledge. An example is Ursula speaking about her own place of work where “we have been doing awareness training across the country over the last couple of years” but she suggested it should be extended to all new employees on “induction ... They should be getting it as part of their ticket to play; ‘if you want to come and play here, you have got to have an understanding about the origins of the country in which we live’.” If all large organisations did this they would be taking responsibility for the immigrant population in their employ who may otherwise not hear of the context or knowledge of First Nations Australians; this being a concern raised by Quay and Pam as a barrier since immigrants are not being provided with such information by any government arrangement.

In the “Local government” row, three participants commended work being done by some local governments through their human services departments in preschools and through community engagement as they make valuable connections within their communities for the purpose of expanding awareness of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture. This beneficial work that some councils do with First Nations peoples and organisations should be replicated in all local governments according to Pam, Abbey and Quay.

In the “State government” row, 14 participants had 21 ideas for state governments with 17 ideas from 11 participants all in the square related to teaching Indigenous knowledge in Primary and Secondary schools. Some examples of these sentiments are provided here. Australia’s Education system was discussed in terms of its curriculum, policies governing its system and structure and the benefits of starting this teaching for children as young as possible. It was noted that changing the school curriculum and introducing policies requires leadership at Federal as well as State government levels. Dave said, “Change the curriculum. That is it!” When it is taught in school, colonisation should be placed in the context of the rest of Australia’s human history, said Cath; “Here is the full picture of Australia. White settlement is a minutiae of that ... before that the thousands and thousands of years of Australian history; Aboriginal and Torres Strait.” The importance of a diverse curriculum was expressed by Noel:

That would all be the structure of what we teach, what we value, the creation of curriculum for different subjects. ... not just to form a history lesson but it would start to translate to other subjects like a way of thinking, or a way of looking at a problem. It could be anything from geography to look to the landscapes and look to trade and what you value because it is still underlying concepts.

The bottom row is the most heavily populated, with 69 ideas to be performed at the Federal Government and national leadership level. When speaking about a change in the broader Australian attitude Federal Government leadership was raised by eight participants, with Ursula, Pam, Fred, Ern, Olive, Zeb and Verity all expressing the same sentiment that Tom states:

The Federal Government really needs to take some lead ... and come towards this treaty or Aboriginal representation into parliament as they [First Nations peoples] wrote in the Uluru [Statement from the Heart] ... To speed the journey up and to show that it is important.

Verity emphasised the importance of the Federal government bringing the community along with positions in policies that have been made so that the broader public understand why programs are provided to give some advantage to Indigenous businesses, such as the procurement policy. She also noted that “it comes back to learning history” recognising that iterative learning processes need to be instituted to deal with entwined causes.

Frustration with political leaders pulling society backwards was expressed by a few participants including Pam who suspected that the wider community might be in favour of the Federal government’s response to the Uluru Statement, “because they [Federal and State Government] are not taking a leadership role, and there are a proportion who are

actively [blocking change].” Pam outlined all of the points raised by participants on this topic:

There needs to be leadership, particularly if it was a united front from parliament as a whole, that says, “Australia we need to change the way we talk about this, the way we deal with this ... we are drawing a line in the sand, it is time”. ... It goes back to a fundamental policy, a fundamental vision, commentary from national and state leadership, that says, “this community is important to, not just our past but, our future”. [Creates] that setting that we value it and are embracing it and that then naturally lifts the profile and lifts the perceived importance of those sort of businesses and that knowledge.

In relation to the first strategy depicted in the second column, 43 ideas were put forward by 18 participants on “Listening to and learning from First Nations peoples”. Four of those ideas are presented here as an indication of the range. The fact that government could learn from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people about the way that they have led Indigenous programs was talked about by Pam. To promote the value of the things that small organisations like Tom’s are learning from local First Nations peoples he proposed that his company could use social media (in consultation with the local community). That having a RAP should be part of business establishment just like the OH&S regulations are was suggested by Verity. An opportunity exists for Indigenous businesses to design an on-line course for allied health professionals, said Zeb.

In relation to the second strategy, 10 participants provided 28 ideas on “Embedding Indigenous Australian knowledge in life-long learning”, outside of Primary and Secondary schooling. As Harry noted: “If it is [only] in schools then you have missed a whole generation, right.” Several suggestions were simple and innovative such as Quay’s compulsory unit in the first year of an engineering university degree.

In relation to the third strategy, 25 ideas were put forward by 12 participants in the column of “Increasing the visibility of Indigenous Australian knowledge” with 13 of the ideas situated as actions for organisations. Five participants spoke about various ways that Federal and State governments could increase visibility. Ern emphasised policies needing “to promote more of the positive role that Aboriginals are playing in Australia”. He elaborated:

the Rangers in the NT, trackers, all those sorts of skilled people that are contributing to the country. ... promoted through TV. Being recognised in Australia Day awards, ... You could set up a quota of Indigenous programs on TV for example to give people an exposure. Just in the same way that we are trying to achieve gender equality representation in the parties etc.

Work already valued by Federal government was added to this list by Liam who also recommended increased funding to AIATSIS and research for business ventures. A

marketing campaign in the regions was proposed by Gert and Olive. Mary advocated for stronger commitment to preserving Indigenous languages by government and others.

In relation to the final strategy on “Value and strengthen the embryonic Indigenous Australian knowledge industry”, there were 63 ideas from 21 participants with 18 of those for organisations and 39 directed at Federal Government or national leadership. Twelve participants talked about things that people other than government could do ranging from learning enough to “recognise that we all have a role to play” to “facilitating the development of young Indigenous leaders”. Eighteen ideas directed at organisations ranged from Kim coming up with alternatives for old problems that prevent payment of royalties, to Quay establishing a mentoring program matching Indigenous businesses with RAP organisations, and taking city-based staff to rural locations to learn and also inspire young country people. Tom promoted alignment to the State Business Chamber and their services, which he pointed out would also educate the business chambers.

Ideas for changing legislation were directed at government, however, the following three participants talked about the ways that organisations can assist in setting up appropriate legislation laterally and from the ground-up. Cath talked about the ways that their organisation’s legal team had worked with Supply Nation to establish ethical boundaries for their organisation’s engagement of Indigenous businesses. Due to the process developing some important detail Cath suggested that such operations at the organisational level could be recommended to be adopted by government. Similarly, Quay spoke of ensuring the genuineness of an organisations’ RAP through establishing a *Commitment to Fair Trade* that could be promoted across organisations and recommended to be adopted by government. Tom also suggested the creation of agreements, like those developed for volunteers ensuring their rights, specifically for engagements between organisations and Indigenous businesses. The arrangement put in place by one organisation could be shared across the board to ensure fair trade.

The 38 ideas directed at Federal Government could be described in four sub-strategies as: i) Create opportunities for Indigenous businesses (9 ideas); ii) Certification/Guild (4 ideas); iii) Build up the embryonic IAK Industry (10 ideas); and iv) Federal Government - legislation (15 ideas). A guild of Indigenous businesses and certification of authenticity were proposed.

Schemes to promote authentic tourism and teaching by Indigenous teachers, policy changes to be more around how we create livelihoods for [Indigenous] people, in their community in the way they want to live, rather than integration (an example of “a local Indigenous community has started a very, very successful tourism, education initiative”).

and improved access to databases of Indigenous businesses particularly regionally were included under “Creating opportunities...”.

On the issue of building the fledgling “Indigenous knowledge industry”, suggestions ranged from an Indigenous Australian University as a centre of excellence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, copyright protections specifically for this knowledge, a government or not-for-profit service to ensure fair processes in business services to First Nations organisations and businesses, “stimulating demand for Indigenous knowledge by recognising how it might be applied” and investing in Indigenous knowledge research. Cath recommended “using the legal system (Indigenous lawyers?)” to say, “Here is an industry that is emerging, we want to define what this embryonic industry’s knowledge is about so that it is protected. If copyright laws need to be amended to reflect change now is the time.” Harry’s comment, “at some point somebody needs to spend a large amount of money to build up that...embryonic stage to go a step further” was similar to that of Cath.

Ten participants were all reluctant to have more legislation introduced, however, all advocated for either strong penalties to be applied to anyone found exploiting Indigenous knowledge or stronger, directed legislation such as “the Aboriginal Art Code that is enshrined in legislation” said Ursula.

### ***Building capacity in non-Indigenous people***

To respond appropriately to an embryonic Indigenous Australian knowledge industry, Mary noted that there is “a tension between raising awareness, building understanding and building capacity” in the non-Indigenous population, warning that “building real insight takes time”. Recognising that the “issues and the depth of Indigenous knowledge that could be shared by all Australians” is large but, as someone who has worked quite closely with Indigenous people for a long time Mary expressed deep concern over the behaviour of non-Indigenous people:

there can be a lot of people that love the idea, and they jump in and the ignorance is so profound that they can actually do more harm than good. And unintentionally damage relationships by making assumptions. You know ‘any effort is a good effort’, I think it is a space that that is not necessarily true. I think caring enough, being informed before jumping in is really important because otherwise they may inadvertently do more damage than good.

She expressed that the complexity of the situation warranted hesitation to act and also empathised with non-Indigenous people’s inability to act, “I think for a lot of people, people that really think about it, it can be overwhelming, and finding a way in can be a little bit confronting”. Furthermore, her concerns were directed at the market, hoping “that

if we can achieve that understanding then people would not inadvertently not value, or *take* opportunities that should be directed to Indigenous organisations and Australians, in the thought that doing something is better than doing nothing”.

The ideas presented in this section suggest a variety of ways that Australian society could construct a narrative to embrace Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge. However, activation of such ideas is somewhat dependent on the deconstruction of the colonial mindset that is well entrenched in Australian society today. Verity spoke about progress being made through: “This ground swell in Indigenous communities has just got to continually agitate, agitate, agitate to bring matters to the public and government’s attention”. Several participants recognised that these ‘matters’ of addressing the status of First Nations peoples have to be resolved to access Indigenous knowledge because these matters are so intimately interlaced, and they need the support of non-Indigenous people due to the sheer weight of numbers. The importance of non-Indigenous people aligning themselves with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, was spoken about by Abbey, likening the dynamic to men speaking up for the equality of women, recognising the fact that the ratios in those scenarios are so different (50:50 compared to 97:3).

#### **4.8 Summary**

The findings illustrate that the participants in this study thought of themselves as supportive of Indigenous people, interested in their knowledge and not part of holding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples back in any way. They also show that within this cohort there are those who are uninformed of some critical issues related to this study: i) Australian Indigenous knowledge; ii) First Nations history and what is currently taking place for Indigenous people; iii) what racism is and how it impacts on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples today; and iv) the presence of colonial attitudes currently present in Australian society.

Also revealed in the results of this study is that Australian society (LRQ as per Figure 2.3; and depicted as a serpent in Figure 4.2) has the potential to transition from a society that is predominantly blind to Indigenous Australian knowledge to one that embraces such knowledge. The barriers can be seen as a construct within the minds of individuals (ULQ, Figure 2.3) and held by Australian culture and society in a complex way (LLQ & LRQ). All 26 participants were identified by the language that they used as being situated within the first two, possibly three, groups on this spectrum; those embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge or moving toward it. Many provided examples of experiences they

had with Australians represented in the other three categories; “Hardcore/horrendous”, “Don’t care” or “Know little”.

The depiction of disparate attitudes held within Australian society illustrates a dismembered serpent. This is a clear source of tension for the ten participants (38.5%) who expressed a desire for a unified society. Some of those participants, aware of existing racism expect colonial attitudes to wither from the tail of the serpent. It is the colonial attitudes not the people who embody them that these participants wish to disappear. A few participants did not demonstrate an awareness of the barriers obscuring Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Furthermore, indicated in the interviews is that there is a meta-narrative that is negating the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Signalled in the findings, is also a mismatch between Australia’s discourse of aspirations to unite and the apparent societal meta-narrative that sees Western knowledge as superior and holds no value in learning from First Nations peoples. This meta-narrative is underpinned by a metaphor representing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as early examples of human development.

The interview data also revealed perceptions that Australian society is fragmented about how to understand and process societal ignorance of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Overall, the data suggests that there is a spectrum of attitudes that range from a negative view of recognising that non-Indigenous Australians are “steeped in a colonial mindset” when it comes to Indigenous Australian knowledge, to a most positive view of “embracing” this form of knowledge. The serpent-spectrum presented encompasses five broad attitudes across this range (see Figure 4.1). While the second attitude, labelled as “White/mainstream paralysis/inertia”, is expressly concerned about and interested in First Nations peoples they are simultaneously only marginally knowledgeable and generally quite disengaged from the issues. However, they are, as Pam puts it, “the low hanging fruit in marketing terms”. In saying that it is time to stop focussing on the “Hard-core/horrendous” attitudes (on the extreme left of the societal spectrum depicted in Figures 4.1 & 4.2) Pam reflected the view of many specifying that this fifth group are indicative of those in Australian society who are stuck in a colonial mindset and nothing can be done with them. Instead, along with others, Pam recommended that the “White/mainstream paralysis/inertia” group is where Australia needs to focus its attention, encouraging this group (with generally progressive attitudes) to step up, learn from First Nations peoples, value Indigenous Australian knowledge, and then voice what



they have learnt, assisting Australia to deconstruct the meta-narrative and construct a new metaphor.

There is a multiplicity of factors that impact on the shaping of society. One significant factor is the environment in which humans live; the elements of life on which Homo sapiens depend. Amidst constantly expanding human knowledge, some are learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples about how to manage natural resources. However, Australia is still moving along a trajectory that generally ignores the significance of the natural world partly because, it would seem, Australians are still unable to perceive the value of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge. Equally, an inability to understand the natural environment and its relationship to human life contributes significantly to societal blindness to Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Without an awareness of the existence of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, racism (past, present and, existing in structures, systems and metaphors that propel it, into the future), colonial history (and the structures it brought) and the way that personal attitudes contribute to the notion of superiority, persistent racism and colonial mindsets, it is not possible to value Indigenous Australian knowledge. This cohort of participants demonstrate that despite these barriers, Indigenous Australian knowledge continues to surface and become visible and relevant to some people within Australian society and offers a possibility of the expansion of such awareness and therefore opportunities for this knowledge.

Chapter 5 analyses the findings with reference to the research questions and the literature reviewed. The chapter provides a discussion of what is involved in removing barriers and constructing a pathway to embrace Indigenous Australian knowledge. It focusses on the significance of people actively engaging in educating themselves and listening to and working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to bring Indigenous knowledge to a position of value in Australian society.

## 5 Discussion

*Dispossession/invasion; it incorporates an internalised process of valorisation of the coloniser's culture and the denigration of the colonised culture (Muller, 2007, p. 80)*

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the potential meaning of the data that surfaced from the interviews with the alphabet of participants, Abbey to Zeb, in the context of the research questions and the literature reviewed. One possible answer to what can be done to increase appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing is that non-Indigenous Australians who think of themselves as progressive can better inform themselves to effect decolonisation of Australian society. This is also the latent answer to how the embryonic 'Indigenous knowledge industry' can mature and be supported so that Indigenous people reap the most benefit from their industry. This may appear circular and simplistic, however, what follows is the argument for why such action will be: a) the most likely avenue for progress if Australian society is to move toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge; b) most advantageous for the 'Indigenous Australian knowledge industry'; and c) create benefits for Australian futures. The more hopeful trajectory can be expressed as a statement merging the research questions (Section 1.3.1): Australia, as a nation, could ensure that Indigenous Australian knowledge is valued so that there is an increase in demand for the knowledge, profitability for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and so that the knowledge is not compromised in the market.

The findings show a paradox between the surface layer of discourse, as revealed in aspirations for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, and the three deeper layers of thought as per CLA (Inayatullah, 2009). Fragmented narratives and intentions, spoken of by participants, surfaced as significant elements operating within Australia's systems and structures (second layer in CLA), participant worldviews (third layer in CLA) and metaphors (fourth layer in CLA). These latter three layers of social reality currently represent an assimilationist trajectory for Indigenous Australian knowledge. Revealed in the findings is the contradiction between many participants (38.5%) speaking directly about their desire for an Australian society without division in attitudes toward First Nations peoples, while the collective simultaneously spoke of ignorance and disunity on the topic across Australian society, with some participants also displaying aspects of ignorance.

Awareness of the privilege bestowed on non-Indigenous people and the opportunities denied to Indigenous people in Australia today is an important step in altering the situation. The nine participants who are identified as sitting in the front category (see Figure 4.2) expressed that they knew that they had experienced privilege at the expense of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. They knew that as non-Indigenous persons born, educated in, or having lived in Australia they could safely assume two things: that they have benefitted from the subjugation of Australia's First Nations peoples; and that their thinking has been influenced by the racist meta-narrative. Recognising the ways that the racist meta-narrative shows up in one's thinking is critical to progress toward equality of opportunity for all Australians and respect for Indigenous Australian knowledge.

This chapter centres on discussion of some of the thinking provided by the participants that match or differ from narratives described in literature related to the ways that Indigenous Australian knowledge is obscured. Participants reveal that they generally believe that humans, and particularly Australians, need Indigenous Australian knowledge. Therefore, the five-part structure of this chapter begins with this premise (in Section 5.2) that Indigenous Australian knowledge is valuable to human futures. The second proposition is (in Section 5.3) that the valuing of this knowledge is inhibited by a deeply embedded racist meta-narrative within the non-Indigenous population (illustrated with examples of these worldviews). At the base of that meta-narrative are metaphors (described in Section 5.4) that illustrate the paradox outlined above and the division within the population. This section depicts current attitudes and metaphors within a large group of participants with "White paralysis" who have not acted to improve their understanding of Indigenous knowledge. This group is re-labelled below as those with "Progressive inertia". The argument proceeds (in Section 5.5) as to why those with "Progressive inertia" are the most likely avenue for progress, if Australian society is not to miss the opportunity to learn from First Nations peoples. This meta-narrative and metaphor have to be challenged and replaced by constructing a new narrative and metaphor based on accurate knowledge. The people most likely to undertake this work are those with "Progressive inertia" and, through it, they could advance this societal transformation (see Section 5.6). The discussion then concludes with answering the research questions (in Section 5.7). A summary of this argument appears in the final section.

Prior to describing the ways in which the racist meta-narrative was heard within the narratives of the participants it is important to state that these are most obvious to the

researcher due to being on the same journey<sup>17</sup>. Identifying the colonial thinking of those with “Progressive inertia” is a self-reflection and is critical to progress in the decolonisation process. The aspects of ignorance revealed in the narratives of some participants are not equivalent to labelling people ‘ignorant’. Identifying remnants of the racist meta-narrative within ones’ thinking does not equate to being called ‘a racist’. Such labelling of individuals is particularly unhelpful when those same individuals show significant progress away from colonial attitudes and progress toward learning from Indigenous peoples. When attempting to educate the population (ourselves) as to the particular colonial thinking that needs to be challenged, the dialogue must mature toward questioning and illustrating the particular colonial thinking that is impeding progress. Due to the significance of: a) recognising the colonial thinking and b) not pointing the finger of blame, but instead encouraging those with “Progressive inertia” to act, not even the pseudonyms are used in Section 5.3. Instead, in that section, the initials PI<sup>18</sup> are used in recognition that ‘*je suis PI*’ (I am one of those with “Progressive inertia”).

## 5.2 Knowledge valuable to human futures

Indigenous Australian knowledge is relevant to human futures as all but three participants attracted to this study recognise. Participants are also generally aware of a deeply embedded meta-narrative that emphasises the opposing sentiment throughout Australian society. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2, across the disciplines of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Big History, Western Philosophy and Environmental Science, acknowledge that First Nations peoples of Australia developed different human knowledge to that developed by Western knowledge and it is knowledge and ways-of-knowing that are intimately related to the elements that sustain life (Ens et al., 2015; Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Steffensen, 2020b). Linking this empirical data and the extant literature in identifying the value of this First Nations knowledge for the future underlies the analysis discussed in this chapter.

Environmental sustainability, land management and learning to live together in harmony are essential for human futures. These are the categories of knowledge of which participants are most conscious. This corresponds with the literature which recognises that, as much as life has changed for *Homo sapiens*, their (our) dependence on sustenance from the environment and human cooperation has not. The need for knowledge about sustainable farming and living practices is understood to be vital to

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<sup>17</sup> Hence the necessity for an epilogue and the reason that the words ‘we’, ‘us’, ‘our’, ‘ourselves’ appear in brackets after references made to those with “Progressive inertia”.

<sup>18</sup> PI denotes an anonymous participant with the attitude of “Progressive inertia”.

sustaining life on Earth (Adone & Brück, 2019; Campbell, 2019, October 15; Christian, 2011; Ens et al., 2015; Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Langton & Rhea, 2005). Albeit, the knowledge identified by participants illustrates a mere minimum of awareness about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge and only a bare majority of the same participants have an awareness that this knowledge has been used and maintained for millennia.

Non-Indigenous Australians are exposed to both bushfires and Indigenous Australian knowledge to reduce bushfires, and have been for over 240 years (McMaster, 2020). Therefore, it is disappointing that awareness of fire management did not feature strongly in participant responses, yet it is reflective of Australian society (Mazzocchi, 2018; McMaster, 2020; Standley et al., 2009). The literature illustrates that non-Indigenous Australians have not been able to see, hear or understand the logic outlined by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in relation to caring for country and its relevance to reducing the intensity of bushfires in Australia. Until very recently, Western scientists have not accepted the reasoning put forward by First Nations peoples for such care for country (Mazzocchi, 2018). Persistent denial and enquiry that has only reinforced a Western viewpoint, does indicate that the flaw in thinking is an insistence that Western knowledge is always superior to Indigenous knowledge; “dispossession/ invasion; it incorporates an internalised process of valorisation of the coloniser's culture and the denigration of the colonised culture” (Muller, 2007, p. 80). This is racism (as defined in Section 2.3.3).

Further, the deliberate historical manipulation of the public story regarding Indigenous Australian knowledge in relation to fire management was used to claim power and territory in Victoria (McMaster, 2020). McMaster warns that the colonising structures and discourse have endured to the present day and “caution is needed to ensure the state's contemporary use of Aboriginal fire practices does not further perpetuate settler colonial patterns of dominance and control” (2020, p. 4). The interviews identified participants as conscious of Indigenous harmony with nature, but not being able to provide specific examples like fire management. This points to Australia being at a potential future turning point where the national identity could recognise its millennia of human knowledge or instead continue with its “colonial fantasy” (Maddison, 2019). What follows (in Section 5.3) are examples of the flawed thinking that maintain the latter trajectory.

The university that is working with First Nations elders, consultants, students, staff, and researchers to foreground Aboriginal knowledge through a physical project (as described in section 4.4), is an example of recognising the value of Indigenous knowledge. As described by someone involved, all stakeholders in this precinct development are either

aware or being made aware of the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge to human futures and everything about the project is being done to illustrate its relevance.

However, the project is not without its detractors and challenges, reflecting today's reality. What follows (in Section 5.3) are examples of the thinking and worldviews that maintain the current trend of a 'colonial fantasy'.

### **5.3 Differing worldviews**

Interview material indicates that throughout the fabric of Australian society, a racist meta-narrative sits like splinters in a blanket that has been put in a washing machine with a large piece of particleboard. Narratives from the participant interviews discussed in this section relate to the overall pattern of attitudes toward Indigenous Australian Knowledge identified in Figure 5.1 and the splinters within this cohort reflect worldviews that maintain the status quo. These worldviews remain and are being projected onto Australian futures. Nine examples of ongoing worldviews are evident from the interviews: 1) A concept of "The future"; 2) Linear conceptualisations of the development of Homo sapiens; 3) Not recognising non-Indigenous worldviews as the problem; 4) Colonisation; 5) Integration; 6) Benevolence; 7) Loss of knowledge; 8) The Australian Education System; and 9) Opinions regarding perceived contradictions in the knowledge and education industry.

Like tiny splinters, the pattern in the data is the colour and fabric of the blanket within which the splinters appear. The pattern, based on a spectrum identified in the previous chapter, provides the schema around which the worldviews appear. Splinters are everywhere, despite perceptions that 'it is more over there than over here' and 'them not us'. The following sub-sections describe each of the nine worldviews and their relation to the serpent spectrum of Australian society.

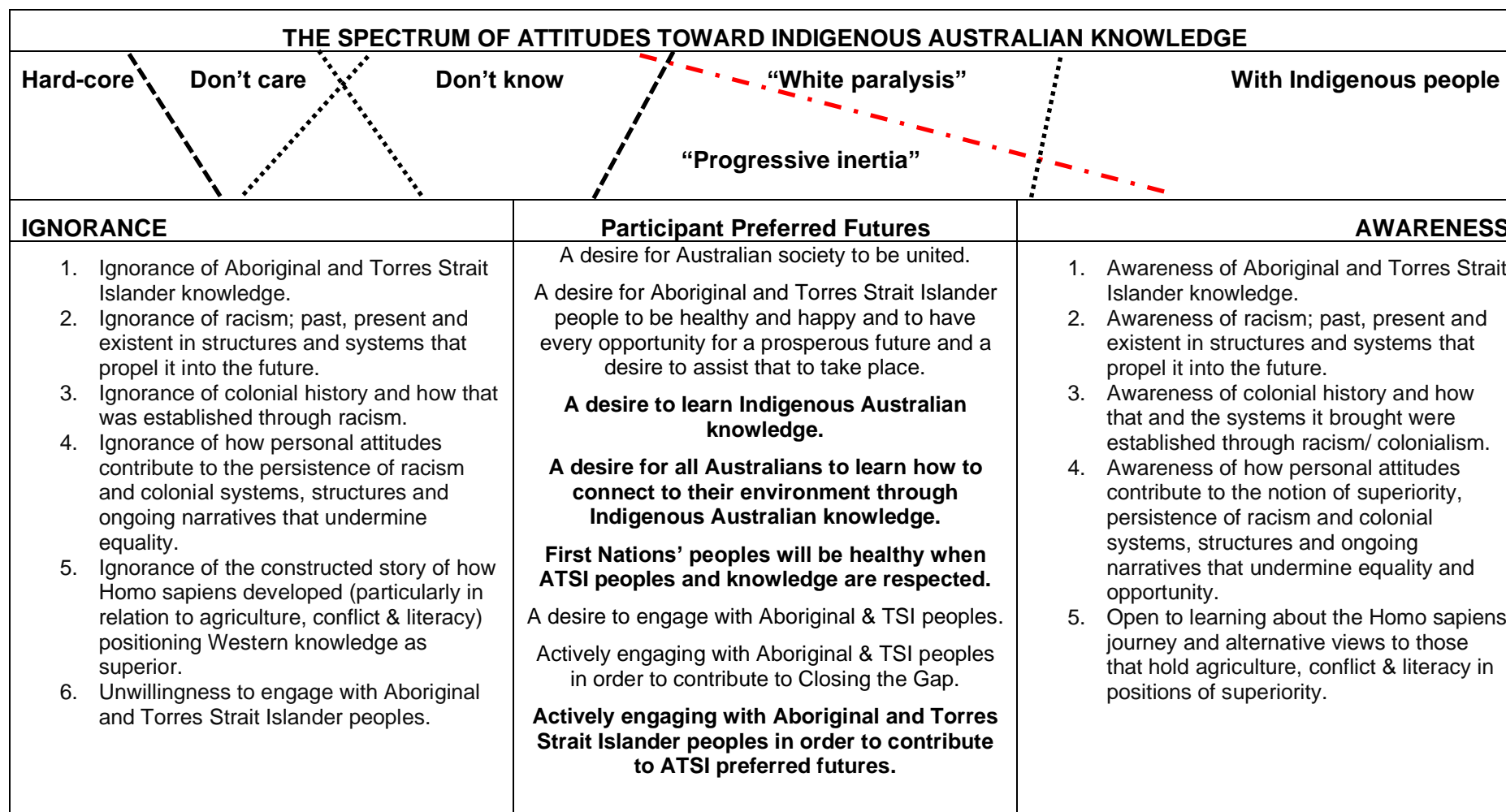
The findings show attitudes of both ignorance and awareness of Indigenous knowledge that are over-lapping as illustrated in Figure 5.1. This figure depicts a spectrum of Australian society with clear gradation from strong ignorance on the left to relatively high awareness on the right. The figure represents the reasoning of the researcher in developing a schema for interpreting attitudes from the participants in the context of the extant literature. Non-Indigenous attitudes toward Indigenous Australian knowledge were labelled by participants with two-three-word titles (see Figures 4.1 & 4.2) and these span the spectrum denoted in Figure 5.1. The dotted and non-vertical divisions between attitudinal labels illustrate the fluidity and overlapping nature of attitudes. Attitudes revealed by participants are depicted by a red dot-dash-dot line. The columns on the

extreme left and right list attitudinal characteristics of ignorance and awareness, respectively, identified from the literature in Chapter 2. Preferred futures, as nominated by participants appear in the centre column. Splinters of the racist meta-narrative do illustrate points of ignorance, however, none of the 26 participants could be fairly labelled 'racist' or ignorant'. It is not easy to recognise splinters of ignorance and splinters of racism within ourselves. Willingness to find these blind-spots and rid oneself of them is an indicator of anti-racism.

The Preferred Futures listed in the middle of Figure 5.1 are divided in two. The statements bolded are consistent with the awareness characteristics listed in the right-hand column; those requested by First Nations authors (Langton & Davis, 2016; Mayor, 2019; Oscar, 2020). Those not in bold describe positive statements that are less definable. The latter statements, with a vision for a united Australia, really depend on the intention of the participant. On their own, these statements are ambiguous as it is not clear whether the participant is looking from a colonialist mindset to maintain the status quo or is willing to learn from First Nations peoples to elevate the status of Indigenous Australian knowledge in Australia.

Following Figure 5.1 is Table 5.1 which is a CLA map of the five groups of attitudes across Australian society as described by participants in this research. The CLA map describes all four levels of CLA in relation to Australian societal attitudes toward Indigenous Australian knowledge. Utilising participant quotes to further illustrate the Litany Level, the CLA map provides context to the three columns from Figure 5.1; Ignorance, Participant Preferred Futures and Awareness. It also illuminates the evolution of worldviews and metaphors overtime, indicating that Australian society has progressed from the worldviews dominant among British settlers in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Proportions of the population maintain the 'hard core' colonial view while there are growing proportions of Australians who are recognising that Indigenous Australian knowledge has value.

**Figure 5.1 Attitudes nominated by participants and literature**





**Table 5.1 CLA map of five groups in relation to Indigenous Australian knowledge**

<b>Group</b>  <b>CLA</b>	<b>5. Hard-core/ Horrendous</b>	<b>4. Don't care/ Don't know</b>	<b>3. Know little</b>	<b>2. "White" (mainstream) paralysis/Progressive inertia</b>	<b>1. Working with Aboriginal &amp; TSI people</b>
<b>LITANY</b>	"Primitive people who will never catch up to Western civilization"	"I've heard they drink too much, their women are promiscuous and they are violent."	"We give them all the assistance and they just want more."	"Why can't we be reconciled like NZ? Too many people like Pauline Hanson."	"First Nations people have a lot to offer human futures; their voices heard"
<b>Participant example/s</b>	"Genocide, slavery... segregated health-care and education."	"I see a double standard. I see lip-service and I see outright hostility at times." "an underlying assumption that we [Western] know best"	"Indigenous companies just sitting back and saying, 'we deserve this because there has been injustice perpetrated on us historically.'"	"We had ATSIC. It folded. That was an attempt at an Aboriginal voice, and governance." "Forgiveness is going to have to take place."	"Indigenous knowledge is/was light-years ahead of us, in terms of the way that we treat each other and our environment."
<b>SYSTEM</b>	All institutions exclude Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives and knowledge.	The Northern Territory Intervention, welfare policies and the dismantling of ATSIC	Tokenistic inclusion of First Nations' ideas and perceptions.	Attend reconciliation events, Bridge Walks, but unwilling to learn more. Focus on "those really racist behaviours" rather than looking systemically.	All institutions include First Nations perspectives and knowledge which is taught in schools and in all tertiary disciplines.
<b>WORLD-VIEW</b>	Western education, health and governance systems are the only way to progress human society.	Not aware of any Indigenous Australian knowledge that is relevant today or in future.	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are human beings they just haven't had the opportunities to develop.	Don't know how to access Indigenous knowledge. Paralysis – Unwillingness to become the listeners and learners.	First Nations peoples are wise communicators and custodians of land, environment, flora and fauna with innovative, future-oriented knowledge.
<b>META-PHOR</b>	Australia is a modern country forged in the Enlightenment – Aboriginal people will die out.	Aboriginal and TSI peoples imagined as primitive with nothing to contribute to the future of human society-cave man with a spear.	Images of Indigenous Australians range from Spiritual Guru to 'living simply off the land'; paternalistic, tokenistic.	Spirit [perceptions grounded in Western teachings] created non-humans and gave knowledge equally.	First Nations peoples as teachers, running universities. Non-Indigenous people listening and learning.

The desire by participants for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to be healthy and happy and to have every opportunity for a prosperous future does not necessarily exclude the idea of assimilation for First Nations peoples under the guise of integration. Some of the mainstream strategies for *Closing the Gap* have been reproached for maintaining the assimilation perspective and not incorporating the wisdom of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2020). First Nations peoples are keen to change the statistics related to high mortality, high morbidity, high incarceration rates and low education results. Programs have been developed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to achieve such progress, for example *The Lillian Project* (Lucas et al., 2016). Two other examples of these are Indigenous people living on homelands and conducting homeland education as two-way education, as is successfully managed in Yolngu communities (Pavlou, 2016; Rossingh & Yunupingu, 2016). Support for these Indigenous nominated programs is reflected in the bolded statements, whereas the non-committed attitude reflected in the non-bolded statements is more aligned to the Australian government approach that has defunded or under-funded these First Nations led measures for *Closing the Gap* (Dodson, 2004, May 25, 2007; Grant, 2016, 2019a; Maddison, 2019; Rossingh & Yunupingu, 2016; Spittles, 2006).

The desire to engage with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as expressed by participants in a preferred future is one thing. However, the intention to contribute to *Closing the Gap* can be done either through an assimilationist approach or through listening to the initiatives proposed by First Nations peoples. The latter involves trusting in, and operating under, the direction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples on their preferred futures and some participants explicitly articulated this. Finding ways to learn from First Nations peoples where they are clearly the teacher, and the participant (non-Indigenous citizen) is the learner, expresses a desire for a different future where Indigenous people are respected for their knowledge. Participants who expressed preferred futures clearly acting from the latter awareness are situated in the right-hand column.

Clearly identifying one's personal intentions is the most important factor for focussing on the direction that one is heading, as an individual or as a nation. In writing about the whole U process Scharmer quotes Brian Arthur in making this point, "Intention is not a powerful force it is the only force" (Scharmer, 2009, p. 199). It is hard to tell what the intentions of some participants are from their statements. Whether people are being vague because they do not know or vague because they are afraid of saying the wrong thing is equivalent to the same thing. That is, they are unsure and therefore without a strong commitment to an intention. The vague nature of some of the comments illustrated in the middle column suggest uncertain intentions that participants carry in how they relate to Indigenous knowledge.

### **5.3.1 Limited concepts of ‘the future’**

Limited concepts of the future and the development of Homo sapiens are evident within this statement: “I don’t think that we will ever see Australia driven by Aboriginal culture” (PI). This was qualified with an assertion that, at three percent of the population, First Nations peoples have insufficient influence in Australian culture. This PI is not directly saying that he does not want to learn from Indigenous people. His statement is more nuanced than being the opposite of that projected by the metaphor of the serpent moving toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge (see Figure 4.1) but this PI’s idea contributes to the inertia.

There is not just one human future just as there is not one single human past (Sardar, 1999). Humanity has many lines of development that have led to many past realities. Nowhere is this more evident than in the different ways that Australian history has been portrayed, particularly the two opposing views, of ‘colonial’ verses ‘the other side of the frontier’, which were recognised by participants. There are many present realities for humanity including many different experiences within Australia, and there are many potential and projected human futures, several of which, like past realities, will eventuate. The future will follow many paths as humanity and its knowledge grows in so many different ways and Australian society will develop on many different fronts (Sardar, 1999; Sardar & Inayatullah, 2003). This flaw in thinking about the past and future is discussed by futurists as the problem of ‘colonising the future’, where current power relationships are projected into the future (Sardar, 1999; Sardar & Inayatullah, 2003).

Some participants viewed Australia as having only one future path that maintains the status quo power relationships, as in the example from the PI beginning this section. Others have an image of Australian society moving toward ‘embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge’ (as depicted by the serpent image). The idea that Indigenous Australian knowledge will be a significant part of Australia’s future is not exclusive of other aspects of Australian culture or society. Australian culture has many facets, however currently its Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander face is hardly visible. A fact that most participants lamented, including this one. Learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, knowledge that Western society has not yet developed, was discussed as one of the ways that Australian society will expand its knowledge and move from the current status of inertia.

### **5.3.2 Limited concepts of the journey of Homo sapiens**

Evident in the interviews were faulty conceptualisations of human development that include depicting Indigenous people as examples of early humans and of their knowledge as obsolete. These erroneous conceptualisations of human development have been

propagated in Australian society (Langton, 1998). Western society is purported as being superior to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies due to supposedly superior agricultural methods, literacy and numeracy, while knowledge of sustainable farming, literacy of the land and sea, and intelligent use and management of fire have been discounted as unimportant and irrelevant (Harari, 2014; Langton, 1998). Some participants reinforced that literacy and numeracy provide essential tools for participating economically and socially in Western society today and for the foreseeable future. However, participants also expressed that Homo sapiens need knowledge about their environment; about the elements that sustain life.

A scepticism that we will never “see Australia driven by Aboriginal culture” (PI) reflects thoughts that Indigenous knowledge is not necessary; that one is not willing to learn more about it or give it prominence. This reflects both of these flaws in thinking: perceiving Australia as only having one future (see Section 5.3.1); and seeing First Nations knowledge as antiquated. Drawing the conclusion that such knowledge does not need to be included in that future, in this section.

Another PI perceives that Indigenous knowledge does not evolve with the world around it (see Section 4.3). When speaking about First Nations peoples who choose to teach their knowledge, he says “then also look at, the world has evolved”. This PI presumes to know more about the world than First Nations peoples who choose to teach their knowledge in saying that “the world has evolved [therefore knowledge should evolve]” suggesting that Indigenous knowledge is not relevant to the future.

### **5.3.3 Inability to recognise ourselves as the problem**

Australia quite clearly has a problem with its relationship with its First Nations peoples, as admitted in Federal Cabinet papers recently released in relation to Australia’s preparation for the Sydney 2000 Olympics regarding how to manage international media exposure to Indigenous issues (Macmillan, 2020). This problem is most often perceived as “The Indigenous Problem” (Maddison, 2019, p. xxiv). Rarely is it recognised that the problem rests in the minds of non-Indigenous peoples. While none of the study’s participants referred to an ‘Indigenous problem’, when asked about ideas for dealing with the issues being discussed, such as corrupt practices in the mainstream market, several participants (and one PI in particular, who used the language of ‘us and them’) were still unable to focus on non-Indigenous peoples as the problem. Instead suggesting what should be taught to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples about how to do business in Western

markets<sup>19</sup>. Ideas focussed on teaching First Nations peoples imply that the problem lies within them not in the broader Australian society. That ‘the Indigenous problem’ is painted as something that can be fixed by non-Indigenous Australian governments (Maddison, 2019) is also reflected in PI’s responses, which most clearly reveal a perception that there is a problem with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and peoples. His comments like “devastating things that are happening up in those communities”, while responding to the problem of non-Indigenous peoples’ attitudes and specific predatory behaviour in the market further expose this line of thinking.

Ignorance about racism, what it is, how often it impacts on the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and how to respond to it is evident in the findings. It should be remembered that the participants come from the segment of Australian society that thinks itself progressive in terms of Indigenous people of Australia, therefore it should be expected that there are high levels of awareness of racism in this cohort. However, this is not the case as illustrated in the previous and next two paragraphs.

A lack of awareness of the systemic challenges faced by Indigenous people and businesses was displayed by one PI. The comment and impassioned tone with which one PI referred to the Federal Government’s procurement laws (see Section 4.3.1), is an example of ignorance: “...it is not about Indigenous companies just sitting back and saying, ‘we deserve this because there has been injustice perpetrated on us historically.’” Of course, the laws are not about this, yet one PI felt that she needed to point this out. The statement needs to be analysed in its parts as well as in its entirety. In the first part of this PI’s statement is an implication of laziness; “Indigenous companies just sitting back”. This is clearly a sharp splinter of the meta-narrative about First Nations peoples. The second part of the statement also contains a contemporary sentiment from the colonial meta-narrative. One PI’s reply was in response to the case studies of non-Indigenous exploitation of Indigenous Australian knowledge in the market. In that context, this PI’s comment is defensive and insincere, mentioning a historical “deserve”, rather than crediting First Nations business people with any ability to compete in these places of trade, while ignoring the exploitation being discussed.

Speaking about traditional Indigenous culture, one PI claimed: “There were a lot of issues, I’d challenge; women were not well treated, [there was] a lot of superstition, a lot of magic.” PI used this statement to substantiate the opinion that he was not a Rousseau-vian adherent (see Section 4.3.1). Another PI also commented on the status of women, referring to

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<sup>19</sup> Indigenous Business Australia provides teaching on how to do business in Western markets. Accessed 20 May 2020, retrieved from <https://www.iba.gov.au/business/>.

“another patriarchy”. These two comments, made about the status of Aboriginal women within traditional society, do not reflect awareness of Indigenous knowledge as recorded in the works of Yengoyan (1998), Hamilton (1980) and Spittles (2006) that show an equal status of women and men in Indigenous communities displayed throughout a range of systems across Nations, including matriarchal lineage in some.

There is some recognition that the flaws in non-Indigenous thinking are considerable, across the community, as was specifically spelt-out twice by participant Mary with her concern that “doing something, if it is done in an ignorant or reckless way, can be worse than doing nothing.” Until non-Indigenous people recognise that they (we), even the most progressive and best educated in society, and their (our) intentions and attitudes are central to this wicked problem, this colonial thinking will impede progress.

#### **5.3.4 Colonisation**

Australia was colonised on the basis of the racist assumption of superiority of Western society including the ‘non-human’ categorisation of First Nations peoples who lived all across this vast continent (Critchett, 1990; Goodall, 1996; Reynolds, 2003). As evident in the literature and pointed out by seven of the participants this mentality led to the establishment of a nation based on the fiction of terra-nullius. Consequently, no treaty was made between the two groups, the land was never ceded and the Indigenous people were removed from their land which was their economic and spiritual base. Thus, all previous life opportunities were denied to them (Grant, 2019a; Reynolds, 1998) and potential opportunities within the new system were denied (Attwood, 1989; Grant, 2016). Colonisation attempted to erase Indigenous Australian knowledge “from the land” (participant Ern) and through suppressing and altering “language, school books, street names...the greatest form of racism” as participant Ian expressed.

There is an ignorance and a deliberate denial of what has taken place. As a result, the attitudes and behaviours that remain are due to colonisation, and the opportunities denied to Indigenous people are as a consequence. As indicated by some of the participant responses regarding “one Australia” with an anticipation of having Indigenous knowledge as part of a preferred future for Australia, there is an ignorance of what needs to take place in order to respect, maintain and learn Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge. It is the ongoing expectation that such knowledge can be absorbed into a Western knowledge system without real consideration of the differences in knowledge theories and accreditation, which align it to the racist meta-narrative of a “colonial fantasy”. The colonial fantasy is the continued belief that Indigenous people can be assimilated into settler society without fundamental change on the part of non-Indigenous peoples (Maddison, 2019).

The idea that 200 years ago Australian authorities did not have access to the same knowledge that the Australian population has today, was expressed by one PI. However, it is important to be cognisant that the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century British authorities in Australia were aware of the Enlightenment principles and the internationally agreed laws on the rights of Indigenous people throughout this epoch, they chose to ignore them (Reynolds, 1987).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are not looking for sympathy or for mainstream Australians to feel guilty, which seems to be the emotional response to learning the truth about Australian history, as mentioned by several participants. First Nations peoples are asking settler Australians to deconstruct the narrative that enabled the injustices to be done and persist (Meehan, 2000; Muller, 2007). Many participants described the ways that their organisation's RAP has and continues to assist that journey for their employees to recognise the value of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and decolonise their (non-Indigenous) thoughts. Several participants recognised the positive ripple effects that this RAP work has into the broader Australian community. Still, Harry is doubtful as to whether this is enough to "break that stigma" (see Table 4.2). This is recognition, on the part of Harry, of the magnitude of the task. In contrast, those who showed little awareness of the enormity of the task illustrated their ignorance of the situation.

Two participants spoke (see Section 4.3.1) about reconciliation involving forgiveness on the part of Indigenous people, as if non-Indigenous peoples have done their part. While two PIs give the impression that reconciliation is just a matter of welcoming Indigenous people into Australian society and, because those participants are "already happy for First Nations peoples to be included", they seem to think that their work is done, all the while missing the point that they (we) continue to be the problem as long as we continue to frame the problem as 'theirs' not 'ours'. Reconciliation is not about welcoming Indigenous people into 'an Australian way of life'. It involves learning on the part of non-Indigenous peoples.

Reconciliation Australia appears to facilitate the only national strategy directed at addressing the colonial worldview of non-Indigenous Australians in relation to issues confronting First Nations peoples. O'Tuama (2020) sees reconciliation as hard work. As Indigenous leaders (Burney, 2019; Dodson, 2004; Oscar, 2020; Sizer, 2019) keep saying, the truth does not just need to be told. It needs to be heard by non-Indigenous people who also need to reflect upon the truth of today, learn from it and act on what needs to be done to undo the damage that colonialism continues to perpetrate, for the sake of a decolonised future.

The 'colonial fantasy' seems to be at the base of an attitude of believing in justice but unable to see the contradictions in the system as illustrated by PI (see Section 4.3.2). Wishing for a unified nation and doing some work toward achieving justice for First Nations peoples while not seeking to equip oneself with the arguments put forward by Indigenous authors is

indicative of “Progressive inertia”; not putting in quite enough effort to address deeply embedded colonial attitudes.

To ‘divide and conquer’ is evident in the colonial meta-narrative that includes statements regarding divisions within the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community. Differences of opinion are portrayed as examples of peoples who ‘don’t know how to get on with each other’. Similarly, all of the nuances related to self-determination, sovereignty, constitutionally enshrined voice to parliament, and treaties are often depicted as ‘people fighting amongst themselves’ or ignorance of the issues. Further reading of Aboriginal authors who address the questions raised by PI participants (see Section 4.3.2) regarding the difference between such issues (and ATSIC) would reveal that it is the PI attitude which has a shallow appreciation of the issues, not the Indigenous people that PI participants are quoting.

### **5.3.5 Integration**

The idea that First Nations peoples can or should be integrated into the existing Westernised Australian nation is a continuation of the ‘colonial fantasy’. It reflects a fundamental misunderstanding of the word ‘integration’. Integration is supposed to mean that there is a blending of perspectives. Had ‘integration’ in its true sense taken place in Australia, Indigenous knowledge would have been valued, maintained and taught. Integration of knowledge today would have to expect that non-Indigenous Australians will need to learn from First Nations peoples. Thoughts about ‘integration’ without consideration to how non-Indigenous people would learn is part of the thinking flaw inherent in the meta-narrative. ‘Integration’ has never been used in mainstream Australian discourse, systems or structures to mean integrating First Nations peoples’ histories, cultures or knowledge into Australia’s present or future. Thus, the word ‘integration’ has a paternalistic legacy because of the way that it has been used and applied to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples over the past 240 years (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2019).

There is a dividing line between expressing a desire for oneness and addressing the racism that inhibits any form of equality, and thus unity. When Indigenous leader Sizer speaks of her vision for Australia to be like “New Zealand with our Maori brothers and sisters” (2019, 40:12) she was speaking in the context of how Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples could work together if the issue of racism was truly addressed. Superficially the desired future articulated by participants for a united Australia does not sound different to that expressed by Sizer, however, there is much more involved in achieving that ‘integration’ than the symbols that appear on the surface (the Haka and the National Anthem sung in both Maori and English) and it begins with a willingness to learn on the part of non-Indigenous peoples. Pearson (2009, p. 77) stated “the way forward is to achieve a complete



bi-cultural capacity” in speaking of his view for the capability of Cape York people. This expanded capability could be taken up by all Australians if they (we) were willing to accept the offer to learn; an opportunity to view the world through a Western lens and through the long-range vision of an Indigenous Australian perspective as well.

Continuation of paternalistic attitudes throughout the years of the Howard government are evident in the Northern Territory Intervention, welfare policies and the dismantling of ATSIC (Dodson, 2007; Maddison, 2019). This kind of paternalism is also evident in PI’s statement in Section 4.6 advising that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples “need to loosen some of their control” over their knowledge. This is discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.9, suffice to say here that knowledge needs control and if Indigenous people are loosening it, non-Indigenous systems for control would be taking over. Like ‘assimilation’, ‘integration’ has only ever been used (despite the slightly alternate wording in the policy) to drive Indigenous people to be like non-Indigenous peoples and as such there is good reason to always treat the word with great caution as did three participants in this study (in Section 4.6).

### **5.3.6 Benevolence**

Some of the issues associated with a ‘benevolent’ attitude are perceptively pinpointed by participant Noel. Benevolence is seen as caring and compassionate but in the context of Australian settlement, the offer to be integrated into Western society as landless peasants was never a charitable or just act (Attwood, 1989). Nor is the invitation to be assimilated through the Western education system a generous offer on behalf of Australian society. The way that the concepts of charity and philanthropy have been applied to the First Nations population may seem generous if ones’ perspective is that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have to be ‘educated and brought into Western society’. Such an attitude perpetuates the notion that First Nations peoples are the problem, need assimilating and have nothing of value to add to an integrated society. This attitude of benevolence can be seen in some of the responses given by participants but rather than ponder which statements reflect this attitude it is more useful to take up Noel’s prompting to “look within”. Noel counsels to move away from the propensity to externalise ‘the problem’ and have a closer look within ones’ own heart and mind.

### **5.3.7 Loss of knowledge**

While some participants lamented the loss of knowledge due to the practices of colonisation (see Section 4.3.2 and Appendix 15c) participant Tom wisely noted that, “as a non-Indigenous person I am unable to know how much knowledge has been retained or lost”. One of the reasons that Australian society does not know what knowledge has been lost is

that it has no idea of the extent of Indigenous Australian knowledge that exists. Part of the story about “loss of knowledge” reiterated by participants, disseminates the idea that it is too late to learn from Indigenous people.

As a woman who was isolated from her Aboriginal family and culture from the age of five to her 30s, Meehan (2000) writes with authority about what assimilation is and is not. Meehan illustrates that living an Aboriginal culture (ULQ and LLQ, as per Figure 2.3) involves a much deeper understanding of that culture (ULQ) than what is seen superficially in the right-hand quadrants of AQAL (URQ & LRQ). The language of the participant who revealed that he was “one eighth Native American” (Section 4.3.4) leaned far closer to the colonial mindset than most participants, illustrating how his worldview and foundational metaphors are dominated by Western culture. This is the danger of engaging with the dominant culture with insufficient regard for Indigenous Australian knowledge (Pearson, 2009). First Nations peoples do not want their descendants to become separated from their knowledge in the way that this participant has been separated from his. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are aware of the importance of their knowledge to human futures, which is why they have attempted to teach it to non-Indigenous peoples as well as their children. Such schooling is almost prohibited (Pavlou, 2016) because of colonial thinking in Australian culture that continues to deny the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

### **5.3.8 The Australian education system**

Many participants recognised that the teaching of history has long been a problematic part of school education across the nation, in that it has neglected Indigenous knowledge and the violent dispossession (Critchett, 1990; Goodall, 1996; Reynolds, 2003) associated with colonisation. All of the participants, albeit interested in the research topic, and 13 of whom were experienced in working with Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples, appeared to be unaware of John Howard’s personal meddling in the school curriculum. Subsequent to the involvement of conservative governments, changes took place in education culminating in the teaching of the *Australian Curriculum: History* (Taylor, 2010; Weuffen, 2017) as described in Section 2.4.3. Perhaps it was because the dismantling of ATSIC and the Howard government’s intervention into Aboriginal communities were more pronounced in the Australian media that the changes in the school curriculum went unnoticed. If “moral panic” impacted on the outlook of society and the government in the way that Rodwell (2017) explains, perhaps the participants were also influenced in this way, however no one said as much.

In some ways it is not surprising that the Australian education system continues to reflect the views of the nation. However, it does seem surprising to progressive thinking Australians

that the education system would 'go backwards' in terms of its portrayal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history. Of course, 'going backwards' is a value judgement, but it is backed up by the summary of Cairns' (2018) article where she explains that interfering conservative politicians advocating for a return to syllabus including "the legacy of Western civilisation" are working against the objectives of schools where they are trying to help students understand that: a) there are contested historical narratives and b) history is used to influence change. The comments made by participant Liam regarding the "leftist agenda for education" provides some evidence on the explanation for why the Australian education system moved toward adopting such conservative, antiquated and politicised terminology (Cairns, 2018).

Enlightenment principles discussed in the literature review (see Section 2.6.2) were also mentioned under education in Australian schools (see Section 2.4.3) as something that needs to be taught to underpin national identity. Herein lies the contradiction at the base of the flaw in Australian thinking. Australian society (LRQ, see Figure 2.3) is based on the foundations of the Enlightenment principles (UL & LLQ), however, the benefit of those principles was not extended to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. First Nations peoples were not treated as equals (Attwood, 1989; Reynolds, 1987) and continue to experience racism today (Grant, 2016; Sizer, 2019).

Participants were generally shocked and disappointed at the four case studies in the market, shared with them in the second interview. The two who showed the most naiveté, in not recognising racism in society today, indicated that they believed these examples to be minor and rare whereas at least one participant, a young man aged under 35, repeatedly saw such behaviour in business life. The more Australian society closes its eyes to the truth, whether that is as individuals (ULQ), culturally (LLQ) or as a society (LRQ), the more it denies itself maintenance of and accountability to the principles of the Enlightenment. If government is to highlight and extol the Enlightenment principles within every school through history curriculum, as the basis of Australian society, it must also reinforce the importance of every form of accountability to such principles and ensure that they are upheld, in ways that support the rights, dignity and thriving of Indigenous people.

Human beings show persistent innovation in manipulating systems for their benefit as outlined in the case studies and the additional examples of corrupt and 'marginally corrupt' behaviours in business today, provided by participants. New ways of holding businesses to account will have to be found if Australia is to maintain the precepts of the Enlightenment, to keep up with those ways to gain income that evade integrity. If equality is to be offered to every citizen, as outlined by the Enlightenment principles, then opportunities cannot be cut off in the market in the ways that have been illustrated in the findings. All citizens would have

some appreciation of what those Enlightenment principles are if they experience this equality. However, if someone hears and sees those principles applied to other citizens at their own exclusion, those persons excluded would have cause to raise objection, point out the hypocrisy and name racism where it exists, as undertaken by IndigenousX for example (Sweet et al., 2013) and in the Black Lives Matter protests (Koziol, 2020). These tasks have also been performed by non-Indigenous peoples (Attwood, 1989; Clark, 1993) or late to discover their Aboriginality (Reynolds, 2005). Moving beyond the Enlightenment is not about moving away from reason but recognising that even reason is relational. This needs to be taught in the education system if Australia is to transition to being a nation that values its First Nations peoples and their knowledge.

### **5.3.9 Contradictions existent in the knowledge industry**

Five participants perceived a contradiction in wanting to increase demand for Indigenous Australian knowledge and simultaneously wanting it to be controlled, as presented in Section 4.4.2. Three of those participants were wondering what this contrast meant while two put forward specific objections. It is the narrative surrounding these objections that is being scrutinised here as it reflects the meta-narrative in three ways.

The apparent contradiction was expressed in three different ways: 1) How do you increase demand (from a Western audience) for the knowledge while protecting the rights and income back to the people but not in a way that they sign over the rights. This expression of the apparent contradiction by three PI included a curiosity and an openness to understanding how the dilemma is constructed, while the way that the issue was approached by the other two PI manifested elements of the meta-narrative. 2) How do you share knowledge without it then being used? For example, if you share knowledge and someone (non-Indigenous) becomes an expert in that knowledge they have a right to sell their expertise. 3) “But do we really want to put a price on knowledge and care for the community and education?”. This one contradiction/tension exists in all Western knowledge management.

Every tertiary institution and the authorities that they answer to in Australia have regulations that deal with all of these issues. It is clearly not immediately obvious to people who do not work in the education sector that this apparent contradiction exists within all sectors of knowledge and is tightly managed within the sector through intellectual property law, university standards and national standards that are managed by the *Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency* and the standards for vocational education through *Registered Training Organisations* that are managed by the *Australian Skills Quality Authority* (see Section 2.2).

Indigenous Australian knowledge was managed for thousands of years by First Nations peoples through systems of accreditation and maintenance of the knowledge (Hamacher, 2011; Nunn & Reid, 2016). For Australians who have been raised (through the meta-narrative) to believe that Western knowledge and its management systems are superior, it is not immediately obvious as to why Indigenous knowledge cannot be managed under Western systems of knowledge. Attempting to place Indigenous knowledge under Western management negates the systems that have maintained the knowledge hitherto. Also attempting to attach Indigenous knowledge to Western knowledge systems continues to subjugate the knowledge and undermine its value. Integrating parts of Indigenous knowledge within Western knowledge systems is racist because the process does not allow for continued control by the knowledge custodians.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge has in many instances been tacked onto Western knowledge within a Western education framework which has separated that knowledge from the Indigenous knowledge experts (Muller, 2014, p. 73). When Indigenous people protest about non-Indigenous educators delivering Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander history and knowledge it is because it is being diluted and appropriated; portrayed through a Western lens (Muller, 2014). The educator has not yet met the level of education required to deliver such knowledge and there are Indigenous people available to provide that education as “there are strict protocols associated with knowledge and its responsibilities” (Muller, 2014, p. 74). From different angles, this argument is the basis to the response to questions about the control of knowledge and the apparent contradiction raised by the five participants. Evidence of these attitudes as well as the literature underlines the importance of non-Indigenous peoples not promoting themselves in taking Indigenous knowledge to the market but leaving all control in the hands of the custodians of Indigenous knowledge. As described in the literature review, Indigenous entrepreneurs are taking their knowledge to the market (Foley & Hunter, 2016; Frankel, 2018). It is the responsibility of the Australia’s governing bodies to ensure the integrity of those markets thereby providing security to intellectual property.

Indigenous Australian knowledge has been maintained by strict protocols managed by experts in their fields for generations through accountability structures that are unfamiliar to Western knowledge (Hamacher, 2011; Nunn & Reid, 2016). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have protocols that are at least as strong as those of Western knowledge and the proof of its credibility is in the consistency of knowledge recorded in stories that are at least 7,000 years old (Nunn & Reid, 2016), verifiable through the geology of each location since the sea level rise that accompanied the end of the last Ice Age. Western knowledge has no equivalent to such knowledge or accountability structures. The inability to see the

difference in accountability systems for the knowledge, as displayed by participants, does not excuse the ongoing denial of such systems. Reading Indigenous authors and reflecting on the continuity of Indigenous Australian knowledge potentially awakens those mistakenly subjugating this knowledge to the colonial perception that has seeped into their thinking via the Australian meta-narrative.

Habermas (1987) offers a more generic account of what is taking place when people cannot see the same objective reality and therefore cannot rationally discuss responses to such 'reality'. Habermas (1987) explains how it is easy to communicate rationally between people with similar cultural understandings and expectations because they have the same subjective perception of the 'reality'. The fact that participants are not considering the point of view of First Nations peoples after indicating an interest in this perspective is instructive as it illuminates this colonial thinking. Educationalists too have continued not to show any acknowledgement or attempts to understand Indigenous systems for maintaining knowledge (Hamacher, 2011; Muller, 2014; Nunn & Reid, 2016; West, 2000). Again, it is this persistent denial that demonstrates a continued flaw in insisting on the superiority of Western knowledge over Indigenous knowledge that buttresses this ignorance.

Participant Kim reflected on the use of the knowledge produced by Aristotle and Pythagoras and the fact that no royalties have been passed on to their descendants. Yet, to this day Pythagoras is credited with influencing Aristotle and Plato, and Greek philosophers acknowledged in the origins of Western Philosophy (Eden, 2001). Greece and its people have gained much from the recognition of these ancient traditions as intellectual property. It formed the basis of intellectual property law in the late 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Eden, 2001). In contrast to three of the case studies provided to the participants, Greek philosophy was never stolen or not credited.

### ***Questioning the use of Indigenous knowledge in the economy***

One PI raises the question of whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples should profit from the use of their knowledge and asks whether such profit would then be distributed evenly (see Section 4.4.2). Surely, this question has never been asked of any other group of people in the Western world.

The Western knowledge industry is based on profit. Educational services are a multi-billion-dollar industry for Australia, with "International education activity arising from international students studying and living in Australia contribut[ing] \$30.3 billion to the economy in 2017" (Department of Education and Training, 2018). Western knowledge is well and truly commoditised.

First Nations peoples have been consistently encouraged to seek opportunities to develop income through employment and “being involved in the ‘real’ economy” (Peterson, 2005, pp. 7-8; Wood & Davidson, 2011). They have also played active roles in creating income and advocating for inclusion in the economy (Foley, 2010; Langton, 2008). Natural resource management is a natural use for Indigenous knowledge that has been managing Australian environments for millennia. Natural resource management is a part of the economy; water has been managed, bought and sold for a long time in Australia. To argue that Indigenous knowledge related to natural resource management does not warrant payment perpetuates an erasure of the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

‘Green colonialism’ is the term applied to appropriation of Indigenous knowledge by environmentalists as their own knowledge and for their own agendas (Morcolm, 2019). Murri Kamilaroi, Bradley Moggridge puts forward arguments against Green colonialism requesting scientists and other Western organisations adopt protocols “in the process of sharing Indigenous knowledge [that] ensure that it is protected” (Morcolm, 2019, 18:42). Moggridge et al. (2019) describe such protocols. Colonialism and ‘Green colonialism’ are seen as racist narratives (Maddison et al., 2016; Morcolm, 2019). Recognising that Indigenous Australian knowledge has value, in for example education on the value of water, needs to be accompanied by further recognition in the ability of the knowledge custodians to maintain, manage and deliver the knowledge.

The types of awareness surfaced through Indigenous writers and exhibited by many participants (listed on the right-hand column of Figure 5.1) point to valuing the uniqueness of Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways of knowing. Such awareness suggests that First Nations peoples should be encouraged to develop their knowledge industry on their own terms, with the Indigenous Australian methods for credibility that are built into the Indigenous theories of knowledge. What appears to be restricting such development are the narratives, indicated in the “ignorance” column on the bottom-left of Figure 5.1. Such ignorance persistently positions Indigenous Australian knowledge as antiquated, without structures of accountability, as if the knowledge is so inferior that it needs no system to maintain it. Included in this reasoning is an assumption that Western knowledge systems and structures are so superior that they are the only way to manage knowledge. In the case of Green Colonialism, it is not so much that Indigenous knowledge is considered to have no relevance to the future but that it is appropriated without due recognition and recompense to the Indigenous peoples. Such ‘green’ knowledge so unique and valuable that the knowledge should be treated as a national treasure for the public good, managed by non-Indigenous systems, and with appropriate payment to First Nations peoples. Splinters of the meta-narrative in Green Colonialism exhibits three contradictions: i) seeing a non-Indigenous

organisation as capable of managing a part of Indigenous knowledge; ii) not seeing why Indigenous people should be paid for such knowledge; and iii) believing that income from such knowledge need not be distributed where it is warranted, to Indigenous people who developed it. When no such recognition is made by Green Colonialism on this saleable knowledge, one must question the basis of their arguments on the importance of Indigenous knowledge in assisting the physical environment. Green Colonialism is an example of the ways in which non-Indigenous Australians would initially ‘tick all the boxes’ in the right-hand list on Figure 5.1, aligning themselves with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. However, on closer reflection can see holes in that awareness, leaving them (us) sitting with “Progressive inertia”, with splinters of colonial thinking retarding progress to a more inclusive society.

## **5.4 Challenging the deepest layers of colonial narrative**

The meta-narrative behind Australia’s colonial thinking is based on a metaphor that depicts Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as early examples of Homo sapiens and Indigenous Australian knowledge as antiquated and not relevant to human futures. The paradox is that at a superficial level of discourse lip-service is given to the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge, but this needs to be juxtaposed with the enormous gaps in understanding, or even lack of interest in this knowledge, as discussed in the previous section. In this section, the consequence of this paradox is examined through the participants’ own responses that exhibit colonial thinking in the metaphors adopted.

### **5.4.1 Metaphors**

Metaphors are vitally important to human thinking as they rapidly convey mega-data without detail (Moore, 2009), as discussed in Section 2.6.5. Deconstructing individual and societal narratives requires moving through layers (Inayatullah, 2009), to get to the metaphors. Theory U provides methodology for reaching into these deeper levels of thought (as described in CLA by Inayatullah, 2009) providing a way to challenge these widespread racist metaphors, incongruent to the surface discourse. These metaphors are, illustrated in the data as, sitting in the deep national psyche, undermining a true understanding of the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge (also shown in Appendix 22 with participant quotations regarding Participatory Action Research). Inverse to the image of digging deeper to reveal societal metaphors, Wilber (2001b) uses climbing a mountain as another metaphor, for the personal work involved in human development, whereby it is necessary to move up the mountain to gain a larger perspective of the surrounding landscape. The works described by Inayatullah et al. (2016), Scharmer (2009) and Wilber (2001b), recognise that human beings



have 'blind-spots' and explain the work that needs to be done, individually and collectively, in order to overcome these blind-spots and re-orient human society towards a desired future.

Myth is the story form of metaphor and "is always telling us what is more true than true" (O'Tuama, 2020, 48:55) because it relays the truth situated at this deepest layer (Inayatullah, 2009). When the conceptual information underpinning myths is erroneous the metaphors can be damaging to human knowledge and thus, human advancement. Metaphors exist about Homo sapiens that are not based on reality, for example the notion that Aboriginal Australians represent the early stages of a linear pattern of human development. These widespread metaphors, apparently sitting in the deep national psyche, undermine a true understanding of the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

### ***Integrity in integration***

Integral theory (Wilber, 2001b) is pertinent to how the splinters of racist meta-narratives can be challenged and altered to achieve congruence. Boulding (1961) discusses the level of metaphor as "The Image", positing that humans think in images and that their worldview is underpinned by a coherent image. This is consistent with Inayatullah's (2009) perception of the impact of the level of metaphor on an individual's thinking (ULQ; Figure 2.3), one's behaviour and health (URQ), cultural beliefs (LLQ) and consequently societal behaviour and structures (LRQ). This is why the creative methodology was used, to assist in surfacing participant metaphors. Metaphor takes us to the heart of an individual's intentions assisting in the analysis of participant responses. As participants talk about their images of Indigenous knowledge, preferred futures and integration, some begin to recognise the discrepancy between what they were saying and their picture of the world. These are discussed below. Examining our intentions as individuals and as a nation are essential for aligning daily discourse with the meanings that are embedded in society's systems, structures, worldviews and metaphors. This is the meaning of integrity; integrating (our) values in every layer of (our) individual lives and society. Due to the fact that the metaphors are situated subterraneous to the foundations of Australian cultural worldviews. Thus, deep reflection and examination are required to access them and to realign the individual's and the nation's integrity.

As outlined in Chapter 4, the Preferred Futures expressed by the participants in this research (see Appendix 17) differ from some of their other thoughts communicated (see Appendix 16 - Participant Quotations and Artworks selected). These discrepancies (or incongruencies) are illustrative of the colonial thinking that hinders perception of Indigenous Australian knowledge. This colonial thinking is ingrained in individuals via the same thinking in Australian culture, which has been there for centuries, and continues to be reinforced

through the systems and structures of Australian society. Wilber's AQAL model (Figure 2.3) assists in perceiving the ways in which people are products of their environment and also of their time. Individuals are capable of independent thought (ULQ) however, human thought is likely to be influenced by one's experiences in society (LRQ), the cultural beliefs that surround them (LLQ) and their individual health (URQ). The only people who can arrest racist meta-narrative and reconstruct metaphors are those who hold them; by first becoming aware of them and how they are constructed and then working to dismantle the influence of these racist narratives within themselves. Below are examples of metaphors used, with some instances of rethinking, and other examples of only the discrepancies. Challenging this colonial thinking will help to decolonise individuals (ourselves) and, in sufficient numbers, will influence decolonisation within Australian society. This process of reflection is what authors are promoting in order to reach a higher level of perception, awareness or consciousness generally (Cook-Greuter, 1999; Esbjorn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2011; Torbert, 2005; Wilber, 2001b) and in relation to conflict resolution and reconciliation in particular (Muller, 2007; O'Tuama, 2020; Sizer, 2019). Decolonisation of Australian society has to take place before integration of knowledge is possible because, like a treaty process, both parties need to be communicating as equals.

#### **5.4.2 Metaphors exhibited by participants**

Metaphors exhibited by participants in Section 4.3.5 are discussed in this section as they depict ways that non-Indigenous people conceptualise Indigenous Australian knowledge. Fred, Liam and Tom provide extra visual metaphors representing the base of their thinking about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Illustrations 4.3, 4.4 and 4.10). Quay provides an additional verbal image in the form of his understanding of human development in relation to Indigenous people from Diamond (1998). This has been discussed as meta-narrative in Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, yet, it is also a myth.

Quay's verbal image typifies the discrepancy between his expressed preferred future and the metaphor that he adheres to, which is a hindrance to appreciating Indigenous knowledge. Quay is expressing how he does not want Indigenous peoples to be restricted by Western images projected onto them. Also, when Quay is speaking about *The Water Goanna* by Doza (Bell, 2017) (expanded in quotations on Barriers; Colonialism in Appendix 15) he uses the image of Indigenous people being "pushed into a certain box" and the challenge of conveying to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth that they do not need to be constrained by such ideas. He says that the challenge for Australia is to offer Indigenous youth "every opportunity" but for Australia to recognise that "what is on offer is Western opportunities" (see Section 4.6). Quay appears to criticise that lack of choice but he

falls short of saying that the opportunities for First Nations peoples should not just be Western-oriented opportunities. It seems that such a perspective is too radical for Quay as it would be contrary to the fundamental metaphor in Diamond (1998)'s story that Quay retells, whereby Aboriginal Australians are justifiably behind in relation to Western development. Quay accepts Diamond's proposition and says that Indigenous people are "doing very well under the circumstances", while Harari (2014) suggests that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples choose wisely not to use agriculture (in the Western sense). In highlighting that Indigenous people of Australia deliberately chose not to be domesticated by wheat, Harari (2014) illustrates that their knowledge was and is relevant to the future. Diamond's story perpetuates the barrier to seeing the value of such knowledge.

The barrier to seeing Indigenous Australian knowledge occurs when foundational metaphors place the First Nations peoples of Australia as examples of early humans and as peoples very different from 'ourselves'. Such metaphors render Indigenous Australian knowledge as antiquated and therefore not relevant to the future of Australia or the world. Examples of such metaphors are that from Quay above and from Fred, in illustration 4.3, where he initially draws Indigenous Australian knowledge as a very low line in relation to Western/mainstream knowledge. Also evident was that Fred reflected on the metaphor he was using and saw that it was incongruous to other thoughts that he had in regard to the high value of Indigenous knowledge.

According to CLA theory (Inayatullah, 2009), one's worldview (religious and political beliefs) do not necessarily determine an openness or otherwise toward Indigenous Australian knowledge. Responses from Liam would reinforce that it is the deeper, metaphoric foundations of one's thinking (Boulding, 1961; Inayatullah, 2009) that determine one's ability to appreciate Indigenous Australian knowledge. While Liam exhibited a very Christian and anti-Left-wing political and theoretical worldview (Section 4.3.5), he also indicates that he agrees with his Aboriginal colleague's perception that there is a universal God that created Indigenous people and non-Indigenous peoples equally and provided both with knowledge. Some Christian mythology and interpretations have been known to conceptualise First Nations' knowledge as obsolete and evil (Langton, 2013) but Liam indicated that his Christian framework sees Indigenous Australian knowledge as equal to Western knowledge. As such, it is possible to appreciate that Indigenous people also have different relationships with Christianity. Some choose to identify with Christianity while others find it objectionable, but it does not necessarily alter their relationship to their Indigenous culture, something made clear by Meehan (2000).

Through the metaphor that participant Noel chose of two snakes of equal magnitude looking away from each other (see Illustration 4.6) he makes the point that to change the status of

Indigenous people and their knowledge within Australian society, people first need to look at their own motives. Noel articulates that his metaphor reflects equality and 'othering' and a need to look more deeply within to appreciate the equality of both Western knowledge and Indigenous knowledge. In order to appreciate the knowledge available through First Nations peoples, one needs to recognise 'the other' within, not as something in someone else (participant Noel). The 'othering' of Indigenous people began in the earliest days of colonisation, an illustration of which is when "[t]he Anglican chaplain to the colony declared that Aboriginal people did not have souls" (Langton, 2013). At that time the majority of Western settlers placed great importance in having a soul and what Christian authorities had to say (Robinson, 1998).

Although deep-seated Australian societal metaphors have changed in relation to Christianity they have not necessarily changed fundamentally in relation to images of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, as illustrated with metaphors such as those relayed by Fred and Quay, underpinning a 'prehistoric' portrayal. However, Noel demonstrates a greater awareness and provides an alternate metaphor. With greater awareness comes greater self-reflection as indicated by Noel and many participants. Recognising that: a) there are illusions existing within Australian thought (LLQ) that obscure the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge; and b) such illusions will need to be burst before some people will be open to valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge, as insightfully observed by Pam.

Belief that revolutionary change would need to take place in Australian thinking before an openness to Indigenous knowledge would be possible was noted by both Zeb and Ern. Integral Theory suggests that cultural/social evolution has always taken place (as seen in changing attitudes over time) and that revolutionary evolution in attitudes is potentially imminent (Wilber, 2001b).

Self-reflection and personal growth are seen as highly valuable to individual and societal transformation, and appear relevant to progressing Australian society beyond its colonial meta-narrative. Esbjorn-Hargens and Zimmerman (2011) recommend reading "Post-autonomous Ego Development" (Cook-Greuter, 1999) and "Timely and Transforming Leadership Inquiry and Action: Toward Triple-loop Awareness" (Torbert, 2005) for guidance on how to elevate oneself to the next level. As with the examples provided by Fred and Yvonne (see Section 4.3.5), reflecting on our own behaviour can enable a shift towards greater awareness.

Meanwhile in Australia, irrespective of whether Integral Theory's assumption of human development is accurate, there is evidence from the findings in this study that there is a spectrum of attitudes from those closely aligned to colonialism to those working to

decolonise Australia. Those who are working for justice with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and learning Indigenous Australian knowledge are depicted in the right-hand group on Figure 4.2. Those with “Progressive inertia” are hovering in that ‘second place’ in Figures 4.2 and 5.1.

Earlier in this chapter PI’s comments (see Section 5.3.9) questioning the use of Indigenous knowledge in the economy supplied points for reflecting on one’s own thinking. These types of examples provide substance for assessing where one’s own awareness falls short of those listed on the right in Figure 5.1. Such reflection assists in developing personal awareness, increasing cross-cultural capacity to engage with First Nations peoples. If the awareness of Australian society could shift to having a larger percentage of people working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (not in terms of their employment but in terms of their thinking), the nation could make a real leap forward. Instead of (say) roughly one million people being in the ‘With Indigenous people’ attitude, assume that 4-5 million of the population could shift from “Progressive inertia” into the front group, then this will enable this group to draw a much larger proportion of the ‘middle 60%’ of the population in the same direction toward the ‘progressive’ active manner to greater appreciation and understanding of Indigenous Australian knowledge. These proportions across Australian society have been somewhat substantiated by Shirodkar (2019)’s analysis of 11,099 people over ten years showing that three quarters (18 million) of Australians hold an unconscious negative bias against Indigenous Australians.

## **5.5 Constructing a new meta-narrative and metaphor**

Human story is an attribute that has been and can be used wisely to shape human directions (Harari, 2014). The interview data reinforces that the human story, at least within Australia regarding the nature, purpose and origins of Homo sapiens is disparate, pulling Australian society in different directions. Gusterson (2017, p. 214) believes that the disparate stories in these times of “crisis in democratic politics” needs investigation by anthropologists, while Harari (2014) appeals more generally to the human population to consider their sources of narrative and shape them wisely. Harari’s appeal fits more closely with that of Esbjorn-Hargens and Zimmerman (2011) and Wilber (2001b); if people would think critically, they could move to higher levels of perception from where greater complexity can be observed, as opposed to the current situation of large populations with disparate, limited understandings of the world.

Western knowledge provides the information that Indigenous Australian knowledge is valid, however, it appears from the literature and the research findings that that understanding is

not widespread, continuing to contribute to the fundamental flaw in Australian thinking. This ubiquitous colonial meta-narrative may have provided a 'unifying human story' (among non-Indigenous peoples) to enable colonial Australia to be established but, as the truth has emerged, it is now undermining the progress of Australia. Continuing to deny Indigenous Australian knowledge perpetuates colonial attitudes creating two incongruent stories that are fragmenting Australian society; leaving our metaphorical serpent society (Figure 4.1) resembling the 'push-me-pull-you' from *Dr Dolittle* (Lofting, 2018). The racist meta-narrative and matching metaphor have to be challenged and replaced by constructing a new narrative and metaphor based on accurate knowledge.

A metaphor corresponding to the current debilitating meta-narrative could be summed up by the words 'Stone Age'. Participants either indicated that they were operating from this image of Indigenous people or were aware of large numbers of people in the Australian population who behave as if this is an appropriate metaphor for First Nations peoples. This metaphor and related meta-narrative have to be challenged and replaced by constructing a new narrative and metaphor based on accurate knowledge. Where detailed knowledge still does not exist, Australia needs an openness to new knowledge that is not influenced by, and therefore constructed on, misinformation (as reflected in point 5 on the right in Figure 5.1).

Changing metaphors can change situations (Inayatullah et al., 2016). Rather than being daunted by the realisation of how much misery was generated by colonialism and the task of picking a million splinters out of a blanket, Australia can decolonise its thinking by changing its metaphor. Instead of a blanket, Australian society could be conceptualised as fleeces of wool; they are dirty and full of burs, but it can be processed through a mill to construct perfect woollen fabric that will not scratch its wearers and can be worn with pride. Such a change would need deliberate effort on the part of all aspects of Australian life and institutions. It would still involve truth-telling about Australian history, listening and deep reflection on individual thoughts and behaviours. Once reconsidered, construction could begin in Australia's systems and structures thus providing the milling process that could lead to the generation of a new fabric of Australian society.

Australian society is beginning to learn about Indigenous knowledge involved in the constructed mechanisms for fresh produce at Budj Bim (Department of the Environment and Energy, 2017) and in tropical savannas (Preece, 2013). There was no indication that any of the participants had heard of Budj Bim but the site was only inscribed after interviews were completed. There is no doubt in the writing of anthropologist Hage (2017) regarding the connection between humanity and domestication, he says that human survival goes hand in hand with domestication. Yet, there has never been any suggestion that kangaroos or emus

were domesticated while they were a source of sustenance and therefore survival for Homo sapiens in Australia. Gunditjmara people extended the habitat of eels by constructing an environment conducive to their needs, enabling Gunditjmara people to have access to fresh, organic food without fences or refrigerators. The eels could not be described as domesticated. This technique was more sophisticated than domestication. This form of permanent agriculture enabled Aboriginal people across Victoria to not only survive but thrive, being remarkable in terms of physical fitness according to the journals of Robinson (1998) from 1839 to 1849. Perhaps the current debilitating metaphor relating to primitivism could be transformed into a metaphor that recognises the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge, with an image rotating around the environmental sages of holistic living.

As recognised by some of the participants and authors, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have invited non-Indigenous Australians to participate in a united nation, on their terms (O'Tuama, 2020; Sizer, 2019). Sizer (2019, 24:40) encourages Australia to recognise racism and rid society of it so that the nation can "Realise the strength of our culture as part of Australian culture." Graham (2008, p. 193) is optimistic: "What will eventually emerge in a natural, habituated way is the embryonic form of an intact, collective, spiritual identity for all Australians, which will inform and support our daily lives, our aspirations and our creative genius."

The attitudes of ignorance listed in the left-hand column of Figure 5.1 are illustrative of the colonial thinking in Australian society. Within this cohort of participants, the potholes of ignorance (or splinters of racism) are scattered through their comments. The picture used by participant Fred, 'Ngayuku Ngura' (Tjala Arts, 2015); see Appendix 16, as a metaphor to depict pockets of Indigenous knowledge with other vacant pockets, provides an equally useful picture for the potholes in awareness revealed by participants, and described above. Challenging such logic within non-Indigenous Australians is the beginning of the decolonising process, as individuals can reflect on their own patterns of thought and how their (our) own logic may have been influenced by Australian colonisation and the phenomenon of racism.

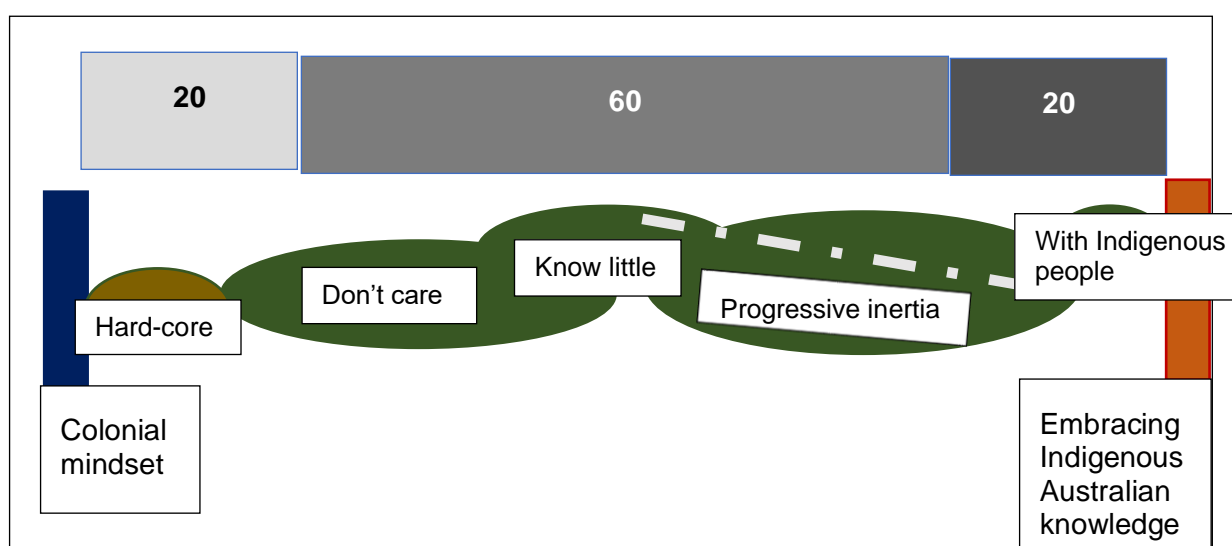
Several participants are optimistic, in a realistic way, recognising racism and an abhorrent history, and seeing Australians as capable of learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples how to create futures that acknowledge the wrongs of the past and present and reconstruct the narrative regarding First Nations peoples. Through listening to and learning from Indigenous people, the barrier that has been constructed in the minds of non-Indigenous Australians can be deconstructed and replaced with a truth from which an equal relationship and a unified story can be created.

## 5.6 Progressive inertia

### 5.6.1 Australian society

Participants indicated that it was impossible to tell the magnitude or the proportion of society that adheres to “horrendous” racism. Some like Abbey, saw the second category, Progressive inertia, as potentially the largest segment of Australian society. Therefore, progress toward valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge is conceivably imminent, providing that some work is undertaken. Societal attitudes toward Indigenous people, as listed in Figure 5.1, could be proportioned in the way that Sizer perceives them, as a 20-60-20 split (see Section 2.3.3, racism), which has been incorporated into Figure 5.2, conjoining Sizer’s ‘rule’ of Australian society with the serpent image.

**Figure 5.2 Australian Society as Serpent With 20/60/20 Rule**



Mostly, participants attributed societal ignorance of Indigenous Australian knowledge to racism and colonialism and roughly divided the Australian population into five segments, as depicted in Figure 5.2, with, from left to right: Hard-core/Horrendous; Don't Care; Know Little; White paralysis/Progressive inertia and those 'With Indigenous people'. Those in the right-hand group are already acting to learn more, listening to and working with First Nations peoples, but they constitute such a small percentage of the Australian population that they are not having a large impact. While they are the people best placed to assist Australia in this transition from a society blind to Indigenous Australian knowledge to one that embraces it, First Nations peoples (approximately 3% of the population) and those working with them (possibly another 3-4% of the population bringing the total close to one million) are doing all they can. Meanwhile, those in the left-hand group probably never will change their attitudes and as some participants indicated it is not time well-spent to attempt to change their



attitudes. Of the three groups in the middle, it is those with the progressive, but inert, attitude that have the most interest and therefore the greatest potential to act.

Those with Progressive inertia illustrate a keenness to know more but have a variety of reasons for not engaging. Then there are those who do not care enough to learn anything and those who know so little that they have no interest to learn anything. Therefore, people with these latter two groups of attitudes are not going to learn more until more people in society are drawing them forward. This leaves those with Progressive inertia, those currently holding a position of thinking progressively but inert in terms of actively gaining the level of Indigenous knowledge needed to make a difference, poised to potentially provide the leadership necessary to move society in one direction, toward embracing Indigenous knowledge.

Reasons for the inertia offer clues to how to activate this group. These societal attitudes were described by one participant as “White paralysis” but most participants, while recognising the dynamic in this group considered that Australian society is not just white and that “paralysis” for some, means “no action”. Thus, it was suggested this title change to “Mainstream inertia”, however, “mainstream” signifies a majority of the population rather than the people who specifically think of themselves as supportive of elevating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status. The term “Progressive inertia”, thinking progressively but without action, seems to fine-tune the segment of attitudes discussed, into an appropriate two-word title.

As this study has shown, these participants are already questioning the systems and structures established through colonialism. Many participants illustrated their recognition that these societal systems and structures not only colonise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples but all Australian citizens, restricting everybody’s perceptions of the future, as described by Muller (2007). Therefore, the work of decolonisation needs to go on across Australian society not only in the small silos of people who work directly with First Nations peoples. Muller (2007, p. 82) elucidates that “De-colonisation is not a simple process; it requires honest personal introspection and commitment to change. Just as colonisation is not a construct of Indigenous people, de-colonisation is not an Indigenous issue – it is the responsibility of all Australians.” Hence the necessity to actively deconstruct colonisation.

The decolonisation work is something that all Australians need to undertake because, as a nation Australia is currently so far from understanding Indigenous Australian knowledge, with significant conservative efforts maintaining the colonial thinking, Australia’s citizens may never come to know their country. There is a lot of work to be done, as indicated in the data, to decolonise the (our) minds and Australian society across the country after two centuries of

entrenched colonial attitudes that have splintered the racist meta-narrative into every fabric of Australian society and transmits it almost virally to immigrants (perhaps more like small pox than splintered wood). It is impossible to resolve issues negating the value of Indigenous knowledge without addressing the status of First Nations peoples in Australia because the logic or illogical images behind both are so deeply entwined. Yet, there is possibly a large proportion of the Australian population who think of themselves as pro Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, who have begun questioning the racist meta-narrative.

While the group defined through the research as “Progressive inertia” display awareness of the change needed, they (we) tend to believe that it is not ‘we’ who need to change. There is a self-satisfaction within this group, believing that they do not need to do any more than just say that they want equality for First Nations peoples, not recognising that there is a lot of work to be done within this group to raise their (our) understanding of Indigenous Australian knowledge to a reasonable level. Participants spoke of a sense that large quantities of racism reside within Australian society, thus ‘other’ people are rejecting Indigenous knowledge and that overcoming that (racism and rejection) was tremendously difficult. There is an apparent perception that the obstacle to recognition of, or reconciliation with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (let alone embracing knowledge) resides in the overwhelming racism that sits within Australian society, ‘over there’. The first priority is for this group to embrace the inner work of decolonisation, heeding the advice of Dave and other participants who remind us that non-Indigenous people should not put the onus on First Nations peoples to teach the basics of colonial history and Indigenous knowledge.

As depicted by participants, Australians tend to be ignorant about two different types of Indigenous knowledge. One is that which developed over millennia and continues to evolve. The other is the knowledge about what took place since 1788 to erase Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their knowledge. Expressions by some participants make it clear that while they would like to know more about traditional knowledge; they are unaware of the ongoing evolution of this ‘first knowledge’, and the political realities of the ‘second knowledge’; both of which have been deliberately obscured.

This thesis posits that there is possibly a large proportion of the Australian population that identify as not doing enough to educate themselves, their family and their peers about the First Nations peoples of their country. This group appears to have been influenced by the interventions of conservative governments post-1996; not limited to communities in the Northern Territory, but those that saw public information influenced in the public broadcaster, museums and the education system (Macintyre & Clark, 2004). This group did not do enough to inform themselves of the extent of the damage committed through these

interventions. Participants were not aware of changes to the national history curriculum (Weuffen, 2017), thus influencing the next generation. Perhaps this group has thought that the Rudd apology would alleviate these issues, or was the beginning of some golden era rather than a stage that required further work to be conducted. Thus, the attitudes of participants were possibly unwittingly swayed through not taking more notice of the way that ATSIC was shut-down and did not recognise the significance of the undermining of the ABC (Anderson, 2007; Dodson, 2007; Maddison, 2019). Interventions that saw the head of the serpent at the Hard-core end of Australian society, leading society more securely toward a colonial outlook. There were participants who recognised this and others who did not think that there had been any leadership in that direction.

As several participants alluded, the way to reduce racism and increase interest in Indigenous knowledge is to work on the end of society that has the least resistance; those with “Progressive inertia”. The wicked problem of the status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia could be likened to a tangled knot in a child’s long hair. If one attempts to brush the knot out of the hair by pulling on top of the knot with a brush (from the head-side of the knot) it makes the knot tighter and more difficult to straighten. The only way to untangle knotted hair is to work from the ends, where the hair, after the knot, has its free ends. That end of the hair has less knotting, therefore if one proceeds, drawing the brush down, repetitiously, gradually coming from further up the hair; it begins to move more freely. This is consistent with conflict theory (Sherif, 2015).

If Australia is to transition towards embracing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, the people with Progressive inertia need to act. They are the ones saying that they want to know more and that they have no barriers to engage, yet many books by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander authors go unread, events and tours unattended and shows unwatched. Participant Olive describes the discomfort involved in digesting such information and engaging with First Nations peoples as a necessary action as well as being like confronting one’s greatest fear (see Appendix 15, describing barriers and see Appendix 16 in describing metaphors). Necessary action is to learn more about traditional and continuing Indigenous Australian knowledge as well as learning the real situation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples today and the ways in which First Nations peoples and their knowledge continues to be subjugated. This thesis posits that it is not the people who hold firmly to a racist narrative who are preventing a societal transition towards embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge. As indicated by Olive it is important that the “Progressive” group embrace the discomfort involved in being a settler, in order to take the next step of effective engagement with Indigenous writing, media and people.

Personal busyness is described in Section 4.3.4 under “White paralysis” by Rex. Of course, people are busy. That busyness includes taking annual leave, doing things with our families and friends and participating in recreational activities. Learning about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge can be incorporated into these activities if they are considered a priority. Wherever people travel within Australia there are opportunities to learn from Indigenous people (Langton, 2018). There are places where families can go to learn from Indigenous people when holidaying or locally on weekends, as Pam indicated that she was doing with her family because of her daughter’s interest, which was stimulated via her preschool experiences. Progressives can restructure their busy lives to prioritise engagement with Indigenous knowledge.

Leadership and information are critical enablers of this transformation, as Sizer demonstrates in her characterisation of the swayable 60%, “depending on what information they have access to and have been informed by” (Sizer, 2019, 12:11) elucidates the importance of leadership in Australia. Informing the public of the ways in which knowledge about Indigenous people has changed is vitally important if Australian society is going to overcome its colonial thinking, which continues to exclude Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge from Australian futures. This needs to take place through the many avenues for leadership in society.

### **5.6.2 Leadership**

When participants spoke about the lack of leadership from politicians, they were referring to the void in leadership in relation to positive action toward embracing Indigenous people and their knowledge. Leadership was visible, to participants Tom and Ian, in the Howard years for leading the country away from First Nations peoples’ knowledge by: i) funding mainstream programs for ‘closing the gap’ rather than Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander programs, which were defunded during that time (Anderson, 2007; Dodson, 2007; Graham, 2008; Maddison, 2019); ii) defunding homelands and homeland education (Pavlou, 2016); iii) intervention into Aboriginal communities, and iv) interventions into the teaching of history in schools (see Section 5.3.9). These interventions give the impression of Australian society being pulled towards colonialism.

Any individual working in a senior management position in Australia is in a position of leadership, even, and in some ways particularly, ‘not so senior’ managers in large organisations working directly with RAP committees. This is partly why senior managers were targeted as participants. Participant characteristics (Appendix 8) ‘Prominence/ Size of organisation from whence participants came’ and ‘Seniority by job title’ display the prominence of leadership within this cohort, they are not average Australians.



Utilising the metaphor of fish turning incorporates the image chosen by Ern (see Illustration 4.10) and his remark that Australia “could be living a much more fruitful existence, if we swam in the same direction”; if non-Indigenous peoples would take some direction from First Nations peoples.

## **5.7 Addressing the research questions**

### **5.7.1 The Indigenous Australian knowledge industry**

What would be most advantageous to the Indigenous Australian knowledge industry is if many more non-Indigenous peoples showed an interest in their knowledge. This interest would translate to economic demand for their goods and services. It would also translate to more informed customers. Customer ignorance is part of what leads to the devaluing of Indigenous Australian knowledge therefore, knowing more will enable customers to be more discerning in their consumption, as has begun in the Aboriginal art industry (Cassidy, 2020). More demand equates to higher prices, which will lead to more suppliers coming into the industry, also something that has taken place in the Aboriginal art industry (Tjala Arts, 2015). An increase in suppliers equates to more income opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Interest in Indigenous Australian knowledge will increase pride in Indigenous Australian culture increasing the status of First Nations peoples. Such status has health and well-being benefits as well as economic gains.

It is the suboptimal level of understanding and appreciation of Indigenous Australian culture and knowledge across the Australian population that contributes most significantly to Australia’s socio-economic problem of the low status of its First Nations people (Anderson, 2003). Again, the idea that a lack of interest is the basis of a lack of interest appears circular, however, what is being said is that this flaw in Australian thinking is self-perpetuating; it reinforces itself and can only be rectified through self-reflection on the part of the non-Indigenous population. This perspective enables the two research questions to be addressed.

### **5.7.2 Valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge**

The answer to the first research question on ‘what can be done to increase appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing’ is that the people who think of themselves as having ‘Progressive inertia’ need to become active. These people have a level of appreciation that provides the basis for future increase in appreciation. Activities need to be scheduled by those with ‘Progressive inertia’ that will bring them into more authentic contact with Indigenous Australian knowledge. These

activities could range from reading books, articles or papers by First Nations authors and academics, attending public lectures and listening to podcasts by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander speakers, watching NITV (National Indigenous Television) and attending Indigenous events and tours for all the family. Also, the onus is on those with Progressive inertia to use their own imagination and networks to seek more Indigenous knowledge.

Having explored, in the interviews some of the ways exploitation of First Nations knowledge occurs in the market, the second research question is also vitally important. Measures have to take place at the highest levels to protect Intellectual Property. What is evident is that widespread ignorance undermines all progress across the fledgling Indigenous knowledge industry. This industry would flourish if the Australian population as a whole had an appreciation of the knowledge about their country that is available from generations of Indigenous wisdom. Therefore, the answer to this question follows directly from the answer to the first question. Non-Indigenous peoples who have seen the importance of decolonising Australia need to lead in the market with their own actions to improve their knowledge of Indigenous Australia, and in so doing foster opportunities for the Indigenous knowledge industry to flourish.

Decolonising Australia is not a simple task. Much more thinking is required in terms of a strategic progression to this objective of recognising Indigenous Australian knowledge. A new narrative needs to be constructed that corrects past flaws in thinking that have kept Indigenous Australian knowledge from view. Accepting Frankel's (2018) critique, the Western market cannot be left on its own to handle a reconstructed narrative. Similarly, the magnitude of the task of valuing Indigenous knowledge in economic terms "extends well beyond the remit of IP Australia" (Blackwell et al., 2019). Viewing Indigenous Australian knowledge in a way that is controlled by First Nations peoples is the initial Intellectual Property issue, which is being addressed. Australian society needs to appreciate the value of this knowledge before its economic worth can be realised, otherwise marketing of Indigenous knowledge will be distorted by the dominant Western marketing style. Reaching the majority of Australians, to affect the whole society, is dependent on the careful reflection of citizens who consider themselves to be progressive and recognise that they need to do more to learn from First Nations peoples. Such a level of engagement is necessary if they are going to be rewarded with an Australian society that is also progressive.

National policy that goes hand in glove with supporting the change being advocated from this research involves increasing resources for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander programmes that support teaching by First Nations peoples and learning by non-Indigenous Australians. This strategy needs to include support for Reconciliation Australia, as its success in teaching non-Indigenous peoples was acknowledged by many participants.

Participant's ideas that reinforce such a strategy consist of 24 ideas (see Appendix 24 for details). These ideas can be grouped into six broad proposals: i) increased funding for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; ii) improvements to Intellectual Property law; iii) support for existing Indigenous-led programmes in Universities; iv) high level collaboration with Indigenous people on ideas for increased school curriculum content on Indigenous knowledge; v) creating an Indigenous university/Centre of Excellence; and vi) encouragement for Local Government Authorities to continue and initiate collaborations with Indigenous people. Such policies have been proposed and reversed in the past. Not only do such ideas get reversed at policy levels but as illustrated by participant Will in Section 4.3.3, work can be undone during program implementation due to the high-level of widespread ignorance that is the focus of this research, reinforcing the urgent need to act.

Through accessing the vast amount of knowledge about the Australian continent and humanity (Muller, 2014) Australia could become a unified nation. Australian society could put itself together as a people and with this land. A unified nation that values Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge is one that no longer sees its beginnings in 1770 but celebrates its origins as the longest living culture in human history (only peoples of sub-Saharan Africa may share such longevity (Rasmussen et al., 2011)). Through decolonising our minds, Australia as a nation, could ensure that Indigenous Australian knowledge is valued so that there is an increase in demand for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge and that knowledge is not compromised in the market.

## **5.8 Summary**

The thesis of this research is that racist ideas are firmly embedded and as such are part of the fabric of Australia. Imagining that racism sits somewhere else and thus trying to change the attitudes of 'racist people' only perpetuates the problem. The people who already imagine themselves as aligned with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are critical to educating themselves further and to bringing each other along, influencing their peers and associates, thus actuating change. It has been easy for people who have some familiarity of First Nations peoples, circumstances and knowledge (who may or may not be working directly with Indigenous people) to repose in their own satisfaction and wait for the rest of the Australian population to catch-up. This could be because even a little bit of knowledge is generally so far in front of the general population, since these topics have been systemically erased. The change required in Australian society is to listen to and learn from First Nations peoples, without burdening them. Such change is not going to take place if those with some knowledge continue to wait for others to join them or expect someone else to deal with



racism in Australian society. Racism has been so historically entrenched that the splinters of its flawed thinking are present everywhere, within everyone, necessitating a holistic and personal approach to its removal. This requires doing the work of 're-membering' that O'Tuama describes as necessary for reconciliation to take place; making Australia whole by putting humanity and 'Country' (land and the environment) together (Muller, 2014). Bringing together the human stories of Australia has to be done as individuals and as a society, at the direction of Australia's First Nations peoples. This task will depend on individuals modelling leadership on every front of Australian society. To create a decolonised, unifying story for Australian futures could establish a national identity, of which everyone can be proud.

As described by Muller (2014), Yunkaporta (2019), Graham (2008) and participants Ian, Jan and Tom; Indigenous Australian knowledge has application everywhere. It is unique in its ways of knowing its environment and in its longevity (Rasmussen et al., 2011). There are other Indigenous people in other countries but they did not develop their knowledge in complete isolation from other peoples for thousands of years. This fact does not lessen their knowledge but highlights the significance of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Australia has access to knowledge about how humans relate to Mother Earth that can be applied around the globe (Mazzocchi, 2018) and assist in resolving the issue of self-destruction through the human causes of climate change. Australians are in the fortunate position of being able to learn this connection *in situ* and once applied in Australia and learned, the knowledge can be advanced globally. These benefits cannot be achieved as an acceptance of colonialism, but as a recognition that colonialism took place and has to be deconstructed and a new narrative must be constructed. A new narrative is required which corrects past flaws in thinking and brings Indigenous Australian knowledge into clear view.

The benefits of "complete bi-cultural capacity" (Pearson, 2009, p. 77) should be extended to all Australians as such capability enables the holistic thinking required to deal with the wicked problems currently facing humanity. This could take place in schools from an early age so that the general population has the capacity to read and engage with the environment; 'literacy of the land' becomes foundational knowledge. Philosophers could expand their thinking. Whether that be Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander philosophers extending their knowledge of and influence in the dominant society or non-Indigenous philosophers extending their engagement with Indigenous Australian knowledge. Through understanding these two diverse perspectives, very different ways-of-knowing Mother Earth, philosophers, environmentalists and the Australian population are in a better position to engage with and resolve the problems of the world.

There is no reason to believe that another large body of water representing Indigenous Australian knowledge does not exist in the same way that 'an enormous ocean' currently is a

metaphor for Western knowledge. The focus of this thesis has been the barriers to perceiving that other large body of water (as per the conceptual framework, see Figure 3.1). Such an ocean, as large as implied by Muecke (2004) and known to Muller (2014) could be conceived as an inland sea. Alternatively, an appropriate metaphor for such a body of knowledge could be Earth's planetary atmosphere. On the other hand, since the ocean of Western knowledge is not depicted on maps or images of this planet, the metaphor for both sets of knowledge could be conceived as bodies of water on two separate planets of equal size. No matter how it is imagined as a metaphor, in order to view Indigenous Australian knowledge, decolonisation must take place in Australian thinking.

The research is effectively at an end now. However, there are many implications that arise from the answers provided in this chapter. The next chapter examines these implications, first by summarising the study in simple terms and discussing its contribution to research. Limitations of the study are then outlined as well as unanticipated learning, both of which point towards the implications for further research and for current practice and policy in relation to learning from Indigenous Australian knowledge.

## 6 Conclusion

*This [non-Indigenous] fish needs to turn around and they need to swim in the same direction  
(Participant Ern)*

This chapter includes a summary of the study and its findings followed by the contribution to research. Discussion regarding the limitations of the study and unanticipated learning lead to discussion of implications for future research and implications for practice and learning.

There is a concluding note. The thesis ends with an epilogue.

### 6.1 Summary

Education is a 30-billion-dollar industry in Australia (Department of Education and Training, 2018), yet Indigenous Australian knowledge, developed independently for millennia is barely noticed socially or represented in that economy. This study has sought to understand what inhibits the promise of innovative Australian futures lived in unison with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Australia, as a society, could ensure that Indigenous Australian knowledge is valued so that there is an increase in interest and demand, economic benefit to its custodians, and so that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge is not compromised in the market.

There is a flaw in the thinking of non-Indigenous Australians that is slowing the normally natural development of human knowledge. Expansion of human knowledge through the interaction of different ideas has played out over thousands of years of exchange between different peoples and philosophical debates. That is, until the times of global European colonisation when Indigenous people and their knowledge were excluded from Western societies. Nowhere was this more true than in Australia where the internationally agreed rights of Indigenous people were deliberately ignored (Reynolds, 2003). Within the first 40 years of Australian settlement a negative meta-narrative about Aboriginal Australians as 'stone age' man had been constructed and persists to this day.

Causal Layered Analysis facilitated the scrutiny of findings, which indicates a paradox between the level of discourse, as revealed in aspirations for a unified nation, and at the level of 'Metaphor', where First Nations peoples continue to be imagined as representing an early example of human development on a linear trajectory toward 21st Century Western society. A unified vision for Australia continues to elude the nation due to a meta-narrative that blocks Indigenous Australian knowledge from view.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are not looking for sympathy or for mainstream Australians to feel guilty (which seems to be the response to learning the truth about

Australian history). Australians are being asked to deconstruct the narrative that enabled the injustices to be done and to persist, and in so doing take responsibility for the future.

Colonisation has deceived non-Indigenous peoples as well as Indigenous people and the process of decolonisation requires honest personal introspection and commitment to change by all Australians (Muller, 2007). This research reveals that it is impossible to resolve issues negating the value of Indigenous knowledge without solving the status of First Nations peoples in Australia because the non-Indigenous logic is so deeply embedded.

The faulty meta-narrative that underpins the 'prehistoric' metaphor is fed by antiquated ideas about *Homo sapiens* and how they developed, along with a pitiful amount of knowledge within the mainstream Australian population about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, their knowledge, experience and ways-of-knowing this country. Through this continued denial, even among the more progressive thinkers, Australia also prevents the world from access to knowledge that is vitally important to knowing Mother Earth and therefore the future of life on this planet.

This research focusses on what non-Indigenous peoples see as Indigenous Australian knowledge and what obstructs their view of it. This is done through engaging 26 non-Indigenous senior managers in business, finance and economics in over 52 hours of dialogue about Indigenous Australian knowledge. From the findings, a spectrum of mainstream Australian society emerges with clear gradation from strong ignorance of Indigenous knowledge to reasonably high awareness. Evident from this spectrum is that for Australian society to embrace Indigenous knowledge, a transition is required to move non-Indigenous individuals to significantly higher awareness. This thesis argues that this movement could begin with non-Indigenous individuals, who consider themselves supportive of Indigenous culture, taking the next step to improve their understanding of Indigenous knowledge through learning from First Nations peoples. By this process of decolonising minds, Indigenous knowledge will become more visible. This will enable the decolonisation of Australia where Indigenous Australian knowledge flourishes as part of the mainstream economy and the physical environment is sustainably managed in collaboration with the custodians of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Integral Theory provides the ontological and epistemological framework for this study. Integral Theory, as portrayed by Wilber (2001b) views reality as the holistic integration of four perspectives on the complexity of life. As such, Integral Theory provides a rationale for understanding the holism embedded within Indigenous Australian knowledge, through shifting the Western standpoint. Consistent with this theoretical approach, Indigenous Australian knowledge has the capacity to teach holism through experiencing life by way of all dimensions of personhood and all of the human senses, including the expansion of memory

as part of that learning. Wilber (2001b)'s proposition that an evolution in human development/consciousness exists at both an individual and collective level, provides reason to further consider why Aboriginal people are so often and easily relegated to a position of representing early humans. The proposition here being that these levels of perception reveal more about the viewer than those viewed.

The topics that surfaced from the Grounded Theory approach included 'human nature', 'reconciliation', 'conflict resolution', 'personal reflection' and other concepts of human relationships and knowledge pertinent to Integral Theory. The literature reviewed, in relation to the interview data, suggests that the racist meta-narrative and metaphor reinforce an unpreparedness to conceptualise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as teachers from whom non-Indigenous Australians can learn.

Australian society could put itself in a much better position to understand its country if it would learn from its First Nations peoples. Raising the status of Australia's First Nations peoples to that of teacher would allow entry to the modern economy, on their terms, and improve the related socio-economic status of Indigenous people.

This rich resource of human knowledge regarding the relationship between humans and the environment cannot currently be accessed because its existence has been denied. The continued denial of this knowledge has made it invisible from a Western standpoint. Often when the knowledge has been glimpsed it has been within a Western framework and the knowledge has been compromised.

This thesis can be summed up in eight points:

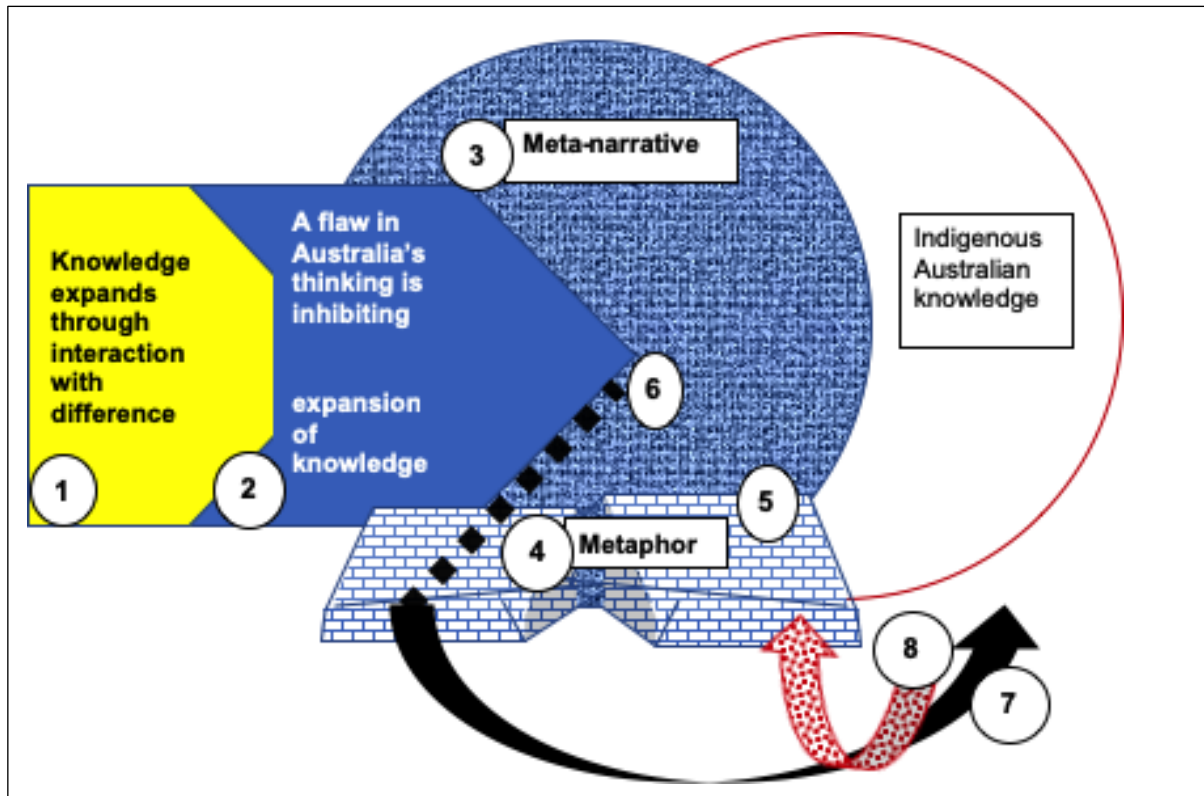
1. Knowledge expands through interaction with difference.
2. A flaw in Australia's thinking is inhibiting expansion of knowledge.
3. There is a meta-narrative negating the value of Indigenous knowledge,
4. Buttressed by a metaphor based on "science fiction" (Langton, 1998, p. 9).
5. Australia needs to deconstruct the meta-narrative and construct a new metaphor.
6. It is those with "Progressive inertia" who need to act to unlock this potential.
7. This can be done by accessing Indigenous Australian knowledge, and
8. Reconstructing the metaphor so that Australian society can see Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as equals with valuable knowledge.

These eight points can be portrayed as a flow chart around the original conceptual framework (see Figure 3.1) and depicted in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 shows Indigenous Australian knowledge is predominantly unknown to non-Indigenous Australians (invisible except for red border); thus, it is depicted in the figure without texture. The presumption that '1) knowledge expands through interaction with

difference' runs into '2) a flaw in Australia's thinking which is inhibiting the expansion of knowledge'.

**Figure 6.1 Conceptual framework with answers**



Preventing the view of Indigenous Australian knowledge from a Western standpoint is the encircled meta-narrative depicted by the first textured circle and labelled '**3) Meta-narrative**'. This research has identified some of the substance of this meta-narrative that is buttressed by '**4) Metaphor**'. To resolve this situation Australian society needs to **5)** deconstruct the meta-narrative and construct a new metaphor so that humanity can learn from Australia's First Nations peoples. To achieve this transition, it is those people who can see the value in Indigenous knowledge, that is the Progressive inertia group, named simply as **6)** who need to move along the ill-defined, personal path, represented by a dotted line, to a position outside the influence of the current Meta-narrative. From there, this group can move along **7)** the black arrow, around the wall representing metaphor by accessing Indigenous Australian knowledge. Having done that, they can join Indigenous people, depicted by the red textured arrow numbered **8)**, in reconstructing a metaphor for Australian identity, which will enable more people to view this knowledge.

Finally, to return to the three foresight theories (see Section 3.4) being utilised in this thesis: Integral Theory (with AQAL model), CLA and Indigenous Australian knowledge as predictor of the future.

The foresight theory implicit in CLA is reflected in Figure 6.1 in that the layers of story, from surface discourse to metaphor, involved in obscuring Indigenous Australian knowledge are being investigated and challenged. The metaphor is depicted in Figure 6.1 as buttressing the meta-narrative hindering perception from a Western standpoint. People are being asked to take a different view, think about and adjust the metaphor that drives their behaviour toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their knowledge. This theory posits that as individuals begin to recognise the ways in which the national meta-narrative and metaphor impact on their thoughts, attitudes and behaviour, they will challenge the metaphor in their own hearts and minds. This action will change the future because it is the current metaphor that is upholding the meta-narrative that inhibits interest in, and affects behaviour toward, Indigenous Australian knowledge and its potential market. The need to engage with this deep level of metaphor is explained by Wildman (2002) as he describes the reasons for why the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody' recommendations have not been implemented; the foundational story has not been changed.

Integral Futures posits a predictability in the way that ideas move iteratively throughout the four quadrants (see Figure 2.3). Expanding one's personal worldview (see ULQ in Figure 2.3) impacts directly on the worldview of the collective culture to which one belongs. This creates an iterative impact triggering change, that is, culture (LLQ) stimulates individuals to act and individuals stimulate the collective culture. Equally, the changed worldview that takes place in the cultural realm (LLQ) affects the systems and structures within the society to which an individual belongs (LRQ). The more that changes in worldviews change cultural attitudes and intensions (LLQ), the more the society (LRQ) works to increase opportunities for those intentions of the culture. This can be seen in the history of philosophy and sociology. Integral Theory also posits that the work one does in the ULQ will impact on the URQ, in terms of visible behaviour and physical changes. The intensions of individuals (ULQ) affect their culture (LLQ) as well as individual behaviours (URQ), and the intensions of cultural attitudes (LLQ) affect societal behaviours (LRQ). This is reflected in the theory behind Figure 6.1 in that; the individuals at '6)' will have an influence on their culture leading others to follow in learning from First Nations peoples. Theoretically, this in turn will have an impact on society as the proportion learning from Indigenous people expands and those people work to change the national meta-narrative and metaphor.

Literacy of the land is a short label being used here to describe the knowledge about Australia known to First Nations peoples in relation to the health of the whole environment, including the knowledge of how to maintain that health for generations to come. This twofold foresight strategy is also employed by environmental scientists to monitor the land in relation

to the effects of climate change and to educate people so that the population can reduce the human impact of climate change.

## **6.2 Contribution to research**

Racist attitudes toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have been explored in previous research. The value of Indigenous children being taught their own culture in unison with Western knowledge has been researched and documented. Environmental scientists are documenting not only the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge but the difficulty that Western trained scientists have in recognising such knowledge. This study adds to literature on the role of non-Indigenous thinking and behaviour in relation to the status of Indigenous people in Australia; how the attitudes of non-Indigenous peoples' impact on their own, and societal, understanding of Indigenous Australian knowledge. It explores the way that a racist meta-narrative is evident in the most progressive thinking Australians.

This study reveals a deep-seated relationship and causal affect between the attitudes of non-Indigenous, mainstream Australian society and the statistics that are reported on each year since 2007, in the *Closing the Gap* Report. In doing so it illuminates the need for further research and policy exploration in relation to the way that these attitudes continue to sit within the pool from which personnel are sourced for any work at the interface between non-Indigenous and Indigenous people. The mainstream Australian public is significantly ignorant of Indigenous Australian knowledge and they, along with some recent immigrants, are the source of personnel for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander schools, health services, university education, banks, insurance, construction, infrastructure works, store supply chains, government roles at social services, policy, advising and roles in Aboriginal communities.

Two of the participants (one male and one female) who had shed tears during the second part of the first interview are people who work closely with First Nations peoples in Australia on very different projects. They cried as they conveyed the magnitude of the problem they live with every day. The reason for the tears seems to be empathy for the pain and suffering experienced by the Aboriginal people with whom they work today, and the fact that this suffering comes as a direct result of the ignorance of non-Indigenous Australians. What happened 200 years ago is just part of the context.

The other contribution that this study makes to research is in the methodological approach, utilising Integral Theory, Theory U, Causal Layered Analysis and Participatory Action Research. The data is rich and useful as a result of the use of these approaches for Complexity Theory, Conflict Theory and strategic foresight. As such, it is a process that is



recommended for subsequent work. Twelve (i.e. 46%) of the participants provided specific comments on the value of the Participatory Action Research process that was used.<sup>20</sup>

### 6.3 Limitations

Scientific investigation through quantitative and qualitative research methodologies are equally valid (Queirós, 2017). The “qualitative methodology intends to understand a complex reality and the meaning of actions in a given context...Both methodologies offer a set of methods, potentialities and limitations that must be explored and known by researchers” (Queirós, 2017, p. 369). However, “practitioners of quantitative investigations...have looked upon qualitative inquiry as less rigorous or objective, less generalizable, and hence less meritorious” (Lakshman, Sinha, Biswas, Charles, & Arora, 2000, p. 371), rendering the results of qualitative research subject to criticism in ways which quantitative studies do not necessarily attract. Lakshman et al. (2000, p. 372) point out that “Qualitative methods supplement and complement the understandings revealed by quantitative methods and are also a fertile source of hypotheses for future inquiries of both types”. To provide a foundation for the results of this research to warrant further attention it is important to recognise the limitations of this work.

As illustrated in the conceptual framework and substantiated in the literature review, there is an issue related to the inability of non-Indigenous Australians to see Indigenous Australian knowledge, which hinders the potential market for such knowledge. The intention in this study was to conduct two interviews with non-Indigenous people in order to gain understanding of their attitudes toward Indigenous Australian knowledge and for them to also conduct a self-reflection on this issue. In this way, the study aimed towards bringing to the surface and analysing the attitudes of these participant individuals in an attempt to comprehend what is hindering the view of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Lakshman et al. (2000, p. 373) describe the process of “deliberately selecting individuals” as valid when seeking “in-depth knowledge of a particular issue”. A certain amount of subjectivity on the part of the researcher was an anticipated perspective which was deemed necessary for critical reflection on one’s own culture. This had to be held in balance with understanding how racism surfaces within oneself. How effective such subjectivity was successfully held in balance is for the reader to appraise.

This study has only accessed the perspectives of 26 participants, which is a very small sample of the Australian public, and only at a particular time in their lives. Narrowness of the

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<sup>20</sup> The reflections of Fred are described in Section 4.3.5 while the other eleven responses are listed in Appendix 22.

spectrum of participants is indicated through the invitation for only senior managers in business, finance or economics and the fact that they were only sourced from organisations that have Reconciliation Action Plans. It is recognised that the proportion of participants who had engaged with Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander peoples is significantly higher than the average Australian citizen. It is also recognised that the narrow income and ethnicity of participants limits this study, making it less generalisable to a population. What is not noted in the participant characteristics discussed in Section 3.8.2 is that five participants had a rural up-bringing. These experiences have a bearing on their perspective and therefore the representation both enrich and limit the study.

The Research Questions are limited due to the fact that the field of study is so large and the quantity of researched information available is so small. The first research question would have been sufficient in terms of a manageable data size; however, it would have been irresponsible to discuss an increase in demand without due consideration to what is taking place in the market, impacting supply.

Methods that stem from an aspirational point of view can be fraught with excessive optimism. Both of the methods used, Theory U and Focused Conversation, come from aspirational and inspirational perspectives. Scharmer and The Institute of Cultural Affairs, originators of these methods write only of the great things to come with no real consideration of the limitations of their methods. This limitation is doubled when the researcher is also full of love for her participants, humanity and inspiration regarding how the world could change. This creates other blind-spots for the research. However, given that so much research is conducted from a less hopeful, more sceptical perspective, perhaps this bias provides some balance to the field of study. Hope in academia, particularly when addressing wicked problems is as necessary as maintaining a firm grasp of reality. Both of these methods also require a certain level of skill, in which the researcher has been trained. This is a potential limitation for replication of the research.

Only the perception of the researcher was utilised to decipher meaning from the data. Other researchers would produce other interpretations of the findings. The limited capacity of this research to measure participant narratives and attitudes against the opinions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples appears, to the researcher, as the biggest limitation. In the original design (Appendix 1) it was hoped that an Indigenous Reference Group would be able to provide such feedback. It is understandable why that was not possible within this study. Such feedback would provide an Indigenous perspective on the attitudes of those interviewed. Judgements regarding the input of the participants was only measured against perceptions of Indigenous people as they were interpreted (by the one researcher's limited understanding) through reading Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander authors. It is hoped that

such feedback will be provided to the broader academy through First Nations scholars engaging in a critique of the study.

The use of CLA for solo analysis has significant limitations in that subjective opinions are used to determine which level of thought and level of society is involved in the narrative being heard. As such the benefits to using CLA are much more bountiful if undertaken by a group of people, who will all have different perspectives, even if similarly aligned. As Scharmer (2018) points out, the benefits from CLA are really in the consideration and discussion involved. A limitation to the method is the time involved in engaging larger numbers of people to undertake such analysis. However, the construction of a valid national identity where First Nations peoples and their knowledge are valued will take time. If decolonisation takes ten years, researchers could also ask where the nation will be in ten years-time if such a reconstruction of national narrative does not take place.

#### **6.4 Unanticipated learning**

The way that the thesis now reads it could be perceived that everything in this study was anticipated. This is not the case. Critical Race Theory was utilised because it was anticipated that racist meta-narrative underpinned debilitating metaphors. The researcher anticipated that the meta-narrative would be found in people who had little interest in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. While RAP organisations were targeted for participants, it was expected that such organisations would contain significant numbers of people who were not in accord with their organisation's RAP. To access such attitudes three strategies were proposed. Firstly, positions in economics, business and finance to be selected as less likely to hold RAP concerns due to being less closely related to the humanities. Secondly, contact to be made through the RAP committee with a phrase in the invitation letter requesting that the contact choose three people who they would like to reflect on the organisation's RAP. Thirdly, invitation letter to have another specific line asking to be directed to people who showed little interest in the RAP. Neither of these last two strategies even got to the Ethics Committee as the supervisors deemed them to be unethical. The invitation had to be completely neutral, with encouragement to ignore the request, and with a reassurance of no possible ramifications and a heavy emphasis on no knowledge by any contact in the organisation, of the potential participant's response to the request. As a result of this process it was impossible to tell how many organisations forwarded the request to three potential participants as the researcher only heard from the 26 who responded positively. Consequently, the participants are all people who are interested in Indigenous people and their knowledge. This led to a much narrower spectrum of opinions, but more nuanced responses. It also provided reflections from the interviews that were comparable to

the researcher's own views, thus, leading to more reflection on 'the self' rather than 'the other'.

There was an anticipation that the racist meta-narratives (the problem) would only show up 'over there' in other types of non-Indigenous peoples rather than people like myself, who are verbally supportive of First Nations peoples. The finding that the racist meta-narratives and metaphors were audible among these pro-Indigenous, progressive thinking people was unexpected. There had been an attitude, on the part of the researcher, that the problem lay 'over there' with those people rather than 'over here' with myself and my peers.

Secondly, having read about decolonisation it was anticipated that individuals within Australian society would need to decolonise their minds as a part of the process of making Indigenous Australian knowledge visible. However, the research was dependant on Grounded Theory for surfacing clues to how that could happen. This took place when many of the participants described segments of Australian society in relation to attitudes. It became obvious that while these participants were vocal about wanting to see the advancement of Indigenous people and their knowledge, most had done little to arm themselves with reasons to support such advancement. There had been an attitude, on the part of the researcher (and evident in the participants), that work needed to be done on decolonising the thinking of a 'middle section' (Sizer's estimated 60%) of the Australian population. There was an assumption that there is no need to do more work on the supportive people as they already 'know enough' to agree with Indigenous advancement. A big learning was that if the people who think of themselves as progressive became active in learning more themselves, progress could take place. This discovery has implications for government policy, which was not anticipated.

Thirdly, the researcher had previously agreed with the assumptions made by Wilber (2001b) and Esbjorn-Hargens and Zimmerman (2011) regarding the expansion of human consciousness, at least in relation to Western culture and society. The AQAL model depicts concentric circles connecting all four quadrants in a predictable journey of human consciousness that begins in the ULQ, which then pushes the LLQ, URQ and LRQ to advance to a higher level also. The theory uses colours to identify specific levels of consciousness and likens the journey to climbing a mountain. As the journey up a mountain progresses the traveller is privy to a larger and larger view of the complexity that surrounds them. It seemed to the researcher that if this was an accurate depiction of the progress of humankind then perhaps the ability to appreciate Indigenous Australian knowledge was dependent on this expansion of consciousness. However, it was not until attempts were made to express this connection in writing, met with repeated "so what?" from the principal supervisor, that the researcher recognised limited value in connecting the transformation of

Australian society (into one that values Indigenous Australian knowledge) to expanding levels of human consciousness. Furthermore, the concept of expanding human consciousness through these predictable levels has created a theoretical hierarchy that is largely debated by futurists (Zimmerman, 2003) and, what is worse, some people have positioned Aboriginal peoples at the lowest end of this spectrum of consciousness. The researcher's view is that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, in understanding the complexity and holistic nature of life on Earth, demonstrate a higher level of consciousness, placing them at the highest end of this proposed spectrum. However, it is not necessary to discuss this spectrum, firstly because its claims appear dubious to many and secondly, because embedded in the theory is the invisibility of the 'higher levels' from the perspective of the 'lower levels' of consciousness. Thus, the theory provides uncertain motivation for people to work at changing their worldview. Whereas, CLA can provide a much clearer, and recognisable depiction of what is needed for Australians to transform their story about Indigenous Australian knowledge; the portrayal of metaphors or worldviews, described through CLA can provide a pull factor toward a possible future.

## **6.5 Implications for future research**

CLA is often used as a workshop method and could be gainfully employed to engage participants in the construction of a new national metaphor. This could be organised and paid for through RAP organisations. Social and economic progress has been noted through organisations that have a RAP. However, scepticism regarding the progress is likely to increase as a result of Rio Tinto's recent action (Wahlquist, 2019). Reconciliation Australia revoked its endorsement of Rio Tinto's Elevate (highest level) RAP and suspended the company from the program on 9 June 2020 after the mining company destroyed a 46,000-year-old heritage site of the Puutu Kunti Kurama and Pinikura (PKKP) peoples in "a breathtaking breach of a respectful relationship" (Mundine, 2020).

Further research is needed on how the attitudes of non-Indigenous peoples' impact on the lives of Indigenous people in Australia. Current Australian Government approaches pay little heed to mitigating the influence of these attitudes. The Morrison Government has committed \$10.8 million over the next three years to the work of Reconciliation Australia (Wyatt, 2020). The Federal Government commitment in 2013 was \$14.4 million over four years (Armstrong, 2013), which is the same annual budget of \$3.6 million.

There is much more, rich data available in the participant's responses (provided in the Appendices) to be mined for further meaning. One of those sources is Appendix 21 containing all of the ideas. However, it must be remembered that the originators of this

brainstorm are only marginally informed non-Indigenous peoples. Thus, the selection of worthwhile ideas, or the use of the brainstorm to build better ideas, should be considered and arranged by First Nations peoples who could advise Australian governments and other organisations on what ideas they believe could be utilised.

Other data generated in this study and retained (within the guidelines of ethical procedure) could be mined for further analysis. Rich data is contained in:

- Appendix 14: Participant Quotations - Awareness of Indigenous knowledge
- Appendix 15: Participant Quotations – Barriers to seeing
- Appendix 16: Participant Quotations – with Artworks selected
- Appendix 17: Participant Quotations - Preferred Futures
- Appendix 18: Participant Quotations - Exploitation in the market place
- Appendix 19: Participant Quotations - Consequences of exploitation
- Appendix 20: Participant Quotations - Purpose of Indigenous knowledge

Direct consequences of non-Indigenous peoples' attitudes and behaviour on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples can be seen in market behaviour as witnessed by participants and illustrated in the *Report on the impact of inauthentic art and craft in the style of First Nations peoples* (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Indigenous Affairs, 2018). However, much more research could be done in this area to understand better the negative impact of paternalistic attitudes toward First Nations peoples. Alternatively or congruently, research that examines positive outcomes of work done in an atmosphere of respect and mutual learning – such as the development of Song Spirals (Gay'Wu Group of Women, 2019) – would be greatly beneficial.

The causal link between the attitudes of mainstream, non-Indigenous Australians and the suffering of Indigenous people appears obvious to some of the participants who are working directly with and at the direction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This causal link needs further exploration. Further research needs to be conducted to establish the proposition of this study: In order to raise the status of First Nations peoples in Australia, it is the Australian public who need to be educated. That is where the problem resides.

The advantages of opening new pathways in the human brain that provide connection to reading the environment (as one example of Indigenous knowledge) are not yet known and therefore require research. That is, proof of the benefits to the human brain, and therefore human futures, from learning Indigenous Australian knowledge and becoming completely bi-cultural is something that will require neuro-scientific research. It is unlikely that First Nations peoples would trust Western science with this type of exploration, given historical experiences, however, perhaps First Nations peoples will conduct their own research in this field.

## 6.6 Implications for current practice

Interface between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Australia take place in a range of fields of practice; education, health, mining, reconciliation, insurance, banking, etc. This research argues that none of those interactions can be beneficial to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples until (and unless) the level of awareness by non-Indigenous peoples of Indigenous Australian knowledge is raised significantly across the population. The high level of ignorance multiplies the statistics that are measured and reported on each year in the *Closing the Gap* annual reports. There is an iterative relationship between government policy and knowledge about First Nations peoples within Australian society. Government policy does not stem from thin air, it comes from education, years of leadership, research (as mentioned above), and consensus building. Evidence in the literature review illustrates that Australian society has been led away from Indigenous knowledge toward a colonial fantasy for generations, and the intention to do so continues (Maddison, 2019).

Actions to raise the levels of knowledge of the Australian public will most significantly take place by way of individuals within Australian society. However, such action needs to be deeper and more profound than the *Walk of Reconciliation* across the Sydney Harbour Bridge which occurred on 28 May 2000 following the Corroboree 2000 speech the night before by the Prime Minister, John Howard, which showed he "...was out of step with public sentiment, or at least that many of those who supported reconciliation were willing to make an effort to show it" (National Museum Australia, n.d.). Individuals who think of themselves as supportive of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, culture and knowledge need to do more to lift their own threshold of knowledge. General knowledge across Australia needs to include how to read nature, not just literacy and numeracy but a 'literacy of the land' as taught by First Nations peoples for generations.

For the purpose of further direction from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (as one of the participants stated she needed) and being able to fit such education within busy lives (as stated by another participant) two more appendices are offered:

- some initial resources: documentaries; social media; books; tours run by First Nations peoples (Appendix 24), to populate
- a schema for planning your own personal learning in busy lives (Appendix 23).

It is hoped that by sharing these appendices with all of the (162) RAP organisations that were contacted for participants for this research, these ideas for learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples will spread, multiply and stimulate the imagination for greater learning. Policy to support such learning has been suggested by participants as reported in

Section 5.7.2, and need to be considered by Aboriginal and Torres Strait peoples prior to recommending to governments.

While this research was not focussed on creating top-down policy there are strategies that could be employed by federal and state governments to alter the business environment for Indigenous Australian knowledge-based businesses. Hitherto Australian policies have done much to undermine Indigenous knowledge and therefore its potential market. By adopting a policy of learning from First Nations peoples the market for this knowledge could be opened up. For example, the Federal, NSW and Victorian government departments responsible for industry (Department of Industry, Science, Energy and Resources; Department of Treasury; Department of Jobs, Precincts and Regions) all have programs to support Aboriginal and Torres Strait businesses through learning Western knowledge. They could all extend their strategies to work with existing (or new) First Nations organisations, businesses and individuals that are promoting Indigenous knowledge. There are already programs and businesses that support the teaching of Indigenous knowledge such as: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), Kaiela Institute and Dja Dja Wurrung Enterprises. However, none of these initiatives are linked to market failure, National Innovation Systems or business strategies to raise the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge across the general public within those states or federally. It may be assumed that such programs are the purview of departments responsible for education, social justice or social welfare. This thesis posits that it is within the remit of all economic departments to strengthen demand for and support the supply of Indigenous Australian knowledge.

Business education in Australia could be extended to include a unit on the ethics of working with First Nations businesses. Such a unit would include case studies of successful Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander enterprises, the limits of existing laws to protect the IP of such businesses, ethical partnerships, as well as examples of corrupt behaviours that have taken place which diminish returns to First Nations businesses and compromise the knowledge.

## **6.7 Concluding note**

Australia's current trajectory appears to continue to ignore knowledge that was developed over millennia by modern humans living independently from Western influences. Yet, participant data also indicates a possible alternative direction for Australian futures, one that individuals can instigate. Self-reflection is raised in this study as a most important strategy for everyone in eliminating colonial thinking that has obscured Indigenous Australian knowledge from the view of most non-Indigenous Australians. In this light, the researcher



includes an epilogue of her own self-reflection in the context of her own prologue that raised the problem of non-Indigenous people who have inhabited and intervened in this land for nearly 250 years without understanding systems of management established by Indigenous people for thousands of years.

## Epilogue

*Reconciliation is about a personal journey, a matter of the heart (Patrick Dodson, 2004)*

The day that eight Pitjantjatjara women and I went to harvest kaltu kaltu (seed ground for flour) was over 45 Celsius in about January 1988. Despite starting to collect ladies at 8am, by the time all the grandchildren were organised and everyone had all their equipment we left around 10am and arrived at the kaltu kaltu seeds at noon. After collecting the seed, the 50 year old women treated it in the heat of a fire, after which they utilised their wooden bowls to winnow it. Then they placed it in a purpose dug circular hole in hard sand, resembling in size and shape a 20-centimetre-deep saucepan; it was the diameter of a woman's two feet. Then they took turns grinding the seed with their feet using a twisting motion, after which they each jumped off laughing about how hot it was. All day they laughed, delighting in each of these activities being "just like our grandmothers". We arrived home at dusk. There was so much knowledge exhibited by the Pitjantjatjara women who led the kaltu kaltu expedition that day and this knowledge is evident in a painting that I purchased in 2019 by Warlpiri artist, Janet Long-Nakamarra from the Tanami Desert region. Long-Nakamarra's stunning picture depicts a starry night sky reflected in four streams distributed across the landscape which includes plants with seeds, landmarks and implements for harvesting.

Never before in Australian history have non-Indigenous people had so much access to First Nations' knowledge. Yet it has taken me so long to realise that *I am*, we are the market for Indigenous Australian knowledge.

It is easier to recognise racism at a distance than it is to see it within ourselves and personal reflections need encouragement. Last year a few friends were having dinner at the home of someone that two of us had not met before. The next day, I commented to my close friend, "[the host] made a lot of racist comments." My friend's response was, "Of course, she is a White South African." I asked her why she thought that she could so easily claim that all South Africans are racist and my friend explained that it was because of their history of apartheid. I went on to ask, "How can you make that judgement and not draw the same conclusion about Australians and reflect on your own views of Australia's Indigenous people?" Given the history of colonisation in Australia surely it is obvious that our perceptions of First Nations peoples are distorted.

A Black Lives Matter placard (posted on Facebook by Patricia Campagna on 9 June 2020) reads "Treat Racism like Covid-19: 1) Assume you have it; 2) Listen to experts about it; 3) Don't spread it; and 4) Be willing to change your life to end it." The fact that the rectification of racism takes place within the individual is another similarity between racism and COVID-19. Norman Swan explained on ABC News Breakfast (4 August 2020) that the idea behind

prohibiting movement of people is that those who have the disease will stay at home until *it disappears*. He was emphasising the need to stay home so that the disease has no opportunity to spread between humans so he did not go on to explain how *the disease disappears*. It is the immune system within the individual person (URQ) who has the disease that kills off the disease. (This is also true after a vaccine is utilised; it is the immune system within each individual human that attacks the disease.) Point 5 on the placard referred to above should read, 'nourish your inner strength to fight it from within'. It is the individual who has to fight off racism, beginning with our own thoughts and feelings (ULQ).

This epilogue utilises CLA mapping in conjunction with the top two AQAL quadrants (Figure 2.3) to reflect on my own long progression toward valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge. Starting the year of my beginning to live on the APY Lands and concluding at the time of writing, Table E.1, URQ maps my behaviour/language and Table E.2, ULQ, maps my thinking.

It is embarrassing to recollect some of the things I said and thought or even contemplated as being accurate back in 1984. These examples of colonial thinking, typical of the categories of "Don't know" and "Know little", are exhibited in the top left boxes of Table E1 and Table E2. I identify strongly with all of the participants and the colonialist thinking that I have criticised in Chapter 5 as I have experienced all or similar shards of the colonial narrative. For the first year on the APY lands, I was lucky to live next door to a now well-known historian who, on hearing me use the Pitjantjatjara expression "apa-katja" and the English term "part Aboriginal", kindly explained that the first term was an adaptation of the English "half cast" and pointed out how hurtful and wrong it is to use any terms that refer to Aboriginality in fractions. Gradually I have learnt and continue to learn about my own blind-spots to recognising the value of Indigenous Australian knowledge. These have been created by my own unconscious acceptance of colonialism, racism and gaps in my knowledge. The limitations in thinking that are evident in the participants in this study are examples of the way that my own "Progressive inertia" continually needs to be challenged.

I empathise with the two participants who shed tears as they conveyed the magnitude of suffering that they see experienced by Indigenous people today. I felt the same way; seeing the consequences of widespread, mainstream Australian ignorance on the lives of Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people. It is now my belief that we (Australia) can change the situation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples by changing the nation's/our attitudes. It took me almost 30 years (1989-2016) to come up with an approach to highlight this issue; that "the Indigenous problem" is in fact a "non-Indigenous problem".

**Table E.1 Behaviour on my journey to valuing Indigenous knowledge**

URQ	1984	2020
Litany	<p>Went to live on the APY lands. Using “part-Aboriginal” as a descriptor for some Aboriginal people; ignorant of why the term is so inappropriate and hurtful. Heard and considered someone’s statement “these people are primitive” as potentially correct. Ignorant of: how much First Nations’ knowledge is maintained; significant truths about Australia’s history; systemic racism and my contribution to it.</p>	<p>Appreciating that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have many cultures and a lot of knowledge, which has been maintained and varies between different peoples.</p> <p>Know that First Nations peoples have always respected knowledge from different geographical areas, language groups and different genders.</p>
Systems	<p>Appreciated listening to Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara peoples but didn’t appreciate the opportunity to learn from so many other First Nations peoples who worked on/over the APY Lands.</p> <p>Undertook a degree in Adult &amp; Community Education in response to self-determined leaders’ requests for western knowledge.</p>	<p>Know that First Nations peoples’ knowledge has been excluded, compromised and subjugated to Western knowledge institutions in Australia.</p> <p>Doing a Masters in Management; Strategic Foresight led to realising that research could contribute to policy change. Designed PhD to focus on the problem of non-Indigenous peoples’ attitudes.</p>
Worldview	<p>Western education empowers Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through opportunities to be involved through Western decision-making processes.</p>	<p>Listening to and learning from all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is the most important work that non-Indigenous people can do to advance social justice in Australia and care for the planet.</p> <p>As directed by First Nations people, all three aspects of the Uluru Statement are needed to advance social justice in Australia: Voice; Treaty; Truth.</p>
Metaphor	<p>Pina Pati (closed ears) oblivious to detail and depth in the environment and Indigenous Australian knowledge.</p>	<p>Listening at the feet of First Nations’ peoples; learning from elders, knowledge custodians, and lived experiences.</p>

**Table E.2 Thoughts on my journey to valuing Indigenous knowledge**

ULQ	1984	1994	2015	2020
Litany	For Aboriginal people to be able to fully participate in Australian society they need Western knowledge.	First Nations peoples developed knowledge that non-Indigenous peoples have not developed and seem unable to see. Indigenous knowledge is now being taught. Things are getting better. I am already on the side of A&TSI, what can I do?	If only we could get rid of the racism in Australia, Indigenous Australian knowledge would be recognised.  Perhaps I could tease out the racist narratives that blind the public from seeing Indigenous Australian knowledge.	For non-Indigenous peoples to be able to maintain the vital elements for life in this country they/we need Indigenous Australian knowledge. All Australians need to achieve a complete bi-cultural capacity.
Systems	Aboriginal leaders are requesting literacy and numeracy in work roles such as community management.  Self-determination means participating in Western structures.	First Nations peoples managed the Australian environment; land, fire, water systems & economy for over 50,000 years.  Systemic racism is evident. There is a constant negative narrative about Aboriginal peoples.	A significant challenge underlying the disadvantage of Indigenous people is that mainstream Australia does not recognise, understand or appreciate Indigenous Australian knowledge and culture. It is from this pool that all jobs in Aboriginal Affairs are filled.	It is me and my cohort of Australian people who need to listen to and learn from First Nations peoples. We need to rid ourselves of colonial narratives. Listening to and learning from First Nations peoples will pave the way for others to do the same.
Worldview	Australian society would be improved through the participation of Aboriginal people; empowered they will be able to participate fully in Australian society.	No matter how proficient Anangu become at English, literacy, numeracy and management; self-determination will not be achieved until there is change in non-Indigenous attitudes.	Racist opinions are held by large numbers of other people in Australian society.  Research could help, on what is preventing progress toward learning Indigenous Australian knowledge.	The colonial narratives continue in all of us.  Earth provides elements for life. First Nations peoples have knowledge that assist humans to respect and maintain those elements.
Metaphor	Helper or part of the problem	Analyst	Strategist	Aspiring ally

I am responsible for my thoughts (ULQ) and actions (URQ) as an individual. I also feel (ULQ) that I am responsible for the behaviour of my collective society (LRQ). The attitudes of Australian society toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (LLQ) and the way these attitudes manifest in systems and structures (LRQ) that exist today are my responsibility as much as anyone else's. I need to work on decolonising my own thoughts (ULQ) if I am to have any ability to work (URQ) towards decolonising Australian society (LRQ). The fact that I arrived with my parents as ten-pound-poms in Australia in 1961 is not an excuse for avoiding responsibility for the past, present or possible futures of First Nations' peoples and their opportunities in this country, as it is the attitudes of all citizens that constitute the culture and determine the society of Australia. I was privileged in gaining access to opportunities through the assisted migration scheme at the expense of First Nations peoples. For me, accepting Australian citizenship includes accepting responsibility for our national identity, the meta-narratives and systems behind it and Australian futures.

The only authentic way for Indigenous Australian knowledge to be integrated into the modern economy, or Australian life, is by listening to and learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This requires non-Indigenous peoples becoming learners and promoting First Nations peoples as the teachers. First Nations peoples are developing their knowledge 'industry'. Australia could encourage this industry development on the terms of the First Nations custodians of the knowledge, with its Indigenous methods for credibility that are built into the Indigenous theories of knowledge. Attempts to integrate Indigenous Australian knowledge on Western terms are based on ignorance and racism and perpetuate the subjugation of First Nations peoples and their knowledge.

It seems that a standard practice to evade the accusation of naiveté, as implied in putting forward a perspective similar to that of philosopher Rousseau, is to offer criticism of Indigenous cultures. This researcher does not see a need to criticise Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander cultures as a means to denying naiveté. Suffice to say that I have not said or implied that First Nations peoples are perfect; I have said that Indigenous people have knowledge that Western society/we can learn. As a non-Indigenous person, it is not the role of the researcher to critique First Nations peoples, knowledge or culture. It is the role of this research to look within to the attitudes held by non-Indigenous peoples. On this I agree with the perspective offered by participant Noel and authors such as O'Tuama (2020) and Dodson (2004, May 25). Looking within for barriers is the opposite of looking critically at another culture. My bias in perspective is explicit and from it the reader can draw their own conclusions on its impact on the research and my thesis.

During the early stages of setting up my research project someone said to me that a PhD is not about making a statement but clearing one's throat. Doing this PhD has helped to clear my ears rather than my throat, enabled me to hear and see more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices. I hope that the thesis stimulates a similar process for its readers. Non-Indigenous Australians have been dispossessed of Indigenous Australian knowledge as explained by Gunditjmara Professor Mark Rose (2020, 1:09:00):

White dispossession; if you have gone through compulsory years and tertiary years of education in this country and you have never been linked to the cultural heritage of the land that you live on, you have been robbed, you have been dispossessed.

Each of us needs to examine our own thoughts and beliefs to identify the shards of meta-narrative that sit within. It is within ourselves that we need to challenge these attitudes if we are to decolonise Australian society and thereby provide an opportunity for Indigenous Australian knowledge to be heard, practiced, taught and learnt.

There is nothing satisfying about finding myself in a category of people fitting the description of "Progressive Inertia" as it is useless in relation to changing the status quo in Australia or valuing Indigenous Australian knowledge. As individual members of this group, and as a collective (no matter how big or small), all we represent is *potential* change. For change to take place we need to act; to listen and learn so that we can become allies to First Nations peoples in this country. With so much First Nations' knowledge now available, this is the time in the history of the Australian nation to access, pay for and appreciate it. There are so many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who are sharing their knowledge through books, academic papers, presentations, TED Talks, social media, tours, courses, programs and documentaries. As the group in Australian society that fit into this category of "Progressive Inertia", we are the market for Indigenous Australian knowledge.

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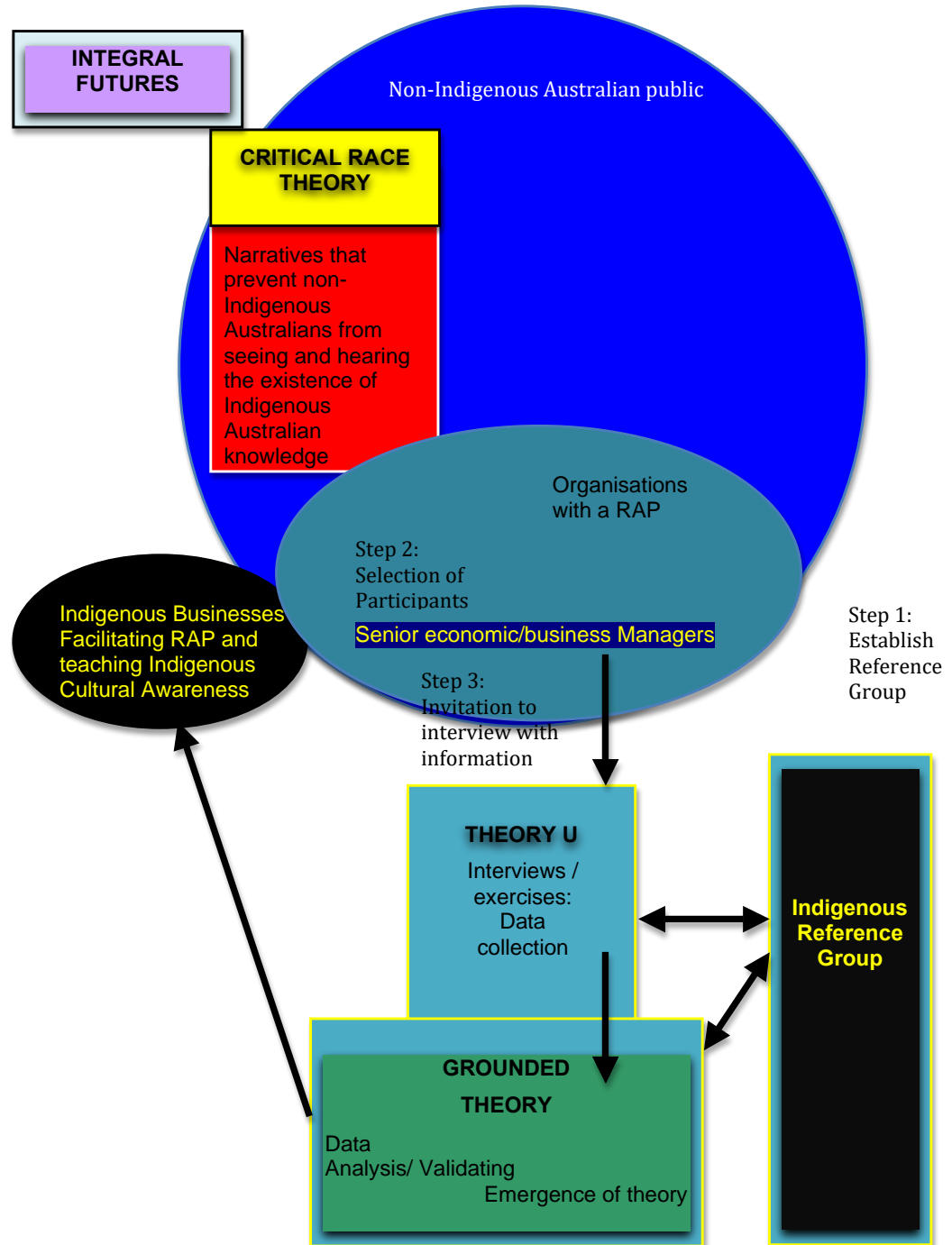


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## Appendix 1 – Original Research Design

Figure 3: Research Design



## Appendix 2 – Referral letter from Reconciliation Australia



02 6273 9200  
enquiries@reconciliation.org.au  
Old Parliament House, King George Terrace, Parkes ACT  
PO Box 4773, Kingston ACT 2604  
www.reconciliation.org.au

10 April 2018

**RE: Referral Letter from Reconciliation Australia supporting PhD candidate, Karen Newkirk**

Dear RAP Partner,

I write in relation to research being undertaken by PhD candidate, Karen Newkirk, through Federation University Australia. Under the supervision of Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos (Federation Business School), Dr. Jacqueline Tuck (Federation Business School), and Professor Dennis Foley (University of Canberra), Ms Newkirk's research seeks to understand how we can better integrate Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy.

Ms Newkirk's research may contribute to our understanding of the institutional integrity dimension of reconciliation. It aims to explore how Australians can improve their knowledge of Indigenous knowledge systems, and how these knowledge systems, if understood and integrated as appropriate, could benefit organisations and workplaces.

I encourage you to consider participating in Ms Newkirk's research, which may contribute towards our improved understanding of how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous businesses, organisations and individuals can work respectfully and effectively together.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Karen Mundine".

Karen Mundine  
Chief Executive Officer  
Reconciliation Australia



### Appendix 3 – Covering Email to the RAP Contact

Subject heading: **Assistance identifying potential participants for research related to A&TSI Reconciliation**

Dear XYZ,

My PhD study involves individuals within organisations that have a RAP. Thus, I am writing to request assistance from your organisation for this research being undertaken on perspectives of Indigenous Australian knowledge, under the supervision of Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos and Dr. Jacqueline Tuck of Federation Business School, and Professor Dennis Foley of (University of Canberra).

This research seeks to explore people's engagement with Indigenous Australian knowledge (i.e. knowledge accumulated over time from managing the Australian environment, its land, fire and water systems, and their economy for over 50,000 years). The research also seeks to develop an awareness of the demand for Indigenous Australian knowledge, in order that such demand can benefit Indigenous Australians in the first instance. A letter of referral from Reconciliation Australia is attached.

It is anticipated that this project will involve participants from 30 organisations, representing a cross-section of organisations with a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP). The aim is to interview one person from each organisation. Participants will be interviewed as individuals, on their views, not those of the organisation (which would also not be identified in the research). Further information on the project and what participation will involve for interviewees is provided in the attached Invitation to Participate (Plain Language Information Statement).

If your organisation is willing and able, could you please send me an email stating: "I can confirm that we are willing to assist by forwarding the 'Invitation to Participate' to two or three potential participants. A meeting room on our premises and during working hours can be arranged by the participant should you gain a volunteer."

For the confidentiality of the participants, we would ask that you identify two or three employees who meet the following criteria:

- is based in **(insert appropriate location)**,
- is in a senior financial, economic or business management position.
- Whether they have engaged with your organisation's RAP or not.

Then forward an email to the prospective participants with the attached Invitation to Participate (Plain Language Information Statement). For your convenience, here are some words that could be cut and pasted:

**Subject: Your potential participation in a research project on perspectives of Indigenous knowledge**

Karen Newkirk, a PhD student at Federation University Australia, has contacted me to request assistance in identifying two to three potential participants for a research project that she is conducting into perspectives on Indigenous Australian knowledge. Attached is the Invitation to Participate (Plain Language Information Statement) which provides details about the project and information about participating in the interviews. If you are willing to participate, could you please email Karen Newkirk ([karennewkirk@students.federation.edu.au](mailto:karennewkirk@students.federation.edu.au)) indicating your interest and your position in our organisation. Karen will then contact you directly.

Yours sincerely,

Karen

Attachments:

- 1) Reconciliation Australia referral letter
- 2) Invitation to participate (Plain Language Information Statement)

Karen Newkirk

0419 577 489

[karennewkirk@students.federation.edu.au](mailto:karennewkirk@students.federation.edu.au)

## Appendix 4 – Plain Language Information Statement

### FEDERATION BUSINESS SCHOOL

<b>PROJECT TITLE:</b>	<b>TRADING PLACES: INTEGRATING INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIAN KNOWLEDGE INTO THE MODERN ECONOMY</b>
<b>PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER:</b>	<b>ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR JERRY COURVISANOS</b>
<b>OTHER/STUDENT RESEARCHERS:</b>	<b>DR JACQUELINE TUCK</b> <b>PROFESSOR DENNIS FOLEY</b> <b>KAREN NEWKIRK, PHD CANDIDATE</b>

Dear Madam/Sir

You are invited to participate in this research project being undertaken as part of Karen Newkirk's PhD project on perspectives on Indigenous Australian knowledge, under the supervision of Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos and Dr Jacqueline Tuck of Federation Business School, and Professor Dennis Foley (University of Canberra).

This research seeks to explore people's engagement with Indigenous Australian knowledge (i.e. knowledge accumulated over time from managing the Australian environment, its land, fire and water systems, and their economy for over 50,000 years). The research also seeks to develop an awareness of the demand for Indigenous Australian knowledge, in order that such demand can benefit Indigenous Australians in the first instance.

Indigenous Australians are the most economically and socially disadvantaged people in Australia. Your organisation, like many others in Australia, has a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) which focuses on economic and social development, recognising and promoting the rights of Indigenous Australians, and inspiring leadership for reconciliation. While many organisations have a RAP there may be people within those organisations who have not engaged with the RAP.

Participation in this research is voluntary and involves consenting to two interviews, about three months apart, each taking approximately an hour of your time. The interviews would be audio recorded subject to your consent and conducted during work hours in a private room/office at your organisation. These interviews will provide an opportunity for you to engage with your organisation's RAP, and for the research to benefit from your economic, financial and/or business experience. The interviews are designed to discuss the barriers and opportunities for Indigenous Australian knowledge.

The **first interview** will consist of two activities. The first will take 20-30 minutes and involves making a sculpture to focus conversation about your own situation and your future

opportunities. The second 30 minutes will use an Indigenous art piece to focus conversation on your views of Indigenous Australian knowledge and future opportunities.

At the **second interview** you will be provided with a brief summary of the findings from the first round of interviews. The first part of the interview will focus on your responses to the summary and then it will turn to a hypothetical case study to focus discussion on the issues facing the market for Indigenous Australian knowledge and practical measures and policy actions that could protect the supply of Indigenous knowledge.

The researcher conducting the interviews is familiar with using the methods that will be used and has qualifications in Facilitation (an internationally recognised certificate in Technology of Participation), a Masters in Management (Strategic Foresight) and a Bachelor of Human Services (Adult and Community Education).

Your participation is voluntary and refusal to participate requires no explanation. You are able to withdraw at any time during or after the interviews. If consent is withdrawn after data has been aggregated and processed it will not be possible to withdraw any non-identifiable data, although consent can still be withdrawn. You are also free to choose not to answer questions during the interviews, without consequence. You will be invited at the end of the interviews to inform your organisation of your involvement in the research if you would like to. However, there is no requirement to do so. The researchers involved in this project will *not* inform the organisation of the name of the person/s who was interviewed, accepted or declined.

The benefit to yourself and your organisation from your participation will be the opportunity for you to reflect on your own views of Indigenous knowledge and on your organisation's RAP in relation to the future of Indigenous Australians.

There are no foreseeable risks for your participation, however, in the unlikely event that you experience any distress during or after the interviews, you can contact your organisation's employee assistance program or Lifeline – Tel. 13 11 14 or <https://www.lifeline.org.au>.

There will be an opportunity for you to request and review the transcript from your interviews and to withdraw or amend your answers to questions. The data you supply will remain confidential, will be stored securely, will only be accessed by the named researchers and will be disposed of by the principal researcher after a minimum period of five years.

The results of the research will be published in the form of a PhD thesis, and also used for conference presentations and other publications. They will not include information that identifies you or your organisation. Pseudonyms for participants will be used in the reporting of the research. A report will also be made available to all RAP organisations that were



approached for this research. Please note, data confidentiality is subject to legal limitations (e.g., subpoena, freedom of information claim, or mandatory reporting).

Yours sincerely,

Karen Newkirk

If you have any questions, or you would like further information regarding the project titled “Trading Places: Integrating Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy”, please contact the Principal Researcher, Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos of the Federation Business School:  
EMAIL: [j.courvisanos@federation.edu.au](mailto:j.courvisanos@federation.edu.au) PH: 03 5327 9417

Should you (i.e. the participant) have any concerns about the ethical conduct of this research project, please contact the Federation University Ethics Officers, Research Services, Federation University Australia,  
P O Box 663 Mt Helen Vic 3353 or Northways Rd, Churchill Vic 3842.  
Telephone: (03) 5327 9765, (03) 5122 6446  
Email: [research.ethics@federation.edu.au](mailto:research.ethics@federation.edu.au)  
CRICOS Provider Number 00103D

## Appendix 5 – Rationale for selection of 30 Organisations with a RAP (February 2018)

Evenly distributed across 3 major cities and 2 regional cities; within South Eastern Australia; a cross-section of government, private, education and community sectors: A list of 30 RAP organisations (with more than 10 staff). To Be Confirmed (All reliant on confirmation of availability of organisation in location).

Type / Locations	Government						Private		Community		TOTAL
	State: Econ	State: Social	Federal DEPT	Federal AGENCY	Local	Universities	Banks	Other Corporations	Not For Profit	Peak Bodies	
Sydney NSW		23			28	20		14/15	9	4	7
Canberra ACT			25	27			19	13	8	3	6
Melbourne Victoria			26		29		18	11	7	2	6
Albury NSW	30					21	17	12	5		5
Geelong Victoria	22	24					16	10	6	1	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>30</b>
	<b>11</b>						<b>10</b>			<b>9</b>	

(Note that during this initial search and projection there was an indication that there were more RAP organisations available in Sydney and less in regional areas.)

## Appendix 6 – RAP Organisations on RA website within nominated geography

**4 types:** **Reflect**; **Innovate**; **Stretch** & **Elevate**. Within South Eastern Australia: Melbourne, Regional Victoria, Regional NSW, Sydney & Canberra.  
Website data checked 1 Sept 2018 (data differed from “Rational for Selection of 30 RAP Organisations 3 Feb 2018”).

Note Regional Victoria and Regional NSW numbers did not warrant a separate count from their capital cities.

Type / Locations	Government			Education & Training	Private		Community			TOTAL
	State:	Federal	Local	Including Universities	Banks	Businesses/ Corporations	Not For P/NGO	Peak Bodies	Sport	
Sydney/ NSW	R: 0 I: 3 S: 2 E: 0		R: 0 I: 4 S: 1 E: 0	R: 1 I: 3 S: 1 E: 0	R: 0 I: 0 S: 0 E: 0	R: 6 I: 8 S: 1 E: 0	R: 3 I: 17 S: 4 E: 0	R: 1 I: 1 S: 0 E: 0	R: 1 I: 4 S: 1 E: 0	62
Canberra/ ACT	R: 0 I: 3 S: 2 E: 0		R: 0 I: 0 S: 0 E: 0	R: 0 I: 0 S: 2 E: 0	R: 0 I: 0 S: 0 E: 0	R: 1 I: 0 S: 0 E: 0	R: 2 I: 4 S: 1 E: 0	R: 1 I: 0 S: 0 E: 0	R: 1 I: 1 S: 0 E: 0	18
Melbourne/ Victoria	R: 1 I: 4 S: 0 E: 0		R: 1 (Reg) I: 6 S: 3 E: 0	R: 0 I: 3 S: 0 E: 2	R: 0 I: 0 S: 0 E: 0	R: 1 I: 2 S: 0 E: 0	R: 8 I: 11 S: 4 E: 0	R: 1 I: 1 S: 0 E: 0	R: 0 I: 1 S: 0 E: 1	50
National		R: 11 I: 18 S: 10 E: 0		R: 2 I: 2 S: 0 E: 0	R: 0 I: 0 S: 1 E: 3	R: 24 I: 37 S: 16 E: 9	R: 8 I: 13 S: 12 E: 0	R: 3 I: 9 S: 1 E: 0	R: 0 I: 2 S: 0 E: 0	181
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>311</b>
Total on RA website 1 Sept 2018 in regions	Reflect 77; Innovate 157; Stretch 62 & Elevate 15									311
Total on RA website 10 March 2019 in regions	Reflect 120; Innovate 270; Stretch 97 & Elevate 18									505

## Appendix 7 - Rationale for Targeting Sectors and Locations / Resulting Participants

Sectors / Locations	Government			Education & Training	Private		Community			Target/ total	Resulting Total
	State:	Federal	Local	Including Universities	Banks	businesses/ Corporations	Not For Profit	Peak Bodies	Sport		
Sydney NSW		103 104 118			116 122	101 / 106 119 120				9 of 13-15	12
Canberra ACT	113			115						2 of 2	2
Melbourne Victoria	107 109	105				117 121	114			6 of 13-14	10
Reg NSW						110	102			2	2
Reg Vic										0	0
TOTAL	3 / 3	5 / 5	2	1 / 2	2-3/ 4	9 / 8	3 / 8	1/3		21 / 30	26
	9-10			1-2	12		9-10			30/31	26

4 types: Reflect 4/7; Innovate 6/13; Stretch 7/6 & Elevate 2-3/3 (2xElevate is too small) = 19 @ 12 Sept 2018

RAP Organisations in LOCATIONS = 311; divided by Target 30 = 10.36. Each category divided by 10.36 used to estimate proportional targets per category. i.e.:

**Sydney & Regional NSW:  $62 / 10.36 = 5.98 / 6$  (+9 from national) = 15 / 11 @ 12 Sept 2018**

**Canberra  $18 / 10.36 = 1.73 = 2 / 2$  @ 12 Sept 2018**

**Melbourne & Regional Vic:  $50 / 10.36 = 4.82 / 5$  (+9 from national) = 14 / 6 @ 12 Sept 2018**

**(Chasing 30/31) with 19 @ 12 Sept 2018**

**National  $181 / 10.36 = 17.47 / 18$  @ 12 Sept 2018**

Coded numbers within the chart indicate participants to date.

More RAP organisations as well as more national organisations were based in Sydney.

## Appendix 8 – Summary of participant characteristics

Participants were all (depicted below in graphs) aged between 29 and 72; Australian residents including 5 immigrants (of South-East Asian, Pacific, European and North American heritage, no participants of North-East Asian heritage) ranging from 12 to 40 years in Australia; 13 females and 13 males; senior managers with qualifications and experience in finance (8), economics (6), business (16) and 1 other; came from these sectors: government (8), private (11), education (2) and community (5); and work in these industries: governance, insurance, education, finance, health, water, communications, politics, research, transport, law, engineering and social services. 16 people had worked or studied with Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people. 4 participants had been in the defence force officers (3 were officers).

### Gender

Female														
Male														

### Age

Average age = 45.23										
Age	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75

### Heritage

Heritage	European	European	Indian	Fijian/ Indian	Canadian
Migrant	Non-migrant	Immigrant	Immigrant	Immigrant	Immigrant
21					
20					
19					
18					
17					
16					
15					
14					
13					
12					
11					
10					
9					
8					
7					
6					
5					
4					
3					
2					
1					
	21	2	1	1	1

**Skill Set (Note some had 2-3 qualifications and experience)**

Skill Set	Financial	Economic	Business	Other
16				
15				
14				
13				
12				
11				
10				
9				
8				
7				
6				
5				
4				
3				
2				
1				Project Manager

**Sector of society:**

Sector	Private	Government	Community	Education
10				
9				
8		Federal		
7		Federal		
6		Federal		
5		Federal		
4		Federal		
3		State		
2		State		
1		State		

**Industry sector:**

Industry sector	1	2	3	4	5
Governance					
Finance					
Insurance					
Education					
Health					
Water					
Communications					
Research					
Transport					
Law					
Engineering					
Social Services					

**Seniority by job title:**

Job Title \ Number	Principal / Partner	Head/ Associate Vice President	Director / General & Senior Manager/ Deputy CEO	Senior or Manager in job title
11				Internat'l Corp
10				
9			Internat'l Corp	
8				
7				
6				
5				
4		Internat'l Corp		
3				
2	Internat'l Corp			
1	Internat'l Corp			

**Roles with Indigenous Relationship**

	No relationship	On RAP Committee	Role includes Indigenous focus	Role designated to Indigenous outcomes
15				
14				
13				
12				
11				
10				
9				
8				
7				
6				
5				
4				
3				
2				
1				

**Works/ed or studied with Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people:**

Works/ worked													
Studied with													
Has not													

**Pseudonyms:**

30 Pseudonyms created	26 Pseudonyms in use
4 gender neutral (Bobby, Kim, Quay & Zeb)	4 gender neutral (2F & 2M participants)
13 female names	11 female names (6 of whom are male)
13 male names	11 male names (6 of whom are female)

**Prominence/ Size of organisation from whence participants came:**

Prominence/ Staff Size	International Corporation	Australian organisation	State organisation	Regional organisation	No
80,000 or more					1
60,000 - 79,999					1
40,000 – 59,999					1
40,000 – 59,999					1
20,000 – 39,999					1
20,000 – 39,999					2
10,000 – 19,999					2
1,000 – 9,999					1
1,000 – 9,999					1
1,000 – 9,999					1
1,000 – 9,999					1
501 – 999					2
101 – 500					1
101 – 500					1
101 – 500					1
101 – 500					3
100 or less					2
100 or less					3
No	5	15	4	2	26

**Type of RAP in organisation from whence participants came**

[illegible]



## Appendix 9 – Participant Consent Form

### On Federation University Letter Head

<b>PROJECT TITLE:</b>	Trading Places: Integrating Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy.
<b>RESEARCHERS:</b>	Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos, Ms Karen Newkirk (PhD Student), Professor Dennis Foley and Dr Jacqueline Tuck.

<b>Code number allocated to the participant:</b>	
--	--

### Consent – Please complete the following information:

I \_\_\_\_\_ of  
\_\_\_\_\_ +

hereby consent to participate as a subject in the above research study.

The research program in which I am being asked to participate has been explained fully to me in writing, and any matters on which I have sought information have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that an audio recording of the interviews will be made and kept securely.

I am aware that in participating in this research, my input will become de-identified data for a PhD study and may be used to inform other research publications related to this research topic.

I understand that:

- All information I provide will be treated with the strictest confidence and data will be stored separately from any listing that includes my name and address.
- Aggregated results will be used for research purposes and may be reported in scientific and academic journals.
- I am free to withdraw my consent at any time during the study, in which event my participation in the research study will immediately cease and information/data obtained from it will not be used.
- I understand the exception to this is if I withdraw after information has been aggregated – such data is unable to be individually identified and separated - so from this point it is not possible to withdraw my information/data, although I may still withdraw my consent to participate.
- I understand that confidentiality of information offered is subject to legal limitations (e.g. subpoena, freedom of information claim, or mandatory reporting).

**SIGNATURE:** \_\_\_\_\_

**DATE:** \_\_\_\_\_.

## **Appendix 10 – Interview One: Two Theory U Exercises**

With the participant's permission the recorder will be turned on.

### ***Otto Scharmer Exercise – Personal sculpture four direction reflection***

Introduction:

This interview will take one hour. The first 20 to 30 minutes involves you creating a sculpture of your current situation and the emerging future possibilities of your life and work (using these small objects). This is not a psychological investigation. I am not a psychologist or a psychology student. The sculpture is just being used as a tool for encouraging you to talk about yourself. It comes from Otto Scharmer's work on Organisational Management. It is a warm-up for the second exercise which involves you choosing an Indigenous Australian art piece. The questions that I will ask you about the art piece mirror the questions in the first exercise. While the first questions are focused on you, the second set of questions are focussed on Indigenous Australian knowledge. I am not going to define 'Indigenous Australian knowledge' because the questions are only about your perceptions of 'Indigenous Australian knowledge', as a non-Indigenous member of Australian society today.

Choose items from the selection of pieces. (The pieces symbolise whatever meaning you project onto them.) Form a sculpture that represents your current situation and the emerging future possibilities of your work and life. Describe each step, as you do it, or when you are ready to talk about it. Complete your sculpture in 15 minutes.

We will establish where North, South, East and West are, and what 'East of' means. Then the interviewer will ask the participant/sculptor to explain what they are doing, listen deeply to their description and note their key points before asking the participant to:

"Stand to the East of the sculpture and, looking at the sculpture tell me, What do you love?"

Interviewer to wait for a response to each question. If asked about the question the interviewer's response will be – "Whatever the question means to you."

Interviewer to listen to the response, note and ask:

"What ignites your best energies? What other emotions come up? If this emotion could talk what would it say?" Interviewer to instruct the sculptor to stand to the South of the sculpture, stand opposite and ask:

"What are the key conflicts and hard truths that you are going to face going forward?"

Interviewer to instruct the participant/sculptor to stand to the West of the sculpture and ask:

“What is ending in this situation (wanting to die)?” Then: “What is *wanting to* emerging in this situation (wanting to be born)?”

Interviewer to instruct the participant/sculptor to stand to the North of the sculpture and ask:

“If this situation were designed for you to learn from, what might it be trying to teach you?”

Then:

“What is the deeper purpose or calling that you feel (currently)?”

Interviewer to instruct the sculptor to “Would you like to, change your sculpture such that it better represents the emerging future that you want to create.”

Interviewer to instruct the sculptor to “Capture the essential points that have come clear to you throughout this process.”

### ***Adapted Otto Scharmer Exercise – Selected artwork four direction reflection***

The interviewer will instruct the interviewee/participant to select an Indigenous art piece from three sources: (i) Artworks online

(<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2017/jan/18/confined-artwork-from-indigenous-prisoners-in-victoria-in-pictures>), within (ii) *Nganampa Kampatjangka Unngu* or (iii) carved red-gum pieces, saying:

“Choose a piece that you feel represents the current situation and the emerging future possibilities of Indigenous Australian knowledge. (The piece will be used as a focus for your own personal reflection on Indigenous Australian knowledge.) Complete your selection within 5 minutes.” Then the interviewer will ask:

“Describe why you chose this art piece.”

The interviewer is to listen deeply to the interviewee/participant as they explain and note the key points of what they are saying *and feedback these points to the interviewee, to ensure mutual understanding.*” Then the interviewer will instruct:

“Stand to the East of the art piece.” The interviewer will stand opposite and ask:

“How do you feel about this art piece?”

“What other emotions come up?”

“If this emotion could talk what would it say?”

Instruct the participant to stand to the South of the art piece, stand opposite and ask:

“What are the key conflicts and hard truths that Indigenous Australians are going to face going forward?”

“What are the key conflicts and hard truths about Indigenous Australian knowledge that Australians are going to face going forward?”

Interviewer to instruct the participant to stand to the West of the art piece, stand opposite and ask:

“What is ending in this situation (wanting to die; represented in the art piece selected)?”

“What is emerging (wanting to be born)?”

Interviewer to instruct the participant to stand to the North of the art piece, stand opposite and ask:

“If this art piece were designed for you to learn from, what might it be trying to teach you?”

“What do you feel that Indigenous Australians could teach you?”

“What purpose might Indigenous Australian knowledge have?”

“Is there another piece of artwork from the sources here that better represents the change that you would like to see for the future of Indigenous Australian knowledge?”

“What are the essential points that have come clear to you throughout this process of discussion of the/se art piece/s?”

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## Appendix 11 – Brief Summary of First Interviews

These are the results from the first set of interviews: Australia's journey toward embracing Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander culture & knowledge.

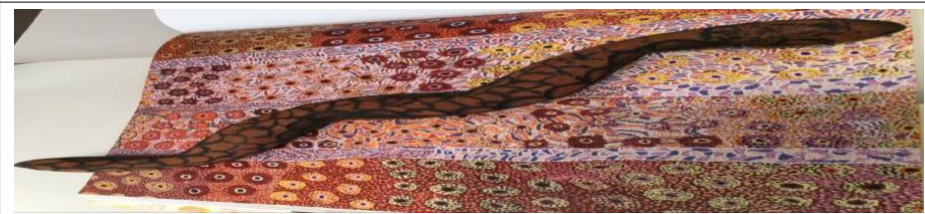


Painting by Hector Tjupuru Burton in Nganampa Kambatjangka Unngu, 2015. Edited by Tjala Arts p233

Alone, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (A&TSI) peoples make up a very small proportion (<3%) of Australian society and yet their knowledge provides over 60,000 years of roots into the heart and soul of this country (a metaphor that some participants connected to the image above). What determines their status and position in Australia, and thus the regard for A&TSI knowledge, is the attitudes of the Australian public.

One participant expressed his appreciation as, *“To give me a completely different view of the world I live in ... there’s a different sphere of thought and understanding that somehow intertwines us with the earth and the place that we live and the elements.”*

In describing a preferred future, one other participant suggested *“Aboriginal knowledge being the foundation of the knowledge that we have about our country”*. The same participant, recognising that there are many different complementary A&TSI creation stories, suggested an image of the Rainbow Serpent as illustrating change in Australian society.

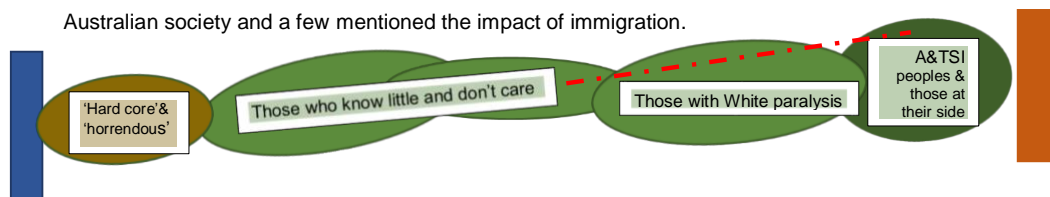


Painting by Tjimpayi Presley in Nganampa Kampatjangka Unngu, 2015. Edited by Tjala Arts p185 Snake by Kunmanara Mick 1984.

Collectively participants indicated that, perhaps Australian society could be depicted as a snake consisting of four main parts, with A&TSI knowledge providing a lead and direction for Australian culture (italics identify quotations from participants):

1. A&TSI people with those non-Indigenous people working by their side, *“You have the kind of group of people who are engaged on a daily basis, and understand things and can support and help and fight”*;
2. *“White paralysis: White Australians often might care about or say that they care about [A&TSI people] but they can’t engage... probably feel that they are overwhelmed and they don’t know how to engage. That group need to shift into the other section, in my view. We need critical mass to make change.”*;
3. Those who *“know little”* and *“don’t care”* (go along with derogatory commentary and jokes); and
4. *“The hard core/ horrendous”*, (those who speak disparagingly about A&TSI people).

The small sliver of Australian society who voluntarily participated in this research are represented (disproportionately) below by the broken red line. Most research participants depicted Australia as on a journey toward greater recognition, respect and appreciation for A&TSI peoples, their cultures and their knowledge; embracing A&TSI knowledge (represented below as orange on the right). Those who did so also expressed aspirations for an era of listening to and learning from A&TSI Australians soon, while articulating the considerable obstacles challenging those goals. Participants were hopeful of such progress, however expressed varying degrees of doubt about Australia’s willingness, ability and hence the amount of time such a transition would take. Several people referred to these segments of Australian society and a few mentioned the impact of immigration.



While immigrants always add significant aspects of their culture to Australia they almost always integrate into, what is commonly referred to as 'mainstream Australia'; i.e. immigrants will follow the lead provided by mainstream Australia, they don't determine Australian direction.

Participants were all senior managers in finance (2), economics (6), business (17) and 1 other; came from these sectors: government (8), private (11), education (2) and community (5); aged between 30 and 72; Australian residents including 4 immigrants (of South-East Asian, Pacific, European and North American heritage (ranging from 12 to 40 years in Australia; no participants of North-East Asian heritage); 13 females and 13 males. 8 people had worked with Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people. 3 participants had been defence force officers.

The questions are quite emotive, evoking a tear from 7 (3 men, 4 women) and of these, 1 male and 3 females shed a tear while reflecting on the situation of A&TSI peoples. 162 RAP organisations were contacted, a ratio of 1 participant for 6.23 organisations contacted. This in itself indicates that it is not hard to find people who believe that Australia should be embracing A&TSI knowledge, even among those who may not have given it much thought. While some mentioned, *"That a huge percentage of Australian people don't care about them [A&TSI]...Just DON'T CARE"*, it is not possible to know definitively what proportions of the population are represented in these segments or whether there are more segments. It is possible that Australian society is being led *"backwards"* by the *"The hard core/ horrendous"* and the *"Know little"*, toward a Colonialist view (*"It was a long time ago...why don't you just get over it...I don't have anything to apologise for... not all white people...not all Australians"*, represented on the left of the illustration above as blue).

Almost all participants felt that they knew less about A&TSI knowledge than they would have liked, while communicating an awareness of A&TSI knowledge in areas such as: environment, land, astronomy, community, family, spirituality, conflict management, resilience and long-term perspective. Art and story were also nominated as powerful aspects of A&TSI knowledge. Some had previously not given much consideration to A&TSI people or their knowledge, yet, in accordance with their philosophy to value the diverse perspectives of humanity, suggested that recognition of A&TSI knowledge needs to be approached very differently and very soon, lest it be too late.

Most participants referred to Australia's education system, noting that, in keeping with government policy, A&TSI knowledge has been mostly absent from the curriculum. Many also stated that if children learnt more about A&TSI peoples in school their attitudes as



adults would be different. Participants spoke of change. The following quotations reflect consistent themes emerging from the interviews:

“There is a complete lack of knowledge for the majority of white Australians, lack of knowledge and a lack of, probably, for a lot of people, a lack of empathy in respect of Indigenous circumstances and disadvantage. And the fact that Indigenous folk are overrepresented in jails. There are problems that aren’t going to resolve themselves easily unless there’s a sort of revolutionary change in our relationship with Indigenous people and how they’re viewed.”

“I love that my 5-year-old is constantly coming home from preschool and telling me about the local Garigal people, and the fact that she is fascinated by it ... You can only hope that her experience isn’t just because of the kind of preschool she’s at. If that is happening everywhere that’s a positive future.”

“There’s probably still a hard-core group in the Australian population that aren’t willing to open up ... [time to] accept that there’s a proportion of the population that are not worth worrying about (in terms of the non-Indigenous Australian population) ... we’ll try and get the mass of the populous and we’ll all move on together without them.”

“The conflict is listening. ... I think the conflict is around an underlying assumption that we know best. Letting that go, is a conflict.”

Most participants used metaphors. One participant used the small wooden snake (depicted top p2) to represent the fear that non-Indigenous people have of embracing A&TSI culture and addressing the historical trauma caused since European arrival. She pointed the snake to the left, expressing a need for the fear to exit so that openness can emerge. These last two images reflect the challenges to bringing about the desired change.

*“If we’re two fish we’d like to swim in the same direction so this fish needs to turn around and they need to swim in the same direction. ... the non-Indigenous fish at the bottom is needed to turn in a clockwise direction ... We are all humans, and we’re brothers, we could be living a much more fruitful existence, if we swam in the same direction.”*



Artworks by:  
Glenda, Yorta  
Yorta  
(left), &  
Veronica  
Mungaloon  
Hudson  
(below)  
[theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2017/jan/18/confined-artwork-from-indigenous-prisoners](https://theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2017/jan/18/confined-artwork-from-indigenous-prisoners)



“I would focus on breaking down ... any kind of barrier between myself and my understanding of where I fit into the Indigenous landscape. And actually, pushing through those boundaries to understand more, engage more with that [A&TSI] community.”



## Appendix 12 – Second Interview

Timing: One hour plus five minutes (65 minutes).

Context: This interview takes place within the context of Business, i.e. the exchange of goods or services for income. The interview seeks your reflections on economic and business opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (A&TSI) peoples, primarily focusing on 'Demand' and secondarily focusing on 'Supply'.

That is, the first part of the interview (30-35 mins) will focus on your reflections on 'Demand' for Indigenous Australian knowledge, based on a brief summary of the first-interviews and your own experience.

The second part of the interview, regarding protection of the 'Supply' of Indigenous Australian knowledge, will be stimulated by case studies illustrating intervention in the income flow toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Method: I am using the Focussed Conversation method is also known as ORID, which stands for four different levels of questions, representing four different types of data: Objective, Reflective, Interpretive and Decisional.

You will probably be very familiar with analysing data and providing reasoned opinions and making recommendations, which we will get to at the 'interpretive' and 'decisional' levels. Most people are comfortable giving opinions and recommendations. At the 'objective' level I just want to hear what you notice at an objective level. And at the 'reflective' level I want to hear about your emotional responses.

### **Part One:**

First, let me give you a brief summary of the first set of interviews. Please take your time to read it.

#### **Objective**

1. What words or phrases grab your attention?
2. Is there anything that you have been thinking about that may or may not have come up at the first interview which isn't represented here?

#### **Reflective**

3. What feelings come up in relation to the story presented here? (Is there anything that surprises you? disappoints you? challenges you? Anything that you are pleased to see?)

#### **Interpretive**

4. To what extent do you agree that Australia is on a journey toward embracing Indigenous Australian knowledge?
5. How do you interpret this category of 'White paralysis'?
6. How do you see the relationship between this information and the goals of your organisation's RAP? (How do you see your organisation's RAP contributing to the story in this summary? Do you think that your views are representative of your peers? If 'no', what do you think the differences might be? If yes, what are the similarities?)
7. What does the summary indicate to you about the level of appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge in Australia?

#### **Decisional**

8. What would assist you, or your peers, to have more interest in the future of Indigenous Australian knowledge? (What information, language, stories, images do you think would generate more appreciation of Indigenous Australian knowledge?)

9. What can be done, (at a policy level) to increase appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing? (How can Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing be brought onto the centre stage of Australian life so that it is valued, learnt and used to care for country again?)

### **Part Two:**

The second part of the second-interview should take no more than 30 minutes and will begin with me reading 4 cases (the first 2 are hypothetical and the last 2 actually happened).

### **Hypothetical cases**

3. A university didn't employ Indigenous people to teach their Aboriginal subjects. Also, a professor at that university had gathered song and dance information through his studies, but when the Indigenous community wanted to present this data to support a land claim, it was refused by the university. The professor stated that the intellectual property and the copyright belonged to the university and would not release it.
4. A large company that provides a diverse range of services won an Australian government contract to deliver work in Indigenous communities. The company subsequently used the knowledge gained during this government funded project, to establish an Indigenous unit within its company. The Indigenous people who are employed by the company within this unit are young and disconnected from the traditional lines of accountability and credibility. The unit is very lucrative for the company as it enables them to win many major contracts involving a requirement for Indigenous knowledge. The company is competing successfully against smaller Indigenous companies that do maintain their traditional links.

### **Other cases**

5. In 1930 Ramsay Smith appropriated and edited David Unaipon's 80,000 word manuscript, which he had researched and written in 1924-25. Stephen Muecke enabled the publication of David Unaipon's original manuscript (Unaipon, 2001), ensuring that Unaipon was finally credited for that work, with his family inheriting the proceeds.
6. You may have seen that the rights to the works of Albert Namatjira had been Australia's longest running copyright battle. It was resolved in favour of his family and clan who had been denied any rights or revenue from his work for more than 30 years. Namatjira, an Arrernte man from Central Australia, had sold part of the copyright to his friend John Brackenreg of Legend Press in 1957. Namatjira died in 1959 and his will gave the rest of the copyright to his wife Robina and his family. However, the administration of his will was handed to the Northern Territory public trustee which sold the full copyright to Legend Press for \$8,500 in 1983. The family was never consulted. Legend Press put restrictions on the use of Namatjira's paintings and images and the royalties to his family dried up. ...the long legal stoush came to an end with Mr Philip Brackenreg signing over the rights to the Namatjira Legacy Trust for \$1 after the intervention of Dick Smith. (SBS, 2017)

### **References for these cases:**

SBS, 2017, *Albert Namatjira's family recover copyright*. Viewed on-line 9 November 2017.

<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/10/15/albert-namatjiras-family-recover-copyright-his-work>

Unaipon, D., 2001, *Legendary tales of the Australian aborigines*. Miegunyah Press. Carlton Australia.

### **Objective**

1. What words and phrases stand out for you in these cases? (What has taken place in these scenarios, at an objective level? What is the common thread in these scenarios?)

2. Do you have other examples of behaviours that lead to more money flowing to non-Indigenous people than A&TS Islander people?

3. Where did you learn what you know about A&TSI knowledge? (Most of us who have learnt some A&TSI knowledge seem to have learnt it on the job.)

**Reflective**

4. How do you feel about these cases? (4&5 became one question most of the time)
5. How do you feel about the appropriateness and morality of this behaviour?

**Interpretive**

6. What are the consequences of such actions?
7. What measures (government practice &/or policy) could be put in place to guard against exploitation and ensure that 'Indigenous knowledge industry' profits benefit Indigenous Australians in the first instance?

**Decisional**

(There is an embryonic 'Indigenous knowledge industry' with hundreds of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander businesses attempting to teach their knowledge.)

8. How can this embryonic 'Indigenous knowledge industry' mature so that Indigenous Australians reap the most benefit from it, without compromising the knowledge-base, and losing income through leakage away from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples?
9. What could be done in your organisation to raise consciousness of the importance of protecting the 'Indigenous Australian knowledge industry' from losing control of the knowledge or the income?

## Appendix 13 – Fact Sheet



### ***Fact Sheet on Indigenous Knowledge***

This fact sheet contains brief information about four aspects of Indigenous Australian knowledge that have been well documented but are notable for not having been well developed in Western understanding of knowledge in Australia today.

#### ***1. Lasting stories***

The enduring nature and accuracy of Indigenous Australian narratives is now being revealed. A peer-review journal article describes 21 Indigenous stories from around Australia that have endured for over 13,000 year. They all tell how the sea level rose after the last Ice Age. The accuracy of these narratives has survived over generations, as this article notes when introducing them: "The implications of this extraordinary longevity of oral traditions are discussed, including those aspects of Aboriginal culture that ensured effective transgenerational communication." (P. Nunn & N. Reid, Aboriginal memories of inundation of the Australian coast dating from more than 7000 years ago, *Australian Geographer*, Vol. 47(1), 2016, p.11)

A PhD thesis documents knowledge of Indigenous Australian astronomy that is highly accurate and states that "astronomical scientific knowledge is found in Aboriginal traditions." (D. Hamacher, *On the astronomical knowledge and traditions of Aboriginal Australians*, Macquarie Univ. PhD, 2012, p.17). A related article notes that: "For more than 50,000 years, Indigenous Australians have incorporated celestial events into their oral traditions and used the motions of celestial bodies for navigation, time-keeping, food economics, and social structure as well as astronomical measurements of the equinox, solstice, and cardinal points." (D. Hamacher & R. Norris, 'Bridging the gap' through Australian cultural astronomy, *"Oxford IX" International Symposium on Archaeoastronomy*, Vol. 7(S278), 2011, p.282)

#### ***2. Paying close attention***

There are many documented eyewitness accounts of Indigenous Australians seeing and hearing very small details that are undetected by non-Indigenous people. One example is of a Polish miner at Bendigo who in his memoirs told how one Djadjawurrung woman had been sitting by a fire and "suddenly turned her head to one side and seemed to be listening to something. After a while she jumped to a solid tree nearby and with a tomahawk split the bark and pulled out a white grub about four inches long...When asked how she knew the worm was there, she answered, 'But I heard it. It was only a few steps away' surprised that no-one else had heard it." (S. Korzeliński, *Memoirs of Gold-digging in Australia*, 1979, p.90).

#### ***3. Responding quickly***

There are many tales paying tribute to the rapidity of responses by Indigenous Australians to changes in their environment. When Mathew Flinders' marines paraded on a beach in Western Australia they were watched by Noongar people who were able to accurately represent that military drill 30 years later when settlers arrived in Albany WA (C. Barker, N.

Green & D. Mulvaney, Commandant of Solitude: The Journals of Captain Collet Barker, 1828-1831, 1992).

Bett-Bett was the name used by Jeanie Gunn for a girl of about 8 years old who lived with her on the Elsey Station property on the Roper River for a year. Frustrated with a broody hen, Bett-Bett one day found a crocodile egg and removed its outer egg then placed the inner egg under the broody hen. When the egg hatched, the crocodile immediately left for the river and the hen disappeared for days, but when she returned “she had taken Bett-Bett’s advice and had ‘gone and laid an egg.’” (J. Gunn, *The Little Black Princess*, 1906, p. 68)

#### ***4. Attentive to the big picture***

Awareness that Indigenous Australians have of the whole environment and its interconnections is something that is evident in land management and particularly fire management. “The Indigenous universe is usually portrayed as a highly complex and interconnected whole, where all parts are interdependent among each other, and which is made up of constantly forming multidimensional cycles. An intrinsic unpredictability of nature is recognized, as well as the consequent fact that land management has to take place under conditions of uncertainty.” (F. Mazzocchi, *Why ‘Integrating’ Western Science and Indigenous Knowledge Is Not an Easy Task*, *Journal of Futures Studies*, Vol. 22(3), 2018, p.22). Mazzocchi (p.23) gives an example of how National Park policy has integrated fire prevention Indigenous knowledge: “The Aboriginal fire regimes create landscapes that are ecological mosaics, and are very important to preserve biodiversity; they allow the reproduction of fire-dependent plant species and, by creating buffer zones, the protection of fire-intolerant floristic communities such as monsoon forests and, by avoiding the accumulation of highly combustible phytomass, they function as fire prevention tools too.”

Further, Aboriginal fire-burning techniques ensure better management of global warming, because burning small cool fires before the dry fuel builds up “are used to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by thousands of tonnes.” (ABC Science Education, *Aboriginal fire knowledge cuts greenhouse gas*, 2018)

#### ***Conclusion***

Eminent Canadian environmentalist Dr David Suzuki says that people need to learn how Indigenous Australians interact with the environment for human survival (NITV News, Dr. David Suzuki reveals seven things Australia could learn from its Indigenous peoples, 2016).

For further information you can engage with Indigenous Australians through your organisation’s RAP contact.

***Karen Newkirk, PhD candidate, Federation Business School – 7 May 2018***

## **Appendix 14 – Participant Quotations - Awareness of Indigenous knowledge**

Participants were asked in the first interview to select a piece of art that they felt represented, “the current situation and future possibilities of Indigenous Australian knowledge”. In doing so they began to talk about their perceptions of this knowledge. Some of their quotations follow:

### ***Land management (19) and Environmental management (16)***

Nineteen participants referred to land management as part of Indigenous Australian knowledge, however, only Gert referred to ‘fire management’:

Medicinal plants. The landscape; flood & draught and fire; managing the landscape, without needing to control it. I mean, Aboriginal people did control the land, in some ways, sort of pre-agricultural stuff, harvesting yams, but it was a sustainable approach to the land, I think. I would be keen to know about, and honouring country too and spirituality. A deeper connection to land.

Sixteen people used “Environment, Sustainable, Conservation, Preservation, Natural balance and Nature, Plants & animals” to describe the kind of knowledge that they believed First Nations Australians had or have.

### ***Community (19)***

“Community, relating to people and looking after each other” was nominated by 19 participants. Olive recognised how Indigenous people could teach her “more about how to be connected to other parts not just me and my nuclear or extended family. All Australians could learn a lot from that culture.”

Bobby suggested learning how to be less individualistic and noted a particular aspect that she had heard about in her work:

I am in finance and one of the ideas that comes from the Western financial system is, ‘there is something wrong with these Indigenous people because they just keep sharing their money around. If you give it to one person it just leaks everywhere.’

The other perspective is the sharing of the resources that they have with their community, ‘what is wrong with that?’ I think that instead of teaching a different way of being, we can learn from that.

Liam (L) had the most to say about living together in harmony and encompassed the main points raised by other people although his depth of understanding came from his unique interest in the topic of conflict management:

They are a people who could live, more or less together in harmony with the land and focus on stories and spirituality. But not go, ‘who can be the first to make a gun?’ You kind of gloss over that but it is an extraordinary achievement. If you are looking at ways for how to live with one another, think well, ‘how did they do it?’ You’ve got one group of people ... they developed in competition and conflict, deadly conflict. And the race was a technological arms race, from the get go. Stone Age, Iron Age, steel, bronze, and steel weapons, fighting territorial claims. The Aboriginal people, at the same time, the same length of time didn’t do that. Why? How? It’s an extraordinary thing that I have actually seen it receive no attention, that question. No attention.

In his second interview Liam added substance to his knowledge of First Nation disputes when he explained work that he had done in a Commonwealth Government department with Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUA):

There was a very complex ILUA which had claims by four groups. So, we had to understand the nature of those claimants. ... People fight over resources... They are people just like everyone else. There are good ones and they are not perfect and their culture had a lot of wonderful things about it but they also had issues. They had laws and punishments for a reason; people broke laws just as we break laws... In

different days, they may well have fought over their claim to the land with a greater or lesser lethality.

### ***Family, kinship (12)***

Sue emphasised this point, while selecting a picture she also chose the words that were written on a page of the Tjala Artists' book, "Anangu culture is family culture and it is circular, there is no beginning or end." (Tjala Arts, 2015) and she reiterated the strength of family culture several times.

### ***Food, growing food, agriculture (4)***

Kim made the point most strongly:

It is fascinating that we are eating food at times of the year when it was not naturally grown and why are we going to that effort when we should just be listening to what the land provides and using the best of what it provides at any given time.

### ***Water, rivers (4)***

Cath in second interview:

It surprised me that we never in a really structured way, I think we had a 'White engineering knows best' philosophy, in terms of dealing with water management. And it probably had some science behind it, but given the vast amounts of land and water that were managed. It was always a surprise to me that we didn't engage those who had lived on the land for thousands of years... I am sure that if you took Aboriginal people down to a river, I am sure that they could tell you how to manage it better [not long after millions of fish died in the Darling and Murray rivers].

Noel in second interview:

As we face into global warming and issues like that, where we have got a significant focus on Land Management, Water Management etc that there is more being embraced. More, looking for creative ideas that we are opening our minds to things other than [the way] we have done for the last 200 years. But ... There would be big swathes where they [Indigenous Australians] are not asked for an opinion, not interested, nor considered... the areas that I think are going to progress the most will be as a direct result of global warming, land management, water management, ... because there is such a significant overlap of existing and otherwise lost knowledge and necessity.

### ***Spirituality (5)***

Pam expressed that 'spiritual' was the closest her description came to anything she knew:

If we are based in Christian religion but there is another view of the world and how all of the different parts of the earth and environment fit together ... that's a very different view of a, not necessarily spiritual but, you know Christianity is in this 'God and Christ' whereas this is, there's a different sphere of thought and understanding that somehow intertwines us with the earth and the place that we live and the elements. I don't know how you put an adjective on that like 'spiritual' or something but certainly around that.

### ***Medicines (4)***

Kim added, "the potential for medicine and treatments is something that hasn't been tapped."

### ***Traditional healing (2)***

Jan recounted a story of experiencing a healing process that was conducted by an Aboriginal woman during a lunch break at a cultural training seminar:

She got up at lunch time and she came up to me. I didn't know her, never met her. And she just put her hand on my heart. And ... I felt like my heart was coming out of my chest. And she said, "Son, it wasn't your fault. You have got to let it go." I had to work out what that all meant. She just left her hand there and I started crying uncontrollably. And I did not know what was happening. I said to her, "What are you doing to me? What's going on?" She said, "It's okay, There's no one here. You have got to let it go."

### ***Sense of direction, map, geography (3)***

Liam referred to spatial intelligence:

They said they had been on a navigation exercise where you start at point A and go to points B, C, D following a map and compass. One of the patrol members got heat exhaustion so they needed to get back quickly to the base. They put their map and compass away and Peter just took them on a straight line back to the base. He knew where he was, and where he had been and it wasn't his country. It was just extraordinary, so that sort of knowledge, and I don't know how you tap it.

Liam also witnessed this ability. The other two participants listed knowledge of geography (Ern) and knowledge of places on Indigenous land, identified for landscape architects on Western maps (Gert).

### ***Astronomy, cosmology (5)***

Bobby, "I know that there are individuals within universities that are looking at that kind of Astronomy"  
Ern:

I am pleased to see that the star gazing show on the ABC they interviewed an Aboriginal astronomer. He said that in ancient times they used to navigate by the stars. There need to be more stories like that.

Jan, "They have amazing insight into astronomy."

Mary, "insight into the cosmos".

### ***Entrepreneurs and Innovation (3)***

Jan:

The knowledge they had to survive 70,000 years... We should harness it for the betterment of humanity... What we call wellbeing now, ... we talk about natural balance... lateral leadership, conservation, what we call advancement, innovation, what we call future they have been doing it here forever. All those things were here in a different form... already in the system... exactly the same thing, just a different way of looking at it.

### ***Culture (11)***

Gert, "It is about really telling stories through traditional mechanisms and really inspiring all the senses to give people an experience."

### ***Language (3)***

Apart from just mentioning Indigenous languages as knowledge, Rex identified that the languages developed by Indigenous Australians include references to aspects of knowledge that are not necessarily known in Western society, "A new language to express connection



to place. A unique language, that's uniquely Australian, that connection. A language that binds us together as a society." Bobby said that she didn't understand a lot of the symbolism and made a similar point to Rex, "I know that there are things in there that have meanings. It's like a language that I have not been taught."

### ***Other descriptions***

Yvonne implied a possible awareness of knowledge of environmental management:

Humanity, itself is at a crossroads and has a choice of which direction it wants to go: positive, negative, be forgotten, be remembered... everyone is at that crossroads. If you don't stand up and grab a hold of your future you will be lost, forgotten, or broken ... in some ways, the Aboriginal's struggle at the present time and in the future are actually identical to the greater struggles of the human race... if the Aboriginal people of Australia recognise their place in the human race I think it might give them... they can be part of the Human Race's part of the future. It might give them some inspiration to stand up and act and be strong.

## Appendix 15 – Participant Quotations – Barriers to seeing

### 15 a) - (Barriers) Racism

Pseudo nym	Barriers - a) Racism
Cath	<p>atrocious past, “what has happened to their community by white people. And I can’t imagine that forgiveness is possible, given the horrendous stories, the lost generation and slaughter” and some segments of the Australian community, “belittle and get aggressive with them, yet we were the ones that introduced alcohol into the communities... and life expectancy ...” and he could understand, “If I’m a member of the Aboriginal community, I’m going, how do I forgive?”</p> <p>How can I work, keep engaging with the white community to get better outcomes for everyone? How are people treating us now, as opposed to how we were treated years ago? I don’t know what’s causing it but Australia is still run by white people, at the end of the day. Are we actually going, ‘I need some diverse views here?’ So, I think the conflict is around an underlying assumption that we know best. Letting that go, is a conflict.</p> <p>Don’t just assume that if you’ve done a degree and you are white Caucasian that you have the answer.</p> <p>Kevin Rudd saying ‘sorry’ all those years ago, that was an important part of the process, ... saying sorry doesn’t make all the other issues go away. Because I expect if we look at the data from that ‘Sorry’ to now, ... health conditions... , hopefully Racism is getting less. But, we are still on a journey.</p> <p>I’m guided by the stories that I hear from Indigenous people who’ve come to talk to us about what they’ve experienced... too many stories about disrespect. But probably, On-going stories that are probably told in pubs quite regularly, about petrol sniffing and alcohol and stuff in Indigenous communities, not in a favourable way. Even the media puts it forward, you get stories around fights within communities. But, relatively, there is a whole lot more nastiness happening in the white community than the Aboriginal community. But I think the media doesn’t always treat these issues in the same way.</p> <p>Reality is my social circle, I don’t have any Indigenous friends and I am sure that is not about racism, it’s just about where I was born, how I’ve been raised.</p> <p>...on a tour of the Kimberly last year... saw a couple of stereotypical stories that you hear about drunkenness in the community, turning up to a middle-class hotel and having quite an aggressive couple of people out the front, women fighting each other, and I would say they were under the influence. From the 20-25 people on the bus, I am sure there were a few of them going, ‘well, that’s standard.’ Whereas you can drive up the street here on a Friday night and you go that’s just Friday night (whites) but if it’s an Aboriginal community, ‘oh that’s standard’.</p> <p>Q5 If we are going to move forward there are still a lot of sorry’s to be given out by the white community. The way to hear that, the way to get people not just saying it, (I shouldn’t be hard on Ruddy. I don’t have a political agenda. I am really cynical about politics.) But unfortunately having to hear the stories told, ‘My relative was taken away because they were an Indigenous child. My other relatives were shot because they were on white man’s land.’ I think the way to get, to improve things is still that, to get the stories told where they can actually see the emotion in people’s eyes; hear in their voice, to go, ‘I have got to get better than just reading a book.’ So, I think, stories, what we can learn. We still need to learn practical stories about what the white community has done to the Indigenous community. Because I think that is going to help, hopefully, people. Have their minds more open, and go, ‘it’s not just politics’. You’ve read it in a book but this has been real for people. And then mostly in the balance, most people are good, more people will continue to go, ‘we have got to do more to fix this issue, or these issues.’</p> <p>I’ll never appreciate the culture because, at the end of the day, I think that I am still being influenced by how I have been raised in middle-class Australian society.</p> <p>But opportunities like this, I think most people in the world are good people. Some of it is around ignorance. ... People can be racist – When we have been brought up in white Australian schools. By definition we are not going to get far. ... We have got to keep getting the true stories out.</p>

	<p>it's easy for me to say, because I am a white, middle-class Caucasian male. I can't imagine that getting all the Aboriginal communities together and going, 'not forget, but let's just be more holistic in our response, at the end of the day, 'How are people treating us now, as opposed to how we were treated years ago?' But that is really easy for me to say.</p>
<b>Dave</b>	<p>That a huge percentage of Australian people don't care about them. Just <i>DON'T CARE</i>. And they (Indigenous people) need them (mainstream Australians) to get over it. They (non-Indigenous Australians) don't understand about historical trauma and they don't care about it. And even if they did understand it they wouldn't care about it. That's the hard truth. (<i>Do you see that and hear it?</i>)</p> <p>Yeah. Yeah. I don't know if it's because as a migrant, I see a double standard. I see lip-service and I see outright hostility at times.</p> <p>(<i>Can you give me an example of outright hostility that you have seen?</i>)</p> <p>I have first-hand experience of racism in this country. My [relationship] Sam is Black. We are exposed to overt racism. Sam is every day and I am when I am with Sam. And as a result, we have a nose for it and we see it where maybe other people don't.</p> <p>I would have an understanding by self-learning and observing of Historical Trauma because Sam is a descendent of slaves. And I see historical trauma. I see vicarious trauma.</p> <p>And I see people, non-Indigenous people, rejecting that as a concept. That whole thing of... "It was a long time ago... why don't you just get over it. I don't have anything to apologise for... not all white people...not all Australians," all of that. I sat on twitter last night watching it unfold. It's there. It's there all the time, but it is there in real life as well.</p> <p>As soon as we walked onto this land we experienced racism. Sam [person closely related], obviously way more than me, but when I am with Sam I experience it either directed towards me or I observe it directed towards Sam. We live our lives through the lens of racism. So, obviously, coming to a country where there are Aboriginal people who have experienced similar and in some cases way more trouble and disadvantage and worse as Sam and ancestors had, in a different way, the resonance was there and the parallels were drawn and the interest was created.</p> <p>I see historical trauma. I see vicarious trauma. And I see people, non-Indigenous people, rejecting that as a concept. That whole thing of... "It was a long time ago"; "why don't you just get over it."; "I don't have anything to apologise for"; "not all white people"; "not all Australians"... all of that. I sat on twitter last night watching it unfold. It's there. It's there all the time, but it is there in real life as well.</p> <p>I lived in London... I moved to England when I was 20. I lived then in a hugely multi-cultural country for 20 years. The need for and the benefits of, what we call multi-culturalism are evident if you are living it day to day. The richness that it brings everybody's lives is evident day to day.</p> <p>There is a long way to go before mainstream Australia even acknowledges the importance and the value that Indigenous culture can contribute to the future of the country and our society. But, I hear little glimmers of stronger voices. I am hoping the 21<sup>st</sup> century world will help us hear those voices in the future.</p>
<b>Ern</b>	<p>Prejudice that exists in society, the fact that we're geographically, a lot of Indigenous folk are, sort of, isolated from affluent Western society. We don't interact much apart from maybe on the sporting field, particularly AFL, where you do get a lot of Indigenous folk playing sport. That sort of separation, and the lack of opportunities to really be close and get understanding between the two cultures.</p> <p>There is a complete lack of knowledge for the majority of white Australians, lack of knowledge and a lack of, probably for a lot of people, a lack of empathy in respect of Indigenous circumstances and disadvantage. And the fact that Indigenous folk are overrepresented in jails. There are problems that aren't going to resolve themselves easily unless there's a sort of revolutionary change in our relationship with Indigenous people and how they're viewed.</p> <p>I'd like to think that separation, the barriers between the two cultures [is ending] and greater understanding between the two, I think, [is emerging]. If we're two fish we'd like to swim in the same direction so this fish needs to turn around and they need to swim in the same direction. (<i>Which fish needs to turn around?</i>) The fish that's got the greater resources and that has more opportunities, which is probably the non-Indigenous fish at the bottom is needed to turn in a clockwise direction.</p> <p>People need to recognise the real disadvantage that Indigenous folk suffer. And I think, as time goes by, society is gradually becoming more progressive. I'd like to think so hopefully</p>

	<p>as the younger generation mature they bring to the fore their more progressive attitudes, just like with same sex marriage and those sorts of issues. Probably, well, I work in the public service... there are very few Indigenous folk in this agency. Seeing more Indigenous folk working in the Agency and people that are there on merit not because there has to be a quota. That's what I'd like to see.</p> <p>The fact that we're geographically, a lot of Indigenous folk are isolated from affluent Western society. We don't interact much apart from maybe on the sporting field. That sort of separation and the lack of opportunities to really be close and get understanding between the two cultures.</p>
<b>Fred</b>	<p>Hard-core. There were a few references to the Hard-core views. And, I think, while I would not have phrased it myself that way, but I think it is very true. It is very true. Like, there are some segments in our society that have a view about our Indigenous heritage and people, and not much can be done to change those views. It is almost a generational issue that there is a generational transition that needs to happen.</p> <p>Entrenched. Entrenched. But at the same time I can see, there is a nice way of saying it and there is the real, a real way of facing reality so I am comfortable with it.</p> <p>What is obvious is the fact that today Australians (and I say generally) are not aware of Indigenous culture, it is not by chance, it is more by design through various policies, whether written or unwritten, that have been passed down over decades and centuries (well a couple of centuries).</p> <p>And, I can't see it shifting instantly, but I can feel, because I have been here almost 25 years now) I can see that there is a transition. But it will be a new generation getting into primary school and coming out of primary school that'll drive the change. The current people who are in university and just passed university ... I think, some of them probably have a softer stance in that they probably have more awareness but because of their family background, and this is [where I come in relation] to the White Australians, there are still some, I can't see as a general whole to be wholly accepting.</p> <p>But where I see the hope is that with a new generation coming through (White Australians in particular, and the migrants coming through) and their children, because migrants (I don't know if it is true but I feel that there is going to be this impact where) as Australia becomes much more diverse, there will be an element of people coming into the country (migrants) where there'll be some effort, I think, to neutralise the more dominant culture. I don't know if it is 'effort' but I think it will happen. And as part of the process, there will be more recognition given to Indigenous culture as well. So, I think that these two forces, where there is now a better awareness and there is probably more of a shift (a very slow shift) in understanding, "yes, that is the heritage of this country", and together with the other forces that are coming in where, "no, this is not a European country as such". That is, we might see a difference in 20 to 30 years from now.</p>
<b>Harry</b>	<p>Q2 Feel a little bit sad about how Indigenous people are treated. People say, 'they only draw dots'.</p> <p>Q3 I just don't see how they break that stigma attached to what people say about Indigenous Australians and what they do. Things are happening like National Reconciliation Week and NAIDOC week and RAPs and all that kind of thing – I am not sure that it will be enough. I know someone who works in the Northern Territory, he is a police officer. (and I imagine that he has seen some pretty unfortunate things. But I imagine a police officer living [working] in Melbourne has seen pretty unfortunate things in many other cultures. He shares some really horrible jokes on facebook and it really upsets me. And people laugh at them and comment on them. And just, you know, like going to the service station and drinking metho, as an example. Just things like that that people say.</p> <p>From my personal perspective, I have never thought any of those really negative things but I am not very well educated on Indigenous Australians and it has only been since I joined the RAP committee that I went to a NAIDOC Week event and learnt more.</p> <p>There is a lady in the group who is one eighth Aboriginal. And people who have clients and the person who chairs the group, is so passionate about it, because he has had so much to do with Indigenous Australians through his work. And hearing the passion in the room it was quite contagious.</p> <p><i>Did the lady, on the committee, who said she was 'one eighth Aboriginal', did she identify as Aboriginal?</i> So that is interesting, she said, I wouldn't have identified myself as being Indigenous. She said something at the very first meeting that I attended, 'I am one eighth but I don't identify', she actually made that statement. And it wasn't in a way that she didn't</p>

	<p>want to be identified. It was just the way that she had been brought up, not learning... that was how I interpreted what she said; She doesn't shy away but she doesn't spend time ...it's not part of her family history.</p> <p>Q5 I think some pretty horrible things have happened to Indigenous Australians and we don't have to have it happen again to learn from it. Providing that knowledge to others, and sharing that history, whether positive or negative, to make sure that it doesn't happen. To respect another history of Australia. People focus on the first fleet and white history before that and there doesn't seem to be that same respect for Aboriginal, Indigenous Australian knowledge and activity and what they did for the country before white Australians arrived. You wouldn't know who identifies and I guess it's the same as if someone is gay, you don't walk up to someone and say, 'Hi I'm gay'. You don't do that. But it's just, it's not at a point where people feel they can, it's just not part of who we are.</p>
<b>Ian</b>	<p>"I find that [exciting outlook] hard to say because I talk to young [Indigenous] people here and that is not always the feeling. ... being cognisant of a lot of the trauma they experience."</p> <p>The key conflict is the ever-present conflict of the fact that we live in a very fear mongering, racist, hierarchical [society]. We are losing our sense of democracy.</p> <p>(there are a range of really fantastic possibilities that the digital world provide for our Indigenous population.) I worry about, for any Australian's future, the way in which people are shutting off and disconnecting from political dialogue, discourse and calls to action. The current issue of 'White paralysis' can be confounded sometimes.</p> <p>(Did you say, 'White paralysis'?) 'White paralysis', White Australians often might care about or say that they care about it [Indigenous issues]. Something that I have spoken about with both my non-Indigenous and Indigenous friends and colleagues but not read about. ... working closely with people has given me a whole range of new insights that have enabled me to engage. The biggest challenge is also fatigue of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders feeling like they have to educate everyone. ... You have the kind of group of people who are engaged on a daily basis and understand things and can support and help and fight and then you have a group of people that care but probably feel that they are overwhelmed and they don't know how to engage [Paralysed Whites], that group need to shift into the other section in my view. We need critical mass to make change. Obviously, you have the people who know nothing. Then you have the other polar opposite [to those who care] which are horrendous. That is a big challenge.</p> <p>The hard truth is just all of the classic things of lumping, the many different nations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, people together, viewing them as one group. It is a very monolithic narrative of Indigenous life and knowledge and existence. And the big one, full of the ever-present racism that occurs... I think that I have heard it throughout my life; seen it, witnessed it. Just derogatory comments. Certainly, speaking to my [Indigenous] colleagues about how they have been treated. I think, as a younger person, when I was out in the street and in the city, I have seen people yell things, all sorts of things. I think in our media. Through our political messaging. Through the inaction of the Australian populous, you know, to say sorry. In our treatment of history. We've re-written history effectively. We don't talk about genocide. We don't talk about slavery. I think the omission of Indigenous knowledge in our education system, our language system, all forms of communication really, in terms of how we, from school books to street signs so, it's just, been erased. So, you know, I guess that is the greatest form of racism really.</p> <p>on-going, pervasive racism and oppression and that monolithic treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.</p>
<b>Jan</b>	<p>For us, non-Indigenous people, if we truly want to understand the culture and we truly want to understand a lot about how things happen then we need to somehow work out where we have come from, what we have done, to understand. I think that we don't do that. We talk a lot about, 'oh just forget it, it was too long ago'.</p>
<b>Liam</b>	<p>You have got to be careful of lapsing into Rousseau-vian issues here because that's as racist as anything else; saying they were perfect and their culture was perfect. It wasn't, there were a lot of issues; I'd challenge, women were not well treated, a lot of superstition, a lot of magic. But, that said, there was a lot in it that was wonderful and harmonious. And the fact that, when you sat back and think that, they existed in harmony with their surroundings and their land, more or less, for 40,000- 50,000 years.</p>
<b>Mary</b>	<p>(In relation to continued racism) "a disappointment that is a function of Australia's educational system, partly of our history..."</p>

<b>Olive</b>	Just ignorance.
<b>Sue</b>	<p>But that thing that people don't care about them [First Australians], I really don't think that that is as bigger problem as some may have suggested. Well, it's not in my experience anyway.</p> <p>Oh, look, I have come across some who have made derogatory comments, and so forth but within that same conversation when you start getting deeper into the discussion about the lack of opportunity and so forth, you see them coming around... They are coming from a position of ignorance and they are just repeating stereotypical statements. So, I would honestly say my experiences have been more of interest and fascination about the superficiality of the way that we live verses the depth and breadth of history and culture of Aboriginal society. I have found more that experience, when you present them with some knowledge and insights, than people shitting all over the [Indigenous] community.</p>
<b>Tom</b>	<p>Growing up my [relationship] would make crude jokes or back handed comments that I always knew weren't right. When you grow up as a kid, you don't know why, but you think, "that's not right". How could you just say that about a person or a people?" (I didn't really have any connections to or understand Aboriginal history when I was young. I live with older people in a block of units. There is a housing commission block near us with Aboriginal and lots of different people living in there. When Aboriginal people walk around the corner my elderly neighbours will say things like, "They are coming down this way!" I am looking at these people like, "Are you serious? Why?"</p> <p>I had this weird thought before, and I didn't say it, and it might be inappropriate but; wanting to die is just 'all these old school people that are just, stuck in the past.' It's all these older, not everyone, I don't like to generalise, but it's older generations with perceptions on Aboriginal people. I don't want to be fatalist or wanting to kill people but I want THAT part of Australian society to die.</p> <p>This is the stuff that I want to die. This sort of backhanded comments from these older generations. Maybe its new generations, but most people I know are not like that. I don't hear that in younger generations. Maybe that is just the people that I associate with but I don't hear that in younger generations and I am really happy about that. That is an important thing to say. I want it to end. And that has come through all the, giving Aboriginal people the right to vote, all these older people have come up through that time when Aboriginal people were looked down on and, "They're just trouble makers. Rah. Rah." Well, we've been supressing Aboriginal people in this country for hundreds of years and you think that they are going to just pick up and carry on down the street. It makes me cranky and sick at the same time. There is hope. We have different generations coming up that will be able to carry forward reconciliation and meaningful reconciliation in Australia.</p>
<b>Ursula</b>	I haven't heard any for a long time but I do not doubt that it was still prevalent.
<b>Verity</b>	<p>I think that intolerance comes from stereotyping where I've seen it. And it has been quite shocking, as I have a little bubble around me... I have friends who have come from a marginalised group and I just think that, from a marginalised group there is a greater understanding of what is going on. And I was actually talking about a project that I was working on in an Indigenous space and the comment that just came "All the kids sniff petrol or glue". And that was quite shocking. It was flippant and everyone was laughing. It actually upset me. I wasn't expecting it from this group. Certainly, wasn't expecting it from friends... And I was actually disappointed in myself, because I should have hammered the argument. But, when something shocks you, you are so taken aback that the brain just sort of goes into 'Whoa!'</p> <p>I think that another interesting one, it is not really about intolerance but I think that the media brings intolerance. And a lot of people (and I have heard it so many times) "that had nothing to do with me", "My parents came and worked hard and, I worked and nothing was given to me." And I heard a great story, it was told by an Indigenous person who said, if someone stole your lap-top and then built software on it and all these programs; whose lap-top is it still? It is still a stolen lap-top. You may not have stolen it. It may have been handed down to you over the generations, but if you look back to the root of it [you have gained from it]. And I think we have just become very intolerant because when people first arrived here they brought a different way of life but they left people behind. They didn't bring everybody on that journey or [made sure that they] had the opportunity.</p> <p>From the stereo-typing point of view, even I unfortunately have, and I like to think that I don't have, but we all have these inbuilt prejudices. I was talking to a fabulous organisation that go out to remote communities in WA tackling the problem that comes from alcohol</p>

	abuse, battered wives and children, horrible, horrible things and this person asked me, 'who do you think we work with?' and I said, 'Indigenous communities'. Most of her clients are white remote people. It pulled me up because even I am falling into that pattern without even realising.
<b>Will</b>	Depending on where they were living, what their lives are like, I think it depends on people's experience and where you are at. I visit my daughter in a country rural town and meet with some of her friends who have never travelled or always lived in that community, they have quite racist perceptions around some things. Then you've got the lack of understanding of other people if you go out to remote communities and you see a group of Aboriginal women or men, but if they are actually sitting around under a tree, which is the norm for them to do (and I am talking quite remote) but if we go in there as non-Indigenous people, we just see perhaps, "lazy group of people sitting around, not working, doing whatever", but without any context of culture or what that actually means. It's an entirely different perception. You hear when you are talking to people, "well, they get everything for nothing". I think that is still pervasive in some cultures [around Australia]. That they don't in fact [get anything for nothing]. There are so many other influences; they might be given priority in a university placement but the hurdles they have to jump over to get there are quite significant.
<b>Xavier</b>	The hardships and just helping people understand. Educating the majority of the population about the ramifications of the stolen generation. And it is not just the person that was stolen. There are generations to come that are still feeling that hurt and that pain. And it's a tricky thing to communicate and understand. And I think the more you hear it and the more you open yourself to it, I think, the more you can get an understanding of it, as much as you can. <i>(Do you experience negativity?)</i> Not myself, no. I work in a workplace that is very inclusive. We have a Reconciliation Action Plan. I work with fellow Indigenous staff, which I've got great relationships with. So, I find that I am really fortunate. I think that there are a lot of people who don't come in contact with that so they don't have that experience. I think it's just educating. Let's take it on, let our children, our white and Indigenous children pick that up and know that's just part of our history. <i>(So, it is not racist comments that you hear?)</i> No. I am fortunate to live in a community where, that's not how we think. I am conscious that I am a very fortunate person and that is how I have been raised. And definitely my parents weren't racist. I would never have heard a racist comment from them. So, I am very fortunate. It is the health gap, but it also is, how do we, How can we help these communities? Like, 'What do they want to do? Do they want to go to university and get jobs? Do they want to continue to live...' And if that's the case then how can we help?' Let's facilitate that. That's ok if that's what they want to do. It throws a whole range of issues into the air, into the mix. At work is where I am touched most by the Aboriginal community. I don't have any direct friends outside of work that are Aboriginal, or Aboriginal descent. That's just how it is.
<b>Yvon</b>	A key conflict is being seen as legitimate and contributing; a positively contributing member to society. I'd spoken to many Australians prior to migrating to Australia and they generally had very negative opinions of Aboriginal people in Australia.

## 15 b) – (Barriers) Colonisation

<b>Pseudo nym</b>	<b>Barriers – b) Colonisation</b>
<b>Abbey</b>	"really just about the land that they (Australian children) live in and the fact that it is more than just a British outpost.
<b>Bobby</b>	I always carry that underlying feeling of guilt; being the beneficiary of this country and the institutions that have been placed upon it.
<b>Ern</b>	Certainly, there was none in my learning, or very little. Only where it was in respect to Arthur Phillip and everything about colonisation of this country. There was mention about Aboriginal people were there but not with a culture of their own.
<b>Fred</b>	This is 'white Australia/ mainstream Australia' (I don't think it is white anymore. If you walk around the city of Melbourne today, I don't think that you would think of Melbourne as predominantly 'White'.) 'White Australia' has now become where new immigrants are

	<p>forming a new 'Mainstream Australia'. The division between Indigenous and mainstream Australia is still there but the contrast is not any more between 'White and Indigenous'. My son is in school so he studies a bit of Indigenous [year 4: 9 years old] history but I don't think that that equates to gaining an appreciation of Indigenous culture. Because occasionally he talks about things and I think it is a very shallow level of knowledge about the past and the history aspect of it, as opposed to really understanding Indigenous culture. They are two different things. People will say, learn about the history of the past but we don't actually understand Indigenous people, the way we are doing it, we haven't achieved that. Will we ever understand Indigenous culture and Indigenous people? I don't think that the way we are doing it, we will ever achieve that.</p> <p>We are probably at that point, unfortunately, unless something happens. Because the current migration policy (there still is a predominantly white Australia, but you can see it every day that 10, 20, 30, 40 years from now it is not going to be a 'white Australia'. Migrants like me who are coming in, we will not have an appreciation of Indigenous Australia, Indigenous land. Unless something is done in this generation and the future generation we will lose Indigenous Australia forever.</p> <p>I don't think that there is even any thinking in this regard, from a policy perspective. (We don't have a proper Government policy or thinking on this. Policy is not the right word, we don't have any thinking on this!) We have RAP committees and we have so many various days where we celebrate Indigenous cultures. Honestly, I can't remember, I know, every year we have 2 or 3 days a year, we celebrate 'Mabo' or this or that but they are so focussed on what happened in the past and there is Indigenous people and you can reconcile with them. That's the message that comes out but there is nothing that exposes us as the current population to Indigenous people and cultures. Maybe it is a bit different if you live in regional Australia. But that too I think it is very pocketed by which region of Australia you are living in. There will be some regions in the NT, north of Western Australia, in particular, and Northern Queensland where you see and feel Indigenous culture every day. But if live in the Eastern or Western seaboard we don't feel and see Indigenous culture. You get something or the other in news coverage but you don't live with Indigenous culture.</p> <p>The question itself is good for this particular picture. These pockets are either going to reduce, reduce, reduce and ultimately not be visible OR they'll be wider spread and become so much more, better networked and you won't see these little pockets any more, it's just totally integrated.</p> <p>Well, there may be certain views that we want to have these deeper pockets. But I think, from a social policy perspective that is dangerous but from a cultural heritage perspective, that may have some appeal. There is always a cultural identity ... but from a social perspective there are challenges with that. <i>Challenges?</i> There will always be Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people if we have that thing where we want to see these pockets in our image of Australia. We'll have a choice, is there Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia or is there just Australia. I am a strong believer of human beings have basic human values. I will always have an Indian heritage and, I will always identify with Indian culture but do I want to be living in an isolated pool as opposed to 'no I am a being human being'. I don't know, people have different philosophies of life.</p> <p>Life is not homogenous, society is not homogenous. There are different threads and there are different pockets, there are different things that weave through life and society, generally.</p> <p>(<i>change?</i>) There is this green smaller frog on a smaller lily pad and a brown bigger frog on a bigger lily pad and mainstream, non-Indigenous Australia is like the brown frog on the bigger lily pad and Indigenous Australia as the smaller frog on the smaller lily pad. Either the smaller lily pad and the smaller frog grows and everything becomes uniform (and antiquated/ in a new way) or the bigger frog grows and grows and the bigger lily pad grows and grows and grows and starts to invade or push the green frog off its lily pad.</p>
Harry	<p>I think that stigma is for everyone, not just for myself. I think it's going to be even harder as the knowledge decreases as their generations are gone. It just seems to be diminishing all the time. I think people don't make the time to learn about history. I watch some American shows, everyone knows everything about American history. I don't know what is taught in schools but I don't see that same. American's list the 50 states and they know what happened in the civil war and so on and so forth, no-one is talking about any of that kind of thing for Indigenous Australians.</p>



	<p>I don't recall learning anything about Indigenous Australians but that is probably more my memory than anything else. It could actually have been taught but that is not my recollection. My recollection as a child is more around, 'they throw boomerangs and don't wear clothes and paint themselves with paint. Not even explaining why people do that. And I don't know if it's one of those things now where they don't want to admit that they don't know about those things. So, I just don't think that people are willing to say that they never took the time to learn.</p> <p>They know stereotypes like they throw boomerangs and play didgeridoos without understanding why that is so important.</p> <p>... we all called Ayers Rock, Ayers Rock for as long as I can remember and then all of a sudden people acknowledged that it was called Uluru and now it is a given that you say Uluru. So, that kind of, it would be nice if that happened for more of the knowledge around Indigenous Australians. It would be really nice if people stopped climbing on it. I have a family member who went there recently and did the walk around where it's 'legal' and they said that they still saw people climbing on it which, as you know, is just so disrespectful. I'd just like to see more in that knowledge where it just becomes who we are.</p> <p>People who feel confronted by hearing about what happened to the first generations. They don't want to take responsibility for it and if they think about it too hard they realise that actually their ancestors have been part of it. Whereas, that was acceptable because my parents and grandparents were alive and in Australia when the generation was stolen.</p>
Ian	<p>... we have got a new generation who have been through quite a lot of trauma ... Trauma impacts on how people can communicate and engage. ... we have a lot to do to ensure that going forward people can express themselves. But we have a bright [future] this next generation feeling empowered, also in touch with everything their past and their communities.</p> <p>It is related to this sense of guilt. We colonised what was a country that had people living here and White Australia changed laws to suit the colonisers needs and there is a recognition (depending on how deeply you may have engaged with any of that narrative) that was very unethical and unfair. At the very base level versus understanding the full trauma that has occurred, there is a continuum of understanding within this group of highly educated people, and some have a bit of an understanding. What goes with that is a sense of guilt that you have benefitted from the outcome of some of those policies, and agendas and group thought.</p>
Jan	<p>I felt like I could change things. The issues are a lot bigger than I thought that we could fix. Non-Indigenous people; we don't get it. Trying to fix everything with money is creating other problems.</p> <p>I think that we will miss the real thing. We rule everything with money. That is creating a problem. I think this is a conflicting part.</p> <p>I have this other thing in my head, ... there's car wrecks and rubbish everywhere... what's the connection to looking after country. These people are probably the most complex people in the world.</p> <p>They survived ice ages... We can't just look at things in a linear way and think that we can just fix it.</p> <p>We talk a lot about, 'oh just forget it, it was too long ago.' I don't think that Aboriginal people do. They still share stories a lot so people still know about it. So, they have their system of talking about it and knowing it. We either haven't got the time or don't take the time to find out. And we kind of both think that it's not important to the other people and then it doesn't happen. But we need to and if we don't somehow bring it together we will end up losing it. And I think that the people who will suffer the most are Aboriginal people.</p> <p>We are very quick to break things into quarters and thirds and halves. 'You are quarter Indigenous or you are half Indigenous.' I don't think that Aboriginal people look at it like that. And the best way that was explained to me was that coffee is coffee, no matter how much milk you put in with it. We want to put it in our perspective, we want to define it like that. Then it is easier for us to allocate value to it. If it's only one third then you can only get one third. I don't think that Aboriginal people see it like that. The flip side of that is, we are talking about it that often that we are putting monetary value on it, that some of that stuff has been pushed onto Aboriginal people. 'Do you know that you could do that. Then you don't have to, if you are talking about wealth and land and whatever it is, if you cut it by quarters and thirds and 16ths then you have to portion it out. And I think that dilutes the</p>

	<p>culture and dilutes everything else. And we are putting emphasis on the wrong things. I think, if you have a connection somewhere then that is your connection. That is your heritage, like, 'how do you change that?' I think that is the conflicting part. I think, from a people side of things, again, the commercial element of it. We put value on things as just dollars. I think that values are more than dollars. We need to balance that somehow.</p>
<b>Liam</b>	<p>Taken as a whole and seeing this picture too as a story picture, emotions for me as a non-Indigenous person are a sense of shame and regret for things that were done to Indigenous people by non-Indigenous people. I was glad to have been involved (working for an Aboriginal man) and in some ways I regret leaving that space. But also, a degree of hope and a degree of excitement that things are changing. I have seen them change. And the government's Indigenous procurement policies and what have you are making a difference. There is a long way to go and I don't understate the difficulties at all but there have been some real game changers.</p> <p>What does 'regret' say? I wish WE (writ large, however it could be defined), and I am not into blaming the sons for the sins of the father but, I wish we hadn't done it. Here's a classic question, would Aboriginal people have been better off if Phillip had not come. Someone else would have come. Maybe they would have been better off if they could have delayed that a bit although, in fact initial attitudes to Native peoples, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were somewhat more enlightened than those of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the early twentieth century. The nadir was probably the late 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with social Darwinism and things like that. You can't wish away history, but at the same time, you think, I wish we had preserved more and been more sensitive done things, however we define 'we'.</p> <p>I think the key conflicts are, conflicts between traditional ways of life and modern ways of life and economic sustainability of certain ways of living. I am not sure (and when I say, I am not sure, I really don't know) of the extent to which, you can live in the traditional way in some of the townships and communities and yet still embrace the modern world, and you can't shut out the modern world. As we see the key conflicts for Aboriginal &amp; Torres Strait Islander people are things like alcohol and domestic violence and those hard truths, they are the hard truths about how do we manage that in a sensitive way, which protects the innocent? I think, that is the hardest thing affecting Aboriginal people, if I had to pick one. I think the key conflicts or hard truths for non-Indigenous Australians, particularly those non-Indigenous Australians who trace their history back to the period before 1960, or maybe 1980, the hard truth is that we are awful, we did awful things. We have this view of ourselves as, we were not so bad; the Americans they had slaves they are worse than us, the Belgian Congo they are worse than us. Maybe they were. South Africa they were terrible. All that is true but we were too. I have done a bit of reading and the things that were done by us, or in our name or in our governments' names were pretty awful. Australians have to own up to that.</p>
<b>Mary</b>	<p>That as a consequence of a lack of investment, in capturing Indigenous knowledge that we have lost knowledge, knowledge that was available to us 50 – 100 – 200 years ago, that we didn't choose to help preserve. And that it is on the watch of the governments that represent the people of Australia that more knowledge could be lost.</p>
<b>Noel</b>	<p>That they're in the minority, a significant minority. That they can, have and potentially will continue to be ignored. That their value for... Their role.... Their Culture is, or should not be defined by other people's perception of it. Much of the challenge is, while a significant amount of challenge is external, just as much challenge is internal (Internal perception of oneself).</p> <p>[What is ending in this situation is] almost each other. So, in the sense that, it would be easier if the other, and on both sides would just go away. That is sort of the view at the present (33.12 mins). And what is, sort of, trying to be born is, I guess, a unity so that there is no other; so that there is a One. (<i>So what is ending is not wishing the other to go away?</i>) Whether it is Ending or wants to end, is the conflict or the disparate view. What is ending at the moment is a willingness to listen to an alternate view. And what is being born at the moment, is an attempt at unification.</p> <p>(<i>Are you saying that what is emerging and wanting to be born is a willingness to listen?</i>) No, the willingness to listen is still missing.</p> <p>We are probably moving to less listening. I would say, that we are moving to less listening than in the past.</p> <p>So, what is being born then is, sort of, a traditional view, a modern view of unification with an indifference to a traditional context.</p>

	<p><i>(So, you don't really see any hope of knowledge to be incorporated into that unification?)</i></p> <p>I see plenty of hope. I don't see it as dominant. It is still a fight, in which it is in the minority. I see the hope is still in the minority. That there is still, the honesty in which ...</p> <p>When I was (in the South) talking about 'no shortcuts to find an understanding of an appreciation of Indigenous history, knowledge, culture; that there is still a view that it can be adapted, that it can be 'short-cutted'. That it can be compromised to a structure that is ours, that we recognise and understand and are comfortable with.</p>
<b>Olive</b>	<p>I think that these little blocks are about break-outs, breaking away from the past. And how Aboriginal people are the ones to unite. And certainly, no group is homogenous. Keeping that cultural identity and that path to self-determination [current Victorian government policy] whilst keeping the essential difference of Aboriginal people; they are not all the same. They are communities within communities within communities.</p> <p>It is going to be a challenge to find a pathway of consensus through to the way of the future. We really discovered this in our project that we did last year. We interviewed a lot of Aboriginal people and we talked about Aboriginal self-determination and they all had different views about how to get there. There was some scepticism around self-determination; is it just another government process? Will Treaty make a difference? Through to; [What can we do] If we don't have the essential power back? The difficulty will be how people can stay on a path, together. Then it is how we can bring the rest of the community along to support Aboriginal people.</p> <p>Q3b To be Australian you can't ignore our Aboriginal history; it is not something that should be invisible. It should be celebrated. A lot of people in Australia would not recognise the beauty of that history and that they need to re-write the narrative of Australian history and pride in that sense of Australian-ness. Aboriginal people didn't cause their own disadvantage. They are not to blame. The horrendous abuses and break down and genocide of a culture that has led to the situation we have today. It is absolutely remarkable that Aboriginal culture is thriving and surviving. There are some real conflicts about our own role and our own complicity in that. And that fear of actually offending or having a role, "It's not my role"; we need to get beyond that as a country.</p> <p>Ignorance: Our school system, certainly my schooling was devoid of any Aboriginal reference. I don't know if I had any Aboriginal children at my primary school. This blindness that we have as a society to the importance of Aboriginal society. We have the oldest living culture in the world and we should be celebrating that. I think that Victoria is a leader nationally, politically it is getting on with the Treaty. But there is a huge battle to be won around the mandate to do something. <u>It has to be non-Aboriginal people supporting Aboriginal people or it is never going to happen.</u> Aboriginal people are only 3% of the population. We need everyone to care about it, to care about the issues.</p> <p>Wanting to be born is the light and the hope that things will change. That real hope and Aboriginal people being able to move on from that history of hideousness. Not letting that terrible history define their future. It needs to be amended for, it needs to be overcome. But my dream would be that Aboriginal people feel that real hope and happiness that the past has been amended for and there is a whole lot of truth telling that needs to happen and all the hideousness needs to come out before we get to that. This is the darkness in the middle, that has to be gone through to get to this place of hope. About here on the picture is where they are starting to join in and here (the darker places) is the hidden racism, the blame, Aboriginal people doing it on their own. When we get to here (lighter) non-Aboriginal people are pushing behind and helping. Non-Indigenous people helping but Aboriginal people are leading and we are behind supporting. I think that this needs to end; this darkness and this fear and that's what this snake is all about; this idea that Australians have something to lose if Aboriginal people have rights and things like that. Which they actually don't.</p> <p>That there is a continuous journey and a continuous thread. That goes right through. That there has been splintering off and disruption and isolation and loss of culture because it has been broken off from the past. And that snake!</p>
<b>Pam</b>	<p>if I think about what I learnt at school it was about, yk, it was about when the English came to Australia, and like, what we did with Aboriginal people or to Aboriginal people or, there was nothing about what they were and what they were about so, yk, I, I love that my 5 year old comes home from Preschool and gets fascinated about it and tells you about it, she would come, she's fascinated, she's constantly coming home and telling me about the local Garigal people or, and the fact that she is fascinated by it. So, anywhere we go or anything</p>

	<p>we do we always try and find something that we can go and embrace the local, so where ever we go, we go, so, yes, if there is a local Aboriginal heritage centre we'll go there and, so yeah, I think, you look that, and you go, 'that's a positive future'.</p> <p>Kn: Do you see that changing? And the possibility of the Australian government policy changing towards embracing?</p> <p>Well, hopefully, you can only hope that, yk, her experience isn't just because of the kind of preschool she's at [went to].</p> <p>If that is happening everywhere, well, yes, absolutely.</p> <p>But I think that it is important that it doesn't just stop there.</p> <p>That it needs to be, yk, maybe they do it, I think that she has done a little bit maybe not so much that she has started school in kindergarten, but, again, I don't know, and is that because the preschool she was at was a Council run Preschool? With a long Day care centre and Council? So, is there a greater sense of that kind of thing amongst Council verses if she had gone to 'Only About Children' or one of the [other Preschools], would she have got that? I don't know. But I am fascinated to see if that kind of thing does come through because it was really refreshing to see her [daughter] coming home fascinated and wanting to know all about it. Anywhere we go, so yeah, It will be interesting to see whether that kind of stuff continues and whether they do start to get a different view to what we learnt at school, which was colonial history, really.</p> <p>I'll go back to my 5 year old daughter, the more of they start to learn and understand about the world the more curious they become about the world. And I think it is exactly the same here. And again, reflecting back to that is the history of our education system has probably been a key failing because we haven't planted that little bit of knowledge which leads to a desire for more knowledge and more understanding. So, I think that for a lot of people there isn't enough knowledge, or the perception is the negative side of things, the negative stuff we get and there's no desire to learn more about that</p>
Quay	<p>(<i>conflicts &amp; hard truths</i>) They are not easy, but I think they are also what they have faced over the last couple of hundred years. It's to get true recognition as the First Nations of Australia. The big issue is to get the same advantages that we are often blind to the differences of opportunity.</p> <p>Every day we just get on with our lives and those things are not apparent, its only on reflection and I've thought of that in the last couple of years. There was a girl who was one of the last of the group that was separated from family and raised in Western culture, of the stolen generation, who went to high school with me. It is only recently that I reflected back, I saw her name in the headlines. She's looking far older than I am. She's obviously had a pretty hard life. Her daughter and grandchildren were murdered by her daughter's partner. I went back and thought, "well this is a circumstance of what has been her life", and we were in the same class. She was being raised, out of her home connection but by a wealthier family than I was in and yet where am I and where is she? And, so, the opportunities that I have had or taken were probably not presented for her to take. She was just another kid at school. You think about those harsh realities. How can we make it for Indigenous kids now that they have the same type of opportunity that any other Australian has?</p> <p>It's like, 'who writes history?' The history that I grew up with was all about, 'We, whites were the first settlers and we found these Blackfellas on the land.' Then the thing was mission stations were set up to 'help' them. The separation of Indigenous kids, it may have been a, short-term fix but it is very much that white method of how to give them the best start but it wasn't addressing the issues.</p> <p>Indigenous Australians had a great adaptability, I think, we have taken it from them. Western society has taken some of that from them. They have been pushed into a certain box and so I think that there are young Indigenous people who are growing up believing that they are constrained in a certain box. So, we need to open that box and give them every opportunity. But realise that what we are asking them is to take the opportunities of a Western society, which is again something different. Even all the programs to get Indigenous kids into university and the rest of it, that's for them to assimilate into what we believe is the right way of living.</p> <p>I think, most Australians, and there are a lot of people in Australia who are new, first generation Australians; they don't understand Australian history full-stop. Whether it is Australian as it's written by the white settler or the Australian history, which is less documented, by an Indigenous view. I think, we have got a challenge about people assimilating with Australia with all its wrongs and rights as well as them understanding</p>

	<p>Indigenous culture. To me there is a double hurdle. Because of the high degree of immigration and the mix of cultures that come in. Because most cultural groups when they come to Australia live in the first generation in an enclave and you see that they don't become doctors or teachers or policemen until second or third generation coming through. When they feel part of a community, don't feel separated from the group. So therefore, we've got this longitudinal piece about education as well.</p> <p>Q4 There's a strong sense of (well I sense) wanting to engage with the artwork and that's also engaging with the Indigenous story behind the artwork; that's what wants to be born or grow.</p> <p>What wants to die or end is old worldviews, or former views about an 'us and them'. How does the story integrate and enrich Australian culture and society? is the growth piece. Rather than being seen as something that you push to the side. <i>Integration?</i> Right, but Western, Australians, white Australians or others, taking the time to understand about the Indigenous roots and how that is part of our framework as well.</p> <p>(<i>change?</i>) under a Western law, we need to come back and understand, 'What led them to offend? What was the turmoil there? And you can see those messages coming out, perhaps, in the artwork as well. Having high instances of young unemployed, offending Indigenous is no good for anyone. How can we learn from that? But also we have got to understand; we have got to unpack some of the 200 years of history in order to open up a new pathway.</p> <p>I am reasonably informed Anthropologically but I am quite ignorant of detailed Indigenous knowledge.</p> <p>I think that there is a lot of understanding to come. We often take the time to go overseas and learn about other cultures, but we don't, (and we might tour around looking, in a caravan at the landscape of Australia) but we don't take the time to learn what we can from those that walked the ground we are on before us.</p> <p>There is a personal piece, many of us have studied lots of things but we haven't actually taken the time, and maybe there is a stronger need for true understanding through the Education process. I learnt more about European history at high school and primary school and I did German as a language but there wasn't anything about Indigenous learning. I know more about the communities and groups of Sydney than I do of my birth place. Yet I feel a strong connection to the land I grew up on and I only lived on it for 17 years (where I was born, my Grandfather had his farm). How would it be for somebody who's grown up in a region with generations and generations of living off the land and that connection? I don't think that we stop and think enough about that.</p>
<b>Rex</b>	<p>I think the key conflict is when self-determination occurs is the ability to embrace and enrol Australia in the future. key challenge will be, and there are some massive hurdles to be achieved, but I am an optimist and at some point, hopefully sooner rather than later we will reach a state of self-determination and opportunity. That transition from the fight against the regime that has been overlaid since European arrival; when that gets into equilibrium, how do the leadership, and translates to moving, or changing the narrative within Australia. That could be still generations away but at that point there will be a FLIP at some stage. Being able to manage that flip and that there will be different communities, and different peoples within Australia that will be at different stages of that transition, and that determination. I think that will create complexity and tension within Indigenous communities and also potentially confusion more broadly.</p> <p>Q4 What is ending in this perspective is that tension between what's occurring now and the past. But, if I use this image, That forefront picture moves back into the background picture is a part of it. That forefront picture moves more to a new way and a new state of being. It is that transition of acknowledgement and becomes a part of (the back) the continuous story but then moving forward that higher, that layer that is more present, that continues to evolve and change. How do you, in some cases you can never heal the past but how do you respect the past and learn from the past and history, and how do you create a platform to move forward?</p>
<b>Sue</b>	<p><i>In describing Indigenous knowledge:</i> It's immersed in history but it is of today. It's assimilating into today. represents currency to me; the future of the culture.</p>
<b>Tom</b>	<p>I think that there will always (I don't know if 'always is the right word) but I do carry an element of sadness about the past. But I think that this is a positive, represents a positive feeling that we as individuals or communities will have; that I would like people to have about Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people coming together. Sadness. Uncertainty. Hope.</p>

	<p>They'd say 'Don't give up. Don't be afraid to explore your feelings and work together to come to an understanding'. Whatever that understanding is for different people. But I guess, I don't want it to be like White people just saying, 'get over it, let's move forward into this happy future.' I want it to be a meaningful connection and I don't think that is up to.... I have to reconcile with myself firstly. But I think that is a decision for individual people to make or communities to make, at what point they have this feeling of positivity and hope for the future.</p> <p>This might sound really full on, but it makes me sad and I don't know how Aboriginal people feel but that in some communities, in some groups there has been, some of that knowledge has gone (<i>started to cry</i>). You know, that is a really full on thing that people won't, people won't get back. I hope that all of Australia can come together but I think there are always going to be dissenters. Or there is always going to be this ... No, I shouldn't say that. I hope that is not the case.</p> <p>Not 'dissenters', I don't know if that is the right word. It is more like the saying, 'don't let the bastards get you down'. I think you really have to just focus on what is positive and move forward. The hard truth is again, possibly the loss of knowledge in some areas but I can't speak to that, I am not an Aboriginal person. I don't know what is remembered, not remembered, what's been passed on, what's not. That is a perception anyway that I have. That maybe there might not ever be a, (I don't want to say it, because I don't think we should put words into it). But maybe, there may not be a point when every single person on the Australian continent fully embraces Aboriginal culture as it should be embraced. I don't want that to be the case, but maybe that is just being realistic.</p> <p>NO! I don't want to say that. I don't believe it. I believe that it will happen; that there will be true reconciliation. ... Recent Australian history too has gone through many changes. Always changing in Australia over the last 200 years, in good ways and not so good ways. While things go back and forward in Australia that we are actually going this way (forward) – not this way (backward). That there is a forward movement in the snake not a struggle, okay to struggle, just none of this backward stuff.</p> <p>That the next 50 to 100 years will see a change in Australian society. I might not be around to see it come to the full fruition. But I think that when this dies out, the carry-over from the 60's &amp; 70's and 80's (don't get me wrong, I know there is still stuff going on). 'Dinosaurs will die' it is a song; the old-school will end and positive things are on the way. I think that's what these artworks represent.</p>
<b>Ursula</b>	<p>Being recognised for their place in Australia. There is up to 60,000 years of wonderful history and an amazing culture which hasn't been respected or recognised by people who arrived here in the last 2 or 300 years and they would like to get recognition for that in the fact that there is all these millennia of culture, knowledge and contribution to our, which needs to be recognised by all of us. And embraced and getting that recognition through a statement in the constitution. Which is all that the Uluru statement was asking for, which has been dashed and has been a terrible disappointment. That is not too much to ask. Actually, getting the Uluru Statement given affect to.</p> <p>Well, the key truths, there are too few people who have a real understanding about what Aboriginal Australians want. They want to be recognised in respect to the history that they have had. And they want to set their own destiny and not to have imposed solutions put upon them by people who think they know the answers but don't really. So, self-determination and for people to recognise the magnificent side of that history. You know, there are very few people who really understand that. And the commonly held knowledge where you see photographs or images of squalid communities are just a very poor understanding of what Indigenous communities of Australia really represent.</p> <p>What is ending is this cycle of poor decision making; imposed decisions, poorly executed, includes a lot of money, poorly spent in pursuing those goals. And what is emerging is Aboriginal people having a proper say in their life being recognised for their contribution. So, I think, that we're... it is coming. So, I think, it is coming. I think there is a re-birth coming.</p> <p>There are only a few people behind that decision. Let me put it to you this way. If you got the politicians to get out of the way, and you gave the Australian people an opportunity to say whether they think there should be some words in the constitution that recognise First Nation origins of Australia. And there's a very high bar to jump over in relation to Referenda (there's got to be two thirds of a majority in two thirds of the states and territories) I think that there would be a 'yes' vote in Australia today. So, I think, there is a much greater</p>

	<p>knowledge about the positive contributions of these sort of things than there has ever been before. And I think that if the bloody politicians could just get out of the way, you'd see that come through in the way people would want to express their view on it.</p> <p>Moving around the community. I'll give you an example; Yyyyy has thousands of employees in Australia and recently they were consulted about what they want to see. And they identified among the top 6 things was, Better Indigenous outcomes in Australia. There are a lot of very well trained and educated people who work here, which means that it is not your typical demographic. But I really am pleased that in a place that is about making money and business, that people care about these things. That gives me optimism.</p> <p>You are starting to see some more educational stuff happening in schools, although it's not mandatory curriculum in Australia. But, there is a real thing where something is happening in Australia at the moment. Where we are getting ourselves out of ...</p> <p>I think that we went through a cycle of spending good money after bad and people would go on with this stuff about houses being built and being pulled apart and used as firewood and all that sort of stuff. I think that there is a different view on things these days.</p> <p>And the other thing that gives me great optimism is that there are a lot of...</p> <p>The worst thing that has happened to Indigenous Australia is the lack of hope and opportunity. Terribly destructive. The whole key to that is education. It is slow but there are things happening now. At Garma they talked about school attendance problems. That is still a major problem but, reflect on the fact that there are 16,000 Aboriginal people at universities in Australia now. So, each one comes out and creates a ripple effect in their community and around Australia. I see reason for optimism in that.</p> <p>Indigenous people getting an education and putting their own store on the value of education. How horrible it is to not have hope or opportunity. Do you remember 'Samson and Delila' the movie?</p> <p>On Friday we have Impact Day where we have [workplace] people going out and doing community work for a day. I am going to [an education facility] and there are five others coming with me.</p> <p>All of the rooms on the next floor up are named after Aboriginal origins now. We have renamed them here in [workplace]. Well, not everybody is but quite a lot of people are [committed], and that is what we have done. And the proof of the pudding is in the eating, is it not?</p> <p>A long, long way to go. Absolutely essential to respect the culture and preserve it. Big concerns about the disappearance of Aboriginal languages. So those things are to be cherished and preserved. Preserve it, not by imposed things but by people wanting to do that themselves. We hope for Aboriginal people to be given a rightful place in our country.</p>
<b>Verity</b>	<p>I think that there is a danger of a whole generation being left behind. And feeling ('Irrelevant' is a horrible word to use but I think) irrelevant in a lot of society and where their children are going as they get education. And yeah, that feeling of being left behind.</p> <p>I think that is one of the challenges for the youth. Depending on where they are. People who are living in more remote communities, I think, feel a loss of hope. They don't have the opportunities that are available in the big cities. And there is that sense of, what am I here for. You know, 'what's my contribution?' And I think it's, stuck in no-man's land, between a culture that has been here for so many thousands of years and a very modern culture and finding their place and their purpose, in that.</p> <p>Probably not so much in the metro area, where you can find role models and you can find opportunity.</p> <p>I think that it is going to be interesting for mainstream Australia to if you are looking at it from a business point of view. If you are in business and you have an Indigenous organisation in business and you are not having an opportunity to go for a contract because government policy, at the current time, we are trying to improve the economic situation for Indigenous people. So, I think there's a lot of danger of a lot of resentment building within, not white Australia, but mainstream Australia. They are thinking, 'I am still facing the same hardships. I am still proving for my family why should someone else get a leg up. And I think in all of this, in all this the history of why policy is being brought into play get lost. It is always about you and your needs, trying to provide for your family and that is understandable. But I think that there needs to be greater understanding otherwise I think there is going to be a real, (sigh), potentially a divide or a building of resentment as to why should somebody gets preferential treatment. (<i>do you hear that?</i>) Not yet, no. I hope I don't. I don't think that there is a strong enough, when governments announce these policies. And</p>

	<p>I think often times governments make things worse. I think that they try to do things with the best of intentions but I don't think that there is enough explanation as to why. And I think that if you want people, (people in general like to be reasonable) and with knowledge, and it comes back to learning history so that you can go, 'that makes sense'. If I understand why something's happening then I am more likely to accept it. I may not agree with it but I am likely to go, 'yeah alright I get why that's happening'. So that would be my worry for going forward.</p>
<b>Will</b>	<p>I think that it is still going to take a long time. We are only just coming to terms with, I think, the fact of the intergenerational trauma that is there, from a white person's perspective. I think we are only now realising that. 20 years ago people were saying, 'people just have to get over it. Life is not like that now'. We actually recognise, that you can't just get over it and that there needs to be some acknowledgement. How long did it take us to say sorry, 'cos we weren't around back then'? Those sort of things. The truth is that it is still going to take another generation or two for that trauma to heal. I think that is probably the hard truth. And it's not for all of them, but for a significant number. And, the other, I guess, too is the, I mean we tended to think about people living in remote communities as the norm but our biggest Aboriginal population is Blacktown, followed by Campbelltown, not even Redfern here in Sydney. They are the sorts of things that I think that people need to think about. That there is a whole other aspect to what it means to be Aboriginal living in an urban environment and well as living in a remote community.</p> <p>I think that the biggest truth for them [Australians] is that it is up to all of us to make a difference. And I think that it is easy for us as individuals to go, 'this is somebody else's problem', 'what can I do? I can't actually make a difference'. But it is a bit of that collective force, that I had in my thing [personal sculpture] before, lots of little bits do actually make change. And that's the biggest truth for us. And, there is quite a few people doing that and there are still a lot more that need to step up and say, 'Yeah, I have a role to play in this. I can do that'.</p> <p><i>Do you see that in work or in general attitudes?</i> I see it in work roles and in people's general life styles as well. There is a contribution that we can make. That we can all do in different ways and small ways. Obviously, you have to be comfortable doing that, so you have got to increase your own knowledge to do that.</p> <p>The purpose I think collectively, is for us to understand how we are all going to live together in this country. That we have to understand their [First Nations people's] history, their background to be able to understand what today's modern society looks like and that has a whole lot of other influences now as well, that are in that mix as well. But if we don't understand where that comes from, what the meaning behind all that is, I don't think we can, we will never get reconciliation in a way that is productive for us all. And not putting all that responsibility back onto them to just 'get over it'. It is a collective responsibility.</p>
<b>Xavier</b>	<p>I think there's an underlying feeling as a non-Indigenous person, of just... a hard word to find because it's not necessarily 'shame' but definitely a disappointment with how we did treat our First Custodians of the land. But then also trying to remember that they, English had limited knowledge themselves, as well. One of the hardships will be just an acceptance. And acceptance of our ancestors for what they did. And it is ok to say, "What they did was wrong." Not what we did, and hindsight is an amazing thing. It can also be a horrible thing when you get to reflect back and you go, "well if I knew that now, I wouldn't have done..."</p> <p>But then also trying to remember that they, you know the English had limited knowledge themselves, as well.</p> <p><i>(Your Primary and secondary education?)</i> I think that, maybe not necessarily my age. But I definitely do know that my nieces and nephews that are at school are receiving more [education on Indigenous Australians]. My niece, they do an acknowledgement of country. We do it together. We had an opportunity to do it together and I looked at my 10-year-old niece and she was able to pretty much say it word for word, what she was meant to, which I was like, that's ace, that's how it should be. So, I feel like there's more inclusion and ownership and they are bringing it in more. But it probably could be a lot more than what they are doing. And, I mean, my memories of the education that I had was the Dreamtime and it would have been the colonisation in high school that sort of thing. Not as much as what I suppose I've learnt since leaving high school, educating myself. Being part of Yyyyy (work) where we do a lot in regards to reconciliation and we have training modules that we have to be refreshing ourselves every two years.</p>



	<p>(Why do you think that your workplace is so dedicated to increasing the competency of staff?) One thing that definitely drives it is the Health gap. It's something that our prevention team is really focused on. The life expectancy of an Indigenous person verses a white Australian is something like 11 or 15 years difference and it's one of our commitments as an organisation to help close that gap.</p> <p>We've got Prevention programs. We've got support services for those that already are affected by illness. It's constantly working with the communities to try and establish ways that we can support all (state) including our Indigenous Australians.</p> <p>(Is there also a recognition that being recognised in Australia is part of improving health?) Absolutely. Absolutely. Absolutely. We are in the third year of our Stretch RAP, so this is the fourth year then that we have had a RAP at work, which is great. And I am lucky enough to be part of the peak advisory group, the peak body and then one or two of the sub-committees, which do all the doing. So, I am really very fortunate to be able to be included in that. And that was an invitation that was open to all staff, which was also lovely. It's very inclusive in that if someone had a passion in something that they want to be involved, there is definitely encouragement from management to be involved. I love it when I hear some of my friends talk about, well they are just doing their first RAP. I'm like, '4 years!' So, it's really nice. We work very closely with Aboriginal organisations and the other health organisations. So, we've got an awareness, we've got an association. It is not new for our organisation to be aware of, not only our Indigenous cultures but our other culturally and linguistically diverse communities as well.</p> <p>If I am talking generally, dropping the prejudice or the bias that some people have, that is just so unfounded or just been passed on from their generation to generation and just actually taking a step back and just saying, 'put yourself in their shoes. With everything going on in the world here at the moment; it's often what I do when I have a whinge about something, I go, "Oh my God, let me just put myself in a poor family in Syria, in their shoes and what they are facing. I can get through anything because I am not facing that sort of hardship." One of the hardships will be just an acceptance. And acceptance of our ancestors for what they did. And it is ok to say, 'What they did was wrong.' Not what we did', and hindsight is an amazing thing, it can also be a horrible thing when you get to reflect back and you go, 'well if I knew that now, I wouldn't have done ... They are our First Peoples. It astounds me that as a Country we don't honour and respect them as much as what I think we should. And what they deserve. I am hoping that as these next generations are educated, and I think they already are a lot more compassionate, empathetic and have a more worldly view. That they will be the generations that will say, 'Hang on a minute' I don't have to carry the prejudices that my great, great, great, great-grandfather had. And I'm going to have my own opinion about what we did and I'm going to help make some change, a positive change. And make it inclusive, that's what I would love it to be.</p> <p>Continuing to educate people on how to be involved and understand. Watching the football on the weekend and watching them have an Acknowledgement of Country. You know, those sorts of things. Maybe that's more it, you do hear more in relation to some of the communities up North, the hardships they face. Some of the devastating things that are happening up in those communities, which I don't think that what we have been trying to do is working ... I don't know what the answer is there.</p>
<b>Yvon</b>	<p>The key conflicts and hard truths about Aboriginal knowledge, that Australians are going to face...Mainstream Australians are going to face two key conflicts and hard truths:</p> <p>(one) That they will have to witness a culture disappear and die, or,</p> <p>(or B) they will find themselves at the negotiating table, with, and having to give up a lot of the things they have. Because, they have to give up a lot of the things they have as a way to embrace the Aboriginal culture into the wider society. I think those are the two hard truths.</p> <p>at this moment society is very open to things like Aboriginal land claims and area rights. If Aboriginal people stood up and were smart about it, I think, they could actually, substantially acquire rights to vast quantities of land, in this country, that, I think, a lot of Australians would be shocked at. But only if they were actually to act and fight and stand up and do it. And, there's obviously people in Australia who have interests in the land who would oppose that but I think at this moment in history they would actually, <i>could</i>, do that in a united, pragmatic, really thought through way, and, I think that the government would capitulate readily, and a lot of Australians would be shocked at what the Aboriginal Australians could gain financially.</p>

	<p>Q4 A disjointed and un-harmonious path in front of the Aboriginal people. I'd say that those are the things that we'd like to see disappear. Wanting to emerge is a single, united, joint path forward.</p> <p>Q5 Aboriginal people are struggling and can't find their way.</p>
<b>Zeb</b>	<p>Ending, hopefully, that cycle of ill health. Emerging, hopefully a modern identity that makes it easier for Indigenous people to find their place if they are feeling displaced in Australian society as it is now.</p> <p>(<i>You get a sense that displacement is related to the health issues?</i>) That and just having a different way of life thrust upon them. And there are different approaches to communication and that sort of thing that must be confronting.</p> <p>for everyone to realise that health is a much more difficult path for Indigenous Australians</p>

### 15 c) – (Barriers) Loss of knowledge

Part't	Barriers - c) Loss of knowledge
<b>Fred</b>	There is some investment required, or it will be totally lost. If not lost it will not be shared with the broader Australian community.
<b>Gert</b>	A lot of the country that it [the knowledge] pertains to has been destroyed. In some places it's almost like it is too late because some places have been built over with concrete and roads and buildings. I think the population as well, in some places, having been decimated a couple of hundred years ago, and still continuing in terms of life outcomes [morbidity and mortality].
<b>Harry</b>	Remembering how many languages there were many, many years ago and that gets lost as generations pass away.
<b>Ian</b>	There is knowledge that we are unearthing and we are returning to because we've either lost it or ignored it through Western occupation
<b>Jan</b>	We have either discounted it or replaced it with something else. If it hasn't been lost it probably will be lost because it has been taken over.
<b>Kim</b>	A lot of knowledge gets lost. That keeping those traditions and knowledge alive is something that those communities will face going forward.
<b>Mary</b>	<p>So much has already been lost and there is an urgency to capture knowledge.</p> <p>That as a consequence of a lack of investment, in capturing Indigenous knowledge that we have lost knowledge, knowledge that was available to us 50 – 100 – 200 years ago, that we didn't choose to help preserve. And that it is on the watch of the governments that represent the people of Australia that more knowledge could be lost.</p> <p>I hope what is ending in this situation is the unconscious loss of Indigenous knowledge.</p>
<b>Noel</b>	There is potentially significant amounts of history that have already been lost, forever.
<b>Olive</b>	There has been splintering off and disruption and isolation and loss of culture because it has been broken off from the past.
<b>Quay</b>	The story of that interaction with the land, which is something, that we have lost, I have lost. A sense of loss perhaps, for society, can we make up that ground because, so much Indigenous culture is lost already; languages, stories, understanding. There are things that we don't realise that we have lost and we will never regain.
<b>Rex</b>	Those stories have been lost. I have heard people talk about stories being lost along the way.
<b>Sue</b>	The loss of this heritage, the loss of this background, the loss of understanding.
<b>Tom</b>	Some of that knowledge has gone... possibly the loss of knowledge in some areas. But I can't speak to that. I am not an Aboriginal person. I don't know what is remembered, not remembered, what's been passed on, what's not.
<b>Verity</b>	There is a danger of culture dying. As the Indigenous population, especially the young ones go, 'that's the ideal in the Western world'. We hold that up as, 'this is what you should achieve'. ... there is a real danger of the breakdown of the family in that pursuit of individual knowledge and career and self-fulfilment. Then a whole generation of knowledge being lost. They have lost so much and they have been left behind and marginalized by society so much.

## Appendix 16 – Participant Quotations and Artworks selected

Participants were asked in the first interview to select a piece of art that they felt represented, “the current situation and future possibilities of Indigenous Australian knowledge”. In doing so they began to talk about their perceptions of this knowledge. Some of their quotations follow (*Please note that several of the participants apologised to the artists for putting their own interpretation on their picture. E.g. Rex, “You have got to be really careful because I have overlaid my meaning to these pieces of artwork and they will have other meaning when they are being painted and created.”*):

<b>Artworks selected</b> <i>The Guardian, note: first names only have been used where artists are still incarcerated. (Bell, 2017)</i>	<b>Corresponding quotations</b>
 <p>Artist: Ray Traplin, Kuku Yalandji. Cape York Hunting Grounds, 2016. Acrylic on canvas. ‘My hunting grounds are made up of jungle and tropical flood plains. The painting shows animals and tucker found in and around this place. There are four layers and each displays a season and what change it brings, where we meet and what we hunt. The bush python in the background is painted to actual size.’ (Bell, 2017)</p>	<p>Bobby: Because of its complexity. There’s a lot going on inside of it, and I don’t really understand a lot of it. Don’t understand a lot of the symbolism and I know that there are things in there that have meanings; It’s like a language that I have not been taught. So, when I think of the current state and the future state, I think that is how I feel about it.</p> <p>Liam: I interpreted some of these ones on the outside as more integration with the world but retaining the strength, the core of Aboriginal knowledge and cultural learning.</p> <p>Pam: a couple of things: for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people the absolute connection to the land and understanding of the land and how everything intertwines each together; I look at the green and it looks like a path but, actually, if you look more closely, that’s a snake weaving through; It doesn’t feel like, even the images of people are planted onto the scene, but they are actually part of the scene. ... If I think about Indigenous knowledge now and into the future, -Is that knowledge under threat?... the boundary around it, the guarding, and the hunting, that knowledge is under threat. That, maybe there is a bit of disarray there too, that we need to get through that, if there’s a more positive future for that knowledge and the sharing of that knowledge.</p> <p>Rex: The background provides stability, in that it’s in one way been going on for thousands and thousands and thousands of years. And that our context, in the forefront, is changing... I think, what is ending in this scenario ... is that tension between what’s occurring now and the past. If I use this image, that forefront picture moves back into the background picture, is a part of it. And that forefront picture moves more to a new way and a new state, of being. So, it is that transition of acknowledgement, and becomes a part of the back, the continuous story but then moving forward that higher, that layer that is more present that continues to evolve and change. ... And I think, in some cases you can never heal the past but how do you respect the past and learn from the past and history, and how do you create a platform to move forward... the background picture of Indigenous knowledge is really tying together thousands of generations of understanding of both the land that we live on and</p>

	<p>community. But also... It also represents the importance of what conversations that we are currently having now, and the actions that we are taking. The ability for all Australians to be able to understand and engage with Traditional knowledge and understanding. And, how that relates to a shared future. Future, that we think forward into ten thousand years' time, how that shared future has been created.</p> <p>Will (2<sup>nd</sup>/ change): This one to me, there is still all the individual aspects to it and there are all these pathways to make it happen. That is, some of them are connected. In fact, probably most of them are connected if you follow them through. But, there still looks to be..., well this one comes to a dead end so sometimes then a pathway will do that. But along the way here there is a lot of richness in that as well. I saw [the first choice] as more connected. Whereas, this one, there are connections in that but it is still very flowing in one direction. There are all these bits to it all over which is probably about the more understanding we get the more we will be able to do that. We won't need to stay on a set course to do something ... We will be able to deviate. We will be able to go, 'well this is a river, we can float down here but we can get out and wander around here.</p> <p>Xavier: It could be saying, 'We are a culture that is self-sufficient and old, and part of this land, lived breathed' ... It is showing that there are multiple areas that are connected... with the blue through it, it looks like the River ways so it gives a nice picture of what Australia; the red earth, the river ways.</p>
 <p>Artist: Hector Tjupuru Burton, Pitjantjatjara. Punu, 2011.</p>	<p>Gert: I like this one because, it's got lots of hands, what I think are little hands reaching in. So, you have got, like a tree... A tree of knowledge.</p> <p>Ian: Aboriginal &amp; Torres Strait Islander people as a group, are diverse and complex and are multi-faceted and deep and rich and so the bottom half represents that. ... That knowledge is one of the most continuing forms of knowledge, the oldest continuing form of knowledge in the world. ... there is knowledge that we are unearthing and we are returning to because we've either lost it or ignored it, through Western occupation. ...there are beginnings of a ground swell of acknowledgement of that understanding. ... It has been a complex past, as well. It has been a shared history. So, that knowledge is interlinked and intertwined with many other forms of cultural knowledge as well. Not just a linear path. ... we have got a new generation who have been through quite a lot of trauma and it gets quite complex to the centre there. ... trauma impacts on how people can communicate and engage. And that means that we have a lot to do to ensure that going forward people can express themselves. But we have a bright, the top end [of the picture] is the sense of this next generation feeling empowered, but also in touch with</p>

Acrylic on linen.  
(Tjala Artists, p233, 2015)

everything, their past and their communities. And it is a modern future.  
Yvonne: you have got lots of hands reaching in, what I see as hands anyway. And, so the tree, the knowledge is being pulled apart in a lot of different ways. In a lot of ways, whether it is for good or bad I just can't tell from the picture. But it is just being pulled. So, it is in conflict and there's uncertainty. I see a tree of knowledge, and I see a lot of hands grasping at it. And if we are talking about the present and future for Aboriginal people, there's a lot of, its uncertain and it is being pulled at from many different angles. Hope. ...And I think that comes out quite strongly in that picture, personally.



Artist: Wayne, Wemba Wemba.  
Spirit of Australia, 2016.  
Acrylic on canvas. 'My totem is the black cockatoo of the Wemba Wemba people. The male is off hunting for food for his female partner who is sitting on the branch. I am represented as the man in the middle of the painting.' (Bell, 2017)

Harry (2<sup>nd</sup>): 'spreading your wings'... sharing that knowledge and getting it as far and wide,  
Cath (2<sup>nd</sup>): it has clear reference to Indigenous and white Australia in it... There's the history, nature, recognising that there are white Australians who aren't going anywhere. ... Nature Spirituality, the Rock.





Artist: Michael, Torres Strait Islands.  
The Boy Becomes a Man (Part 2), 2016.  
Acrylic on canvas. 'This painting represents a boy's journey to manhood, the lost spirit in his journey through life, the loved ones that are sadly missed and deeply embedded in the hearts of some, and the spirits of all Indigenous people as we are all one family.' (Bell, 2017)

Verity (2<sup>nd</sup>): Yes, I do want to talk about this piece because I find it very moving. An interesting one for me to pick for knowledge. It comes back to something that I said before about, the worry of a whole generation of people being left behind. And also, then a whole generation of knowledge being lost. For me, this figure is feeling left behind. But, they have got so much knowledge to share and bring. And the opportunities aren't just for the young ones coming through but it is that sharing and breaking though the... sort of that tunnel, Tunnel of opportunity. But everybody needs ... don't leave anyone behind. I really like that piece. It is a very powerful piece.

Yvonne: I see an Aboriginal man. All sorts of ghosts or spirits swirling but, they are descending into a void. They are descending into a black hole of some sort and disappearing. It's stark and jumps right out at you. It is very obvious. There is a lot of negativity. I see these like, evil, negative, sort of spirits, swimming around this Aboriginal man, sort of, disappearing into this whirlpool, vortex... These look like evil spirits of some sort and just looks like the person looks to me like they are lost and are falling into an abyss or a vortex, of some sort. I see a sort of swirling of knowledge, of spirits, I see a swirling and that person being consumed and disappearing, ... Australia is facing a choice, to either embrace the Aboriginal culture into the wider society or witness a culture disappear and die...



Artist: Ngaanyatjarra woman from Papulankutja WA.  
Wool spinner, 1989.  
Found on the road in Pipalyatjara after a truck carrying many people from Papulankutja WA passed through town in 1989.

Jan: I don't know what it is. I don't know what it is used for. But it looks like it is something that is important. A little bit like, to me, our understanding of Aboriginal people. We kind of, think that we get it, but we have never worked out the making of it. Why it was used, what it was used for. To me, it is so representative of where we are.

Pam (2<sup>nd</sup>): I keep coming back to this [wool spinner] I was thinking about this earlier, that in one way it could represent, Indigenous history, perhaps it was originally like this fluffy piece in the middle and harmonious and happy and then white-man turned up and put spikes through it. Future, then I don't know, I was thinking that maybe to get to this warm place we are going to have to pierce a few holes in things, pop a few bubbles. [Such as] non-Indigenous people's unwillingness to engage on the issue and to genuinely deeply think about it. So, I think that there are some people that get behind it ... that gets you to 'acceptance'...but maybe there needs to be a deeper, to get a genuine appreciation so you are ... actually embracing them because you see value in them and you see value in their culture and their people and what they do and what they can teach us and what we can all learn from them.

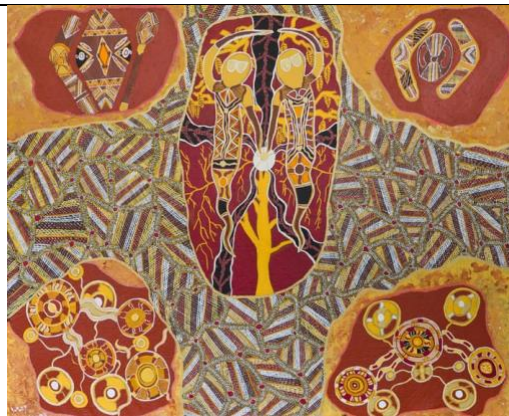


Artist: Glenda, Yorta Yorta.  
Mirror Image, 2016.

Acrylic on canvas. 'Mirror Image represents me and my identical twin sister swimming in the Boulevard waterhole along the Goulburn river. This is where we would swim growing up as children.'  
(Bell, 2017)

Ern: Well, it looks like two fish in a pond. And there are only the two fish in the pond ... I think of that as Indigenous folk and non-Indigenous folk. And we are on this land mass that is Australia, that is isolated, ...it's a bit like a pond in that people and animals can't easily get in, and we are swimming around, and we are in the same proximity but we're heading in slightly different directions. This fish needs to turn around and they need to swim in the same direction. (*Which fish?*) The fish that's got the greater resources, the one that has more opportunities [needs to turn around]... The non-Indigenous fish at the bottom is needed to turn in a clockwise direction.

Dave: There's an ancient legend. A 30 second version of the story is that there was an all-knowing salmon in the river, and the king had the salmon caught so that he could eat the fish and become all knowing and all powerful. A servant boy, was tasked with cooking the fish and when he touched the fish to see if it was cooked he burnt his finger and inadvertently licked it and *he* gained all the knowledge. Maybe the moral of that story is that powerful people shouldn't get all the knowledge ... the ordinary people should get the knowledge and that's what I got from that [seeing this picture].



Artist: Wally, Mutti Mutti.  
Origins, 2016.

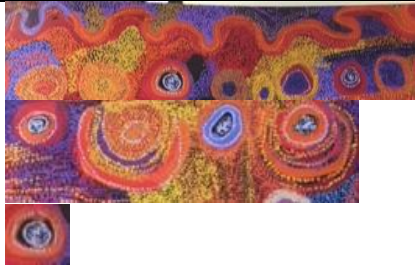
Acrylic on canvas. 'This painting is about connection to family and Aboriginality. We are all connected to each other and to land. The bottom corners represent neighbouring tribes, be they near or across country. The top corners are a representation of our Aboriginal heritage; tools and weapons uniquely made by our people, our ancestors. The two centre spirits are joined by a ball of power. This represents the making of your own family and the continuation of the bloodlines and family tree, which are the red dots and the golden tree behind the spirits.'  
(Bell, 2017)

Kim: The rich tapestry of images. I like the separateness but togetherness. And this middle area, which these people or gods. And I really like that central focal point and that togetherness. Interesting. And then the different textures in the backdrop. I really like knowing about the art and artists, a bit of context. I find that really interesting when thinking about this kind of artwork. Are you bringing your own stuff to it or are you having a learning experience with the artist?... I feel like the encapsulation of the people in the centre and the spirituality that the connection to the tree and the land there it looks like it is ready to be born out of the egg or the womb. For me that is the potential of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in our community. The potential is really there, ready to emerge and to come forward... when I think about the kind of change that I would like, it is more connections between both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and between all Australians and the land. I think that is pretty fundamental stuff and we are too distant from the land in a very large city. Noel (2<sup>nd</sup>): Once again because of the complexity. But also, the focus is still centre, there is still a significant amount of attention, focus, complexity and purpose in the centre, that is drawing the attention there. But there are also still significant amounts of opportunity or learning at the edges as well, the peripheral. It is not that it can be ringfenced, you can't capture it all. It's not all just in a spot or that it's not static. That it is dynamic and it



 <p>Artist: Veronica Mungaloon Hudson, Pitjantjatjara. Blue Tongue with Guardians, 2016. Acrylic on canvas. (Bell, 2017)</p>	<p>is developing and that it is still growing constantly at the edges and in every direction.</p> <p>Abbey: To me this shows that there are a lot of people that are looking in and focussing on, 'the lizard' but I see it possibly as a prison and all of these people are Australia. There's a lot more focus on that and appreciating it as something beautiful, as art, as opposed to just something that is taboo, or not spoken about. In a sense ... historically what we've viewed as Indigenous is the dot painting and not a lot else. It is probably only now that [there are] a lot more facets to Indigenous art that we are starting to appreciate and starting to embrace. To me that represents my interaction with how the nation and how, 'us' generally are embracing that culture more. ... What is containing Indigenous Australians is the way they are being perceived and represented in Australia. The lizard is in a prison, and society is looking at it... I think that a lot of Indigenous people probably still feel imprisoned compared to other communities... I think that the prison is still there and they are a bit forgotten... Really [I see the challenge and opportunity as] getting rid of those locks and immersing everyone into the one environment. ... The way Indigenous people have been treated historically relates to why so many are in prison now. The fact that these are artworks created by Indigenous prisoners is something that I relate to from a perspective of, there's a lot of attention from society on Indigenous culture, but there is still a lot of historical issues around the way Indigenous people have been treated over a long period of time.</p>
 <p>Artist: Wawiriya Burton, Pitjantjatjara. Ngayuku Ngura, 2012. Acrylic on linen. (Tjala Artists, p137, 2015)</p>	<p>Quay: But then I loved this one coz, it's the story, and just skimming through this [the text opposite the art piece], there is a story behind it. But it was just the immense detail and the time taken and therefore the passion behind the creation, that really got me. It's not something that was done in 5 minutes. And then I saw the [photo of the] woman and the size and scale [standing next to her painting] and thinking, she's not a young woman but she has taken that time, to do what is weeks of work, in telling the story so the relative importance of that investment as well.</p> <p>Will: It is because it still has lots of bits and contained, things in it. Where I think, knowledge is, certainly increasing. And even in the work that I've done over the years, I can see, there is more understanding but it is in, in pockets, I think. And depending on who you are and where you are and what part of the country you are in. Where you live. ... I have been fortunate in my life to work in quite different places and um, with very different people. All of those little bits that are sitting there in pockets, I can still, but I get a sense that there is a flow, here (represented in the wavy lines at the bottom), that I can see that it does build and it from time, we get into momentums where we can see it coming together, where it is not so, segmented in that</p>





As above

knowledge. I can see that flowing on the edges as well. So, it's, and eventually, if this was an evolving piece then we might just see it all just flowed. And, yes, there still might be some distinct bits but they might not be as, quite as defined as that [pointing to an enclosed circle] ... A consistent theme for me is these little nucleuses in these circles will fade out as they meld together but we would have more of this flow of coming together. But, it is not going to be, won't always be a smooth path, like this looks like here. There is going to be, we are going to go around, and at times these [nucleuses in circles] will emerge again. And perhaps when they emerge again in a good way. New life, a different perspective. Melding together to be more like, instead of being these distinct things they take on a new life. ... More connected; there might be these circles here but these two might have gone out and joined together. That sort of thing where you can see how this one and this one. So, we have a more moving outward; increasing the ripples. I think it's telling me that I do need to focus on certain aspects and increase my knowledge. I can't get to this, that I see as the future [the wavy lines at the bottom] if I don't fill these bits here with these individual bits of knowledge. And sometimes that could be intense. So, see where they have got the black bits here, that's intense and might actually be quite uncomfortable for me to do. But I still feel that I need to do that otherwise I won't get to where I want to be... If you need to be in this little pool here, that doesn't look as intense as this one here, then that is where you need to be. There are more ripples around there so you feel like you are [more included]. We all have to start somewhere where we feel comfortable. My big message is that we all have got a role to play and that is as individuals as well as a collective.



Artist: Silvia Ken, Pitjantjatjara.  
Seven Sisters, 2011.  
Acrylic on linen.  
(Tjala Artists, p101, 2015)

Zeb (2<sup>nd</sup>): It reminds me of a quilt; everything being interwoven. Hopefully having that link to different fields of knowledge.



Artist: Hector Tjupuru Burton, Jimmy Donegan & Willy Kaika Burton, Pitjantjatjara.  
Anumara Tjukurpa, 2014.  
Acrylic on linen.  
(Tjala Artists, p175, 2015)

Sue: Love the colour. I love the brightness. It feels cheerful. It feels that there has been an evolution in the culture and the craft of Indigenous art. That genera. Whilst I absolutely adore some of the dot paintings, I just think that this is, it is almost impressionist. It's the evolution of the culture, it's immersed in history but it is of today. It's relevant today. It's assimilating into today. It's evolving, essentially.  
So, it represents currency to me; the future of the culture. Love, love, love the brightness.

"ANANGU CULTURE IS FAMILY CULTURE AND IT IS CIRCULAR, THERE IS NO BEGINNING OR END.", 201.

Artist: Tjampawa Kawiny, Pitjantjatjara.  
Words on page.  
(Tjala Artists, p179, 2015)

Sue: , I love the whole book. I just love the strength of family culture. I love the fact that it is circular and there's no beginning or end. It's indefinite. It's infinite. It's everything. But I would add to that 'nature'. Nature, family, people. There is no beginning or end. Just perpetual energy in motion.



Artist: Nyunmiti Burton, Pitjantjatjara.  
Ngayuku Ngura, 2014.  
(Tjala Artists, p211, 2015)

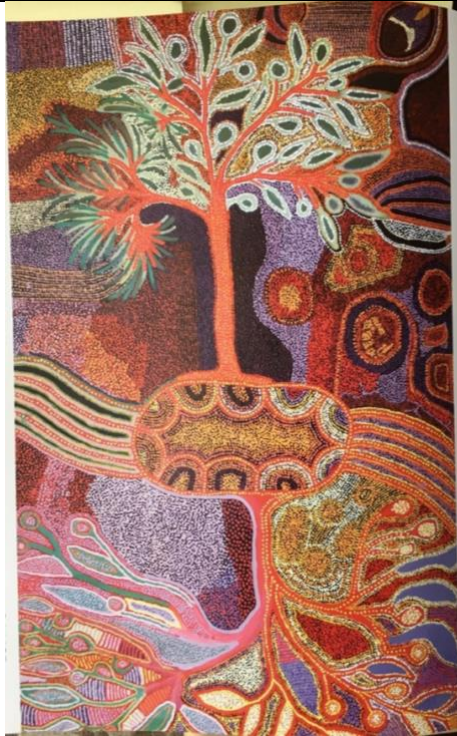
Fred: These pockets [of Indigenous knowledge] are either going to reduce, reduce, reduce and ultimately not be visible *OR* they'll be wider spread and become so much more, better networked and you won't see these little pockets any more, it will be just totally integrated... this indicates pockets of knowledge and the future state would have a more even distribution of knowledge...knowledge of Indigenous Australia, is in little pockets right now, it's not universally known.



Artist: Christopher, Gunditjmarra  
Keerraaywoorong.  
Two Cultures, 2016.  
Acrylic on canvas. 'I painted two different frogs because my mum and dad are from two different nationalities and countries. Coming together for the first time, I wanted to show two cultures can get along together. Bright leaves show happier times.'  
(Bell, 2017)

Fred (2<sup>nd</sup>): This second picture represents the cusp that we are on; the question in relation to our future...Unless something is done, in this generation, and the future generation, I think that we will lose Indigenous Australia forever...I don't think that there is even any thinking in this regard, from a policy perspective. We don't have a proper Government policy or thinking on this. Policy is not the right word, we don't have any *thinking* on this... [on the issue of Indigenous knowledge]. ... There's a green smaller frog on a smaller lily pad and a brown frog, a bigger frog on a bigger lily pad and if I think about mainstream, non-Indigenous Australia as the brown frog, the bigger one, on the bigger lily pad and Indigenous Australia as the smaller frog on the smaller lily pad ... either the smaller lily pad and the smaller frog grows and everything becomes uniform ... *OR* the bigger frog grows and grows and the bigger lily pad grows and grows and grows and starts to invade or push the green frog off its lily pad.





Artist: Mrs Riley, Nyurpaya Kaika, Nurina Burton and Katanari Tjilya, Pitjantjatjara.  
*Untitled*, 2011. (Tjala Artists, p232, 2015)

Verity: Tree of knowledge, deep roots into the earth and ground, and drawing from years, and years and years and years of growth to give life to new generations to come and ever growing with the root systems, the strong foundations. The tree will stand for thousands of years to come. ...

A new hybrid culture, I think. I don't know necessarily if that is a good or bad thing. But I think certainly there's the new shoots of opportunity. Don't leave the old behind. You can create something new. It doesn't have to be that way or this way. You can create a new path. So, I think it could be an exciting time or it could go off and become a dead twig off the tree. But I think in all of that it needs someone's exciting new vision of what is possible. It doesn't have to be what is currently in place. It can be something completely new. ... Bring the past with you. The past gives the life for us currently and the future. Without the roots and what has gone before, we can't chop off our roots because our tree will die and we die and lose our sense of identity and where we have come from. And all the different elements that feed into it. So, the years of watering. I think there is a lot that goes into keeping us going or a tree going, it is not just one element.



Artist: Paul Green, Bardi.  
*When Saltwater Meets Freshwater*, 2016.  
Acrylic on canvas. 'Beagle Bay in my country in Broome. It's where the ocean comes in. The tide goes out between 11 and 13 metres and, when it comes in, the saltwater meets the freshwater, filling up the creeks. We hunt there in this saltwater country for mud crab, stingray, shellfish, turtle, dugong, fish, crayfish and more.'  
(Bell, 2017)

Ern (2<sup>nd</sup>): [The change that I would like to see] is this one, like two streams coming into one, perhaps, but you would need this section [the lower part of the river] to be a bit wider, because it looks like it is going out [to the upper left corner, rather than flowing toward the bottom right corner] but that could represent the confluence of two arms of water into one. It could be three, and you could say, that they are: Indigenous folk, the white folk and all the other folk, all the other different ethnic groups coming into one stream.



Artist: Muntamai, Pitjantjatjara.  
Spear thrower (1986).  
Given to Karen & Jim Newkirk in Amata.

Zeb: this one (spear thrower) for current situation. The reason I chose this is because I suppose it is appearing a little bit burnt and, I am a health professional and thinking of the state of Indigenous health which is not what it should be.



Artist: Doza, Gunnai/Kurnai.  
Water Goanna, 2016.  
Acrylic on canvas. 'This is the water monitor lizard. He is walking his country, the country of the Gunnai-Kurnai. The coloured trees represent ancestral meeting places, scarred trees and massacre sites of my people. My country is Braiakaulung, one of the five clans of the Gunnai-Kurnai.'  
(Bell, 2017)

Zeb: And then, this picture, because sustainability springs to mind for me. It is lush and green and all that sort of thing. And I just feel that that's a, probably a big part of what I sense that Indigenous knowledge can play a part for the future.

Quay: I did really like this one here from one of the prisoners, which is a water goanna. And it was really that the story behind it. I guess you can sense that there is a troubled place from the artist but also again it's that importance of water and land and history, that comes out of that to me. ... [Indigenous Australians] have been pushed into a certain box and my thoughts, personally, are that there are young Indigenous people who are growing up believing that they are constrained in a certain box. So, we need to open that box and give them every opportunity.

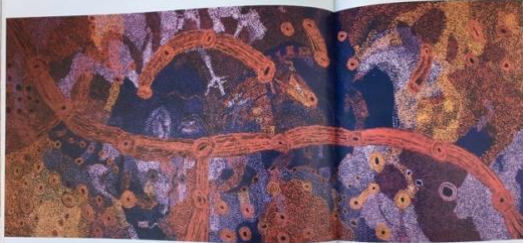


Artist: Andrew, Wailwan.  
Creation of the Castlereagh River, 2016.  
Acrylic on canvas. 'Two spiritual serpents were sent by the great creator, Wahwee, to create the Castlereagh river that runs through my country today. One serpent was sent to grade out the river while the brown one followed behind and gave the colour to the banks and land around the river. The trees pictured in the centre of this painting

Noel: There's a complexity to it. There's plenty going on, as far as, paths and lines and stories. There's two creatures on it but they are both looking away from each other and looking outside, at the edges. Instead of looking at one another or with one another, or instead of looking at all of the complexity that is going on inside. And, I would say that is probably one of the best representations of the view on Indigenous Australian knowledge and whether we are or aren't access it, and understanding it.



represent our land that the serpents have travelled through. The red dotted circles and lines represent the resting place where the serpents slept on their journey while creating the Castlereagh.’  
(Bell, 2017)



Artist: Silvia Ken, Pitjantjatjara.  
Seven Sisters, 2011.  
Acrylic on linen.  
(Tjala Artists, p101, 2015)

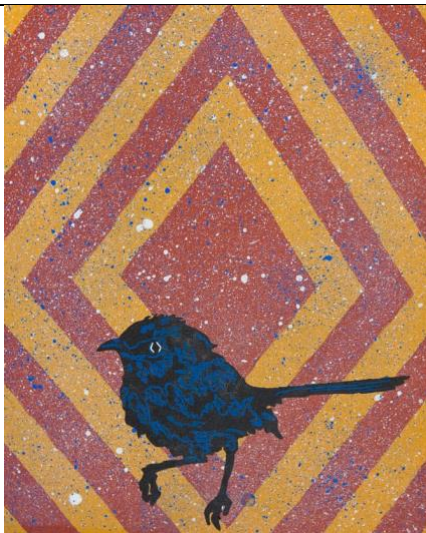


Artist: Patjiparon Mick, Pitjantjatjara.  
Redgum root carved snake, 1984.  
Given to Karen Newkirk 1984.

Ursula: I like the balance. The thread that runs through there. A little bit of mystery to it. The colours; I really like the colours. That indigo blue in here, is fantastic and not all that common. I find that to be a very well executed and an intelligent piece of art. That is reflective of a higher knowledge base. That appeals to me. Is it Sylvia Ken? Hmmmm Seven Sisters, that is Pleiades. It is a very mystical star constellation, isn't it, because you can't quite focus on it. You train your eyes on it and you can't quite see it. I like her work and I'm happy that I chose this one.

Olive: I chose this one because it had a long, what looked like, journey through it, or a long pathway and then some key cross-road points and different divergences. This is what caught me.

I chose the snake because I am absolutely terrified of snakes. It is the only thing that I am really scared of; when I have nightmares, to me snakes are the scariest. ...I chose the snake because I think Australia is really scared of its Aboriginal history and past, and in the past I have been scared of it. And scared of what it means to be an Australian and to repair that history. And feeling a bit powerless as well and how you can feel powerless to make a difference. I felt that the snake went with this because it was a journey but also the fear that sits around snakes. I deliberately placed the snake facing the past.

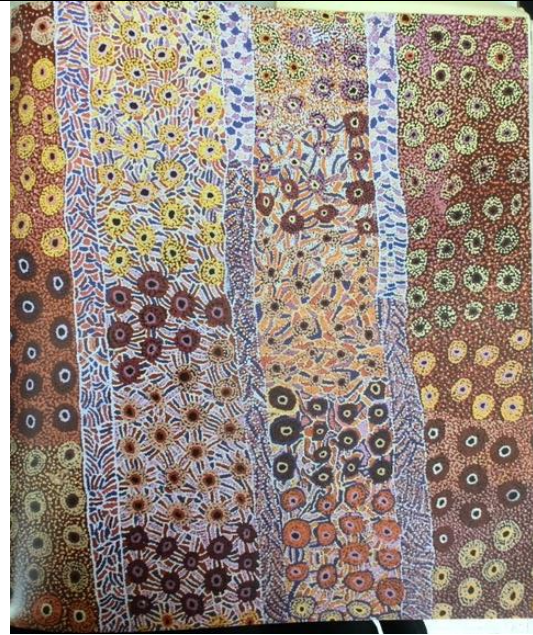


Artist: Tiffany Hood, Kurnai.  
The Blue Wren, 2016.  
Acrylic on canvas. 'The blue wren is my totem as I'm from the Kurnai tribe. The backdrop represents diamond, the shape designs from our shields. The sprayed paint represents the blue wren's eggs. The blue in

Abbey (2<sup>nd</sup>): You wouldn't initially look at that picture, with the blue wren, and think of it as Indigenous art. Really, I think that it should be, something that could look quite contemporary, and not necessarily just a piece of historical Indigenous art. Blending that tradition with contemporary art.

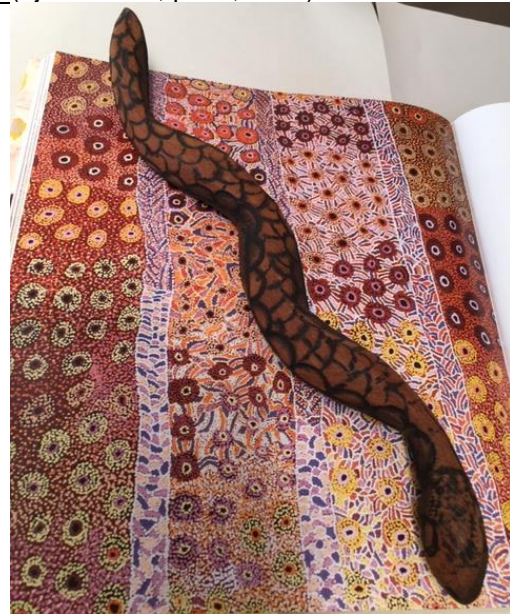
Ursula (2<sup>nd</sup>): The little cocky wren. He has a sense of (cockiness) confidence. I think that is what I like about it. It is quite nicely done. I like the fact that he is a confident bird. There is a confidence there about the future. And there is a recognition that this is against an Indigenous setting. A rather different idea with the diamond shape motifs. I rather like that and I like the white spattering for some reason.

the bird represents the waterways of Kurnai land, the rivers and creeks.' (Bell, 2017)



Artist: Tjimpayi Presley, Pitjantjatjara.  
Kapi Tjukuḷa Tjuṭa, 2012.  
Acrylic on linen.  
(Tjala Artists, p185, 2015)

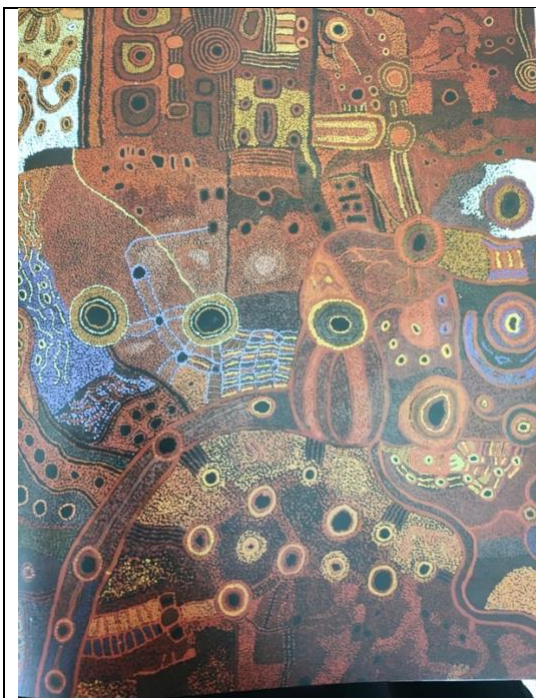
Tom: I liked the connectedness of everyone in that [second picture on the ipad from The Guardian]. How everything is interlinked. It gave me the thought but this one gave me the feeling. This one was more about a positive feeling that I hope that Aboriginal people in Australia and non-Aboriginal people in Australia can come together and move forward in whatever we have got to do to do that. I think this represents the feeling that, of when it will, and it is going to be different for everyone. It's not that one day we are all going to wake up and decide that this is the feeling we are going to have. But that represents the feeling that I hope we have when that happens for each individual person.



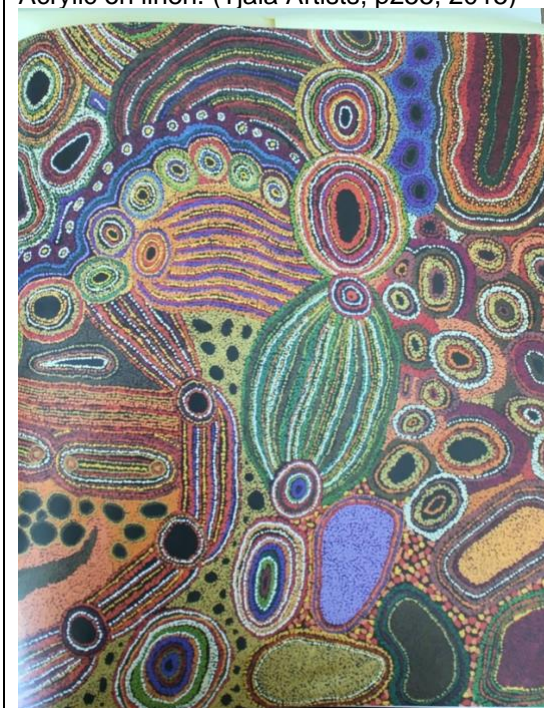
Tom placed,  
Artist: Patjiparon Mick, Pitjantjatjara.  
Redgum root carved snake, 1984.  
Given to Karen Newkirk 1984.  
Over,  
Artist: Tjimpayi Presley, Kapi Tjukuḷa Tjuṭa,  
2012. Acrylic on linen.  
(Tjala Artists, p185, 2015)

Tom (2<sup>nd</sup>): [Tom placed the redgum snake over the picture on p185] Maybe the snake, the rainbow serpent being acknowledged as the creator, the beginning. Coming back to Aboriginal knowledge being the foundation of the knowledge that we have about our country. I think it is all well and good that we know a lot of science. We know a lot about details of things; how stuff technically works. But there is so much knowledge about what happened before and where it all came from. It might not be a literal translation of what has gone on but those stories are stories for a reason. To understand that is a change I would like to see, for this to be the basis of Australian knowledge. Again, I think it is about cycles. So, if the snake could be a circle. Maybe this one (the larger wooden snake). About things ebbing and flowing too. Recent Australian history too, has gone through many changes. Always changing in Australia, over the last 200 years, in good ways and not so good ways. While things go back and forward in Australia that we are actually going this way (forward) – not this way (backward). That there is a forward movement in the snake not a struggle, okay to struggle, just none of this backward stuff.





Artist: Tjunkara Ken, Tingila Yaratji Young and Sandra Ken, Pitjantjatjara.  
Three Sisters paint seven sisters, 2010.  
Acrylic on linen. (Tjala Artists, p255, 2015)



Artist: Rini Tiger, Pitjantjatjara.  
Ngayuku Ngura, 2013.  
Acrylic on linen. (Tjala Artists, p91, 2015)

Mary: I chose both these pieces. There were some wooden pieces that echoed with my childhood and pieces of art that we had in our home, but when I looked through this book, while all the art was beautiful, there were two pieces, one on page 255 the three sisters paint the 7 sisters. It reminded me of my childhood. I am one of 5 sisters. The richness, the complexity reminded me of my childhood and the colours of my childhood; Purples, yellows and oranges, colours of the 1970's, earthy colours.

This one on page 91, suggests to me the future, the future for Indigenous Australians; there is so much alive in this.

There are elements of the past in the colours and the detailed stories that appear to be represented here. The freshness of the colours and the central motive, the green motives. It is a very active piece. It has so much life and so much future. And that seemed to me the Indigenous story now. Things like, keeping Indigenous languages alive, knowing that some have already been lost; but the energy, for example being put into capturing languages in the NT at the moment, capturing knowledge, ... A love and appreciation of the past, melding with technology to capture the best of both worlds and take us all forward in a way that resonates with all Australians. I look at this picture and that's what I see.



## Appendix 17 – Participant Quotations - Preferred Futures

Pseudo nym	Quotations on Preferred Futures for Indigenous Australian knowledge
Abbey	<p>At a glance, to me that (pic) represents my interaction with how the nation and how 'us' generally are embracing that culture more... I appreciate that it is beautiful.</p> <p>I think that there has been a lot of improvement of awareness of just of the [Indigenous] community generally... There isn't necessarily a broader community engagement with knowledge and culture as an ongoing thing and I think that's probably a challenge that needs to be overcome... pushing through those boundaries to understand more, engage more with that community ... getting rid of those locks and sort of immersing everyone into the one environment... engaging all citizens with the deep traditions of our land... It's improving but I think that there is a lot more work to be done to really give people that attachment to the land... I would like to see young people embrace them [Indigenous Australians] more and I suppose in time if they embraced this tradition there'd be Indigenous communities around the country that would be more integrated into the rest of the communities and that it wouldn't be that they are sort of isolated. And I think that would enrich everyone's lives.</p>
Bobby	<p>My personal belief system, is that we have overly focussed on materialism to the point of getting lost with the non-material. I think it is a post-enlightenment thing. ... Education system set up where if something can't be observed it doesn't exist. Ideally, we will get to a spot where without being able to see or observe, we can believe. There's stuff that we just don't know. I don't know what it is. In our society we have this thing like we are on this progression to scientific knowledge is just getting us into better and better places, that that is not the case, and that's a hard truth that our current knowledge system needs to grapple with... Scientific materialism; it brought a whole lot of great stuff in terms of biological and chemical knowledge. We have made visible some of the, what used to be invisible. But I think that there are other systems of knowledge that we need to embrace... A combination of the two, ... we need to integrate different ways of knowing.</p>
Cath	<p>I am looking at that, and symbolically going, they are outside. And we need to bring them in. So, that's, in terms of where we are at and where we are going I see Australia is, 'White Australia' has still got, obviously a long way to go.</p> <p>I naively believe that there is good progress being made in a process sense through RAPs ... there is a greater willingness hopefully, from All peoples, whether they were here for thousands of years or in the last two and bit hundred, to go, 'we are all here now we've all got to continue to get together and go, 'we are all in this' and to make Australia better.</p> <p>I just think that, wherever our histories have come from, we have just got to keep looking for the good in people and looking to engage, and not judge. ... I haven't been in an abused minority so it's hard for me to understand what the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people go through today or have gone through. ... finding some way to, not ignore the past, but... move on, not 'move on' that's not the right word. ... to continually look for ways to forgive, what has happened to their community by White people. And I can't imagine that that's possible, given the horrendous stories, the lost generation and slaughter ...</p> <p>My gut feel is that we (white Australia) don't look to use the knowledge of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island community in life and family networks. ...</p> <p>The conflict is listening... Are we actually going, 'I need some diverse views here?' I think the conflict is around an underlying assumption that we know best... that we get closer to a resolution with the Indigenous community about what they see as a better way forward... I hope that the gap narrows... I just hope that we can all get together to get to a better spot. We are all in it together regardless of history now.</p>
Dave	<p>For [Indigenous knowledge] to be respected more even if it is not understood. But understood would be good. A little bit. Even an understanding of its impact. Or an understanding of its' importance ... you can't get an understanding of it if you are not born into it. You just can't, I don't think. But, Respect because respect ultimately gives voice.</p>
Ern	<p>I'd like to think an Indigenous head of state, a Governor General who's Indigenous, that sort of thing. More Indigenous teachers, more Indigenous folk in the parliament, that sort of thing, more prominence. ... Seeing more Indigenous folk working in government and people that are there on merit not because there has to be a quota. That's what I'd like to see.</p>

<b>Fred</b>	One can only hope, because with multi-generational change, you can get from your blue to the red [model has blue on left and orange in the right]. ... Perhaps we will see over the next 3 general elections where you have the younger generation [with progressive ideas] coming into power and representing the people... a change in political outlook.
<b>Gert</b>	Lost opportunities, that we are missing out on, in terms of exchange and understanding. "Keep going" It is fantastic. There are so many opportunities... It is inspiring and deep. I just wish it was more accessible somehow.... really getting people to listen. Listening in a deeper, different way... Understanding difference. Understanding a different way of thinking about things... Everyone's sharing this country... all that needs to be in place for the system to work, and when I say system I mean the planet.
<b>Harry</b>	There is still such great art and a desire (what comes up for me is, a desire) to show their history and share that information in a colourful, artistic, traditional way and that's to me so beautiful... sharing that knowledge and getting it as far and wide.
<b>Ian</b>	What is emerging is a really bright, strong next generation; it is both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and the people who have come and occupied Australia. And people around the world really engaging and understanding. And what is emerging is a broader understanding that today's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are a modern, bright part of life. They have been successful business people. Changing the view ... that idea of wanting to put people in the past, traditionalise them as 'Primitive' that view of if you are Aboriginal you have to look a certain way and you have to be living in the bush. Everyone realising, not just people 'in-the-know, but everyone realising that that is not the case. Realising that is not true at all and it hasn't been the case for a very long time. That real critical mass of knowledge and understanding... I think that it is really exciting that there is this ground swell, this want and desire to foreground it [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge]. I think it is absolutely critical that we as a society engage. It is really essential for (in part) repairing our past, and being able to have a bright future.
<b>Jan</b>	These [Indigenous Australian] people are probably the most complex people in the world. They survived ice ages... the knowledge they had to survive 70,000 years. If they could just give me 1% of that. We don't understand connections. We have to make people safe... housing... health. We are not training enough Indigenous doctors, nurses, teachers etc. The thinking hasn't changed. The money needs to end up where we want to solve problems. When I say education I don't mean white, mainstream education. We walk in these two worlds. We need to walk together and learn from each other... We need to work together... For us non-Indigenous people, if we truly want to understand the culture and we truly want to understand a lot about how things happen then we need to somehow work out where we have come from, what we have done to understand ... We either haven't got the time or don't take the time to find out... From a cultural point of view there is a bright light ... There's more happening, Aboriginal people are holding festivals. All these things are starting to bring it up a little bit more... It's about working together carefully, respectfully. I don't want it to be just 'turns' I want it to be that they start to live.
<b>Kim</b>	The kind of change that I would like, it is more connections between both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and between all Australians and the land. I think that is pretty fundamental stuff and we are too distant from the land in a very large city.
<b>Liam</b>	That there is a new opportunity for Indigenous Australians and for their knowledge and probably culture to be recognised by broader Australians as something that is unique and special and fundamental to us all. And for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to retain their sense of identity but also forge their way in the modern world.
<b>Mary</b>	To capture the best of both worlds and take us all forward in a way that resonates with all Australians... I hope what is ending in this situation is the unconscious loss of Indigenous knowledge. And I hope what is being born is a pride, on behalf of not just Indigenous Australians but all Australians in the fact that we are part of, now the oldest living culture on earth.
<b>Noel</b>	Hopefully, getting us to a point where we are able to, potentially, solve some of the environmental or societal ills that we have at the moment, that have been systemic and increasing.
<b>Olive</b>	The hope that things will change and that real hope and Aboriginal people being able to move on from that history of hideousness. Not letting that terrible history define their future. It needs to be amended for, it needs to be overcome.

	My dream would be that Aboriginal people feel that real hope and happiness. That the past has been amended for and there is a whole lot of truth telling that needs to happen and all the hideousness needs to come out before we get to that ... place of hope.
<b>Pam</b>	Emerging is a time for greater discussion and greater willingness and greater energy to get things to move forward. That is about one Australia, it's about us all embracing the fact that we are all Australians and that's what's common and that is what brings us together and I think that white Australia is getting better at embracing that.
<b>Quay</b>	We need to open that box and give them every opportunity, but realise that what we are asking them is to take the opportunities of a Western society ... Even all the programs to get Indigenous kids into university and the rest of it, that's for them to assimilate <i>into what we believe</i> is the right way of living. Western, white Australians or others taking the time to understand about the Indigenous roots, and how that is part of our framework as well. Engaging with the Indigenous story behind the artwork. What wants to end is old worldviews ... about an 'us and them'. ... integrate and enrich Australian culture and society is the growth piece. Rather than being seen as something that you push to the side.
<b>Rex</b>	We will reach a state of self-determination and opportunity...changing the narrative within Australia... there will be a FLIP at some stage... what is ending in this scenario, or this perspective is that tension between what's occurring now and the past. ... it is that transition of acknowledgement, and becomes a part of the continuous story but then moving forward that higher layer is more present that continues to evolve and change. ... in some cases you can never heal the past but how do you respect the past and learn from the past and history, and how do you create a platform to move forward? ... A new language to express connection to place. The ability for all Australians to be able to understand and engage with Traditional knowledge and understanding, and how that relates to a shared future.
<b>Sue</b>	I believe in that continuity. It is continuing ... the heritage is the root and the generations ... the expression is 'changing with the times'... I am not seeing anything as ending. I think, with understanding and an open mind things can blossom and grow, expand, not end... What's emerging is, just joy, I think and bright colours.
<b>Tom</b>	I hope that Aboriginal people in Australia and non-Aboriginal people in Australia can come together and move forward in whatever we have got to do to do that.
<b>Ursula</b>	What is ending is this cycle of poor decision making; imposed decisions, poorly executed, includes a lot of money poorly spent in pursuing those goals. And what is emerging is Aboriginal people having a proper say in their life being recognised for their contribution. So, I think, that we're... it is coming.
<b>Verity</b>	I think there is a danger of culture dying. That connection with thousands and thousands of years of history and story-telling and language. As we have the Indigenous population, especially the young ones who sort of look and go, 'that's the ideal in the Western world'. ... we hold that up as, 'this is what you should achieve'. ... there's the new shoots of opportunity. Don't leave the old behind. You can create something new. It doesn't have to be that way or this way. You can create a new path. ...It doesn't have to be what is currently in place. It can be something completely new... I worry about Indigenous youth and older people especially in remote communities feeling a loss of purpose and meaning in life. That is a terrible place to be. How do we address it? It is not for Indigenous Australians to solve that, the issue. How do we pull together (like the tree) so that Australia is for everyone, we are all here? Let's make it better for everyone for generations to come.
<b>Will</b>	The work that we do now, we have a very heavy emphasis on bringing in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives around pedagogy and the work that we actually do... Keep talking so that we have these ripples that come out and out. So, these circles become bigger and bigger, expand out [that] knowledge... I think that the biggest truth for [Australians] is that it is up to all of us to make a difference. And I think that it is easy for us as individuals to go, 'this is somebody else's problem, what can I do I can't actually make a difference'... That we can all do in different ways and small ways. Obviously, you have to be comfortable doing that, so you have got to increase your own knowledge to do that... [Indigenous knowledge] ... moving outward; increasing the ripples.
<b>Xavier</b>	I look at this and say, this is my history, I'm not an Indigenous person but it's my history and I would love to own it more and be allowed to own it more. And, I look a little bit in regards to the Kiwi, Maori, New Zealand culture type thing.

<b>Yvon</b>	A disjointed and un-harmonious path in front of the Aboriginal people, I'd say that those are the things that we'd like to see disappear. So, we want a single path, united, joint path forward.
<b>Zeb</b>	Ending, hopefully, that cycle of ill health. Emerging, hopefully a modern identity that makes it easier for Indigenous people to find their place if they are feeling displaced in Australian society as it is now.

## Appendix 18 – Participant Quotations - Exploitation in the market

P	Participant examples of exploiting Indigenous knowledge in the market
A	<p>[In a community where the Aboriginal population] is much more than 3% the local council has maybe 200 people working for it and they have one Aboriginal person who works on gardening. That is a telling thing that the local council doesn't even have an interest in parity.</p> <p>An example in [Indigenous organisation] they are not big enough to have their own finance department or HR department for internal stuff. They have these consultants that they rely on and they just pay them disgracefully high fees. They pay something like \$100,000 a year just to do the bookkeeping. It is exorbitant! That was the really sad thing, about how ripped off they get. People see dollar signs and they take that opportunity to rip them off.</p> <p>The work for the dole program was run by a private sector, non-Indigenous corporation. Now you have to go to tender but the criterium is that you must be Indigenous to run these programs. That was based on the fact of how lucrative it was. And I see, even the small Indigenous corporations get ripped off. They get all this funding to run various programs but there seems to be so many people taking little slices of this funding along the way and they're people that just don't need to be involved, or they need to be involved in a much lower capacity than what they are. So, based on that there is a real problem with governance and misuse of position, I think, across a lot of these industries.</p>
E	<p>I am aware that there is copying of the paintings that the Aboriginal women have been doing. They have been copied and sold off, as authentic by people that aren't Indigenous.</p>
F	<p>It is sad to see these stories where people go out to Indigenous communities, commit them to buy stuff, whether they be cars or white goods or loans so that they can buy things. For Indigenous people the concept of individual debt is not a concept that fits easily with them. It is a concept that belongs to the community and then the harsh realities come into play and they end up bankrupt. Lots of people prey on these people.</p> <p>That is where the flaw is, trying to monetise Indigenous knowledge.</p>
I	<p>The biggest one that we see is architectural practices pretending that they can do Indigenous led engagement and design. They design beautiful things with wonderful big Bunjils and what-have-you and actually the communities can't stand them. [Indigenous people] haven't been involved or they [architects] have used inappropriate materials or they certainly haven't had the cultural authority. And obviously they are in some form benefitting from the IP of that project. Often you hear, "Oh I am so passionate and pleased to be working on this", and the Traditional Owners weren't engaged, and yet, this narrative has been created where (non-Indigenous) people are benefitting off of it, whether it is financially or in terms of reputation. It is a very stark reminder of how pervasive those issues are and the different levels on which they operate too.</p>
J	<p>We have used critical information, at times, for our own benefit. And I think that part of that would have been because the people either having the knowledge or passing the knowledge on, did not understand the consequences of it. Either we were not told or they were never told the whole thing. That university for example, they probably wanted that information but it was someone's time that they used to get that information (the research). They should have shared it.</p> <p>The big company, I see that happen, that happens every day, when I deal with customers. One of the things that I have put in place, any Joint Venture I want to meet them I want to know who it is. Because the one that I had an experience with accidentally was with this guy who was winning a big infrastructure contract. And he said, "I have got Indigenous engagement. I have got local Indigenous people". I said, that's great, let me meet him. I was there and we were going to fund the project. And he said, "ah, he is a bit busy." I said, "Look, I am here, tell him to come up". Finally, this person turns up and he looked 12-years-old (18 at most). The tender that he was pitching for was a multi-million-dollar project. I have seen that happen time and time again. I feel like some of these people know what they are doing.</p> <p>[In Australia a mining company agrees to] do the regeneration after the mine is gone and they have dug everything out [the land goes back to the community]. [The mining company] sprayed it with seeds that no-one even knows where they came from; putting trees in our system that are no good to anyone. If we are going to do it properly it has to be native stuff. There is a connection back to Aboriginal land care, how [the Indigenous community] then burn them, how they clean the bush. This sort of stuff has to be sustainable. Not, "Oh we have to regenerate this, let's just spray it with seeds that we can buy from Brazil because they are a lot cheaper." Those things will have an impact somewhere.</p>

K	<p>Identifying the owners or creators of some artwork can be quite difficult. Particularly the older stuff. Reflecting on what I know about art in this building. Some of it was collected at a time where you didn't actually collect that information on who owns it. Which makes it, then, if you want to use that image somewhere you need to pay copywrite and there is just no-way you could actually know who that should go to because the artist and the family have become disconnected from the art that was purchased for them at the time, but that wasn't, very considerate. I think that we are moving well beyond that era. It wasn't stolen, it was purchased but it still wasn't done in a way where you recognised the artist. [Now] We are very conscious of actually making the effort to go out to the community, talking to the family, to the descendants, to the community, to establish strong connections so we know where things have come from, now [with more recent artworks].</p>
L	<p>I am quite familiar with the Australian Aboriginal procurement policy. In the early days we had no restrictions on the Joint Venture policy. So, all these big companies would find an Aboriginal person, entrust them with 51% of the company and then say, "now we are Indigenous". The government has since tightened up the rules about making sure that Aboriginal people have genuine control and genuine ownership. So, a very large company with lots of resources would say, "We have an Indigenous arm now". And that would price-out genuine Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander businesses that were built from the ground up, didn't have the resources to compete against these new 'Aboriginal' companies. That has happened a lot; 'Black-cladding' they called it. The government is now trying to address that situation.</p>
N	<p>Even in the hypotheticals they are very possible to have taken place in reality... The second one around suppliers having a big joint venture rather than a small organisation, I know all too well. That's rife in the Indigenous business sector at the moment and with corporates looking to engage with Indigenous business. There's well documented and well criticised information around the concept of 'black-cladding' and finding one Indigenous person and they become a joint venture with a business that has been around for a hundred years. It's rife. Since the first Indigenous procurement policy in 2015 the first people to move aren't necessarily always the most ethical. It's the people with the most ability to move. It's usually the big, well established organisations. The government has said that this is going to form part of, to get access to this pile of money that we have got [government tenders] you need to fit these certain criteria. The people that are quickest from a compliance level, from a 'meeting tax law' are the people who have the resources behind them to get there; the big businesses, big enterprise, big construction firms etc. So, very quickly it became apparent that not all Indigenous businesses were created equal and if the soul of this [policy], the purpose of this was to try and change the game as far as Indigenous employment, Indigenous engagement etc, etc, then doing it through this, where you might have one Indigenous employee but you just basically move from 'coca cola to Pepsi', then you haven't actually moved the dial on anything from an impact point of view. Nor have you had to do anything as an organisation. If it is easy, if it is just a transfer, 'like for like' and you just claim that it is Indigenous, you haven't had to learn anything across the way. You've only done it because you don't have to do very much, which has been one of the challenges. It's like looking for a flick-pass of accountability to find the easiest possible way of not engaging but still getting the outcomes that you want, which are little to do with Indigenous knowledge and more to do with image and contract tender.</p> <p>[ to mitigate it] There have been some changes, like tinkering around with JV [joint venture] laws. Like Supply Nation, they've done work around changing the JV legislation, rules etc. I think that they are upping the due diligence in unpicking the authenticity of the business, and each year they get verified and that sort of stuff. It will be a step-change piece. It is one of those unnecessary evils of changing the game, in this sense. Naturally there is going to be all sorts of untoward stuff happening there but the best possible solution is just shining a light on it and just making people, and putting the accountability on every part of the puzzle. Government gets in trouble because they are claiming numbers that, if you shine a spotlight on, aren't real, then the pressure is going to flow down to who the people that they are engaging with are. The same at the corporate level; corporates beating their chests saying look at what we are doing, but you shine a light on it and you unpick some of the businesses and that sort of thing to get better over time.</p> <p>There are a number of, not Indigenous businesses, but in the sustainability space where there were these small consulting firms around, like measuring a business's environmental impact, social impact, that sort of stuff before it was popular, that were the go-to for different organisations trying to unpick this when they were interested in getting to know more about their environmental impact, social impact, and how they engaged with the community that they serve. And as is always the way, they were gobbled up by big consultancy firms along the way, because the writing was on the wall that, yes, businesses had a need for getting their annual review done, but more</p>

	and more this sort of stuff was coming into play. Sustainability reporting was coming into play. There became a market for it, and there became a commoditisation for it. There's many instances of those businesses because they have been gobbled up, all the employees disappeared within the next 6 months because it's the culture, the way of working, the mindset, what is valued, not a charge-out rate but an end goal, but polar opposites. They [case studies] all could have been real if they weren't already. Even in the last two with Unaipon and Namatjira, was a common theme of the dominant culture taking over and exerting influence and power and control, and sidelining the Indigenous knowledge, or down-playing it or ignoring it, not recognising it, whether it is malicious or otherwise.
<b>S</b>	I guess, look, if we look at procurement for example in the business world, it is a challenging thing. For example, we became a member of Supply Nation, from a shareholder point of view, we can't preference an Indigenous company if their 50% higher in cost than competitors, but, all things being equal, yes, we can absolutely support Indigenous supply, but it has to be within reason. You can't just, it is very difficult to convince shareholders I guess, that more than 50% extra, because an organisation is Indigenous, is the best outcome for them, ultimately, because we are literally using other people's money. But, where all things are fair and equal, it shouldn't be an issue. So, I imagine, procurement, moving forward in a commercial world, yeah, I think there will be a greater demand for Indigenous supply. And, if we can weave in some uniqueness, I mean, if the products that are supplied are not supplied by others then there is a unique advantage in that right. So, it is not about Indigenous companies just sitting back and saying, "well, we deserve this because there has been injustice perpetrated on us historically. I think that will be a really challenging stance moving forward. Gosh, let's look at what we have got and the richness and the incredible points of difference that we have, and how do we use that to secure more work? Enough of that. It is about how it is packaged is presented along with equality and inclusion. I can only see positive things coming out of that.
<b>T</b>	It is a really interesting one. So, from our internal company perspective, we have a contract from [State Health] to look after water and sewerage in Aboriginal communities. At the moment we have a water shortage out there, whether we are tapping into local knowledge during our meetings out there. Whether we could be utilising Aboriginal knowledge more in the way that we manage the water is a really interesting concept. We do employ Aboriginal people in communities and on country and as a rule. That is not necessarily an example of money flowing to non-Aboriginal people for knowledge, but like your example as a teacher you are getting paid when you are learning too.
<b>U</b>	The counterfeiting or falsification of Aboriginal artwork, by other people, even outside Australia. It became such an industry that there had to be legislation about it; (I think it is still going) the Aboriginal Art Code. I am getting suspicious, because I am listed as a contact [here], I see some organisations, which I don't believe, or I am sceptical of their Indigenous connections and origins, where they are trying to leverage that sort of connection to their advantage, as suppliers of services. I know that our procurement is done through our commercial services group but they do some pretty good supply-chain vetting [so that we are not dealing with], what do they call it, 'black-washing' or something.
<b>W</b>	Just the exploitation of, which goes back in history not being paid properly for work being done. How did that ever come about? And the other thing that always strikes me is how recent a lot of this actually is. You tend to always think about these things as, "it happened a long time ago", but, 2017 till [the Namatjira case] got resolved. You might hear an odd story around something like copyright but it is not, it tends to happen all of the time. There is just this exploitation.
<b>X</b>	There are instances of money put aside for homeless people but it has gone into the wrong areas; hasn't been thought about or used successfully. Unfortunately, you hear about charities doing it all the time; not being as correct with the money they receive as they should be.
<b>Y</b>	You can't beat the law of Supply and Demand. Government can create demand through policy and that is what has happened in that scenario, and the company took advantage of that and successfully created supply, which turned out to be very profitable. So good on them. I am not sure that it is, "Good on them". And they employed Aboriginal people and they won the contracts that they wanted to win. Intellectual property rights was the other topic mentioned. Those situations are very unfortunate and shouldn't have occurred. They occurred. People have been taking advantage of other people for millions of years. It speaks to what I was saying in the previous session, you have to be aggressive and stand up and be an active voice or you will be taken advantage of.

## Appendix 19 – Participant Quotations - Consequences of exploitation

Pt	Market - consequences
A	It widens the divide. It widens that mistrust. There is a mistrust of Western culture and society. It just makes that journey towards true reconciliation and true awareness around the whole country that much slower, that much harder.
B	There are so many consequences. There are obviously the financial consequences for those last two with longer term implications for family members and generations to come. Also, the community around them how they would have distributed that money very differently. The consequences of knowledge itself getting watered down and what is assumed to be knowledge being brought into an organisation, that isn't. That whole, universities and intellectual property this is a very frustrating thing that I have had to deal with before in terms of working with academics. That one in particular shocks me because universities do use knowledge that is created under their intellectual copywrite to make political input. I am just imagining that the argument being, 'this is a political scenario, we couldn't ...'. The consequences being that it holds back the agendas of those people of whose knowledge it is.
C	Take the university example, you have got the government funded business (I know that students pay HECS but there is a hell of a lot of government money in these businesses either historically or currently. Some of these universities are 75% government funded.). They have got to be promoting what is good for society generally. In this particular case, can't be around going, 'we are not going to let you use this IP', because while this sort of behaviour continues, there will continue to be barriers to the way forward. They need to be supporting the philosophies of government, of the broader community in Australia.
D	Systemic racism (which advantages those in power, the perpetrators). And an ongoing power imbalance and equality imbalance.
E	It creates a sense of injustice. And it perpetuates the disadvantage of Aboriginals. If they are ever going to achieve economic equality they need to be treated fairly, across all facets, including employment, in the APS and that sort of thing.
F	Well, these are just four cases. It happens every day every single second, someone else is taking advantage of someone else. [This creates] this fractured society in verticals and horizontals. Society of course, is made up of individuals, and what that does is fracture the relationships between individuals as well. And then the fractures go out across society. [which create] Disfunction; it prevents society or mankind from being what they can be. So much, we all talk about the world could be a better place, we can all be better.
G	It is devaluing. It sets up an expectation that that is the way things are and it is harder to change. People lose out, people who are providing a service. They are giving time. Financially and in terms or respect, it is a devaluing of people.
H	If you ask a 100 people on the street I don't think that many will know. It doesn't get the same media around these things so, there doesn't seem to be any consequence really for either of those publishing companies. Angus & Robertson are still around and no-one associates them with inappropriate behaviour or anything like that. Okay, you have missed communication, I don't know the whole story but e.g. back in the 1970s, 80s and 90s it was completely acceptable for cigarette companies to sponsor sport, and then they banned that. And now you have alcohol sponsoring sport. But there were consequences. How could you [Indigenous people] trust anybody? Why would you trust anybody? This person here who has painted this picture, you would go into it just assuming that you were going to get [paid].
I	The ongoing systematic bias and/or complete lack of care or concern for Indigenous knowledge to be A) Acknowledged and B) Recompensed. Despite the fact that it is clearly a very lucrative part of Australian society and it is a very important part. The ongoing systematic issues are disturbing and we see it too.
J	Because things don't change. There is a reason, if we had been investing the money that we have been talking about investing, for the last however many years that the government has been starting to do that (let's go back to 1969, since the referendum) we would have fixed this problem. We talked about New Zealand and us, that is the actual difference. There is an actual economic system that follows that. The dairy industry in New Zealand, which is one of the biggest industries, is owned by the Maori people [There are some Maori-owned dairy farming operations e.g. Paranihi ki Waitotara and dairy processing e.g. Miraka]. So, they have pools of



	funds that are billions of dollars that they manage. And it is state controlled, stock and stuff. It needs to be stuff like that. Here we signed an Illawarra mine agreement with communities and not a cent goes back to the community.
<b>K</b>	The overarching consequence is denying people the ownership and the credit for their work and their culture and their traditions. I think that's something that happens all the time, not just in Australia. This idea of cultural appropriation, they still take prints from these other countries, cultures, Indigenous tribes all over the world. They assume that because the interaction is different it is not an interaction between two companies it is an interaction between a community that's willing to share knowledge with an individual and that they therefore don't have to give credit, but take it as their own. [The consequences of that] is telling people that you don't value what they have created or made or their traditions. That it is not theirs, it is ours, or because I have put money on it. "I can take it. I can steal it." That is really hurtful and bad for people's self-esteem and sense of culture. It takes away from their sense of ownership.
<b>L</b>	They tend to subvert and disenfranchise and alienate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Expropriating their culture and knowledge and claiming that it is someone else's. Not giving credit where it is due.
<b>M</b>	The outcome of that ignorance, it is a reckless indifference to the impact of that ignorance. Disastrous consequences in terms of the recognition, preservation, protection and support for the flourishing of Indigenous knowledge, but also a tragic missed opportunity to build trust and build relationships.
<b>N</b>	They are almost separate challenges: One is the authenticity of ownership and management of the businesses. But then the other one is that, if the hypothesis [behind the policy] or the belief is that a diversity of thought is better for better outcomes and the same thing with the diversity of supply chain. If what is purported is that the difference on how you approach problems or the businesses that you engage with coming up with innovation and solutions and that is the end goal. Then you are not doing anything by getting an Indigenous business, which is in the same structures, thought processes, culture the same way of problem solving as every other business, if it is just bundled up into this. It erodes trust. You perpetuate the 'us and them'. You perpetuate the, 'this group does something, this group does another thing', "this is how they act. This is how we act". "This is what they value. This is what we value." It all gets lost in the detail. You just look at the end result and you say, "why are they still like this? Or why is this happening? Or why don't they?" You are dealing with the symptoms. Or you are dealing with the emotions that are the outcome of all of this stuff, that has actually happened and needs to be dealt with. And that is why I say the stuff that gets the airtime. You are always dealing with the outcomes or the emotion that has come from all this underlying issue that needs to be dealt with.
<b>O</b>	Disempowerment. Complete disempowerment and reinforcing the inequality of the past, and that colonial, "we are the conqueror" type, "you don't have a right."
<b>P</b>	Clearly, it has an economic impact on the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. So, in each of those cases there have been, their ability to earn some income has been taken away from them and they had a genuine right to that economic benefit. Maybe from both ends it reinforces current behaviours, attitudes and perceptions. It reinforces to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community that this is a white man's world and we'll do what we want etc. And up until there was a negative impact for the people doing it, it was reinforcing for them that what they were doing was status quo.
<b>Q</b>	It is a lack of recognition, it is a superior view. It's one of someone in power taking advantage of someone who is less informed. So, it is not one of recognition. It is not one of balance. It is not in a position of equality. For the Indigenous folk, is that they either suffer culturally, morally or financially; they have disadvantage. So, it is again entrenching them in a sense of disadvantage. They may be disadvantaged in the negotiation piece because of education and access to legal advice, and things like that. And then because of that they are further disadvantaged because someone is making the money that they should have had, or someone has had the recognition that they should have had. At the time they may not know they are being ripped off, but when they become aware it is likely that the next time that someone tries to be honest with them they are further questioning. So, it will breed distrust. And it limits integration and understanding.
<b>S</b>	I just think that it is wrong and unethical and unjust. It shouldn't happen. It is exclusion. It is discrimination. I think that it sets a really poor example for human behaviour. What is right for one should be right for all. So, if there is justice for one, one race or one religion, it should be applied to all of us. Injustice. Combativeness. A sense of great unfairness.

	<p>Good on Dick Smith for bringing this result to fruition. The family were absolutely entitled to [Albert Namatjira's] work and his copyright and any compensation that came with it. I am thrilled for that conclusion. David Unaipon, again, what an injustice. It angers you to think that people do this. But again, justice has prevailed in that instance. It would be lovely that things would happen retrospectively, but obviously that's not happening. Anyway, a good outcome in that instance as well.</p>
<b>T</b>	<p>More than anything it is the livelihood of Aboriginal people. Prior to European unsettlement, you could survive on the land without money. But the way that society operates today, unless you are able to completely live off the land, you need some income. I think that for 30 years Albert Namatjira's family, that is a whole generation of people that could have benefitted from his contribution, massive contribution. And for David Unaipon, that was 80 years, 3 or 4 generations of his family [had income] completely taken away from them. And then the hypothetical case about the land rights. That is their home! That is their everything. And the hypothetical about the company just so much opportunity for people to work. I think that the consequences are very far reaching. It really has an impact on families and for generations. And when you get into generations, cycles can carry on for many, many, many generations as we know. It sets a precedent as well, [as if] it is acceptable to do that. Or to, I think that ownership of knowledge is an interesting thing. Now in the age of the internet information is freely available, not freely but you can look up a lot of stuff. People are still trying to commercialise knowledge, which I think is fine, sets a precedent in society for what is acceptable.</p>
<b>U</b>	<p>I feel that there was a short-coming in all of those cases in moral treatment of subject matter. And that was probably born out of ignorance or lack of understanding. I don't think that it was purely driven by economic motives of greed or exploitation but still came down to the same thing. That there was misuse of peoples' rights and probably there was almost certainly an exploitation of the fact they weren't able to negotiate very well for themselves. I know exactly, I could name a company that does precisely what you describe hypothetically. I think it does [reflect the moral concerns]. The complex issue in that second case is, what are the things that actually trigger? How do you work out, what is it, a decent level of knowledge and respect for all of those origins on the one side, instead of just leveraging that background on the other to access opportunities? It is not easy to know that. We support boarding school education. We support a number of scholarships for boarding school education for these kids that go through a number of different colleges. So, they are taken right out of their environment and put in there. And they go right through all of their education together with other kids. They are the ones who are most likely to access tertiary education and therefore maybe end up working for that hypothetical company. So, it is understandable that they may become distanced, to some extent, from their origins. But it is not easy to define where that acceptable boundary is. That is a difficult scenario, which you painted. It is difficult to know, to be able to know whether these people have walked away from their Aboriginality just to get all these great contracts. It is a good scenario.</p>
<b>V</b>	<p>Well, there is not really a lot is there? There is not a lot from those. If you ever wanted examples of treating someone appallingly with very little consequence, you have just read them out. Would you do that to Kerry or James Packer, probably not. You really get the sense of such a double standard. You shouldn't have to fight for something that is right, and so obviously right. Where is the penalty in there for the guy working at the NT trustee office. You know you are doing the wrong thing. How do you sleep with yourself at night? And, then the family [of Namatjira] has to <i>fight</i>. For the family there is a massive economic consequence, I mean, a judge in his right mind would not only be compensating them but the damage that's done in terms of, if they had had those royalties coming in, what would that have meant for the children, in terms of schooling and education? Monetary compensation doesn't make up for that. You can throw all the money you want, but, that one action has dramatically affected every output for that family. My gosh, where would you draw the line? It sends a message to society that it is alright [to behave this way]. [And for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people the message is] that you are not valued at all. You are second class citizens. You are not even treating them as a citizen because they are treating people as a non-entity, under-valued.</p>
<b>W</b>	<p>There isn't much, actually, in the example of the company they are rewarded really. They are getting a contract over somebody else, an Aboriginal owned and managed enterprise. It is going to make it harder for them [Aboriginal owned and managed enterprise] to continue. There needs to be a bit more unpacking of some of that, of how we perceive that. Particularly, (and I think that</p>

	it is easier to do where there are tenders), where you can put more things on, "in order to win this tender you will have to demonstrate", a little bit more than some of the tokenistic things that are easy to put on paper.
<b>X</b>	<p>They are teaching other people behaviours that aren't, that shouldn't be followed. If case number two was correct then those Aboriginal staff who have been working in that unit, if they are not being taught or encouraged to behave in a more appropriate way then they will go and repeat that behaviour elsewhere and teach the next generation.</p> <p>That is also really hard for an Aboriginal person to be put in that position. We had that a little bit with our RAP and our Aboriginal staff are on it but they are also here to do another job. Sometimes, I know that they get conflicted. That then also comes down to management to help.</p>
<b>Y</b>	For the Aboriginal people who had their intellectual property taken from them, the consequences for them are that they will feel disenfranchised. They might feel like they are not part of the greater community. They will probably feel some hypocrisy, in that, other people, other communities are not living by the laws and they may see one thing and hear another and nothing being done, there are no consequences to that. The perpetrators who took advantage, there is no consequences. The victims are financially disadvantaged.
<b>Z</b>	It is adversarial. Lack of trust. Less developed.

## Appendix 20 – Participant Quotations - Purpose

Pseudo nym	Interview One quotations on purpose of Indigenous Australian knowledge
Abbey	Engaging all citizens with the deep traditions of our land. To really give people that attachment to the land.
Bobby	How to live within a certain environment and how to live with each other. There is technical knowledge; how to look after the land and how to live together with people in large groups.
Cath	Learning about the environment just learning. And helping me and the white community to be more open minded about, continuing to hear the stories about the horrible things the white community has done to the Indigenous community. (continued in 'Racism')
Dave	<p>Perspective, giving us perspective. We are very short term in this country. We are very short term. I'd say Patience in this case, to plant the seeds and maybe see them grow. But maybe not see them bear fruit but imagine that your grandchildren will. Being brave enough to make that investment without anything to show for it in your life time. We are too short term here.</p> <p>That Aboriginal culture is not 'history'; does not belong in a museum or hanging on an art gallery wall. That it is all around us and we should stop putting a diamond shape around it and stop putting nice Indigenous silhouettes to corral it into a version of art that we like to see and appreciate from afar without getting our hands dirty. It's telling us to open up and to see that art is culture is life. I come from a [nationality] background where our art is part of our daily lives. Our culture is our art. Our lives are our art. Art is our life. It's not on a wall. It's all around us. It's just how people live.</p>
Ern	<p>Well, they have lived here for 60,000 years, or something, and Australia was in a pristine shape before white man came. So, preserving the continent, I think, upper most. I mean that'd be a start, and how to be in tune with nature.</p> <p>They've got 60,000 years of knowledge and customs and traditions and we should learn from them. The way we are dealing with the planet, we're wrecking it, and they preserved it so I think that we need to lose our arrogance.</p> <p>My [relationship] was a Commissioner for the South Coast and there were various Girl Guide troops but the one that she spent a lot of time with was from the [community] and they taught her which shellfish and how to cook shellfish etc, which berries you could eat and that sort of thing, so she learnt from them. And she taught me but there were a lot of missed opportunities because we didn't really associate with them.</p>
Fred	If you want to go and learn about Indigenous culture then you come back and you are in your own little world. What you need to know and learn is how to make it part of your everyday living. There needs to be an end goal to learning anything. We don't just learn for the sake of, 'oh let's learn something'... I am not aware of the purpose of getting myself to know about Indigenous culture. There is no vision of what it will achieve. Once we are clear on that, it all falls into place.
Gert	<p>That there are multiple ways of doing things and multiple ways of interpreting information and what is surrounding us and our environment and our approaches to things. That's what it is telling me because it is a unique approach. It needs to be part of our approach, plurality. There is just beauty and value in those as well. Beauty and difference.</p> <p>It has purpose in understanding history and what exactly has been lost. I don't know enough to really understand what the opportunities are except to say land management practices, particularly in the context of climate change; to bring back grasslands and trees and species that are at the point of extinction in our environment? art works. Knowing what to look out for to determine what weather is coming or where to find water; survival skills. People exchanging and representing, all that needs to be in place for the system to work; I mean the planet.</p>
Harry	A sense of community, that's what I see a lot in the people that I've had dealings with or met. To take pride in your history and where you've come from. And, to not to forget those things and respect what has happened in the past.
Ian	It is about the fact that there are different knowledge systems and we tend to preference some but they are not necessarily the best ones for us physically, emotionally, developmentally. That by better understanding the capability of our mind and also all of the

	<p>knowledge systems that exist and have existed for a very long time, that would help improve humanity.</p> <p>[Working in an Aboriginal way] has certainly improved the way we have been engaging, not only with our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peers but with everyone. It has certainly helped us actually deliver a project on many, many, many layers: from the treatment of landscape; building; how we think about the future; activation and engagement; art; programming and discourse; how we treat our history and our multi-faceted cultural history, that has been really fascinating for me, about the layers of history. And unpacking those in a way that it is meaningful but also respectful.</p>
<b>Jan</b>	<p>The knowledge they had to survive 70,000 years. If they could just give me 1% of that. Then I can keep that for generations that come after me. We should harness it for the betterment of humanity. There are some real skills in there that work. What we call wellbeing now, it has been forever. We talk about natural balance, it has been here forever. We talk about lateral leadership, it has been here forever. We just don't talk about it. We talk about conservation, they have been doing it here forever; just take what you need and don't move things that you don't need to. Or return things to a spot. All those things that were here in a different form.</p> <p>The generation that is here now, it is theirs, the same as it is for the people who have lived here for 70,000 years. We all have responsibility for this. They have this system to make sure that things can work right and function and still work. Take that, what we call advancement, what we call innovation, what we call future, I think a lot of that probably has to do with what Aboriginal people already have in the system. It is exactly the same thing, just a different way of looking at it.</p> <p>Preservation of language, culture. They have great insight into history, amazing insight into astronomy. All these things that we rely on today. There's thousands and thousands of years of knowledge feeding in there in some way that we can use to better human life in the future. There's application everywhere, in: medicine, conservation, transportation. Anything that we think about, that we think is important for success, there is a history of that that Aboriginal people already hold or have an idea about. We just have to work out how we communicate and how we get that knowledge out.</p> <p>It is the stories. Every artwork has a history of where it has come from and a story of where it is heading to. I think that we have to learn how to tell these stories well. We just have to have the ability to tell them properly, including us.</p>
<b>Kim</b>	<p>The practices of how knowledge is transmitted and kept and shared and lived is really interesting. It is very different from Western culture where you write things down, you keep it in a book and you read the book. And you keep like photographs of your family. It is definite that the knowledge is passed down in very different ways. I think it will be really interesting and expand your view on how you should store family history. We have all got that and it is kept in very different forms and it would be interesting to learn more about how that is kept and shared.</p> <p>Definitely the land is one, and more specifically, food and medicine. Because it is fascinating that we are eating food at times of the year when it was not naturally grown and why are we going to that effort when we should just be listening to what the land provides, and using the best of what it provides at any given time. And I think that the potential for medicine and treatments is something that hasn't been tapped. It is really knowledge that hasn't been used.</p>
<b>Liam</b>	<p>To treasure Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge and culture, and ways of thinking about the world and interacting with the world.</p> <p>I see the question [of purpose] on two levels,</p> <p>What is the Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander caucus of technical knowledge, about the way that the earth works, the way that nature works, that we pay too little attention to? How do we find that out and how do we then use it (in the nicest possible sense) to help us manage things better (Australian knowledge of plants and of animals, bush medicine and the food and on to even land husbandry)? But I think then the other point is, just thinking about [perceptions of], the nature of the world and the nature of community.</p> <p>What are the summary features of Aboriginal culture that we could use to enrich our Australian way of life, and particularly the dominant motif of individualism, even family-ism (for want of a better term) towards greater collectivism and greater sense of community and greater sense of inter-dependence between people and family groups and that sort of thing?</p>

<b>Mary</b>	Insights for all Australians into the way we live in this extraordinary country that we share. Into how we can live better together and how we can build foundations for all the children and generations to come. There is an extraordinary opportunity for all Australians, if we are prepared to do the hard work to take that opportunity.
<b>Noel</b>	That there is a significant amount to learn, to grow, to understand within, before looking outwards. That there's potential answers, complexity and understanding that is in an immediacy of ourselves without having to look so far in the distance. Hopefully, getting us to a point where we are able to, potentially, solve some of the environmental or societal ills that we have at the moment, that have been systemic and increasing. A significant amount of attention, focus, complexity and purpose in the centre that is drawing the attention there. Still significant amounts of opportunity or learning at the edges, the periphery. It is not that it can be ringfenced, you can't capture it all. It's not all just in a spot, it's not static. It is dynamic and it is developing and still growing constantly at the edges and in every direction. Potentially, solve some of the systemic and increasing environmental or societal ills.
<b>Olive</b>	Pride that we are lucky to have this culture amongst us. Pride in our country. Pride in our history. People being able to name all the Aboriginal artists etc. That they become household names. That people celebrate them like they do Stretton. People are proud of Aboriginal sportspeople.
<b>Pam</b>	There's a whole lot more about Indigenous Australian knowledge, background and heritage than what it might look like at first glance. If you keep taking a look and you are prepared to spend the time, that a huge array of things would become obvious to you. Much greater understanding of knowledge should lead to a completely different view of Indigenous Australia, which should then lead to, beyond acceptance, to actually embracing. They could teach me a much greater appreciation of the world and the environment we live in and how to actually be part of that, with that, as opposed to, perhaps what we do is use it and take it. To give me a completely different view of the world I live in. If we are based in Christian religion but there is another view of the world, and how all of the different parts of the earth and environment fit together. It's a very different view of not necessarily spiritual but, you know, Christianity is in this, God and Christ etc, whereas this is, there's a different, a different sphere of thought and understanding that somehow intertwines us with the earth and the place that we live and the elements. So, I don't know how you put an adjective on that like 'spiritual' or something but certainly around that. What else can knowledge do, is gain much better respect, appreciation for the culture and the people.
<b>Quay</b>	Balance as a society. While various groups of Indigenous folk weren't always peace-loving to each other, I think from history there is always the acceptance of others and we see it now, in the story telling through 'welcome to country'; a bigger picture about, how you accept others. having that curiosity to learn about others and the land you are on.
<b>Rex</b>	A new language to express connection to place. A unique language, that's uniquely Australian, that connection. A language that binds us together as a society and moves us from a conversation that can potentially be considered divisive. The ability for all Australians to be able to understand and engage with Traditional knowledge and understanding and how that relates to a shared future. Future, that we think forward into ten thousand year's-time, how that shared future has been created. From that background there is that's a story from one country; how do all the stories from all the countries, and First Nation people and Traditional Owners come together?
<b>Sue</b>	Gives you that profound sense of comfort. How we can live with less and the feeling that it provides for us. The rest is all manufactured by man ultimately. We don't need a thousand pairs of shoes. We don't need an outfit for every bloody day. It's going back to the simple, dare I call it, village life. I mean, I am almost connecting my Greek heritage here. My grandparents had very little but they were very happy. In the sense that we don't need the stuff, the competition ... all of that to be happy. At the end of the day we are all on this planet to be happy; not to accumulate.
<b>Tom</b>	That Indigenous knowledge holds the key. I don't know how to bring that out more into the mainstream but it holds the key to how we understand the Australian landscape and how to look after that. It is such a challenge. Providing food and water for everyone is a massive challenge and Aboriginal people hold the key to that. Research bodies and all the rest of it. Translating knowledge into stories. Creating stories because I think that is what connects

	people to things. It's stories. Whenever I go to a workshop there are stories. Stories encapsulate it. Stories are really important for Australia.
<b>Ursula</b>	It's an ancient culture and it's got a significance of its own for its massive history and the way it was shaped by the Australian continent and the way the people have shaped the continent as well. So, the purpose of it is, it has got its own independent identity that needs to be understood by people... There is an evolutionary purpose.
<b>Verity</b>	There is so much to learn. I mean, if you actually look. I live out in the [geographic area] and look at how badly Western [society] has mucked everything from caring for the land to, and I think that we need to open ourselves up to a civilization that has been around for much, much longer than us. They have been successful or they wouldn't still be here. And I think that we just need to be very open. There is so much that I don't know. And it is not just one way of doing things. It is adapting to situations and being... What I have seen of Indigenous culture, it is very flexible and it grows with the times. And, it is probably why there is that continuation for so long. I just think that in the 'West', Western civilization just needs to be open to their way of knowing; the right way. And we get very caught up on 'this is right', 'this is right', 'this is right'. Just be very open to different ways of doing things and caring for land and people and each other.
<b>Will</b>	It is about the different perspectives of understanding.
<b>Xavier</b>	The purpose is, that's our history. That is where we come from and there are lots of amazing messages, and ways of living that I think the wider Australia could really learn from. Understanding and incorporating, so to speak. That's my history, that's my country, I want to have a little bit of ownership of it as well.
<b>Yvonne</b>	First and most obvious is our Aboriginal history. History most obviously is learning where we came from, how we developed and learning from our past mistakes. There's a lot of aspects to that, let's go back 200,000 years emerging from Africa, coming across the (Torres Strait? If I am correct) and into Australia and then on to Tasmania, that really speaks to humanity's exploration, growth, discovery. I like to think that we learn from those kind of things. And we didn't just come into Australia, obviously, Russia, etc, etc. In some ways it is not even unique, the Aboriginal culture, but it's a part of humanity. Also learning from mistakes. The way that we have dealt with different cultures. In the more recent past the way different cultures have dealt with each other. Today, let's take modern conflict. Forget about a hundred years ago, the way the Aboriginals and the colonists from Britain came to Australia. That is no different from what is happening today, you've got Syrians and Lebanese coming to Australia. They are fighting in the Middle East. They are immigrating in mass quantities into Europe and Australia. There is the clash of cultures here. There's a clash of cultures in Europe. There is a lesson to be learned about those clashes of cultures. What that lesson is, I am not sure. Obviously, we are going to have to find a positive way to deal with different cultures. They are going to be in conflict. You have to accept that different cultures are different. How you deal with it, that's about the lessons you can learn from the past. You learn from the mistakes of the past and try to deal with other cultures as we meet them. As the human branches out into the universe, we are going to be running into other cultures, possibly. I like to think that we can learn from the mistakes we made in the past and not make the same mistakes in the future.
<b>Zeb</b>	Sustainability; Because, they have got a good track record for it predominantly. Hopefully, to better the environment, particularly, what springs to mind for me. That's the main one that I would like to learn and for society. Population growth is going to be exponential and if we are not doing enough to keep the environment in a steady state then it is going to be a pretty ordinary place for my grandkids to grow up in.

## Appendix 21 – Participant Quotations – Ideas<sup>21</sup>

### 1) Listen to and learn from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

#### a) Self

##### • 10 ideas

D - 'We need to know more. We need to understand more.' And of course, we need to know all of that, but often we use that as an excuse not to do and to act.... It is the same with White-privilege and White-guilt towards many other cultures. We don't know enough and we put the burden on those we wish to understand to educate us. Well, it's not their job to educate us. It is our job to educate ourselves.

I - It has something to do with not being able to relate. When you relate to people you engage better. Working with First Nations colleagues who talk about a bright future has enabled me, that instead of taking a reactive, protecting view of how you can engage it is more about, I'll stand beside you and let's do this together. But also having time to understand the nuances and then if I get it wrong that's okay. It is a combination of understanding what are the key sensitive issues, what do Indigenous people get sick of being treated like; people don't actually know some of those basic things. **We walk in these two worlds. We need to walk together and learn from each other.**

J - For non-Indigenous people, if we truly want to understand the culture and we truly want to understand a lot about how things happen then we need to somehow work out where we have come from, what we have done to understand. ... we don't do that... creating that bridge to have that discussion again and somehow build that trust and relationships so that we can start to have that conversation. It's about working together carefully, respectfully.

L - We have seen traditionally 'integration' as a one-way process. Why not make it a two-way process?

O - The response [in relation to the Uluru Statement] has been appalling from government. One way is to make it an electoral issue as well. The political, how do we (the Federal government under Liberal are probably not going to change but) how do we make it so that it becomes incontestable that we do have to change, that there needs to be a fundamental shift in the power balance, and that is shown in the electorate.

P - It does reflect that there is an appetite for more knowledge and more understanding and trying to find a path forward. It is about how us at this end help to bring along the rest of them.

S - It is fascinating, because when you read that I would say that ~~most~~ people would not associate Indigenous Australians as having that capability; Astronomy. They are just not seen like that. It is a perception issue. This is what, it is **an awareness and a perception issue**, so perceptions have to change. They have to be repositioned so that people can understand the complexity and the depth and the value of all of this. Treat it like a marketing exercise. It is a repositioning. We have got a perception problem and let's deal with the perception.

V - "I don't know how to get involved. Where do I go to learn more? If I wanted to speak to an elder, where do I go?" I actually don't have the answer. Well, I can look in my little business index, but, there was the [local festival] recently which was just wonderful because it was open to every community, not just Indigenous communities. It was run by the Indigenous communities of [locale]. But it was very embracing, if you are White, or you, it doesn't matter where you are from it is about coming together. And people were, "Wow, it was so wonderful". Because they are getting the exposure and then they were getting the elder's tent, where you can go and talk to them. (I hadn't heard, but they approached us for sponsorship.) Why don't we hear about this? We hear about the other big festivals that come to [the city]. I didn't hear about this and I think that it has been running for 8-10 years. Anyone can go in and sit with an elder and just chat and listen. I mean that is

<sup>21</sup> Please contact author for clear version of Appendix 21.



amazing. Maybe, **government needs to go, "Festivals! We need to promote all the festivals." And make sure they all get some exposure.**

W - My big message is that we all have got a role to play and that is as individuals as well as a collective. It is up to all of us to make a difference... it is easy for us as individuals to go, 'this is somebody else's problem', 'what can I do? I can't actually make a difference'. But it is that collective force ... lots of little bits do actually make change. And that's the biggest truth for us. And, there are quite a few people doing that and there are still a lot more that need to step up.

W - Not to walk in and just make assumptions on what you see. You have to stop and listen. That is probably one of the biggest things I've seen. We tend to go in and talk, talk, talk (and sometimes that's about, we might be a bit uncomfortable in a situation we are in so we do that to cover-up rather than wait for) you don't have to fill silences. If you sit back and wait for people to talk they will.

## b) Peers

### • 4

O - Absolutely [there] needs to be [a voice in parliament]. But then it comes back to that colonialism, "Why do they get a privileged voice, compared to another part of the community?" So, it is an uphill battle, it is going to be an uphill battle. We had ATSIC. It folded. That was an attempt at Aboriginal voice and governance. Some of that I wondered if it was just Geoff Clark. He was an interesting character. He wasn't a unifying character. He wasn't bringing people together, from the outside, I didn't know the man, it is a long time ago, but my reflections at the time was that he seemed like a bit of a bully. The media portrayed him as a bit of a bully. I didn't know enough about it at the time.

S - You need to start at board level. Because often decisions are made at that level, so, if you can persuade the board to do something, it will get done. Because boards will insist on management doing certain things. If you have got some boards, if you can get the right people on boards in the right companies you will start getting some change. If you can get into some advocates at the right levels, and influence boards and so forth, that is a positive thing as well. So, you need some advocates, sort of, telling that story at that level, because ultimately that is where policy decisions are made for organisations. But that is sad to hear, that there would be that sort of exploitative approach going on. Yes, very disappointing. I guess, you can focus on 'those that don't' or 'those that do'. Put the energy into 'those that do' and let them be ambassadors and advocates and influence. And maybe 'those that do' get them to partner up with (because everybody knows somebody, there's 6 degrees of separation. We all know people who we are blown away.) If I am the advocate, **who do I know that I can influence this year?** And try and get them to understand and the more people; it is a slow burn but it will happen over time.

S - Wow! Wow! Wow! The worm, that she could hear it under the bark. That is the truth of it. Nature does speak to us. It is just that we are not attuned to it. We are just too busy, people with their bloody phones and things in their ears and goodness knows what else. We need to be more at one with nature for human survival! You start with somebody who is open to it. And the head of CSIRO, to some degree, is open to this. If you **can influence** him, he will influence the right people and he will get funding. I reckon the majority just don't know and if they knew they would act differently. It is how do you **get that knowledge out there?**

S - We are certainly open to speakers and authorities that can come and speak to us. We are hungry for that knowledge. People are open to it, from board level down. We are very keen on it. The other thing is also organisations such as us, **we are major investors in organisations, major investors, major investors. We have active owner principles in terms of gender equality, certain principles that we will vote in accordance with the principles of investment that we have. Perhaps that would be a way for organisations to start exerting influence.** Because we can influence certainly board decisions and at AGMs given our level of investments.

## c) Organisations

### • 6

B - It is going to take a lot more thought and consideration. It is about having the conduit, about having more [Indigenous] staff in organisations who understand the problems that they [the

organisations] are grappling with. And then they can be the conduit back to different communities to say, "this is how you can help." Because they have a foot in both worlds.

C - We know what we know based on what we know. We don't know what we don't know. The only way you can learn more is to think about engaging people who have different thoughts around things.

O - Aboriginal employment is a real key to that. So that it is not just Aboriginal people employed in Aboriginal leadership in organisations. That Aboriginal people aren't just in Aboriginal designated positions but they are actually part of the management, that they can influence at the senior level, that there are CEOs who are Aboriginal.

O - Part of the feedback from mainstream organisations is we need affordable cultural safety training and then our colleagues in the Aboriginal community said, "well it costs us to deliver this", so we actually need to be appropriately reimbursed, so we changed it from 'affordable' to 'accessible'. We are trying to shift that mindset around to invest in this, it is not just the cheapest, you have actually got to pay for it. And one of the things that we have spoken about is because self-determination is such a key goal for health and human services is, how do we help in that process as well? So that we are supporting the Aboriginal organisations who deliver that type of training. In our sphere of influence that is what we are trying to do.

U - It would be very helpful if, I am thinking about [this organisation], as part of their induction that they be given some awareness training, some knowledge or something, even if it were a couple of sessions, which we have been doing, awareness training across the country, over the last couple of years but it is not done upon induction. I am not saying that it is only the people being inducted who should get it. They should be getting it as part of their 'ticket to play; if you want to come and play here, you have got to have an understanding about the origins of the country in which we live'.

V - Every business really should have a RAP in place. It shouldn't just be a voluntary thing that you sign up for. I think that it should be a mandatory thing in business. Every business has to have health and safety policies and all the rest of it; every business as a requirement of set-up should have a RAP in place. It is not just a nice thing to do. It is a fundamental, way of working and changing that mind set. And that would make sense because that is good business.

#### d) Local Government

- 1

P - It is one of those things that the more you hear and learn, the more fascinated and more interested you become. At one level it is exposure. Last year we did a tour of a local area down near [named location] that's an old midden. It is literally a shell island. We had someone from **one of the local councils** take us through. You could see that just by everyone sitting and listening to that, that creates an understanding and you reflect.

#### e) State Government

- 0

#### f) Federal Government/ Leadership

- 14

C - You can get a whole lot of people in a room but you have got to keep working out who are the **key influencers**, either in an Indigenous sense or a combination of European; here's the people that can help make the change and can continue to work on it together; considering those that are outside still disengaged, for whatever reason.

E - Have them better represented at a national level and with a voice to Parliament. More programs (available on TV and other media) about their particular knowledge. I don't want to sound like I am trivialising it, Bush knowledge, Bush foods, tracking; the sorts of skills that Aboriginals have, that they have inherited over thousands of years, handed down, and taught. There are skills to survive in the bush and tracking skills. That is the sort of stuff that impresses a lot of people.

F - The one thing where we probably could do a bit more is at the government layer, (and I am not talking about the government departments) it is more about the **political level (LEADERSHIP)**.

Perhaps we will see that over the next 3 general elections possibly where you have the younger generation coming into power and representing the people. You will see that there is change in political outlook. And we have seen that in the last government or current government. There are some positive changes.

F - For our Western legal system there has to be an owner whether it is an individual or a group or some entity. But Indigenous knowledge is not in that way codified and there is no one entity that owns that, and therein lies this challenge for ensuring any income from use of that knowledge, goes back to the owner. Codification at a university could be a channel to achieve that [income flow]. The Indigenous university holds a trust account to pay those Indigenous people. That could be one way of doing it. Until there is that channel, and that channel needs to come from Indigenous peoples themselves, because we have seen that in the past, where government has tried to force things through. It would have to come from Indigenous people themselves. Not "we have created this corporation for you."

P - I am thinking that maybe there will be learning, something that comes out of the Indigenous programs, that actually help everyone take a step back, and go, 'There was a bunch of programs that were from a very colonial view. Whereas, when we changed things around and took a view from the community's view (the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community view), here was the success from that program'. What do we learn from that about how we actually filter that through to the community at large?

P - a fundamental policy, a fundamental vision, commentary from national leadership and state leadership that says, 'this community is important to, not just our past but, our future'. [Creates] that setting that we value it and are embracing it and that then naturally lifts the profile and lifts the perceived importance of those sort of businesses and that knowledge. Then hopefully that then trickles to a thirst for that knowledge and then that creates the opportunity for them.

P - **By getting that higher-level policy environment**, or that communication, that at least says to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community that we [mainstream Australia] are interested in this knowledge so that hopefully communicates to these [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander] people, 'We have got this knowledge, we have this culture' so that, in theory takes it from the current set of people that are doing it to hopefully a lot more people in the community to go, 'Well actually we have got something to say, we've got something to tell, we've got an idea'

P - Beyond that, policy wise, probably something around the recognition of Aboriginal people. Has to be an important statement to the community and the population that says, I can see the frustration that says, Kevin Rudd came out and said sorry to the Stolen Generation. We've gone through the institutional abuse of children [Royal Commission]. We have essentially said sorry to those people.) So, there needs to be something at that level that says, we need to recognise the past and we need to recognise that there is a better path forward for all.

P - There needs to be recognition and I think that there needs to be leadership, particularly if it was a united front from parliament as a whole, that says, Australia we need to change the way we talk about this, the way we deal with this, and actually show a united front. And say, WE are drawing a line in the sand, it is time to [take a position that recognises Indigenous Australians].

P - Which talks back to that it is a slow change. It is just that [slapped hand on table to illustrate the bunch of people] there is a bunch of people that could be moved but there is just a huge piece of apathy and inertia. And then getting to that bottom end is, well that is a generational change.

P - Going back to Kevin Rudd's Sorry, I think that is moving us in that direction [to the right, toward embracing A&TSI knowledge], and then you get some of these comments by Tony Abbot, where he said that people should just move out of these places, it is just like putting a paedophile in charge of childcare. He is a classic example of someone who has very entrenched views and is not open to changing any of those.

T - At a certain level I feel like that is where it has got to happen, ... Canada and New Zealand, they have treaties and acknowledgement. The federal governments have stood up, a long time ago, and not just said 'sorry' but 'yes you are completely recognised' [their First Nations] and have a place in the leadership ... That definitely needs to change [in Australia] and I don't know what that is going to take... I would like to see the government actually, follow through on the Uluru Statement, even if it seems difficult, hard, we have to keep going on that now.



V - the danger with all these politicians, is that they are not bringing people along on the journey with them. It is not very many is it, three out of, I think, politicians are (and I am stereotyping here) a grubby bunch. And I think politics itself has shifted to, "what is the flavour of the month?" They sort of just tap-into that and say, "Oh look, we will do this. And we'll do this 'Sorry' bit", tick "and we will do this" tick. "Oh, look we have moved onto the next eye-catching thing that will get us into government". Rudd probably showed the greatest leadership. He is the only one who went, "Let's say 'Sorry'." Knowing that it was going to be really unpopular with some people, really popular with others. So probably in that (and I am not a Rudd fan), I come at this very open.

Z - That we don't have all the answers and that it is not a 'one size fits all' thing. It's got to be more of a collaborative thing. Working with people not telling them what to do.

## **2) Embed Indigenous Australian knowledge in life-long learning with First Nations Peoples**

### **a) Self (second column)**

- 2

M - It's access to that knowledge and opportunities to learn more.

N - Authentically caring and engaging and learning. There is no short cut to truly caring or truly listening. So, there's no book, there's no community centre, there's no individual or one nation that you are able to engage with, that you can 'get it'; so that you can short-cut it, replicate it, scale it. All of the understanding, the constructs, the ways in which we view the world at the moment, can't be replicated. There is no inauthentic way of doing it and there is no short way of doing it.

### **b) Peers (second column)**

- 0

### **c) Organisations (second column)**

- 4

P - In one sense it is no different to the UNICEF and things like that, where we see the images of Somalia and refugee kids, people can feel empathy for it but there's also a, "I don't want to know more about that. That's not something that I want to feel a lot more and immerse myself in". So, it needs to be more positive, which generates an interest in learning more.

Q - It could even be for all university students, because a lot of them have to do an engineering subject to get into a Masters' program. Is there a mandatory, first year uni Modern History course to participate in, just to raise awareness? Depending what school or back-ground you came. And then even foreign students coming in (because we do a lot of foreign education). Is there something there to raise that profile?

Q - I was involved with university engineering students; get them to do their projects, rather than just design a city-based project. We took them out to [regional location] where they have a big event once a year. They couldn't afford to get the new event facility designed by engineers and we had an office nearby and reached out and we organised and got students to go out and be billeted in the communities. Some of these were foreigners, some of them were kids from the city who had never left the city. Part of that was to understand what needed to be done to design a state-of-the-art facility and they did that as part of their project. They then spoke to high school kids and TAFE kids and some of these kids had never spoken to somebody who had done a university degree. And to see people who are 3 or 5 years older and what they had learnt and their experiences, just that encouragement piece. So, I think there are lots of things we could do to take stories back to encourage young kids to have that opportunity and many of them are, have Indigenous backgrounds. Be proactive. But a lot is about education, understanding policy rather than anything mandatory. So, it is a hand-up, rather than a hand-out (attitudes).

W - Opportunities to do things. We had an all-in staff planning day because of our Reconciliation Action Plan, we were in groups, and we are dispersed across Australia, so we were quite diverse,

but everyone had to go off and find out a little bit more about something, they chose different things. Everyone went away, did something different from going to galleries, to doing a walk around on the land to hear stories, those sorts of things. That brought a whole diverse range so, just bringing that perspective in. Watching how everybody approached that differently and then we shared all that knowledge. Now, that is the beginning of our journey, what is our next step, where do we go from here and build on all this knowledge that we just got? And, our organisation had to allow people time to go and do that. Some of it was done in work time, some in personal time. Giving space to do that which doesn't always happen because it is not the work of the day necessarily.

#### d) Local Government (second column)

• 2

A - With kids you have got to go at the very beginning for them to appreciate it. By the time you get to the 5th grade school is just a bit, you are not absorbing the start of something as important as this. You have already formed your personality. I'd be trying to do it [the education of children about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge] as early as possible.

P - The fact that my 5year old was learning about it in Day care/Preschool was huge. It was a Council Day care centre so I suspect that it had come through from them. I don't have a good sense of how much that is trickled through to then her moving into the local public school. But certainly, I think that at early ages of school we need a different way of approach it and a different way of talking about Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders. It absolutely has to start there.

#### e) State Government (second column)

• 17

B - in terms of trying to get senior staff, to try and communicate this, I think that this has to be learnt at a younger age, rather than trying to get that change to happen at that business level. Or at least someone with credibility. Because sometimes what someone can use as a proxy for credibility of knowledge is credibility of a person. If I trust what they tell me, if there is someone in the organisation who can do that work themselves and say, we are getting this Indigenous knowledge and I know that it is from a credible source, then that person making the decision doesn't have to make that decision themselves. They can just trust that the source is credible. Having that kind of person in an organisation that can do that type of thinking work or checks and balances.

E - If there was greater knowledge of Indigenous Australians embedded in education in Australia then that would create a demand for Indigenous people to teach and convey knowledge. But not just at Primary school, at universities etc. I think that would create a demand for authentic storytelling, teaching of skills. More programs on TV, that will be of interest, like the examples you gave about astronomy and the rejuvenation of land. So, you have got people who can tell their stories on the media. And in tourism perhaps grants to start up tourist ventures where people go and experience these sorts of things.

M - If there is an Australia wide, shared, education department policy position that at every school in the country, instead of singing 'God Save the Queen' as they did when we were children, it is opened with an Acknowledgement of Country, and so every week, every child is reminded that their local school is built on Indigenous land. And imagine if that Acknowledgement of Country was followed by, 'and we particularly, today want to acknowledge the children of our school of either Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander heritage and welcome them to our school'. Welcome them and their families on to Aboriginal land. Imagine the pride those little children would have. And the learning. A simple change. And I think that the departments across Australia would do it.

N - That would all be education policy. That would all be the structure of what we teach, what we value, the creation of curriculum for different subjects. ... not just to form a history lesson but it would start to translate to other subjects like a way of thinking, or a way of looking at a problem. It could be anything from geography to look to the landscapes. And look to trade and what you value because it is still underlying concepts. It becomes quite arbitrary around the things that you place value to, as long as you understand value and trade-offs and stuff like that, so that becomes a conscious choice.



P - The more they start to learn and understand about the world the more curious they become about the world. And I think it is exactly the same here. And again, reflecting back to that is the history of our education system has probably been a key failing because we haven't planted that little bit of knowledge which leads to a desire for more knowledge and more understanding. So, I think that for a lot of people there isn't enough knowledge, or the perception is the negative side of things, the negative stuff we get and there's no desire to learn more about that.

P - Certainly, education is a key policy. It is the colonial view that Captain Cook turned up and they met some Aboriginal people etc, etc, and then the rest of it just concentrates on colonial Australia and ignores that [real history and impact].

Q - The benefit of getting to reconciliation will be huge. It will just mandate that history is different to what many people think it was. I think there needs to be a stronger piece in education, in the syllabus: Modern History at high school, at universities; far stronger programs.

R - They do an Acknowledgement of Country before every assembly. They acknowledge the Traditional Owners. They fly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander flags along-side of the Australian flag. They are creating a culturally safe environment or saying that this is a culturally safe environment. This is a state school. My understanding is that state schools are very much, the principal drives the school. But there is an emphasis, so there, well it may be a requirement but if the emphasis, even to the point where, they sing the national Anthem once a week, but the music (which is pretty cool actually) the music that they sing the Anthem to has didgeridoo running through the music.

R - Two levels: One is treating the facts of the past with dignity, around what has occurred from [over the last 230 years], and then being able to talk about local stories and country that relate to it. But, I think that it is a really important thing because if it stays, especially with children, if the story stays here at this national narrative, then it is very hard to connect with. But if the story comes as a local narrative then it provides an opportunity for people to connect with. If kids can be able to say "I was born and raised on Laji-Laji country". Even introduce some language into that. Talk about their totems... so it is being able to have that familiarity of what it means for a particular piece of country and the different aspects of it and the different families and how that all works, and care for country would be really important to have local [input] and points of significance from a [local] country perspective.

R - Educating the [broad] community and the community becoming more familiar around things is really the starting point, and start with children. Children are the; look at any behavioural change campaign that has significance they all blatantly use children as the change mechanism. Whether it's the safety-belt or the [anti]-speeding advertisements they always have a smiling, little child in the back seat. Draw on that social conscience. So, I think, one thing is educating the next generation as they come through, but also using children as a means and a way to households and families to have this conversation.

S - Incorporation into the [school] curriculum would be a good starting point. Would I suggest any other policy initiatives? And I imagine that most organisations are already doing it, understanding ATSI who identify as an ATSI member, but there needs to be more awareness of what it means, because, they are their way of life, or see money are very different to ours. It is a shock to many people, especially these days, that they see money as communal, not as individual. I think that stuns a lot of people. It is, how do we get that knowledge to people? More programming on the ABC, that type of thing is valuable. Definitely Aboriginal Studies perhaps at university might be a good thing. But is that policy?

T - How to translate that and give non-Aboriginal people a love for that, an understanding of that. I think that would enable non-Indigenous Australians to be more connected to that information.

U - What I do hear anecdotally (I should know the statistics but don't) there is a lot of stuff happening in schools in various places but it is certainly not completely across the teaching curriculum. It is certainly not pushed at the Commonwealth level, for there to be consistency across the country. Starting at Primary and secondary education levels it should be on the teaching curriculum.

U - If I go right back to where it should be, it should be mandated on school curriculum, that education would start there.

U - Educating people that there is a deep store of knowledge and property [through Indigenous Australians, is the best way to increase value and avoid exploitation through more valuing of the knowledge].

V - It would probably come from education. I don't think you can do a policy thing for adults. I just think that is becoming. 'Big Government'. I think change comes with the next generation coming through, even from there, kids come home and they say, "Did you know this?" and that sparks interest in the parents because they are sharing.

X - It's just educating. Let's take it on, let our children, our white and Indigenous children pick that up and know that's just part of our history.

#### **f) Federal Government/ Leadership (second column)**

##### **• 3 (plus as above in unison with State Government)**

L - That is another thing specific to Aboriginal knowledge. I am not sure of whether any universities, particularly those with a more scientific bent, are doing any research on Aboriginal Bush Tucker or Bush Medicine to see how it might be applied and synthesized as part of the mainstream methods. That could be one income flow for Indigenous knowledge.

S - Definitely social-media and those sorts of channels. You have got to get some creative story-tellers to make it relevant to people's lives. And how do we make the content compelling enough to be shared in social-media circles? It is about finding creative ways of telling the story. But, definitely lots of stories need to be told. And there is such a richness. Obviously written and verbal is one way but you showed me beautiful fabrics last time, and dance is an expression of a story. There are many ways to tell a story. Do we need a popular theatre program to communicate the story? Welcome to Country, at significant events, that's a mandatory, the more that is practiced. We certainly practice it here at all of our significant events. I imagine that is becoming more popular today than it might have been ten years ago, certainly from what I am seeing with presentations and speakers and so forth. Continually keeping it at the forefront.

U - Getting some policy approach to teaching young people about our Aboriginal history would be good. I think there could be a much better approach to celebrating our Indigenous past. The diffusion across the two key celebration weeks, I am not sure that is a good thing, in terms of making an impact. To have NAW and NAIDOC week, and then you have got this complexity of the Australia Day issue, which is very divisive. But to find a better way of celebrating our Indigenous heritage would be really good. It could be done. It just needs to be worked out and explained.

### **3) Work with First Nations Peoples to increase visibility of Indigenous Australian knowledge**

#### **a) Self (third column)**

##### **• 8**

S - One thing with [specific Aboriginal author] and other speakers that we have had, it was 'how they'd taken those experiences and moved forward in a positive way'. It is not about, 'let's dwell on the negativity or anything like that'. It is, this has happened, this is how it shaped me, changed me. This is what I have learnt from it. This is what others can learn from it as well. There has to be a positive dimension, to deal with the whole experience.

S - If it's mandated through the education system that's one mechanism but that is mandated, forced etc. If it is not that path and it is about, how do you make the content engaging and compelling that somebody wants to read it, and listen to it? How do we get some of those headlines, some of those stories to teach? It is about how to make the content interesting to people and then how can that be shared?

O - We encountered this when we were doing our project; more guidance by Aboriginal people about what they want us to do, I don't know if that is really clear and there are often conflicting views. We actually uncovered that from a different Aboriginal point of view, some thinking that Aboriginal self-determination is just a legalistic sort of a framework that is not really going to really



make a difference. And the common theme that came out of the consultations was, "educate yourself". But how do you get beyond educating yourself, the next step beyond educating yourself?

O - A lot of the people in my group, and they were all leaders from different organisations, business, government, human services, NFP, I felt in many ways that that 'White paralysis' was really strong at the start but less by the end. That is one thing that we grappled with, do we have a role? Do Aboriginal people want us to advocate on behalf of [them] for change? How do we stand behind so that they can lead? What is that role behind? It would be good to get an understanding of that. I really don't know. I wish I did know the answer, but I am still trying. I am going to keep trying.

V - This ground swell in Indigenous communities has just got to continually agitate, agitate, agitate, until you get that groundswell of people going, "This is unfair, they have got a point here!" And then politicians will change because they see that is what will get them elected. Very cynical but I think true.

W - I do need to focus on certain aspects and increase my knowledge. I can't get to this that I see as the future if I don't fill these bits here with these individual bits of knowledge. And sometimes that could be intense and might actually be quite uncomfortable for me to do. But I still feel that I need to do that otherwise I won't get to where I want to be [able to listen and communicate effectively].

W - There is a level driven by interest and acknowledgement of the past, but where I think that there is more work to be done is, 'how does that influence what we do in the future?'. And I think that someone alluded to it in here, in saying that, referencing what that means for culture and connection to land and those sorts of things. So, I think, that's where we don't, yes, it is alright for us to actually acknowledge the history and get a little bit of understanding but is that going to change how I live or work in my daily life? I think that the majority of people would say 'no'.

Y - Very little, policy change can have an impact. What you need is for Aboriginal people from the community to stand up and be visible leaders, if you want people to embrace Aboriginal knowledge. You don't see any good role models who are visible. No policy. I don't think that there is any new policy that can impact the changes that we are discussing

#### b) Peers (third column)

##### • 1

V - Greater accessibility to communities and their stories. Before I came to work with [workplace] in the Indigenous space, I don't think I had any exposure to Indigenous communities, my world just didn't bring me into contact. When you don't have that contact, you don't start that curiosity. You hear something on the news you go, "Dreamtime, that sounds interesting." Or maybe if I go to the museum or the library, there may be a picture. There wasn't that active interaction or engagement, and I think you need that. I think we are getting there. It is interesting that at Circular Quay; you can actually press a little information button and a voice will go, "Welcome to Gadigal country". It starts telling the story of the area, that is fabulous. Whether you are a tourist or you live there you may see some Indigenous performers playing the didgeridoo or some artwork but there is nothing that goes, "well I can learn more about that", unless you have an interest personally, and you are actively seeking that out. Even if it is just teasers or snippets so they can get exposed to it.

#### c) Organisations (third column)

##### • 16

B - The use of Indigenous contractors and consultants. That is a way that we can increase or incorporate Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander knowledge in the organisation. Apparently, there is a target for some government departments on how much they should spend on Indigenous contractors or consultants.

B - Relevant and targeted stories and clear structures as to how that knowledge can be used. At a certain point people need to be told what to do. They have got their own difficult objectives that they have got to meet that are coming from industry or from parliament or their own agenda, that they are trying to push [at work]. So, when it comes to issues that are outside KPIs and performance targets, they just (and they may have the interest and the good will) but they just want the structure, "How do we do it?", to increase application, more so than interest.



B - Having a person who is aware of all of these issues who can be seen as a person who you can trust, is looking after them [ATSI interests] because when there is so much to juggle and so many competing demands on time, for all of these important things to be taken onboard, people just don't have time. To know that we have got a person who we know that they are gathering knowledge from a particular area about what we are needing to know, it is genuine, it has got the checks and balances and the money is going straight to them [Indigenous people with the knowledge]. It is not going to these big four consultancies. I think that there needs to be a safeguard, in the form of someone employed by the organisation who can oversee that. To be aware of these things, and nothing can come in or out without them overseeing it and making sure that the right people are chosen or whatever it is.

B - The credibility of knowledge; there has to be some kind of conduit there. There has to be somebody who can put a foot in both worlds and is seen as credible by both camps and has a genuine interest in getting the resources to go back to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. How can that be established? There has to be an identified need for it and then there has to be an individual who acts as a bridge, because it has to be translated. In business there is a type of employee who is called a Business Analyst, they are versed in the language of IT and then they are also versed in the language of business people, and that is what they do. They basically act as the bridge between the business needs and objectives because IT people can't talk to anyone, except each other, their language is so domain specific. The business people don't care how it gets done, they just want it to get done. The role of the Business Analyst got developed and they get paid big time because they speak both languages. And it is because both things are needed to occur. That is why you need that bridge [Indigenous people who are qualified to do that], who could set themselves up in that role. That is a way of creating that demand as well. They know how to package it and sell it.

C - That's showing connections to me...The power of conversations; personal conversations. Eye to eye conversations, are whatever culture you're from... seems to me to be the only way to achieve things is eyeballing people; seeing their human response. Not via letter... it's the paradigm of one to one conversations, or one to few.

C - Talking to local First Nations people probably also relates to our recruiting. In my previous organisation I don't think we ever got it right about targets for Aboriginal recruitment; I don't think you might achieve those targets by putting it on, 'Seek'. It could be that Seek is the way to go but just make sure it is. As opposed to you assuming that it is. And I think in terms of things like, procurement, we need to be more directly [engaging with locals].

E - Probably to have more representation in the APS. To have more employees that are Indigenous. There are very few. I think that we have 1 or 2 out of about 450 employees. What would be needed is more mixing with people that are Indigenous.

E - Maybe get someone in to speak to us. We could get somebody in to explain what it means to be an Indigenous entrepreneur, how they are treated and how they would like to be treated.

M - More media coverage of positive stories like the one I talked about in the Northern Territory where apps were being developed in Indigenous languages.

M - Large corporations committing to e.g. supporting a **dedicated museum of Indigenous art and culture**. Last year the government funded what was the most expensive museum built anywhere in the world to recognise the end of WW1 and we had Australian politicians on the Western front and that is a wonderful thing to do to make a place of remembrance but it did occur to me that, while we have got some wonderful Indigenous collections in parts of other museums, we are **yet to have an Indigenous museum dedicated to Indigenous art and culture** and I would like to see that built in the next few years. Some policy around funding to explicitly preserve and celebrate Indigenous culture, history and knowledge. It could also be a centre for Indigenous language. I would love to see that built either in the NT or SA. I think it would be great to consult with Indigenous Australians as to where they thought a museum should be built. But, I would suggest somewhere that would take Australians and tourists away from the usual capitals into a place where they would have that opportunity to explore and celebrate Indigenous culture and history.

S - Our intention is to offer internships.

T - We could demonstrate when we do use or access Aboriginal knowledge, when we are working on a project; that we acknowledge how important that knowledge is. That is something that we

could do at a local level. Celebrating and promoting that. And somehow capturing that as well. I am just thinking now that we have a discussion around the table when we're planning things and a story will come up; a chance to show how great those stories are.

V - A demonstration in virtual reality. What a great way of not only hearing but actually experiencing, in terms of how are we up-scaling our cultural learning from Aunty [elder], when there is one of them and there are X,000 of us. Through these apps, which are becoming cheaper and cheaper. So, if you are an Indigenous business you can come to us and say, "We have protected our IP because we have it on a digital app." It is like you are sitting by a camp fire and listening to the story. Very hard then to knock it off (well, people pirate stuff wherever anyone is making money people). In that way you are almost keeping that tradition of verbal story telling. I have got the headset on and I am actually sitting by the fire. You are almost keeping that tradition going but in a modern world.

X - We had a company by the name of 'Trade Games' come for NAIDOC week. We went over to the park and they taught us traditional games. It was such a great afternoon. He employed his brother and also another guy came and did it. His concept was to go around and teach schools, universities, businesses traditional Aboriginal games. It wasn't compulsory for staff to go but about 50 of us went. And everyone that went were like "that was just the best hour and a half."

X - One of our Aboriginal colleagues, he had a contact, they are such a critical link. We have 5 Aboriginal staff members here.

X - My own understanding in most scenarios is that the elders of the communities are often the key in regards to implementing understanding. So, working maybe closer.

#### d) Local Government (third column)

- 1

Q - We've given ourselves some access by recognising and branding and knowing how to reach out to people to help us in our business. The same doesn't occur in society. If I wanted to learn more about what is happening to Indigenous folk in the community in which I live, it is hard to find. We can help, we need to **help through local councils**, or local community groups to have some broader engagement. I know the before and after school care board that I used to sit on when my kids were younger, was named after a local Indigenous guy from the past and when we started it, we found descendants of those groups to come and talk about the naming and all those sorts of things, but it is hard work to find that. And the other one that is hard is that most of those people who are willing to be involved are older, they are the retired Indigenous people, with that heritage, who are then finding more about themselves and the availability of their time to do stuff. Be great if there were a lot of younger speakers as well. We need encouragement for that.

#### e) State Government (third column)

- 0

(as below; in unison with Federal Government)

#### f) Federal Government (third column)

- 9

E - At a policy level I think that they need to promote more of the positive role that Aboriginals are playing in Australia, in terms of the Rangers in the NT, trackers, all those sorts of skilled people that are contributing to the country. That sort of thing promoted through TV. Being recognised in Australia Day awards, that sort of thing. You could set up a quota of Indigenous programs on TV for example to give people an exposure. Just in the same way that we are trying to achieve gender equality, representation in the parties etc. That [factsheet] is exactly the sorts of stories that need to be told because often I think that people think that because it is an ancient culture that it is unsophisticated but they have all these skills that are absolutely unique and I think that those stories need to be told. I was pleased to see that on the star gazing show on the ABC they interviewed an Aboriginal astronomer. He said that in ancient times they used to navigate by the stars. There need to be more stories like that.

G - Maybe some internal marketing in the regions.

L - At a policy level, funding AIATSIS [Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies] better would be a good start, so that we more purposely seek to record and find and understand Aboriginal knowledge and Aboriginal ways of knowing. Funding AIATSIS better, they are very poorly funded for what their mission is.

L - Continuation of work that is currently paid for: 1) The Army reserve pays Aboriginal soldiers to be part of ~~NonForce~~, and share their knowledge. I remember thinking at the time that ~~NonForce~~ is one of the few places where Black Australians taught White Australians anything. We did prize their knowledge about how to move in the bush. They also taught us survival techniques and plants, Bush tucker. So, to the extent that the Army paid for those men to be part-time soldiers, some of them were full-time, most of them were part-time. 2) We pay Aboriginal people to provide advice, particularly on Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUA). They get paid for the land, or they get a consideration for the land, either monetary or non-monetary benefit. But then there are some that also get consideration for their knowledge. We needed expert knowledge to help us delineate claims by four groups and to help us come up with an agreement that was reasonable.

L - Sometimes also probably marketing or other research to show ways that the knowledge might be applied in a way that is commercially attractive. I don't believe in government buying things because there is no other market. The question is how do we, no, up to a point. I believe in the Australian government subsidising things like the Australian Opera. So, there is a cultural argument for preserving our culture as a public good. I am comfortable with that so, recognising Indigenous culture and preserving that as something that is genuinely a public good, that individuals may not pay for, or may not pay enough for, the government could subsidise that. But buying things for which there is no market – it is pretty fuzzy there. Do I mind that the government supports Australian Opera and Art Galleries; not at all. So, to the extent that government could support, through cultural grants and what-have-you, dance and other, or knowledge things, I am entirely comfortable with that. Recognising that, I think it is going back to recognising that Aboriginal culture and Torres Strait Islander culture is our culture. |

M - Government commitment to preserving Indigenous languages.

O - A marketing campaign promoting Aboriginal businesses. Why they are important and why we should invest in Aboriginal businesses.

O - The Arts and sports are typically the ways, like when we think of movies like 'Rabbit Proof Fence', 'Samson and Delila' (amazing film). Traditionally that story telling has been through prowess at sport and through the arts and I think it actually needs to go beyond. That's really important, but it is at risk of being tokenistic. You can watch that and then do nothing.

V - There is a greater move this way [toward embracing IAK] but I think that is coming more from the Indigenous communities keeping on with the agitation. With government you need to do that [advocate].

#### **4) Value and strengthen the embryonic Indigenous Australian knowledge Industry**

##### **a) Self (fourth column)**

###### **• 5**

D - That is going to be an iterative process because we are starting from a low bar of understanding. We have to raise our own understanding of how we will ascertain whether you are the appropriate person to get our goods and services from, as to the next person. How do we make sure that we are not just going to a badged organisation, as opposed to a real one? It comes down to relationships really. I have already got a list of organisations in my head that I will go out to, to help us with our next RAP because I have met them and I know them and I know that they are Aboriginal small businesses. So, I start with them or I use my networks to make sure that I deal with a small business that is well credentialed. Word of mouth is really strong.

G - Acknowledging where the information came from in the first place. I think that if people want to find out more, they know where to go to find it and they just know the source. So, they know that it is



authentic. They know that it is a truth. Understanding what the businesses are out there. Like, Indigenous businesses and having a list and understanding what they do.

P – [Before being involved in a process where non-Indigenous people are making all the profit with a trickle going to First Nations people] there should be something in my head goes, 'is that appropriate, is that right?'

W - Putting yourself in those shoes, thinking about what might be most important does change how you work, which then does become automatic. So, when you do go out or are working with an Aboriginal organisation or whatever, you are not thinking, it is second nature, it is just part of how you think and do. And that is the next step to try and do.

Y - Just keep being provided with more opportunities to participate in more, in practical Aboriginal demonstrate, apply knowledge to real world, to today's problems that are occurring. Apply knowledge to the real-world problems that we are facing in a vivid way that we can see exactly what would encourage people to participate and become more interested in Aboriginal knowledge.

#### b) Peers (fourth column)

- 0

#### c) Organisations (fourth column)

- 18

C - In a really practical way, with the support from one of Supply Nation's representatives, ourselves and our legal people, we've put in place, where there will be specific Indigenous IP. e.g. If someone, an Indigenous company provided a general consulting service to us, general business stuff, say they came to do a review of our accounting system, then we own the IP. We would go, 'that's ours'. But where we believe that it will be really specific Indigenous knowledge, IP to a property. We have actually got specific clauses in our contracts, with the support of Supply Nation, more specific protection around the use of Indigenous knowledge. To make sure that the Indigenous community still own it. So, rather than us going, 'we own it all', with our clauses now we go, 'you own it for your use, licenced to us.' I am just trying to think of an example. Potentially when we are engaged with the Aboriginal community, a particular engagement approach, Yarning Circle. Even if the Yarning Circle was going to be used for White people engagement, we would say, 'that's yours'. Certainly artwork, we have got artwork designed for our purpose, going forward, 'you are owning that, we are not'. Licence us to use it for our materials. Our contracts make sure that that IP stays with the provider.

D - Some sort of guild or association, a national body that accredits them. E.g. If you need a builder for your house, go to the Masters Builders Guild, you make sure that they are part of the umbrella organisation. There is kudos in having some kind of list, 'I only purchase from X organisations'. Is there some way of having an accreditation, not so much an accreditation as much as a national body? Say, if you are looking for an Aboriginal or TSI business specialising in X, in this location and you make sure that they are appropriately accredited.

H - Specifically benefitting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, whether it is a particular trust or a fund or something like that where it is administered by, (And this is like that thing, where I like what you were saying before about community verses our structures that we put in place in the Western world) like **coming up with something that comes together, that supports and recognises that community aspect whilst trying to integrate it**, because the Western world is not going to become less structured and money oriented. But finding a way that's a nice happy medium.

K - [With the older artworks] **you can identify a region, identify a good [Indigenous] cause in that region and send some money there**. That seems like the best you can do in some situations. (Issue: Identifying the owners or creators of some artwork can be quite difficult. Particularly the older stuff. Reflecting on what I know about art in this building. Some of it was collected at a time where you didn't actually collect that information on who owns it. Which makes it, then, if you want to use that image somewhere you need to pay copywrite and there is just no-way you could actually know who that should go to because the artist and the family have become disconnected from the art that was purchased for them at the time.)

P –We recently had a leadership day where we got the same person to come down to do a Welcome to Country for us but also give us a few stories and tell us about the local area. There was

only a small number of people who did the tour. If you are going to integrate that into the business more, **we need to do more regular pieces like that.** Because that is the only way that you are going to get through to people. First of all, getting a thirst for the understanding and the knowledge and then I think, when you have that, that then allows you to start shaping the conversation a bit more about how important it is that getting the right people to do these. As the benefit of that is going to the right people. That is a purely Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander procurement, not that we are just getting in the story, we are **actually paying the source for it.**

Q - If you have a RAP and you're working as a business playing in Indigenous elements, in that space, is there a requirement by Reconciliation Australia that you actually have an **active mentoring program for emerging Indigenous businesses**, which is a two way street, you increase your knowledge of their services and you give them some time part-time guidance to their board or their owners, with 'phone a friend' about 'how do I handle this?'

Q - 'How do you get the industry to be valued?', is stronger than 'how do you regulate?' The only way to stop the exploitation is, there needs to be stronger training for Indigenous business leaders. So, things like, Australian Company Directors (AICD). I know that they have started to run regional programs so do they encourage, business schools, is there an in-take or, Business Schools at universities, do they need to have an Indigenous component. Do they need to have a rural program? We are talking about rural education. How many, 'protecting your IP', running your business and those things are really there? Is there a Business mentoring program? As part of a RAP is there a process by which you may need to mentor an Indigenous business? Is it a different role? Is behaving ethically and morally in business, regardless of who you are dealing with, a key? So, if you come from that position, it doesn't matter whether you are dealing with an Indigenous or non-Indigenous business, you are not going to rip people off.

Q - Adequately paying for the services you are receiving. And whether that is in a company registration process; whether that is in a form of taxation or something else is a way that it is recognised. That is, again if you have a RAP. You can't have a RAP without having these things. And if you don't have a RAP then you can't be regarded as an Indigenous related business, therefore you don't get the procurement benefits. It has got to be linked through procurement.

Q - What we are considering is valuing the knowledge, and using that positively both to value what we pay for getting that knowledge, but it is not about that, it has been about encouraging and using fair play rather than about protection. Both feed to each other but there is a different stance I think. Our RAP is very anti-exploitation of that knowledge. But not necessarily about protection of it. But I think that fact that we are demonstrating the value of that. But, I think, a lot of RAPs are probably geared towards recognition, employment, leverage and sharing of knowledge, but not about protection. And, maybe that is something that may need to be built into, and whether it is the next RAP, as you progress, and you progress and have new challenges, but maybe building protection of Indigenous knowledge. I think they come at it by recognising the value of it. Because things that you value as a community and a society you do protect. If you don't value them, then you don't care... creating the value perception, is the way that industry can foster that.

Q - If you have a RAP, how is it real? If you are trading as an Indigenous business, how is that real? Are royalties or benefits actually getting some way in some part. You could have a business that has got a RAP that actually then values the inputs and pays for the cultural inputs to that process. It doesn't mean to say that a percentage of turn over goes there but you are [paying for what you are using.

R - That is a topic for inclusion in RAPs. If we think about the components of a RAP. One aspect is Respect. This might fit into an action that fits under Respect, and there might be some guidance that is provided, by Reconciliation Australia around, for a RAP to be accredited you need to be able to address this issue of Traditional Owner knowledge and respecting its Intellectual property.

T - The **state business chamber** has free calls. If you join up to your local business chamber, this might be something for these Aboriginal businesses (I know that some of them might be remote, but actually tapping into that business chamber network where you can get access to the state business chamber where you can get legal advice and marketing advice, financial advice. And half an hour with a solicitor to talk through things. Human Resources; a certain level of free access and then paid access after that. Tapping into those resources. And they have meet ups, meet and greet kind of thing. And then coming from the other way is making those **business chambers aware of**

**Aboriginal businesses** around and that there are avenues for membership, for those chambers. And fitting into this construct, it is marketing and placement and making people aware.

T - Like when we have volunteers we have agreements about their rights, insurance. Maybe it is more about creating agreements in the middle [referring back to the 'boxes' picture] in which to operate.

T - Maybe there is an opportunity for us to use our social media to [raise awareness] highlight different cases and the importance of that sort of thing. Maybe tapping into [regional Aboriginal college] as well.

V - If every organisation had a RAP ...Indigenous business should be ploughing the way.

V - It is probably a two-pronged approach. I don't necessarily think that Indigenous Australians put the same monetary value, don't put a monetary value on that. And that is probably a mindset shift, because that knowledge has a monetary value. Story-telling gets told for many different reasons within the community; you share knowledge. Internally maybe it is just part of that cultural awareness training. It is not until I see these reports on the news, that show me that digeridoos are being imported, because my mind doesn't work like that. I just think that people are doing the right thing. Maybe it is that **education piece. I as a buyer, who want to do the right thing.** How do I know that, when an organisation says that they are Indigenous, and they are not just using that to get a contract? Wow, it is certainly a parallel education piece. But I think that it has to have that, it's very old fashion, **ticket of authenticity.**

X - We could get someone to come in to talk about that type of scenario. I don't think we could embed it into our compulsory curriculum or training within the organisation but we could definitely organise some workshops or information sessions or ask guest speakers to come in to talk about that concept.

Z - What would be great actually, (because all our allied health professionals have to do continuous education) and a lot of the courses that are on offer are not much good. They are not applicable to what we do. If an Indigenous organisation were to say, "here are the characteristics of Indigenous health, and here is what the evidence says you could do about it as a health professional", have it delivered in a timely, convenient format (which a lot of the courses are really lacking). It is 20 points a year and a point is meant to be roughly one hour. It can be a one-hour course and people can get a point for it. If you could do a few hours' worth of on-line content or a 20-hour course that might be something appealing actually because it would save administration time e.g. for me because I am not having to search for 20 courses, I'm enrolling in one.

#### d) Local Government (fourth column)

- 0

#### e) State Government (fourth column)

- 2

R - (with First Nations people) There is an opportunity to regulate or legislate requirements for this to occur. Even through education programs or organisations doing things or even through projects to occur. I think there is a huge opportunity there.

R - The second thing that should sit inside of that is a way of creating accreditation. Depending on the organisation there might be a considerable variation. Through an accreditation process, maybe there is a licencing arrangement that provides the flow of economic value back to the Traditional Owners, from a governance perspective. There is this knowledge pool, you are licenced as a provider to use that, every time you use that then there is a flow. It is creating the flows inside of that.

#### f) Federal Government (fourth column)

- 38

A - It is really hard because I know we are trying to reduce the reliance on government. There could be some sort of government service or government program where, whenever there is funding for (especially large dollar funding) programs over a period of time, that the support services that are



required can maybe be managed by some sort of government department or NGO, something that is not out to make money, because that is where they get fleeced, is by all of these middle-men. Potentially there is room for a department, not necessarily to provide those services but to provide support in procuring things that are not over-priced, good value for money. And possibly training and educating people to do a lot of this stuff in-house, where there is that capacity.

B - Catering is another one; huge amount of demand for Indigenous catering. It is very big in NAIDOC week, where it has its peaks, and the caterers that are out there are run off their feet, but then the rest of the year they are a bit flat, so as a result their prices aren't competitive with other caterers. But if they had a greater amount of demand then they would end up having economies of scale, in which they could bring their prices down and then there is demand.

C - [Perhaps] a different type of copyright is needed for Indigenous Australians. If you asked me how to describe our workplace IP I could point you to manuals and procedures; easy to define. Not sure that it would be so easy to define the knowledge IP that is being contemplated here. I actually wonder whether, as an industry, whether they need to be getting, with appropriate government support, advice on IP... "here is an industry that is emerging. Using the legal system (Indigenous lawyers?) we want to define what this embryonic industry's knowledge is about so that it is protected." If copyright laws need to be amended to reflect change now is the time. It would be another action that would show good faith to the Indigenous community, that government is trying to deal with some of the fundamental issues of the IP. I am not a big fan of legislation, because we legislate for everything these days, but for something like this. It seems to me that it is an obvious one where legislation needs to define and protect it and, with government support, (because lawyers are expensive) to say this is how we can protect this intellectual knowledge and this industry going forward. That can get back to agreements supporting contracts, aligned to legislation. Then you can go, albeit in a westernised way, there is protection in the system.

C - I think that it has got to be legislated and it will be challenging given the vast amount of Indigenous knowledge. I am not trying to bring it back only to artwork. There is more to it than that. I am sure that if you took Aboriginal people down to a river, I am sure that they could tell you how to manage it better [not long after millions of fish died in the Darling and Murray rivers in 2018]. I can only think that it can be done through legislation that says, "This is Indigenous intellectual property, this is owned by the Indigenous community, and we don't want them just to 'own' it because by sharing their knowledge it is going to help make Australia better." Put legislative arrangements in place that say, "if you are going to use this, you must, enter into a commercial arrangement for its use". So, information is being shared but there is appropriate recognition of the ownership. And, in the world in which we live, it does need dollars (I don't know how we are going to get around that, because of where the world is at), but it would enable investment back into the Indigenous community (for fostering the Indigenous community, for fixing the issues that are there around health, discrimination etc). Somehow it has got to be legislated at the commonwealth level. Don't leave it to the states or local governments because we will get different solutions. It needs to be Federal Government.

E - Perhaps some legislation that they can invoke if need be that will sponsor fairness in terms of the economic outcomes for what they produce. You don't want to sound condescending like they can't look after themselves. You don't want like a guardianship arrangement where someone looks after them because that is not going to lead to independence.

E - Clearly if there was a will, it should have been honoured. Maybe they ought to be given some sort of priority to preserving and rewarding Aboriginal artworks and artefacts, more than there is at the moment to avoid that sort of exploitation. I just don't know how you would word it, because I am not a lawyer. These cases show that there needs to be something in place to protect Indigenous Australian IP.

E - I don't know how you do guard against that, unless you restrict certain trade practices. I think that you would rather have a carrot than a stick. There should be more schemes to promote authentic tourism and teaching by the traditional people, without intermediaries and interference. I think that there should be schemes in place that, there are already, but there probably needs to be more of it and they need to have a way to expose the general populous, not just where tourists go out and visit, but available in the metropolitan areas more. A lot of people don't leave the cities much, and don't have much exposure. Just in this city for example, there is Aboriginal history; there should be more opportunities for Aboriginals to tell the stories of their ancestors. They don't have to be stories about history. They could be stories about how they hunt and gather. And they should be

more widely available, those stories rather than people having to go searching for it. If you are in Sydney and walk to the Rocks you will be exposed to convict history but very little Aboriginal history.

F - I think the policy needs to be more around, how do we create livelihoods for [Indigenous] people, **in their community in the way they want to live**. Rather than integration for the sake of, "okay, you want to live your lifestyle of mainstream Australia? This is how you need to be".

F - You need to create opportunities for Indigenous people rather than expecting them to work for existing businesses. Somewhere in regional [state] a local Indigenous community has started a very, very successful tourism, education initiative. It is quite an expensive thing where tourists go and live in the Indigenous community and learn for several days, and there is a very high demand for that. That is the type of thing, creating cottage industries within the Indigenous communities rather than focussing our attention and policy on absorbing Indigenous people into existing roles.

F - For our Western legal system there has to be an owner whether it is an individual or a group or some entity. But Indigenous knowledge is not in that way codified and there is no one entity that owns that, and therein lies this challenge for ensuring any income from use of that knowledge, goes back to the owner. Codification at a university could be a channel to achieve that [income flow]. The Indigenous university holds a trust account to pay those Indigenous people. That could be one way of doing it. Until there is that channel, and that channel needs to come from Indigenous peoples themselves, because we have seen that in the past, where government has tried to force things through. It would have to come from Indigenous people themselves. Not "we have created this corporation for you."

F - One of the challenges we do have is that Indigenous knowledge is not codified in a way that it is accessible to non-Indigenous people. I guess within the Indigenous communities itself there may be some challenges and debates on whether they ought to be codified. Leaving that aside, this is where government can influence. There is some investment required to codify this knowledge, or it will be totally lost. If not lost, it will not be shared with the broader Australian community. And it is almost like **creating an Indigenous university** where this knowledge is codified, you have scholars coming and studying it. Once you try and establish that kind of an institution it becomes a world sharing venture as well. Because some of the challenges we see with broader awareness of Australian Indigenous people there are parallels with the American Indians. Why not have a **Centre of Excellence in Australia?**

G - It is about valuing. It is expectation. But it is a business transaction and it hasn't been thought of as a business transaction and maybe the rules around that kind of thinking need to be brought up to speed, by both parties; the person who is gaining the knowledge or engaging it and also the people who are giving it. There needs to be education around it and about what is appropriate.

H - At some point somebody needs to spend a large amount of money to build up that sort of embryonic stage to go a step further.

H - In terms of measures I presume that there are some very smart people out there that could come up with some legislation or something in that space that makes it really clear what is of value and minimum requirements.

J - There has to be a more tight [regulation] especially now that with the focus and we are starting to open this up with the procurement and all this sort of stuff. The JV [joint venture] component, I believe that it has to go on further. It cannot just be that I have a partner or he's a 50% owner. You have got to demonstrate that and you have to have a process in place to show an exit plan, or that is still your vested interest. If I have a 50/50 partnership with you, how do I intend to get out of the business so that eventually I give you the business back. Because that is the focus now. The government are saying, the reason that you are getting this contract is you are training and you are making Indigenous businesses sustainable and giving them the knowledge. There has to be a process in place, and there has to be a cut-off date, and they need to go back and check on it.

L - What we need to do is to ensure that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander companies are protected. That they have their rights protected, and that Intellectual Property laws recognise the specific nature of that.

L - Stimulating demand for Indigenous knowledge by recognising how it might be applied. So, that there is someone who'll pay for it.



L - [We need to be able to give Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples reassurances that if [attempts at exploitation] happened then they will be protected as much as possible. We should be careful of the Intellectual Property issues. And I think, to the extent that we do research that would have benefit for Indigenous knowledge, that we acknowledge that, ensure that it is protected and credited, financial reward flows.

**G - The spiritual tourism economy has gone up. Is there a way to tap into that?**

O - One of the things that we have found is actually finding out about Aboriginal businesses, and I think that a mechanism to promote Aboriginal businesses would be good. Even if it is a website so that when you google it is like a quality oversight because all of the providers are endorsed.

O - It just needs to be understanding that to have equality we **actually need to give more in terms of resourcing and support to Aboriginal controlled organisations**, which is the fantastic stuff that is happening in Victoria at the moment. **Aboriginal control around decisions** that affect them, **less of the 'done to', policy making**, really having them at the centre of policy making. It would be great to see in Victoria that any laws that are made that impact on Aboriginal people go through a process of vetting before it goes through parliament and things like that. You would want that replicated at the Federal level. There were contradictions. Law and order is one of those political, front of the Herald Sun, issues and it was at odds with the other great work that [Vic gov] have been doing. The states and territories have so much of the levers around shifting Aboriginal disadvantage, but the **biggest levers that the Commonwealth Government has is around income support, around health policy**. There are real levers that sit at the Commonwealth but the **service delivery is at the state: health, education and so it has got to be both**. It can't just be an Australian government approach. It won't be enough.

P - Fundamentally what you need is some kind of legislation that says, 'these things need to benefit the owners of the knowledge and the culture', not perhaps the providers, or suppliers of that.

Q - What you do is make the penalties for doing so such a discouragement.

Q - There would have to be some form of regulation. And I hate to put hurdled criteria, but then there is always the question of who regulates the regulator. You can see that because of, who owns Indigenous culture? And, within a region and then you get some splinter groups, and if there is unrest within a broad range of Aboriginal and if you take an area that is too broad, because it has so many groups and language groups they may not all see eye to eye. So, there needs to be a way of making sure that their knowledge and their roots are real because otherwise you create this artificial industry which denigrates the ones who have the real knowledge. Income will always follow value. So, if you are generating value and you are valued then the income process will come.

Q - There has to be much stronger controls regarding procurement, so that there is real value, but you test what the real Indigenous piece is. Because if I set up a company and called it Indigenous Engineering Australia and didn't employ any Indigenous folk, I could be trading on that name artificially. There have got to be some real tests. And I also think that there needs to be within legislation and frameworks, like the public trustee process the fact that there is adequate representation of that nature.

R - There is a realm or space for regulation. There is an opportunity to regulate or legislate requirements for this to occur (with First Nations people).

T - Those case studies too, everything just takes such a long time; legal processes all of these things and proving this and proving that. I wonder if there is a way to speed up the process somehow. Like 30 years is a long time to go through a copyright battle or a land rights battle. Some way to speed things up a bit. Provide some case studies, like you have just done here, it is quite clear in my mind where the line is in each of those examples. To create some precedents for future judgements or things like that.

T - Maybe there is something through the ACCC, or consumer, through that sort of angle, that fairness. Our local council say that if you are tendering for a project 15% [of consideration] is ~~go~~ <sup>whether</sup> whether you are an Aboriginal business or whether you employ Aboriginal people. There are ways. But whether you end up employing people like that big corporation that created that bastardised knowledge basically? And there are other quotas around here on people employed and [Aboriginal] businesses employed and stuff like that.



T – Around research projects, so if you are researching Aboriginal people using their knowledge for your career or whatever then that information is either remunerated or freely available to people. Or have structures in place that if you are going to be researching Aboriginal people that it is remunerated.

T – Supply Nation is very expensive for a small business. Being able to access those databases more freely would really bring the barrier down for a lot of people.

T – There is also another database that we have been able to access, with all the local area Aboriginal organisations as well, but there are like 700 or 1,000 and it is a really difficult database to search so maybe there is a way to streamline that to give access to people.

T – How do you protect that knowledge? Maybe that is something that needs to be made clearer to people in the government departments is that this is not just about fulfilling a quota, there has to be some sort of credibility criterion, as well. Or there has to be some sort of connection to (country or knowledge) to be able to assess that thoroughly. Or the person that you are hiring is close to the land where you are doing the job. Things that can have a real direct impact on the outcomes [being sought]. And then whether it is about law. There seems to be quite a lot of legal cases here. Whether there can be more information on precedents. I really think that there are so many angles and paths to this.

T – That is a really tough one because it is the nature of capitalism, that you have to fight in the market place. Maybe there is an opportunity to, similar to what IBA is doing, is to actually give (whether it be funding again) for groups to get off the ground or seed funding, like a loan to help build up their skills and build up their business and get into the market place.

U – As a public policy economist, I am always reluctant to see exceptions made to legislation, so, where you have competition and consumer law, which protects against misleading or deceptive conduct. I am not sure it is (strong enough). Bill Shorten was on the media this morning actually, talking about preferential procurement for Aboriginal & TSI people (making a policy platform). Well, there are procurement policies for government getting stronger all the time. This is most prevalent when [our organisation] looks for business with government resources, you will get a lot of questions about your engagement with Indigenous Australia, your RAP, your procurement policies and so on. That is something that is being required by government. I think it would be very difficult to have additional legislation to protect against exploitation.

U – Just to deal with this thing about leakage [of income or knowledge]. If somebody is purporting to have Indigenous origins and they are saying something about their own origins that isn't true, there are laws to cover that. You have to look at it on a case by case basis, because that is when you start getting into all sorts of minefields about who owns rights and so on. I have seen that. We have this thing happening in [location] where there is a parcel of land and there are 3 different Aboriginal groups claiming rights to it and the state government has given it to the [named clan] people, and there are people who are not happy about it. So, I think that legislating for [protection] is not going to get you away from **looking at the merits of individual cases and who the beneficiaries will be** in all of this is very material. That is where the crunch comes. I would be hesitant about legislating beyond what we have got. Sometimes you need to, if I could use the example of one of the Aboriginal Art Code that is enshrined in legislation, but I think that it needs to be very ~~selective~~ <sup>selective</sup> V – increasing penalties. I always believe in people learn by, if you treat somebody in a certain way, and they may or may not be aware of how you are treating them, but then you get that behaviour back. That is a learning, as a pain. I look at, 'one strike or two strikes and you are out', in jail. You make it mandatory, if you are ripping people off, it is jail time. Make it so severe, the penalties, that the peoples' who have in their head that they are going to do the wrong thing. What is going to stop, a slap on the wrist. Government department makes it even worse, gets a fine. The person who makes the decision has to be responsible. So, whether it's entrenched in the bureaucracy (if it is a government department). If I am the one that they say, if it is to do with Indigenous and you knowingly do this, we are coming after you. We will come after the company, but the company has got the resources. But coming after you personally, chances are, I am going to go, "It is time to think, would I want this done to me?" And you are making it, giving me the consequence. It is not, I am just following directions (or whatever it is as an 'out'). I think you have to have really hard, really big penalties. And, for business, none of this [small fine], you take a business like ours, they do the wrong thing, you look at their turnover [of the company] and you take a percentage of it. E.g. I went to Hamilton Island for a holiday recently and they were telling this story of the guy who developed

the Island. He wanted the beach from the one of the other islands, but it was under a heritage preservation order, (he kept applying and they kept replying, no you cannot take sand from this beach to put on your beach on Hamilton Island.) and he said to his lawyer, "what is the penalty?" He went \$250,000 fine. So, he said, "Just take it." When he was up in court he paid the fine. Because his resources, the fine is not commensurate with his resources. Now if they were to say to him, "It [the fine] is 50% of your wealth", the chances are he is going to have a very different thought process to, what he may blow in a casino in an afternoon. So, I don't think that the penalties are in place. If you go for the person, and you go for the organisation, whoever signs off on it is personally held liable. I think that it is the only way to bring change and I feel quite passionate about that.

U - Western education is what is going to lead to economic opportunities. You have got to be practical about that. If you were to increase the level of awareness and support for better outcomes, it would provide signals to policy makers that they need to make more and smarter investments in economic opportunities for those people. [Mainstream] community attitudes, if changed, will translate into material improvements in [Closing the Gap] metrics.

U - Finding young Aboriginal people and getting them really well educated, getting them really well supported through various levels of education including tertiary. Facilitating the development of young leaders.

V - Maybe it comes back to that sort of certification, like Halal. You have a community or somebody actually endorses that it is Indigenous. So, when I buy, I look for 'Made in Australia' but then they get around that by, it might be made in Australia but the goods are imported in. Now I am looking for the 'made and grown in Australia'. And, they will find another way around it. Maybe it is through certification from an Indigenous certified body, that says "this is from 'W'" (whoever, and it is a genuine Indigenous product).

Y - Just allow them to bring, so policies need to change to allow them to bring their supply to the market at a cheaper rate than their competitors. That is high-level thinking, but that is ultimately how you are going to do it. Set policy that allows them to bring whatever they are supplying to the market at a cheaper rate than their competitors.

B - If we go back to those different domains of knowledge [listed in the brief summary of the first-interviews]. I think probably the greatest traction that is going to occur in the more immediate time, is those based in the more scientific models; environment, land, astronomy. Whereas, I think the community, family, spirituality that tends to be outside of business structure. It tends to inform and you can do huge amounts of analysis, all that kind of stuff, but people at least deny that it is influencing [knowledge base and operations]. Maybe in government departments that are a bit more human service oriented, or something like that. Conflict management though, that really stands out, everyone needs to learn more about conflict management.

## Appendix 22 – Participant Quotations - Re Participatory Action Research

<b>P</b>	<b>Testaments to Participatory Action Research</b>
<b>B</b>	<p>That clarification of the deeper purpose of wanting to dismantle illusions. I have never probably articulated that to myself in that way before.</p> <p>[Because] we take our RAP incredibly seriously, for every item that is on there, there is genuine work being done. So, I think just adding it into our RAP is a way of that occurring and I will be bringing it up. Nothing like that is in there currently and I think that it is probably not an idea that a lot of people have been exposed to. It is not an idea that I have been exposed to before.</p> <p>Because you described it quite well in terms of the sample and people you accessed, I think this research is going to be more reflective of people who are interested and engaged. So, I think, what can be gotten from this is ideas of how to progress rather than a reflection of what is to come. So, it is a really deep exploration of, people who are engaged with these issues and how [Indigenous] knowledge can be used in the future. And I think that it is going to expose and allow further exploration of opportunities.</p>
<b>C</b>	<p>Personal reflection, I wasn't the most artistic but actually, in terms of what I am going through at the moment this was fine. Reflection around your questions on what would you change; Me taking the ambulance off the table, it is not quite that simple for me but it helps with my reflecting with my current issue, thank you for that.</p> <p>Reminded me of my inadequacies in terms of knowledge of Australian history. What I am doing or not doing. It has helped with refreshing my understanding the need to continue to be more proactive in engagement with a really crucial community group. And even if I just take it to my role here.</p>
<b>E</b>	I think it's a valuable way of approaching a subject through artwork, because it gives you, makes you think about some pretty fundamental issues. And it's a bit hard to talk without reference to something. Having something as a reference point is very useful. A profound way to discuss issues.
<b>I</b>	It has been therapeutic. Taking the time to put it all together in one; connecting to your emotional self and not just your rational work self.
<b>K</b>	The process of reflecting made that (last response) feel very concise, more so than I imagine I was at the beginning. Also, learning more about the people who produce art works here on display. I definitely want to go and learn more. That is certainly something that I have been left with. I think that is a very important take-away; thinking about these things.
<b>L</b>	<p>So, what's better, a souvenir with Aboriginal art, motifs that is made in China, which is then mainstream, and people think of as a pretty, a nice thing that they like, (I don't know the answer to this) or only Aboriginal people are allowed to use Aboriginal style art? But, therefore, it becomes much smaller and much less penetrative of modern Australian society? I don't know the answer. But it is an interesting question.</p> <p><i>(You don't have a preferred answer in that scenario?)</i> I don't. I really don't.</p> <p><i>(You think it is okay for Chinese people to make imitations?)</i> So, you go to a souvenir shop in Sydney and you buy a boomerang or you buy a jigsaw or something and it is covered in Aboriginal art, and it is made in China, is that a bad thing? I don't know. I think, why I say it like that is, if by doing it in an economically viable way means that it will have large scale penetration and it is in your consciousness that that is Australia and that is what we do. Is that better or worse than it being preserved as a cottage industry done over there by those people over there who are then, 'them and us', 'the other'?</p> <p><i>(You don't think that the knowledge is diminished by it not being authentic?)</i></p>

	<p>I do, I do think that it is diminished. I think it would be better if it were done by Aboriginal people, in Aboriginal communities (maybe), or factories, factories owned by Aboriginal people, I don't know. But if that was financially unviable, would it then just reduce out of [not meeting demand] (and I am sort of grappling with it). It gets to this point of, how mainstream do we want Aboriginal knowledge and cultural issues to be owned by the broader Australian populous. I don't know, I haven't answered that. Is that a good thing? Well, I am not an Aboriginal person. I think it is a good thing for us to be more conscious of our Aboriginal heritage and our Aboriginal, and the nature and our relationship with Aboriginal people. And also, overall, I hope they [tourists and mainstream Australians] will understand our history better, because most don't.</p> <p>In a discussion about the New Zealand, "National Anthem can be rendered into Mauri more easily than here where we have 3,000 different languages," Liam realised that if the Australian National Anthem was done in 200 [Indigenous] languages and Australians grew up learning the version that pertains to their geography, it would work; "you'd sing the one of your area." If the Commonwealth Games were, "run in Sydney they would use the Gadigal language. Maybe render 20 or 30 authorised versions on an app and then you sing the one that is where you are."</p> <p>Work like this (in response to 'What would assist you, or your peers, to have more interest in the future of Indigenous Australian knowledge?')</p>
<b>M</b>	There is a suggestion! ( <i>Did that only just come to mind?</i> ) Yes, it did, reading that piece about the pre-schooler. I thought, that should be every school.
<b>S</b>	I loved, love, love the book and the prisoner art work was news to me; I am part of the RAP Group and for next years' NAIDOC activities I can see us considering that.
<b>T</b>	After commenting on "keeping information and getting other people to understand that knowledge without stepping over what their responsibilities are" (section 4.3.4.1) Tom said, "I just thought of that then. I was just like, yeah, it is really interesting when I think about that now."
<b>X</b>	After looking at four case studies (two hypothetical) that illustrated unethical behaviour on the part of non-Indigenous people the questions had drilled down to changing non-Indigenous people's behaviour, Xavier said, "up until you ask those sorts of questions my brain hadn't thought about it from that side."
<b>Z</b>	<p>By you asking the questions that you did last time, it got the cogs turning for me definitely, and I am sure that it did for lots of others. That, there is lots that can and should be shared. The more we get asked the questions about that, the more people go, "yeah, maybe we should do that. Let's look into that".</p> <p>[I] hadn't thought about the back burning that is mentioned on the second page [of the Factsheet], but every year there's fires and every year we worry about it and people lose homes and lives and everything, and we keep doing the same thing and we keep getting the same results.</p>

## Appendix 23 – Personal Learning Actions for Non-Indigenous peoples

### Learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (template)

Action	Source	Quantity	Timeframe	Completion date
Read First Nations authored autobiography		e.g. 2 this year		
Attend Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander academic lecture		1 this year		
Read First Nations authored academic paper		2 this year		
Attend NAIDOC event	Look for local NAIDOC event	1 per year		
Attend Reconciliation event		1 per year		
Attend locally run Indigenous tour/ event		1 per year		
Take Indigenous run tour in Australia	Find places in Langton's Welcome to Country,	1 every two years	by June 2021	
Attend an Indigenous run learning event	Garma Festival <a href="https://www.yyf.com.au/">https://www.yyf.com.au/</a>	1 per 5 years	Complete by December 2022	e.g. Website found 15 May 2020
Listen to Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Podcasts				
Watch Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander T.V. documentaries				
Follow IndigenousX on Twitter				
Volunteer at Garma, or with AVI or ...	<a href="https://www.avi.org.au/opportunities/indigenous-programs/aboriginal-volunteer-program/">https://www.avi.org.au/opportunities/indigenous-programs/aboriginal-volunteer-program/</a>			e.g. Website found ...
Learn an Indigenous language	e.g. Enrol for Pitjantjatjara language course at Uni SA <a href="https://study.unisa.edu.au/courses/106079">https://study.unisa.edu.au/courses/106079</a>			
Encourage others to join me				
Encourage others to learn in all their efforts				
Turn this into a five year plan for my family				



## Appendix 24 – Some Sources

### Learning from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

*\*Note: Not fully or properly referenced in this chart; cross reference with the Bibliography.*

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Pascoe, Bruce	Bunurong / Yuin	Dark Emu: black seeds agriculture or accident?	Magabala Books	2014
Pearson, Noel	Bagaarmugu / Guggu Yalanji	Radical Hope: education and equality in Australia.	Black Inc	2009
Perkins, Rachel	Arrernte and Kalkadoon	First Australians; The Untold Story of Australia.	SBS	2008
Peris, Nova	Murran	Nova: My Story: the Autobiography of Nova Peris	ABC Books	2003
Peters-Little, Frances	Kamilaroi and Uralarai	The return of the noble savage by popular demand: a study of Aboriginal television documentary in Australia.	ANU, Peters-Little	2002
Pilkington, Doris	Garimara	Follow the Rabbit Proof Fence	Univ. of Queensland Press	2002
Regional Aboriginal Education Team,	Western NSW.	8 ways: Aboriginal pedagogy from Western NSW.	Dubbo, Australia: Department of Education and Communities.	2012
Reynolds, Henry	Wiradjuri	Nowhere people. The law of the land (3rd ed.. ed.). This Whispering in our Hearts. The Law of the Land. Aborigines and settlers: the Australian experience, 1788-1939.	Penguin Penguin Allen & Unwin Penguin Penguin	2005 2003 1998 1987 1972
Sarra, Chris	Aboriginal/ Italian	Strong and smart: Reinforcing Aboriginal perceptions of being Aboriginal at Cherbourg state school.	Murdoch University,	2005
Scales, Sally	Pitjantjatjara	Leadership, One Plus One <a href="https://www.abc.net.au/news/programs/one-plus-one/2020-04-21/one-plus-one:-sally-scales/12170798?nw=0">https://www.abc.net.au/news/programs/one-plus-one/2020-04-21/one-plus-one:-sally-scales/12170798?nw=0</a>	ABC	2020
Sheehan, Norman	Wiradjuri	Indigenist and decolonizing research methodology.	<i>research methods in health social sciences</i>	2018
Sizer, Jodie	Djap Wurrung/ Gunditjmara	It's just bullsh**t ... and it will never happen again:	In the game ABC Audio Podcast	2019 May
Steffensen, Victor	Tagalaka	Bushfire special from Queanbeyan. <a href="https://www.abc.net.au/qanda/2020-03-02/11906192">https://www.abc.net.au/qanda/2020-03-02/11906192</a> Fire Country: how Indigenous Fire Management could help save Aust	Q&A. ABC  Hardie Grant	2020  2020
Kimba Thompson; Black Dot Gallery & Sista Girl Productions	Wiradjuri	Gulpa ngawal: Indigenous deep listening. (By Laura Brearley; Kimba Thompson; Jacob Tolo; Sista Girl Productions)	RMIT	2010

THARAMBA BUGHEEN	Aboriginal	<i>Tharamba Bugheen: Victorian Aboriginal Business Strategy 2017-2021.</i> <a href="http://www.economicdevelopment.vic.gov.au">www.economicdevelopment.vic.gov.au</a>	Victorian Government	2017
Thorpe, Nakari	Gunnai, Gunditjmara and Gooreng Gooreng	Albert Namatjira copy rights <a href="https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/nitv-news/article/2017/09/18/albert-namatjira-died-broken-man-his-family-hope-new-film-can-restore-justice">https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/nitv-news/article/2017/09/18/albert-namatjira-died-broken-man-his-family-hope-new-film-can-restore-justice</a>	The Point SBS	2017
Tjala Arts	Pitjantjatjara	Nganampa Kampatjanga Unngu Beneath the Canvas, the lives and stories of the Tjala Artists	Wakefield Press	2015
Tujgui, Nicole	Gnibi College; Indigenous Research Academic	Indigenist and decolonizing research methodology.	<i>research methods in health social sciences,</i>	2018
Unaipon, David	Ngarrindjeri	Legendary tales of the Australian Aborigines.	Miegunyah Press	2001
West, Japanangka Errol George  Japanangka Rex Granites	   Walpiri	An alternative to existing Australian research and teaching models: The Japanangka teaching and research paradigm, an Australian Aboriginal model. <a href="https://www.utas.edu.au/community/naidoc/naidoc-events/inaugural-japanangka-errol-west-lecture-burnie">https://www.utas.edu.au/community/naidoc/naidoc-events/inaugural-japanangka-errol-west-lecture-burnie</a>	Southern Cross University Electronic PhD <a href="http://epubs.scu.edu.au/theses/14/">http://epubs.scu.edu.au/theses/14/</a>	2000
Wiggan, Albert	Bardi-Kija-Nyul Nyul	The case to recognise Indigenous knowledge TED Talk Australia May 2019 <a href="https://tedxsydney.com/talk/the-case-to-recognise-indigenous-knowledge-as-science-albert-wiggan/">https://tedxsydney.com/talk/the-case-to-recognise-indigenous-knowledge-as-science-albert-wiggan/</a>	TED Talk Sydney May 2019	2019
Wilson, Shawn	Gnibi College	Research is Ceremony; Indigenous Research Methods	Fernwood Publishing	2008
Yunkaporta, Tyson	Apalech	Sand talk : how Indigenous thinking can save the world.	Text	2019
Yunupingu, Yalmai	Yolngu	Evaluating as an Outsider or an Insider: A Two-Way Approach Guided by the Knowers of Culture.	Evaluation Journal of Australasia	2016
Yolngu Dancers	Yolngu	Zorba the Greek Yolngu style <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-MucVWo-Pw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-MucVWo-Pw</a>	YouTube	2007
Yothu Yindi Foundation	Yolngu	The Garma Festival <a href="https://www.yyf.com.au/pages/?ParentPageID=2&amp;PageID=102">https://www.yyf.com.au/pages/?ParentPageID=2&amp;PageID=102</a>		1998 – 2019 – on-going

## Appendix 25 – Ethics Approvals and Final Report

### Approval

Human Research Ethics Committee



<b>Principal Researcher:</b>	Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos
<b>Other/Student Researcher/s:</b>	Ms Karen Newkirk Professor Dennis Foley Dr Jacqueline Tuck
<b>School/Section:</b>	<b>Federation Business School</b>
<b>Project Number:</b>	<b>A18-013</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>Trading places: Integrating Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy.</b>
<b>For the period:</b>	16/05/2018 to 31/03/2020

*Quote the Project No: A18-013 in all correspondence regarding this application.*

Approval has been granted to undertake this project in accordance with the proposal submitted for the period listed above.

**Please note:** It is the responsibility of the Principal Researcher to ensure the Ethics Office is contacted immediately regarding any proposed change or any serious or unexpected adverse effect on participants during the life of this project.

**In Addition:** Maintaining Ethics Approval is contingent upon adherence to all Standard Conditions of Approval as listed on the final page of this notification

#### **COMPLIANCE REPORTING DATES TO HREC:**

Annual project report:  
**16 May 2019**

Final project report:  
**30 April 2020**

The combined annual/final report template is available at:

<http://federation.edu.au/research-and-innovation/research-support/ethics/human-ethics/human-ethics3>

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Fiona Koop".

Fiona Koop  
**Ethics Officer**  
**16 May 2018**

**Please note the standard conditions of approval on Page 2: (not attached)**

# Amendment Approval

Human Research Ethics Committee



<b>Principal Researcher:</b>	Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos
<b>Other/Student Researcher/s:</b>	Ms Karen Newkirk Professor Dennis Foley Dr Jacqueline Tuck
<b>School/Section:</b>	<b>Federation Business School</b>
<b>Project Number:</b>	<b>A18-013</b>
<b>Project Title:</b>	<b>Trading places: Integrating Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy.</b>
<b>For the period:</b>	16/05/2018 to 31/03/2020

*Quote the Project No. A18-013 in all correspondence regarding this application.*

**Amendment Summary:** 1. Revised email to RAP  
2. Formal letter to RA contacts  
**Extension:** N/A  
**Personnel:** N/A

**Please note:** Approval has been granted to undertake this project in accordance with the proposal and amendments submitted for the period listed above. Ongoing ethics approval is contingent upon adherence to the Standard Conditions of Approval on Page 2 of this notification.

## **COMPLIANCE REPORTING TO HREC:**

Annual project report:  
**16 May 2019**

Final project report:  
**30 April 2020**

The combined Annual/Final report template can be found at:

<http://federation.edu.au/research-and-innovation/research-support/ethics/human-ethics/human-ethics3>

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Fiona Koop".

Fiona Koop  
**Ethics Officer**  
**18 May 2018**

**Please note the standard conditions of approval on Page 2: (not attached)**

# Final Project Report

Human Research Ethics Committee

<b>Please indicate the type of report</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Final Report
<b>Project No:</b>	A18-013
<b>Project Name:</b>	Trading places: Integrating Indigenous Australian knowledge into the modern economy.
<b>Principal Researcher:</b>	Associate Professor Jerry Courvisanos
<b>Other Researchers:</b>	Ms Karen Newkirk Dr Jacqueline Tuck Professor Dennis Foley
<b>Date of Original Approval:</b>	16/05/2018
<b>School / Section:</b>	Federation Business School
<b>Phone:</b>	5327 9417
<b>Email:</b>	j.courvisanos@federation.edu.au.au

**Please note:** For HDR candidates, this Ethics annual report is a separate requirement, in addition to your HDR Candidature annual report, which is submitted mid-year to [research.degrees@federation.edu.au](mailto:research.degrees@federation.edu.au).

1) Please indicate the current status of the project:				
1a) Yet to start	<input type="checkbox"/>			
1b) Continuing	<input type="checkbox"/>			
1c) Data collection completed	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
1d) Abandoned / Withdrawn:	<input type="checkbox"/>			
1e) If the approval was subject to certain conditions, have these conditions been met? (If not, please give details in the comments box below )	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes		<input type="checkbox"/> No	
Comments:				
1f) Data Analysis	<input type="checkbox"/> Not yet commenced	<input type="checkbox"/> Proceeding	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	<input type="checkbox"/> None

<b>1g) Have ethical problems been encountered in any of the following areas:</b> <b>Study Design</b>  <b>Recruitment of Subjects</b> <b>Finance</b>  <b>Facilities, Equipment</b>  <b>(If yes, please give details in the comments box below)</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes  <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Yes  <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No  <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No  <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
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**Comments:** At the start of the recruitment of participants it was recognised that there was some confusion by the RAP contact in the organisation about the ethical process. Two of the contacts forwarded the names of potential participants to the researcher. This was contrary to the agreed ethical process. This meant these potential named participants had to be rejected. Realising that this was a problem the researcher ensured that subsequent emails to RAP contacts were followed up with clarification about the need for anonymity of the participants.

<b>2a) Have amendments been made to the originally approved project?</b>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes
<b>2b) If yes, was HREC approval granted for these changes?</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<b>Provide detail:</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <b>Application for Amendment to an Existing Project</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <b>Change of Personnel</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <b>Extension Request</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> No	<b>If you have made changes, but not had HREC approval, provide detail as to why this has not yet occurred:</b>
<b>2c) Do you need to submit any amendments now?</b>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <b>Application for Amendment to an Existing Project</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <b>Change of Personnel</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <b>Extension Request</b> <b>* NB: If 'Yes', <a href="#">download &amp; submit the appropriate request</a> to the HREC for approval:</b> <b>Please note: Extensions will not be granted retrospectively. Apply well prior to the project end date, to ensure continuity of HRE approval.</b>

<b>3a) Please indicate where you are storing the data collected during the course of this project: (Australian code for the Responsible conduct of Research Ch 2.2.2, 2.5 – 2.7)</b>
Data is being stored in the password protected computer and back-up hard-drive of student-researcher Karen Newkirk and on a secure Federation University Teams site specific for this project.
<b>3b) Final Reports: Advise when &amp; how stored data will be destroyed (Australian code for the Responsible conduct of Research Ch 2.1.1)</b>

The data will be destroyed by the Principal Researcher five years after completion of the project. All computer files will be deleted from TEAMS site and in all individual computers and external hard drives of each researcher.	
<b>4) Have there been any events that might have had an adverse effect on the research participants OR unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project?</b>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes * NB: If 'yes', please provide details in the comments box below:
<b>Comments:</b>	

<b>5a) Please provide a short summary of results of the project so far (no attachments please):</b>
Through the opinions of 26 participants this study adds to literature on the role of non-Indigenous thinking and behaviour in relation to the status of Indigenous people in Australia; how the attitudes of non-Indigenous peoples' impact on their own, and societal, understanding of Indigenous Australian knowledge. It explores the way that a racist meta-narrative is evident in the most progressive thinking Australians.
<b>5b) Final Reports: Provide details about how the aims of the project, as stated in the application for approval, were achieved (or not achieved). (Australian code for the Responsible conduct of Research 4.4.1)</b>
<p>The study aimed to develop recommendations toward policy and practices that promote Indigenous Australian knowledge and guard against exploitation of such knowledge, ensuring that the benefits accrue in the first instance to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (A&amp;TSI) peoples (with strong and ongoing spillover benefits to Australian society and economy). This was achieved.</p> <p>There is very little literature and very few strategies directed at improving receptiveness by non-Indigenous Australians to Indigenous Australian knowledge. However, Reconciliation Australia (RA) (an independent not-for-profit organisation that leads reconciliation by building relationships, respect and trust between Indigenous Australians and the mainstream Australian community) has established a major strategy to "capture and extend the willingness and capacity of corporate and other organisations to improve the life chances of A&amp;TSI peoples" by inviting all organisations to create a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP). This is the only known strategy directed at non-Indigenous Australians reflecting on their attitudes toward Indigenous Australians and setting goals for reconciliation. This research extended this RAP strategy as anticipated. It also uniquely provided literature to underpin the importance of this strategy.</p> <p>Literature reviewed on Indigenous Australian knowledge highlights how this knowledge has been excluded, and the extraordinary (but mostly failed) efforts taken to make that knowledge highly visible from a Western mainstream perspective. What restricts this inclusion into the Western mainstream is illustrated by the works of Marcia Langton and Rae Norris; i.e. that racist beliefs and attitudes continue to sit unquestioned in Australian culture. This study helped to identify what these racist beliefs are and how they can be addressed.</p>



Twenty-six non-Indigenous senior managers in business, economics and finance provided valuable information and insights regarding 'racist beliefs' and their prevalence in mainstream Australian society.

There is no evidence of any strategy or policy designed to ensure that Indigenous Australian knowledge is not exploited and that the benefits from business innovations accrue to Indigenous people primarily. Stories abound of perceived exploitation of Indigenous Australian knowledge. Evidence provided in this study on consideration of the supply side of the market reveals widespread ignorance regarding Indigenous Australian knowledge, which then contributes to a devaluing and compromising of the knowledge and leakage of profits away from A&TSI peoples. Many of the participants had useful ideas related to curbing exploitation in the marketplace. Several had experience of such exploitation, hence their knowledge is valuable.

The two research questions for this project were:

- 1) What can be done to increase appreciation, and thus demand, for Indigenous Australian knowledge and ways-of-knowing?
- 2) How can the embryonic 'Indigenous knowledge industry' mature/be supported so that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples reap the most benefit from their industry?

The anticipated contribution of this research is to identify:

- a) The barriers to appreciation of Indigenous Australian knowledge (achieved).
- b) Ideas to increase demand for this knowledge in the marketplace (achieved).
- c) Potential practices and policies that ensure Indigenous Australians reap the financial benefits of their own knowledge (achieved).

A close look at what is causing the ongoing exclusion of Indigenous Australian knowledge and what is really blocking the aspirations for economic inclusion was achieved. The colonial hegemony was questioned and challenged.

The long-range aspirations for this study for increased appreciation and demand for Indigenous Australian knowledge and its application, will be reliant on comprehensive and consistent practices and policies over a long time, to alter the current trajectory.

During the process of this research it was pleasing to learn that Wuthathi Meriam lawyer, Terri Janke, has been working with the Australian Government on measures to protect the intellectual property of Indigenous Australians for at least three years. This work will assist the success of the Indigenous Australian knowledge industry. However, a raised level of awareness of issues relating to the use of Indigenous knowledge needs to take place because laws in Western societies like Australia will not solve these issues alone (as witnessed in examples where laws are in place but ignored).

**6) Publications: Provide details of research dissemination outcomes for the previous year resulting from this project: e.g. Community seminars; Conference attendance; Government reports and/or research publications**

None

# Final Project Report

Human Research Ethics Committee

## 7) The HREC welcomes any feedback on:

- Difficulties experienced with carrying out the research project; or
- Appropriate suggestions which might lead to improvements in ethical clearance and monitoring of research.

If there are concerns regarding the application for ethics approval, those concerns need to be conveyed to the applicant, in addition to approaching an external party to address these concerns. The third party in this case did not have the expertise or experience to address these concerns. If it is too difficult to communicate the concerns in writing to the applicant, then a meeting between the applicant and someone delegated by the HREC should be arranged. Being told that there are issues without specifying what the issues are seems unethical.

## 8) Signatures

<b>Principal Researcher:</b>	Print name: Jerry Courvisanos	<b>Date:</b>	28/7/20
<b>Other/Student Researchers:</b>	Print name: Karen E. Newkirk	<b>Date:</b>	28/7/20
	Print name: Jackie Tuck	<b>Date:</b>	28/7/20
	Print name: Dennis Foley	<b>Date:</b>	

**Submit to the Ethics Office, Mt Helen campus, by the due date:**

**[research.ethics@federation.edu.au](mailto:research.ethics@federation.edu.au)**