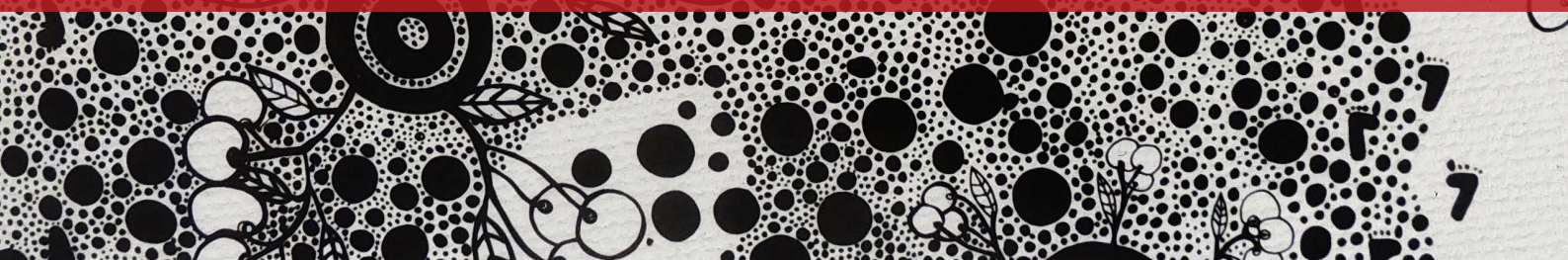
Knowledge Intersections | *Exploring the Research of Central Australia*

Research Symposium Proceedings

Batchelor Institute

Hosted by Batchelor Institute
at the Desert Peoples Centre Campus
Desert Knowledge Precinct – Alice Springs



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The organisers of this research symposium acknowledge that it was held on Arrernte land.

The art work used for the Knowledge Intersections Research Symposium is by Kathy Inkamala and is called 'Bush Black Berries.'

Kathy Inkamala - Western Aranda

Born in Alice Springs, Kathy's mum and dad come from Hermannsburg where there is a long tradition of watercolour painting. Kathy has developed a love of depicting the world around her through her early exposure to art making. Kathy's real passion is in depicting the Indigenous bush foods that she gathers and eats. Kathy completed her Certificate IV in Visual Arts at the Institute in 2016.

Kathy completed the Certificate II in Spoken and Written English in 2010 and a Certificate I in Visual Arts in 2014.

Research Symposium

On Thursday 18th May 2017 the Desert Peoples Centre campus of Batchelor Institute hosted the inaugural Knowledge Intersections Research Symposium. This event came about out of a desire to showcase and share the excellent research work being done across the central Australian region. It was also an opportunity to explore the 'Knowledge Intersections' to be found across and between this work.

It was intentionally held in harmony with the NT Writer's festival which took place from the 18th to 21st May, 2017. The theme of the NT Writers' Festival was 'Crossings | Iwerre-Atherre'. This theme, and the conceptual work behind it, was carefully developed by the NT Writers' Festival organisers. The language in the title came from local Arrernte people who interpreted crossings as iwerre-atherre, meaning two roads meeting, neither blocking nor erasing the other; two-way learning or travelling together.

The theme 'Knowledge Intersections' was adopted for the research symposium to encourage local researchers to share how the research work they are doing reflects these thematic ideas. Specifically presenters at the symposium were challenged to reflect on these two questions;

- How can/does research help create intersections or meeting points for knowledge systems, without one blocking or erasing the other?
- How does two-way learning happen in research and how does it help us to travel together?

Researchers from across the central Australian region presented on diverse topics including Indigenous Ecological Knowledge, the boarding school experience, collaborative publishing projects, literature, resilience, decolonising education policies and practices, narratives, poetry and visual arts.

Included here are papers by most of the presenters from the symposium. We offer them as a record of the ideas shared on the day and a way of engaging with the intersections of knowledge even further. These papers have been peer edited.

The papers will also be included in a special peer reviewed issue of the Journal of Intercultural Studies in 2019.

Enjoy!

Dr Lisa Hall

On behalf of the symposium organising committee
Batchelor Institute, DPC campus Alice Springs
November 2017

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Listening to Anangu Talk

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Abstract

This paper arises from PhD research on an Australian, Northern Territory (NT) language education policy, 'Compulsory Teaching in English For the First Four Hours of Each School Day', led to the synergy of research evidence from two knowledge systems. Initiated in response to local NT Indigenous concerns, the research explored these concerns in detail using qualitative critical case study ethnographic across-cultural research approaches.

This paper describes how Indigenous knowledge in relation to policy effects not only informed methodology but confirmed regional, national and international research in the field of bilingual education. In contrast, a critical discourse analysis on policy texts and discourse exposed flawed rationality and fallacy. This latter analysis was informed by Fairclough (1989) and Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) Historical Discourse Analysis, as well as the works of Foucault, Bourdieu, and others. As such, this paper explains how the research explored the issue of policy analysis and effects to afford a western explanation with Indigenous perspectives as the foundation of research that can help us travel the knowledge journey together.

The Australian Northern Territory (NT), with a land mass equal to Germany, France & UK but with only 230,000 inhabitants (or 1% Australia's population), has the highest percentage of Indigenous people and the largest number of Indigenous language speakers in Australia (Devlin, 2011). It also has some of the world's highest illiteracy rates (Kraal, 2011). It thus represents, in normative terms, the country's largest Indigenous education 'problem'. Invariably in Australia, such Indigenous problems as education, health, and economics are said to entail complex issues of difference and disadvantage. Australian education researcher John Guenther (2015b) maintains that this 'complexity' and attendant mainstream befuddlement in Australia is actually a product of the failure to study Indigenous systems from within, a failure to capture the voice and perspectives of those who live within these systems and can make sense of them. This failure, moreover, ratifies racialized notions of deficit and 'difference', and reinforces concepts of disadvantage where none may exist in the minds of those in such systems (Guenther, 2015b). This failure, as such, only reinforces policies and solutions that do not enact real change where, according to NT linguist Christie, "'Real change'" will only occur, ... when categories are unsettled, where we have conversations which allow us all to rethink our assumptions and our possibilities" (Christie, 2013: 10).

The PhD research on which this paper is based, a critical analysis of the 2007 Northern Territory First Four Hours of English (that led to the NT Indigenous bilingual education policy vacuum), was a response to concerns from within 'complex' Indigenous social, educational and economic systems and a desire to enact 'real change' eschewed from a normative discursive rendering of Indigenous failure and deficit. It was therefore not only sensible but crucial that collaborations of power and knowledge should conjoin to ensure the pre-eminent place of Indigenous voices and perspectives in an academic debate on bilingual education.

This paper traces how deference to Indigenous expertise and cultural perspectives or voice, a process known as decolonising research (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), led to a successful synergy of Indigenous and academic knowledge systems. It also highlights, however, the 'mismatch' between these knowledge systems that could have jeopardised the research entirely. Initially, this paper outlines the findings of the project's community research that confirmed regional, national and international research in the fields of bilingual education and critical language planning and policy studies (CLPP). It then describes the policy analysis findings, using Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) Historical Discourse Analysis, of flawed rationality and fallacy (described in more detail below). The majority of the paper, however, is devoted to an explanation and analysis of the methodology that led to knowledge system synergy in this project. It also outlines some of the hindrances involved in working across two knowledge systems and suggests ways to bridge this divide by recognising power and difference through the use of Indigenous methodologies.

Data Collection -Travelling Together

The primary aim of the research was to gather the perspectives and views through interviews of remote Indigenous people heavily and directly affected by the Northern Territory Compulsory Teaching in English for the First Four Hours of Each School Day (FFHP)(2008). It was also to critically analyse, using critical discourse analysis (CDA), this ground breaking education policy that attempted to abolish (Indigenous) bilingual education. This community line of inquiry is discussed initially.

The communities

In terms of interviews, two communities were selected because of the long-term association of their schools with bilingual education. The focus was to examine community views (through a total of 29 interviews) on the severe reduction in Indigenous language education, community participation and employment and compare this to NT, national and international academic research on bilingual education. This was achieved through personal face to face semi-structured interviews which then underwent a process of inductive content analysis (where interview excerpts were categorised under themes that arose from the data). There was an attempt to ensure the themes that arose from content analysis (see next page) mirrored the world views of participants and so represented an attempt to reflect (in a foreign language for the participants) the themes and categories of importance to remote Indigenous language speakers.

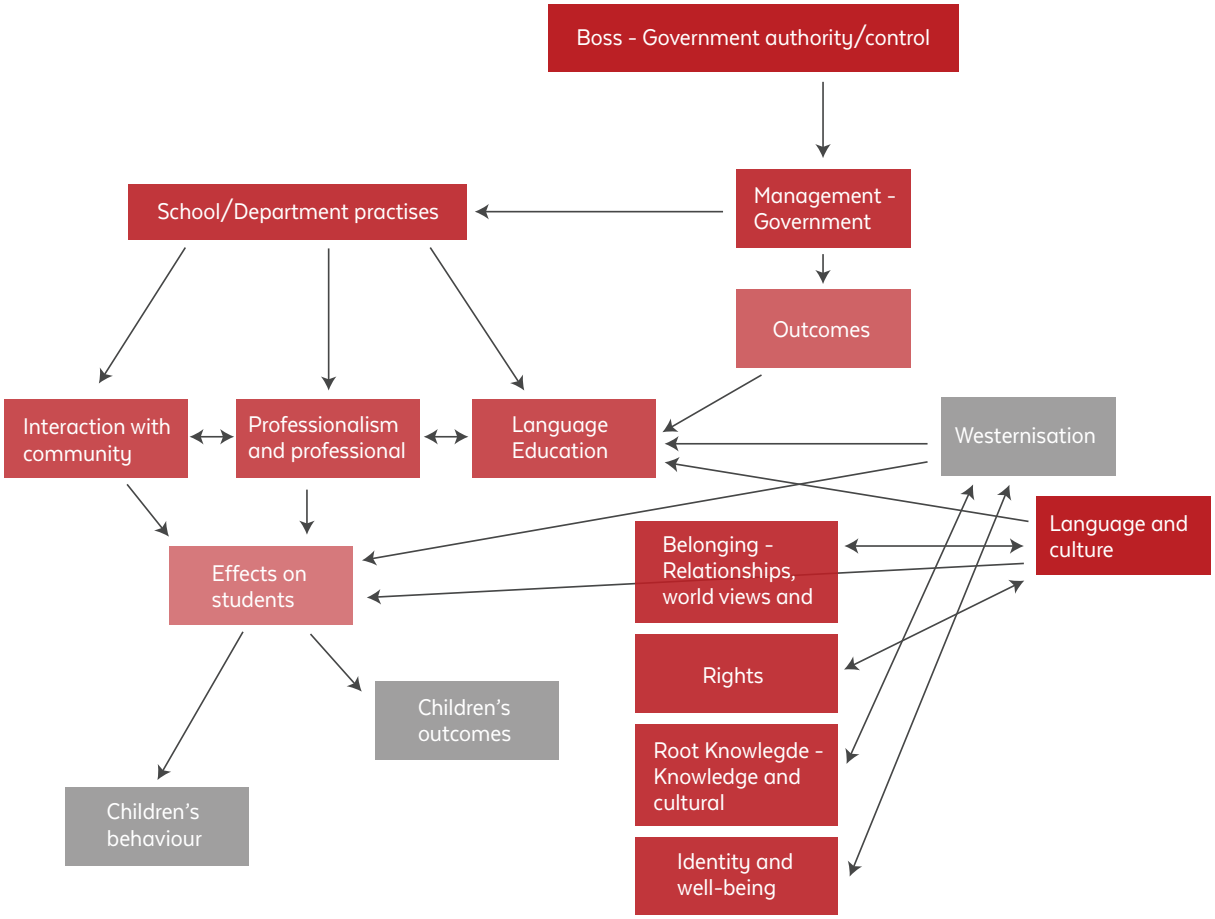

Figure 1: Categories and Subcategories generated by content analysis and how they are related (how they influence each other) (Taken from Oldfield, 2016: 203).

Historical discourse analysis was then conducted on key interview excerpts.[1] These themes arising from the content analysis and discourse analysis, appearing above (Figure 1), were reflected back to participants and co-workers in subsequent visits and discussions. An important element of these interviews was the fact that they were with both children and adults and were semi-structured, which allowed a negotiation and collaboration to occur in the research. Also importantly, adult interview participants were selected using snowball interviews (where participants referred the researchers onto to other participants) and were purposive (non-probability and non-random). That is, adult participants were selected for their authority, their educational and/or leadership experience and cross-cultural and cultural knowledge. They brought with them an enormous skill and knowledge set that is recognised regionally, if not nationally (see also Hall, 2016, on the need to recognise participant Indigenous expertise and capacity).

The major analysis outcomes of interview research in terms of the negative effects of the policy were largely framed in terms of injustice, inequality, hegemony, victimisation and danger (to students in relation to academic conditions and achievement as well as social and emotional well-being and social dysfunction). They also demonstrated considerable explanatory logic and complexity but an absence of dominant categorisation (neoliberal socio-economic notions). Moreover, the negative effects of the policy - poor well-being and academic outcomes, increasing social dysfunction, truanting and classroom behavioural management issues, poor socialisation, poor development of self-regulatory behaviour and self-destructive conduct as well as poor identity formation - were supported by international research (Baker, 2011; de la Sablonniere, et al, 2011; Collins, 1999; Cummins, 2000;

[1] It is not the intention in this paper to elaborate on this highly attuned Western method of analysis, Historical Discourse Analysis (HDA). It is suffice to say here that HDA is a discourse analysis technique developed by Reisig! and Wodak (2001, 2009) that analyses subjectivities and representations as well as ideologies and reasoning in discourse by divulging categorisations, social representations and stereotypes in text through the examination of metaphors, grammar, personal pronouns, modality and lexical choice (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, 2009).

Devlin, 1995; Gale et al, 1981; Guenther, 2015a; Ochs & Shieffelin, 1996; Malcolm, 1998; May, 2012; Wilkins, 2008 to name a few). The articulated reasons for these negative effects - insufficient first language development, the marginalisation of traditional Indigenous authority and the imbuement of youth with values and ethics antithetical to those in traditional Indigenous cultures - were also supported by the national and international research noted above.

The policy

The policy texts and discourse under analysis included the policy itself, an opinion piece by Marion Scrymgour, the Education Minister who introduced the policy, a Hansard text (a letter from the then Federal Education Minister, Julia Gillard, in response to a petition against the FFHP), and the transcript of a Four Corners interview with Gary Barnes (the Education Minister successor to Marion Scrymgour). Contrastingly, examination of the policy text and discourse disclosed language and cultural hierarchies, Indigenous cultural and linguistic deficit discourse, (highly outdated) behavioural approaches to literacy learning and teaching in addition to the need for mainstreaming and 'normalisation' of Indigenous communities so that they conform to nation-state values and norms (assimilate) and thereby overcome an embarrassing "poorly functioning political system" (Altman & Hickson, 2010: 188). It also included neo-liberal logic, particularly individual responsibility for poor and destructive choices (such as the failure to learn in a dominant language), to justify dominant monolingual instruction and explain Indigenous educational failure. These were expressed using metaphors of war that suggested a "governing crime" approach in education aimed at the neglect of parents and caregivers (Anthony, 2010: 90). In addition, this reasoning was underpinned by fallacy or the violation of ethical and logical/rational rules of argumentation in addition to contradicting all authoritative and valid national and international evidence on second language acquisition and education (such as that cited above).

The implications of the findings of this research are profound in the demonstration of the NT Department of Education's failure to understand the role of language in education in addition to the creation of a highly racialized discourse which forms the foundation of discussion on (poor) NT educational practice. The research's disclosure of racialized discourse strategies and the high degree to which they were applied in the text was importantly complemented by analysis of community interviews. Without the latter, not only would the impact of the policy discourse analysis not be realised, but, given how the research evolved, the research may very well not have occurred at all.

Listening

As with a growing body of Central Australian research, this research was initiated by the concerns of Indigenous community members themselves. That is, it represented an outcome of a "collective public problem" (Hall, 2016: 106)FF. As such, it did not represent a career step for the non-Indigenous researcher but rather a chance to air grave grievances and effect transformation. It arose from a series of community meetings in 2009 about the FFHP (one of which occurred in Alice Springs) and personal discussions with remote Indigenous teachers and Batchelor staff members involved in teacher education at Batchelor Institute. That is, it represented a good example of ground-up research which demanded sensitivity to Indigenous perspectives and ways of doing things. It was this approach that informed the methodology and allowed collaborative Indigenous 'research strategies' to comprise the basis of data collection and analysis as opposed to the use of traditional 'top-down' western research "done 'to' Indigenous people" that "produced few benefits for the Indigenous communities themselves" (Hall, 2016: 90).

Listening with head - De-colonising research

To the researchers, research did not require reconciling western methods and methodologies of research to Indigenous contexts but rather the use of 'decolonising methodologies' - a term coined by Tuhwai Smith (1999). De-colonising methodologies refers to the attempt to arrest knowledge production from the nation-state which was created through the "articulation of liberal political and economic theories" that focused on "individual autonomy and self-interest" as opposed to collective values and interests (Tuhwai-Smith, 1999: 59). Nation-state values and ethics are accompanied by the enactment of a high level of regulation or disciplining and punishment, particularly in terms of the denial and marginalisation of Indigenous views and perspectives but also more brutal measures such as forcible child removal and genocide. This regulation is instigated to ensure national subjects conform to the 'norms' and 'values' decreed in the 'national interest' by those in power (Foucault, 1977; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). In settler colonial states, like Australia, nation-state regulation is heavily tied to notions of Bhabha's (1990: 1) forgetfulness of subaltern narratives when "narrating the nation", when creating the narratives that define nations.

This process results in both a terra nullus or invisibility of Indigenous cultures, languages and people in Australia in public texts and policy discourse in addition to an attempted, but incomplete, fixity of an essentialised Indigenous identity and culture that is also tied intricately to dominant notions of Indigenous authenticity (Bhabha, 1990). Contemporaneously, Indigenous invisibility and essentialisation has been conjoined with racialized neoliberal ideologies that are dismissive of "the reality of racism as a powerful explanatory factor in analysing persistent racial inequalities" (Davis, 2007: 349-350). These ideologies, in effect, have created an essentialised, dysfunctional and demonised Indigenous identity that renders Indigenous people responsible for their own marginalisation and socio-economic failure. Australia's best representation of such ideology as policy is seen clearly in the Northern Territory Emergency Response of 2007.

In contrast, de-colonising methodologies act to ensure an Indigenous-centric position where ongoing colonisation, inequality and hegemonic discourse is both recognised and analysed and research agendas are focused on the "states of being … survival, recovery, development and self-determination" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 116).[2] While de-colonising research relies heavily on postcolonial and critical race theory (which challenges dominant discourses by undermining the "universality of white experience/judgement as the authoritative standard", Calmore, 1992: 2161-2162), there remains a "foregrounding [of] indigenous voices and epistemologies" (Swadener & Mutua, 2014: 31).[3] In addition, the research, invariably nuanced by postmodernism and the social complexity this entails, is often inherently critical with roots firmly planted in the traditions of Marxism, Habermas' emancipatory knowledge and Freire's emancipatory education (Merriam, 2014). This results in the research being framed "in terms of power - who has it, how it is negotiated, what structures in society reinforce the current distribution of power" (Merriam, 2014: 10). That is, decolonising research focuses on who dominates in our knowledge, the mechanisms they use to dominate in the framing of current realities, how these are being reinforced, what their consequences are, and how can we overcome the effects.

Listening with the heart – Indigenous Methodologies

De-colonising methodologies intersect with what is commonly termed Indigenous methodologies. Indigenous methodologies describe a set of relational research strategies. Hall (2016) maintains that an ethics of "responsibility", a reciprocity, forms the basis of such relational strategies. This ethics is not just related to relationships between researcher and community but, more importantly, an understanding of the relational ontologies and axiologies of Indigenous peoples (Hall, 2016). In this paradigm the researchers' relationship to knowledge itself is and must be different (Hall, 2016: 94). It is this relational element that allows the de-colonising and Indigenous methodologies researcher to know "when to wait for a response … when and when not to foreclose a situation" and when to be "playful" or "serious" (Thrift, 2004) and so ensure "encounters" are both productive and responsible. These encounters are enhanced when the researcher has some knowledge and experience of the participants and the context in which they live (Hall, 2016) which is the case in this project, as the Indigenous researcher came from the region and the non-Indigenous researcher had remote teaching experience, teacher training at Batchelor Institute and had married into an Anangu family.

Ray (2012) has described two types of Indigenous methodologies, both of which derive from decolonising processes. One, strategic Indigenous methodologies, acts as a political device with anticolonial and anti-oppressive objectives. The principle operating framework of this methodology is the elucidation of power relationships in relation to Indigenous people (Ray, 2012). That is, research methods aim to capture "Indigenous agendas and contemporary Indigenous experiences of oppression, colonization and resistance" (Ray, 2012: 89). It thereby has its roots in critical postmodern theory. This is overlaid with a "transformative praxis" that creates or extends the intersection between the two knowledge systems and allows Indigenous people to "speak back to scientism, identify linier thinking as problematic for utopian visioning, and to bring attention to transformative work" (Ray, 2012: 89). Strategic Indigenous methodologies, however, have their limitations and cannot be applied to traditional Indigenous knowledge systems and alternative understandings since this would reinforce, as opposed to liberate, Indigenous peoples and knowledges from Western circumscription.

[2] Tuhiwai Smith (1999) notes that 'recovery' refers to "recovery of territories, of Indigenous rights and histories" - an often crises-oriented process to prevent their destruction.

[3] In the case of the PhD research, postcolonial theorists included Foucault (1977, 1982, 1984) as well as critical settler colonial theorists such as Wolfe (1999, 2002, 2006), Moran (2005, 2008) and critical language policy and planning researchers and linguists such as Garcia, 2009, Johnson & Ricento, 2013 and Lo Bianco (2001a, 2001b, 2007).

The other Indigenous methodology of 'convergence' (a junction) is linked closely to that described by Hall (2016) and has the underpinning principle of relationality (Ray, 2012). This methodology represents the relationship of the researcher to western and Indigenous ideas and theories that inform the research but ensures these ideas, knowledge and methods remain "rooted within their respective knowledge systems" (Ray, 2012: 92). Kovach (2005) has identified some methodological strategies that could be considered to belong to Indigenous epistemologies but also have some intersections with western methodologies. These are;

a) experience as a legitimate way of knowing;

b) Indigenous methods, such as storytelling, as a legitimate way of sharing knowledge;

c) receptivity and relationships between researcher and participants as a natural part of the research 'methodology'; and

d) collectivity as a way of knowing that assumes reciprocity to the community (Kovach, 2005:28)

However, it is in this realm of Indigenous methodology that Indigenous academics question whether non-Indigenous researchers can operate under given the influence of economic, political, and sociocultural positioning on (as well as linguistic knowledge of) the researcher which influences "how research is collected and interpreted" (Dunbar, 2008: 86). However, a blanket rejection of the work of non-Indigenous researchers is also problematic since it suggests a stereotypical rather than a dialectical, dynamic and multiple positioning that is now recognised in postmodern theory (Dunbar, 2008). Jones and Jenkins (2014: 5) warn, however, that productive Indigenous research necessarily entails an interrogation and acceptance of the "Indigene-colonizer hyphen" or divide. Indigenous and coloniser researchers and participants necessarily speak from different social positions determined by language, culture, politics, power and inequality. While this can mean that there is often "enough shared ground … it also means that sometimes we speak separately - depending on the audience, the standpoint, or the politics" (Jones & Jenkins, 2014: 5). The danger in removing or not acknowledging the hyphen (difference) is that language becomes that of "hybridity, a codeword for sameness". So, the hyphen must remain and, indeed, is to be "protected and asserted", they contend. As Verran (2013: 144) notes, this acknowledgement of difference allows us to accept that "we may not be metaphysically committed to a common world" and to cultivate "a postcolonial impulse" and thereby decolonise the research process.

Such an awareness and approach means that a western voice often overlays the research of non-Indigenous researchers but the voice of Indigenous participants and co-researchers co-inhabit the collaborative space and comprise the fabric of research, as in this thesis. It could be said, therefore, that the research on language policy was predominantly strategic. However, the post-positivist Indigenous methods of research (that include the value of participant experience through interviews and story, the relationship of the researchers to the participants, collectivism, collaboration and the responsibility of the researchers to use the research on behalf of the communities as a measure of reciprocity) necessarily involved convergent methods since it was these methods that ensured the hyphen remained intact through an acknowledgement and closer alignment to Indigenous ontology and epistemology (Wilson, 2008).[4]

Regardless of these problems and issues, the inclusive change in research agendas that have arisen with Indigenous methodologies has led to increasing power and control over research projects and agendas by Indigenous communities, although this is not necessarily guaranteed due to the continued power of western academies (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). However, it can lead to the validation of a community's own definition, parameters of inquiry and perspectives (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) which was the principle aim of the research under examination in this paper.

De-colonising research methods

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) notes that one of the most efficacious ways of ensuring Indigenous research agendas is with community research projects. In this research, an Indigenous research agenda was achieved with community based participatory research and ethnographic research (where the researcher takes on the role of participant observer). This involved participants as co-researchers to the degree that the two researchers took the lead from community members in terms of who to talk to and, to a degree, what to talk about in a dialogic egalitarian format. Given

[4] This discussion of types and degree to which they apply to a particular line of research demonstrates how evolving Indigenous methodologies are in this current milieu.

the non-Indigenous researcher's relationship to Batchelor and her Indigenous co-researcher and his relationship to the two communities, it was probably easier for the non-Indigenous researcher than other non-Indigenous outsiders to attain more equal positions of power with community participants and to get access to willing community participants. This process of collaboration involved review, revision and the reaffirmation of transcripts and research findings and even the use of more appropriate methodologies (Guenther, Osborne, Arnott, McRae-Williams & Disbray, 2014). Technically it involved the use of snowball interviews (where key community members were identified, interviewed and asked for referrals to others); regular consultation and debriefing (over a number of cite visits on a number of occasions); checking and re-checking data with participants (where transcripts were sent by post or read personally); the implementation of semi-structured interviews (that allowed participants to pursue topics of their choice or delve more deeply into topics); as well as personal (face-to-face) culturally appropriate interviews. That is, community members were regularly debriefed at site visits, there was regular consultation with key community members, and participants reviewed interview data and interpretation to ensure a community based analysis of social problems existed in the research, as opposed to a skewed interpretation from outside.

Generative, Both Ways, Indigenous methodologies

The research was not a fluid process but a dynamic 'toing and froing' and a ground-up practice that involved what Christie (2013) has termed generative research methodology. As Christie (2013) noted, this process entails;

> The crucial, very local Aboriginal politics of sharing and concealment, ownership and boundary-making … one that, following their lead, refuses the role of judging observer, and uses collaborative knowledge work to generate new methods, new objects, new practises and new worlds.

Indigenous researcher, Lana Ray (2012) noted that Indigenous methodologies become,

> … operational through a mix of approaches and theories that [are] grounded in or congruent with pan-Indigenous principles and/or experiences such as colonialism … [It involves] taking Indigenous peoples' understandings about the world and using them to guide a learning process. In this sense, what [is] inherent to the notion of Indigenous was working within Traditional ontological and epistemological learning processes (Ray, 2012: 87-88).

I liken Indigenous methodologies to the relationship between traditional story tellers and story holders where the story teller is instructed and compelled to tell the story according to the rules and interpretations handed down by the story holders but where there is a recognition that the story telling, while collective, allows for personal nuances and interpretations. Hall (2016: 116) and the Indigenous participants in her research have critically examined the Indigenous methodologies used in her project and referred to the process as 'anma' (a term that describes everyone flexibly working together, at their own pace and in their own time), 'marl pa' (which relates to friendship, rationality and "not leaving anyone out") and Ngaparti Ngapartji (which translates as 'you give, I give' and relates to the fact that everyone's needs must be met). These diverse views and interpretations of Indigenous methodologies attest to the dynamism of Indigenous research and its context dependence. It relates to the fact that research is determined by the research place, people, focus and content which in turn determine the type, hybridity and degree of Indigenous and non-Indigenous research strategies at work in Indigenous methodologies. However, to ensure Indigenous voices are not captured by western positivism, Indigenous guidance is required to override the process.

The process of community participatory research in this research also meant that the community became a stakeholder in and owner of the research, that there was a reciprocity and "privileging of Indigenous voices" and participant power and agency (Rigney 1999 in Henry, et al, 2008: 8). We would deem this ownership the most important element of the collaboration in data collection and interpretation since it ensured exceptionally high care and consideration of participants' views which enhanced the validity and reliability of data. Such ownership was further cemented with written agreements for the use of data in the PhD and other publications.

Hindrances

Of importance also in the research methodology was the use of the National Health & Medical Research Council (NHMRC) guidelines (2003) which outlined six areas- reciprocity, respect, equality, responsibility, survival and protection and spirit and integrity. Melbourne University ethics process was also followed, but in regards to Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander participants, it stipulated researchers should follow the NHMRC guide. The NHMRC guidelines largely entailed the recognition of cultural and value difference in order to avoid further oppression in addition to building trust across all individual and institutional levels and ensuring responsibility

to maintain ethical standards which is underpinned by engagement. In agreement with Shay (2016), however, I propose that the NHMRC document poses some difficulties since it is written to a non-Indigenous audience and so does not necessarily encapsulate the positioning of all Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers and the colonial context in which they work. Written also from a medical institutional perspective, it is problematically applied to educational and other institutions (Shay, 2016), particularly if the NHMRC is the ethics body through which the research requires clearance, which is the case for Central Australian Indigenous research. The following narratives illustrate some of the problems experienced in this process.

Moving through Ethical Processes

The first ethics application that was submitted was rejected due to possible 'leading' interview questions for Indigenous and other participants. This was anticipated to an extent given the high degree of political 'sensitivity' associated with remote Indigenous language education and Indigenous issues in general. These questions for Indigenous participants, where English was a second, third, fourth or fifth language, were created in conjunction with the non-Indigenous researcher's main supervisor (where both the non-Indigenous researcher and the supervisor were English as a Second Language Teachers and had considerable ESL teaching experience in Central Australia). The original questions purposefully avoided advanced grammatical and academic English constructions such as conditionals, passives and nominalisation in order to reduce abstraction and focus on the 'message'. To ensure the ethics went through the second time, the questions were restructured to a form that was at times unusable, due to the grammatical complexity and abstraction, in the interview process. This suggests that the ethics process is flawed and does not necessarily account for the needs of Indigenous research projects.

Big Brother

The research process in this case also required contact with the Northern Territory Department of Education as a starting point which was a colonial institutional power that was clearly threatened by the research, particularly given the fact that the research focus was Indigenous views on dominant language education. Despite the shocked surprise of one of the southern state supervisors, the non-Indigenous researcher did not expect to get research permission in the schools and received a polite letter that rejected the proposal for having poor research value (being qualitative rather than quantitative)[5] and no key or important research identities attached to the research (despite the principal supervisor running his own United Nations projects on the same issues and being a world leader in his field). They wished us luck on future research endeavours in a vain belief that this research would now cease. On the 'upside', not only did the research continue, but the rejection resolved the awkward problem of having to critique working teachers and principals at the schools which was not the main focus of the research project.

As part of the NT Department of Education research protocols, the researchers were also required to contact the school principals from each community to ask if they would support the research. Given the sensitive topic of the research, one principal and their regional director were completely uninterested, stating that there was already a research project in that school (which never eventuated) while the other (an operating bilingual school) welcomed the research. Interestingly, the principal at the latter school was chastised for their supportive email communication with us despite this being the protocol for research applications.

Shire Conquest

After the rejection of this research by the department, the Shire council offices were then approached in the research locations to get evidence of 'community' permission and support for the research (as stipulated in the NHMRC guidelines). This, in fact, presented a quandary given the lack of Indigenous participation and leadership involved generally in Shire councils in the NT. The shires often represented non-Indigenous organisations that had been imposed on remote NT communities after the forced disbandment of remote NT Indigenous community councils and the acquisition of their assets in 2008 (even though some were nearly independent of government resources due to the success of their collective enterprises). As such, their permission would not necessary be representative

[5] This is despite the fact that qualitative research has been acknowledged by Denzin and Lincoln (2008, 2011) as a major methodological approach in critical postmodern methodologies since its orientation and underlying epistemology relates to the subjectivity of knowledge. It also is highly relevant in this research context given the focus on how participants "construct their worlds and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2014: 5). Given the imperialist colonial context in the NT, however, it is easy to see how readily these worlds, views and experiences can be dismissed by the governing body.

of community opinion and they embodied another colonial 'gateway' (see below) through which researchers on Indigenous issues have to navigate.

However, we were very fortunate. We knew we already had the support of one community, since they were entirely related to the Indigenous co-researcher, and had been important activists for bilingual education. The contact in the Shire Office at this community also happened to be related to the co-researcher. In the other community, they too had a long tradition of bilingual education and we were relying on that, the close ceremonial ties with the community of the Indigenous co-researcher and the close co-operation of the community with Batchelor Institute in the past. Fortunately again, we had a strong ally in that office who had grown up under the bilingual education system in that community. She quickly put us in contact with important participants at that site.

The peril in Indigenous research

We reflected at the time that it was only because of the experience at Batchelor Institute and dealing with institutional authorities in remote communities as well as existing familial relationships that the non-Indigenous researcher knew who to approach to begin with. Our relationships with people in one community (convergence) also meant we had an 'automatic in' and it was 'pure luck' that we managed to contact someone in the other community that was not hostile to our research. Both Shire offices could easily have ignored or rejected our research project with little justification. We wondered how anyone else without the community and ceremonial ties could possibly commence research under such conditions where the contentiousness of the research topic nearly resulted in the capriciousness and whimsy of gatekeeper institutions quashing the research project. Community research would have also been problematic for others since it was almost impossible to identify who to contact in order to begin the research process or enlist participants. It confirmed what other researchers, such as Shay (2016: 280) claim to be ongoing problems of Indigenous research, that of research in "a discipline and context that perpetuates imperialism, racism and exclusion". As Shay (2016) states:

> Principles such as self-determination and consultation are nearing towards impossible when Indigenous [and other] researchers seek to undertake Indigenous research in education contexts and I would propose other institutional settings also. The regulating and governing of research agendas in education lays squarely with either bureaucrats in a large system or education leaders who are in charge of individual school sites (Shay, 2016: 280).

Schools and other institutions are the mechanisms by which to generate a unified national polity as well as a hegemonic discourse that prescribes the 'norms' and 'values' of the nation-state through regulation, disciplining and punishment (Foucault, 1977; Shay, 2016; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The gatekeepers in these systems, the bureaucrats or site managers (including school principals), help to create a system of power and discipline which ensures the "wishes" of the dominant are inscribed in "docile' bodies" that "operate as one wishes" (Foucault 1977:138). Foucault (1977: 199) maintained, these "mechanisms of power" are contemporaneously exerted against the "abnormal individual, to brand him and to alter him" and even to render him terra nullus.

The implications for the researcher of Indigenous issues is that western institutions, and in particular educational departments and schools, will likely harbour values and norms that are not only anathema to the researcher, but obstructive to Indigenous research (to Indigenous experience and voice) given the positioning of Indigenous people. Although the navigation of such systems is not necessary as traumatic for non-Indigenous researchers since they may not have to repeatedly 'navigate' these institutions as a marginalised 'abnormal' outsider (both as student and researcher) (Shay, 2016), it is still distressing for those who have developed a close relationship to people in Indigenous communities, who value their values, skills and perspectives but are denied the ability to voice these in research due to protectionist discourse and gate-keeping roles.

Shay (2016) maintains that the degree and power invested in institutional 'gatekeepers' and the largely culturally dominant individuals who control gatekeeping mechanisms, be they ethics committees or institutional bodies where potential Indigenous research participants reside, impacts on the type of knowledge that is produced and reproduced. For instance, high level bureaucrats, as in this research, will and can prohibit the development of research knowledge that involves sensitive issues, such as this research, and is controversial due to the threat this type of research poses to established knowledge and power. Alternatively, those projects that receive high level permission may not be supported on the ground (Shay, 2016). Research may also be regarded as useful but rejected on the grounds that it should not occur "in my backyard". In addition, personal connections, or lack of,

to institutional gatekeepers (who are largely 'white' and 'male') in some institutions, will overwhelmingly dictate whether research goes forward at all, as in this research.

Shay (2016) contends, as such, that the current research process involved in Indigenous research has the same inequity that has plagued Indigenous issues for the last two centuries and claims the protectionism (the vulnerability of Indigenous people) embedded in the ethics and research process is a manifestation of the continuing social inferiority and subordination of Indigenous people. It does, as such, have the potential to perpetuate the "absence of voice" and the "exclusion of ways of knowing from the perspectives of marginal groups" in Western knowledge systems (Kovach, 2005: 21, 22). However, Indigenous support, participation and research processes in Indigenous research (the convergent Indigenous methodologies), as in this project, can allow the researcher to hoe a research path overgrown with dominant western perspectives and power.

Interestingly, Kovach (2005) also argues that additional strain in navigating between two knowledge systems arises from the western academic emphasis on product, versus the Indigenous focus on process (which accentuates relationships and consultation), and individual versus collective ownership and rights of storytelling. From the convergent Indigenous methodological perspective of collectivity, ownership is community based and shared (as a consequence of reciprocity in responsibility) which was a concept completely foreign to one of the supervisors.

However, tensions between the two knowledge systems can be overcome Kovach (2005: 33) argues with the increasing development of "methodologies from the margins", or transdisciplinary research (Christie, 2006) such as the methodologies used in this research. Such methodologies will refine and develop the tenants, principles and processes of Indigenous methodologies in order to have a substantive place in the academy. In this regard, Kovach (2005: 33) writes;

> The sustained autonomy but continued alliance between such approaches in crucial. Mutually beneficial and open-spirited dialogue that is critically reflective of each other's practice will be necessary for growth. As positivism holds fast to its turf inside the academy, the methodologies from the margins will need each other (Kovach, 2005: 33).

In conclusion, this paper has attempted to outline the dynamic, rewarding but also problematic research path when one attempts to conjoin two knowledge systems and have Indigenous research participants 'speak back' to the academy. It initially outlined the community participatory and collaborative process involved in the critical research method and the findings of qualitative content and discourse analysis that showed communities under threat, imposed upon from above and metered unjust and iniquitous policy measures. It then outlined the critical discourse analysis findings of the policy itself and disclosed highly negative racialized discourse that had no basis in fact. The paper then discussed the community collaborative process in more detail in terms of decolonisation to create an Indigenous centric position in knowledge making and the use of Indigenous methodologies where the operation of power is elucidated and where Indigenous research methods are used (such as narration) and principles of collaboration are invoked (such as reciprocal responsibilities and learning together). Finally, it documented the hindrances that occur in research in an Indigenous space through western gatekeeping where, because of the highly sensitive nature of the research, researchers can be obstructed from researching in particular institutional domains. The research illuminates the power imbalance that remains in Australian, and particularly NT, Indigenous research spaces both in terms of research access (despite the identified importance of a research issue) and research focus in addition to the use of methodologies that focus on process and collaboration as opposed to 'product'. This paper also argued, however, that such obstructions can be overcome with the continued development of collaborative research methodologies in the transdisciplinary Indigenous-Western research space.

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Race, Rules and Relationships: What can Critical Race Theory offer contemporary Aboriginal boarding schools?

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Abstract

Boarding schools have been increasingly championed in strategies to move closer to educational equality for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. However, there is a significant lack of research and evidence on the implications of the boarding environment for Aboriginal students, families and communities. This paper presents a study of an Aboriginal residential program in South Australia. Semi-structured and narrative interviews with 55 participants (including residence staff, family, and past students) reveal the centrality of rules and relationships within this setting. A consideration of these themes from a Critical Race Theory perspective provides a socio-cultural basis to analyse the implications of race, racism and power. In doing so, underlying implications of the boarding model that should be acknowledged, explored and applied in this setting are identified. Implications for policy and practice are discussed.

Introduction

This paper provides a foreground for exploring the interactions between race, rules and relationships in a contemporary boarding environment for remote Aboriginal students. Boarding schools have been proposed as a solution to ongoing concern and political agendas to decrease the gap in measurable educational outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, 2016). However, discussions of using boarding as a 'solution' to inequality in education largely ignore the challenges that this approach brings. Further, there is still a dearth of research on the experiences, impacts, social or educational outcomes of contemporary boarding. Yet historically, the experience of boarding school has produced detrimental lifelong psychological impacts, especially under past policies of forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples (Evans-Campbell et al., 2012; Hoerig, 2002; Smith, 2009). A growing body of recent research highlights concerns regarding the ongoing complexities and underlying impacts of the boarding experience for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students and families across Australia (Hadwen, 2014; Mander, 2012; Stewart, 2015). The current research forms part of a broader doctoral research project examining the expectations, experiences and outcomes of boarding for remote central Australian Aboriginal students, families and communities. The data presented here focus on the interactions and relationships between staff, students and families at the residence. Findings are viewed through the tenets of Critical Race Theory and used to identify directions for policy and practice.

Background and Literature

The 'race' in Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a theoretical framework that examines the relationship between race, racism and power from a socio-cultural perspective (McDonald, 2003; Su, 2007; Writer, 2008). Originally developed in legal scholarship, it has been adapted and applied across multiple fields internationally, focusing on social inequalities and the perpetuation of historic, systemic and ideological manifestations of power (McDonald, 2003). The term 'race' has differing interpretations. Rather than referring to a biological basis (Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2010a), race is socially and historically constructed, shaped by discourses giving meaning to how we see the world and others around us (Kubota & Lin, 2009). Like the term ethnicity, race can be used to identify and imagine difference as a means to maintain a sense of identity (Lewis & Phoenix, 2004). Racialisation, however, has been defined by Kubota and Lin (2009) as; 'a racial categorisation by which meaning is attributed to particular biological features of human beings' (p.5). Underlying this categorisation is a discourse supported by power dynamics that exclude certain racialised groups as the 'inferior other', while maintaining the status quo of the 'self' (Kubota & Lin, 2009). When racialisation and categorisation is used in this way, such discourse can be described as racism. Racism can be expressed through beliefs, emotions, behaviours and practices, and can include negative stereotyping, false beliefs about others, emotions of fear or hatred, practices including name-calling and jokes, or avoidance and discrimination (Czopp et al., 2006; Mitchell et al., 2011; Pedersen et al., 2005). Racism can occur in interpersonal, institutional and cultural contexts, and can often be present regardless of 'good' intentions, through normalised discourse and attitudes that perpetrators themselves may be unaware of (Kessaris, 2006). What CRT highlights is that racism is not just an individual pathology, or a result of hatred by an individual, but rather, it is deeply entrenched within social structures that are historically reproduced and culturally embedded (Vaught & Castagno, 2008). However, individuals define their identities in relation to others, therefore are influenced by social constructs of identity. People and institutions are then shaped by these constructs, affording privilege and power. Race is therefore shaped, reinforced and reproduced by everyday interactions between individuals. Therefore, the reinforcing processes between individual actions and societal structures allow racism and racist practices to be acknowledged and challenged without implying or blaming individuals or organisations themselves (Vaught & Castagno, 2008). The term 'culture' also has a range of interpretations depending on the discipline in which it is used. Most approaches, however, distinguish people into groups based on common connections (Dockery, 2010). This paper will use the term culture broadly defined by Hofstede and McCrae (2007) whereby culture is; a collective, not an individual attribute, not directly visible but manifested in behaviours, and common to some, not all people. Further, culture is seen as a set of beliefs, customs, values and practices common to a group, often characterised by symbols, text, and language.

Critical Race Theory and educational research

CRT demands that everyday practices match their rhetoric for social change (Su, 2007). The application of CRT in educational research allows the questioning of the role of schools, school processes, structures and policies in racial, ethnic and gender subordination (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), and exposes underlying racism within educational practices and policies (McDonald, 2003). Its use in the field of education was originally introduced by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), who argued the need for critique of the 'status quo' in proposed educational reforms, for educational institutions were not matching in action what they articulated in commitments (Fasching-Varner, 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Vass, 2014). CRT gives voice to marginalised minorities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012), and values their knowledge and experiences of systems (Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2010b). Solórzano (1998) identified five key tenets of CRT that can be applied to inform educational theory, research, pedagogy and policy. These involve: (1) acknowledging the central nature of race and racism; (2) challenging dominant ideologies, (3) making commitments to social justice; (4) valuing experiential knowledge; and (5) employing interdisciplinary approaches (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2005).

Specific examples of applying CRT in educational research include studies on the experiences of racialised students or faculty in senior or higher education, pre-service teacher education programs, and multicultural education programs (Fasching-Varner, 2009; Jay, 2003; McDonald, 2003; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). The application of CRT in Australian contexts, with regard to the ongoing racialised debates around Indigenous education, has been limited. However, McDonald (2003) and Vass (2015) used CRT to encourage increased use of narrative methodologies, in order to meaningfully articulate the experiences of the racialised 'Other' within education. As Vass (2015) explains – "while teachers are the front-line of education, researchers and policy makers play an important role with furnishing schools with tools and strategies for use in the classroom" (p.373). By using interdisciplinary approaches, CRT can be used to link theory with practice, scholarship with teaching, and the academy with the community (Yosso, 2005). As boarding schools are being proposed directly in line with educational strategies to create change for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, we argue that the tenets of CRT may be applicable to boarding residences as well as schools themselves.

Boarding schools as a cultural landscape

Boarding schools are largely educational institutions, with many residences deliberately incorporating education into leisure time (or time outside of school) (Benveniste et al., 2015), or providing space for extra resources such as tutoring, homework support, or facilities to study outside of school hours (Bass, 2014). Therefore, like the school setting, boarding residences can present a racialised cultural landscape, described by Vass (2014) as; "a space where relationships occur, understandings are shared and developed, and power is expressed and deployed founded on race-based assumptions" (p.178). The experiences and encounters throughout schooling contribute to constructing individual and group identities. Therefore, boarding research, like educational research (Jay, 2003), should seek to uncover how daily routines, curricular content, and social relations are shaped by hidden curriculum formed by the dominant group values, ideas, objectives and agenda. Although CRT has been used to examine practices for preparing teachers to teach culturally diverse students (Ladson-Billings, 1999; McDonald, 2003), as far as we are aware it has not yet been used to explore staff in the boarding environment.

The few studies that have researched the specific context of staff and student relationships in boarding schools identify boarding schools as busy, complex living environments requiring staff to act as 'in loco parentis' and to fulfil an important and demanding role (Hawkes, 2001; Hodges et al., 2016). White's (2004) humanistic study of a multicultural boarding school environment found the boarding house and the family to co-exist as sources of social value, with students drawing personal values from both family and the boarding house. They also found that the boarding house played a significant role in the pedagogical success of the school; especially in key aspects such as personal atmosphere, support and comfort (White, 2004). Connectedness with competent, caring adults has also been shown to foster resilience in at-risk adolescents, through monitoring, modelling, coaching and countering adolescent stereotypes (Wexler et al., 2016). However, as Beadle (2009) suggests, not all youth are easy to engage with, and relationships of trust and support take time and resources to develop. Hodges and colleagues (2016) suggested that more skills-based training was needed for boarding staff, especially in areas of relationship development. Furthermore, the implications of physical distance (i.e. remoteness) for staff who are working with students from very remote communities should be considered, in that connection and knowledge of their home life is limited (Benveniste et al., 2014). In exploring the transition of male Aboriginal secondary students to boarding, Mander (2012) found that if staff allocated time to build rapport, trust and to foster relationships with students,

positive impacts were seen for the students' transition to boarding life. Furthermore, validating Aboriginal students as individuals, as well as their sense of self and cultural identity, played a large part in supporting their transition (Mander, 2012). Recent research by the Cooperative Research Centre for Remote Economic Participation has shown that acculturative effects of schools can be ameliorated through adopting a culturally responsive curriculum, employment of local staff in schools and fostering constructive relationships between schools and communities (Guenther et al., 2016). While not directly related to boarding contexts, the evidence points to the importance of maintaining connections to language, land and culture (Guenther et al., 2015a; Minutjukur et al., 2014).

Through analysis of qualitative data collected from staff, past students, and families engaged with an Aboriginal residential program, the present study aims to highlight their perspectives, and uncover the daily interactions and practices of boarding that influence their experience.

Current Study

The data presented are part of a case study (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012) exploring a South Australian state government funded residential program that provides accommodation for remote and very remote Aboriginal students. The program was an initiative of Anangu (Aboriginal people) from the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) lands in remote South Australia. The APY lands are located approximately 1,300km from Adelaide, where the residence is located. As opposed to a traditional 'boarding school', at which students usually reside in a building on the same campus as the school, the residence accommodation for this program is located separately from the school. Both the physical and organisational structures of the residence in this study have undergone changes over the 20 years in which the program has been running. The current residence structure provides accommodation for up to 80 students at a time, with boys and girls living in separate buildings.

Positioning and Methodology

The principal researcher is a non-Indigenous woman from Adelaide, South Australia. Thus, her perspectives of rural, remote and very remote communities are predominantly formed as an 'outsider' (Guenther et al., Forthcoming). However, the intention of the project was to develop productive dialogue between researchers and communities (Chilisa, 2012). To achieve this, preceding the commencement of formal interviews she spent two years volunteering, forming relationships and conducting informal ethnographic observations at the residence. This was alongside visits to students' home communities in efforts to establish relationships with families and communities who accessed the program. Through this process, the broader research aims were developed collaboratively with both the staff of the residential program and with the families who accessed it. The intent was to hear the voices of Anangu participants, while understanding the limitations of being an outsider (Guenther et al., 2015b). Interpretations and analysis of interview data were also guided largely by working with experienced Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers in the field. In particular, the majority of interviews in community were conducted alongside a Senior Aboriginal Community Researcher familiar to the families, communities and language.

Procedure and Analysis

Prior to commencement of the research, approval was gained from the University Human Research Ethics Committee, the Central Australian Human Research Ethics Committee, the Aboriginal Health Research and Ethics committee, and relevant educational committees. Narrative interview techniques were used to elicit information from 24 program staff comprising residential staff (youth workers), teachers, and management (most of whom are non-Aboriginal). Additionally, 11 parents and carers of boarders, 11 past students and nine community members (educators, service providers, community leaders) were interviewed across six of the students' home communities. The interview style was flexible and adaptive to participants, with some offering narrative stories, and others responding to semi-structured questions to guide the conversation. Interviews with family members, past students and some community members were facilitated and/or interpreted by the Senior Aboriginal Community Researcher. For the purpose of this study, current students were not interviewed. Although their voices are valuable in this discussion, the broader research aim was to explore the expectations and outcomes for students, families and communities. Without having completed their time in boarding, these students did not fit the sample criteria. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed unless participants chose not to be recorded, in which case detailed written notes were taken. All data were then analysed using thematic analysis technique (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and a process of constant comparison using systematic coding moving from more general (open) codes to more focused (selective) codes relating to broader research questions (Strauss & Corbin, 1991). Analysis was conducted with the assistance of NVivo for Mac (version 10) qualitative data analysis software. Following initial analysis the data were considered through the lens of CRT, and compared to the five tenets outlined by Solórzano (1998) to

develop a deeper understanding of the findings and how CRT may help view everyday boarding practices in a new light.

Findings

Everyday practices and elements of the program highlighted the influence of rules, routines and discipline, and relationships. These were identified as the major themes from the data, with sub-themes from rules, routines and discipline including student voice, and freedom and autonomy. Sub-themes from relationships included time to sit and talk, and family. Findings are presented here and supported with reference to the interviews with respondents. They are then considered through the lens of CRT.

Rules, routines and discipline

Jay (2003. p.7) highlights that "the hidden curriculum serves as a primary conduit of sociocultural reproduction", and that schooling can subconsciously and consciously maintain hegemony by acculturating students to the norms, values and beliefs of the dominant group. This is done through the culture of the school and the school community, in structure and daily routines, social relationships and curriculum (formal and hidden). Furthermore, Lareau (2015) explains that educational success requires not only academic knowledge and test performance, but also compliance with the rules of an educational organisation. A more detailed analysis of the role and goals of an Aboriginal boarding residence found that time spent in the residence can intentionally supplement students' learning at school, with daily routines and structured activities (Benveniste et al., 2015). Students learn 'mainstream' skills, and access a range of activities, concurrently gaining experience in the city. The benefits of clear rules and routines were cited by participants, including how they support students to settle in – 'so that they become safe in knowing what they need to do' (participant 28, youth worker), and 'knowing what was expected of us' (participant 39, past student). A past student remarked a busy residential environment helped students cope with homesickness – 'to make us have fun, instead of getting bored or homesick' (participant 37, past student). However, further findings suggest that when routines and structured time are implemented within large and diverse student populations, the pressure on staff and student relationships is increased. This was felt to lead to reactive behaviour from the students, to which staff members respond with *'behaviour management'* or *'reporting'* the student. One youth worker was particularly concerned as to the effect of staff responses on the self-belief of students:

> If we had set up the environment differently, that [behaviour] wouldn't have come out... if it was relaxed and calmer, she would get the [belief that] 'oh they really like me, they look after me, they think I'm funny, they think I'm creative, I'm loved' as opposed to 'I'm a problem' (Participant 26, youth worker)

Youth workers who are able to balance emotional and instrumental support (i.e. balancing emotional responsiveness and caring with guidance, boundaries and discipline) have an increased ability to develop positive relationships with youth (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). However, not all staff will necessarily have the skills or the ability to achieve this balance. The following participant was concerned about a colleagues' authoritarian approach to rules and discipline:

> Can you put your padlocks and keys away mate, and just work with these kids? Just sit here and talk with them? (Participant 21, youth worker)

They went on to suggest that although rules and boundaries are necessary, taking the time to build relationships with students is more effective:

> If you build a rapport and work with that kid they will cooperate with you so you have mutual respect. (Participant 21, youth worker)

In another boarding environment, male Aboriginal students have also lamented constant surveillance and perceived unjust enforcement of rules, particularly when feeling that staff applied rules to gain a sense of control over students (Mander, 2012). Hodges and colleagues (2016) suggest more skills-based training for boarding staff, particularly for some male staff who feel more comfortable enforcing rules than building relationships with students. Acknowledging the cultural norms of the student population (as diverse as they may be) could allow staff to be more effective in their strategies to build relationships and respect with students. Rules are arguably a necessary component of any institution, however it is their application in this environment that should be considered.

Student Voice

Parents expressed concern about the expectation for their children to conform to the program's rules, feeling that *'houseparents didn't listen to the kids'*. Students who were seen as a *'nuisance'* or *'struggling'* were perceived to not receive as much attention or have as close a relationship with the youth workers, because *'more time was spent on the good kids'* (participant 31, parent). Other parents felt that if their children were *'outspoken'* with *'good English'* and did not agree with the youth workers, that *'they didn't like that much...they just wanted kids that agreed with them'* (participant 3, parent). A non-Aboriginal community member also raised concerns about student meetings, which are held regularly at the residence, questioning whether students feel comfortable speaking up in this type of forum:

> If there are any issues to be raised, it's raised in front of everyone - which is not going to happen! And it's led by the youth workers; they basically just tell them how good they're going or how much they need to improve. So I'm not sure how much of a voice they [the students] have (Participant 36, community).

Furthermore, parents felt that their child needed someone other than the youth workers to talk to confidentially, without fear of ramifications, suggesting that they may not feel able to confide in the youth workers *'because they're frightened it goes back to the school and to everyone'* (participant 51, parent). These concerns indicate that student voice is limited, perceived as something they will be in trouble for, or perhaps valued by staff less than conformity. For this cohort, language barriers may also play a role in communication between staff and students; as for many students English is their second or third language, with concern expressed by staff about engaging with students who 'aren't confident in speaking English' (Participant 26, youth worker). Communication concerns between students and staff are not unique to this setting, however, as Hodges and colleagues (2016) also found that boarders had concerns about their input in decisions made that affect them. These boarders felt that (despite the absence of language barriers) they were not encouraged to express their opinions, and that when they were expressed, their opinions were not respected.

Freedom and Autonomy

In other residential settings, such as child welfare services, staff have been identified with often contradictory demands between 'controlling' and 'helping' youth (Imber-Black, 1992 as cited in Fraser et al., 2016). A past student reflected on the perceived absence of *'[...] freedom now, they [youth workers] think they just got to apply their rules, you know?'* (participant 37, past student). They also gave a poignant description of the institution:

> It's not the same, you know. Like... there's no life in it. There's no spirit. It's like it's a place where you keep all the robots or something (participant 37, past student)

The implications of the above comment speak to a broader concern that students' autonomy, spirit and personality are not fostered in an institutionalised environment that is so focused on rules and routine. This is likely to be a more intensive experience for those students who have been accustomed to an entirely different set of cultural rules, or who have experienced a more autonomous lifestyle (Penman, 2006). The following comment suggests that youth workers may be aware of these differences, but could misinterpret 'difference' as 'lack of rules':

> You can't afford to be straight, not with these kids. If you make it too stringent, they're going home and they won't come back. Because they're not used to stringent rules, they've never had them in their lives. (Participant 21, youth worker)

The above comment also indicates that students unable or unwilling to conform to program rules or their implementation can easily choose to disengage and return home. The institutional nature of a boarding school leads to certain necessities in addressing the developmental, educational, and fundamental needs of a large cohort of students, often from varying cultural, family and community backgrounds. While conformity assists staff to enact their goals and achieve daily targets, it can be easy for organisations to (unintentionally or intentionally) aid in the maintenance of hegemony by acculturating students to the interest of the dominant group, instructing students explicitly or implicitly to make those interests their own (Jay, 2003). Therefore providing legitimate spaces for students to voice their experiences without fear of ramifications and more sympathetic to cultural and language differences is necessary for all boarding programs to consider and enact. There is little evidence to suggest that staff had thought what these safe spaces might look like. Furthermore, the assumption that students have not been exposed to rules previously shows a lack of understanding or acknowledgement that they may have been exposed to alternate rules and expectations in their home communities and within their families. It also suggests

limited reflexive thought about their skills in cross-cultural communication and complicit role in perpetuating racial and power imbalances within the institutional structure.

Further, when students do express their agency, by choosing to leave the program and not return, it is imperative that we turn the focus not to the student as having not 'fit' the institution, but that the institution may not be fitting the student's needs. This is not implying the fault lies with the individual staff members, as they are simply acting from within their own cultural understandings and educational practices, and attempting to assist students from their own worldviews and epistemologies.

Relationships

Time to sit and talk

Boarding schools are busy, complex living environments where staff are not only responsible for implementing programs and ensuring goals are met, but are also key to connecting the students to the program in order to ensure their ongoing commitment (Davidson et al., 2011, Hodges et al., 2013). While they may not be reflexive about perpetuating institutionalised racism, residence staff were aware of the importance of their roles, particularly their responsibility to be *'role models'*, and to *'look after all aspects of their [students'] wellbeing - mental, physical and social'* (participant 24, youth worker). Relationships and wellbeing were even deemed the 'core business' of the organisation:

> ...if relationships are broken down, wellbeing is not present, then your core business has failed. It doesn't matter what achievements you have on paper, your core business has failed (Participant 29, youth worker)

Discussions with remote community members about time they spend visiting students at the residence indicated that they believed *'more time to sit and talk is needed'* because to *'sit and talk over camp'* is a natural part of Anangu culture (participant 31, community). Residence staff did not deny the benefits of spending this time:

> Nothing seems to be as great as sitting with a kid, or a group of kids, and having a chat, and reading a story, or telling them your story about your family and sharing stuff. Nothing seems to beat that for them. And we're lacking in that. (Participant 17, youth worker)

Therefore, adapting time at the residence to reflect both what is seen to improve relationships and what is more aligned to the cultural norms of students may in turn produce more positive outcomes for students and staff. This would not necessarily require removal of formal learning activities, but perhaps redesigning or modifying activities to allow natural settings for storytelling, learning and relationship building rather than structured sessions. For example, staff members described how in previous years informal learning would occur at the same time as developing relationships with students:

> We had time to sit with five or six girls, and have a little session on puberty, or have a little session on women's bodies and how they change, and all this stuff. Nowadays you don't get that, and I think that's one thing staff are finding really hard to deal with, and the students are finding it hard that we haven't got that time. (Participant 23, youth worker)

Other everyday activities (such as cooking) with students were suggested as ways to enhance both learning and relationships, making learning *'part of just living day in day out'* and making the residence more *'home like'* (participant 29, youth worker). As Nakata (2007) explains, regardless of distance from the 'traditional context', for many Indigenous students, familiarity in ways of 'doing' are embedded in story-telling, memory-making, narrative, art and performance, cultural and social practices, and relating to kin, making up their 'worldview' (p.10). Other Indigenous authors emphasise that educators must take into account the context that they work in, and while presenting educational opportunities, they must be cognisant that it is not their task or their privilege to prescribe values or re-invent worldviews for their students (Minutjukur & Osborne, 2014). If boarding residences are to be educational spaces, then this must equally be applied through the work of houseparents or youth workers.

Family

We have already identified that linking families with the boarding facility is an area requiring improvement to facilitate two-way learning. Cross-interaction would allow families to learn about the residence, and staff to learn about the home lives of families and students (Benveniste et al., 2016b). However, while families are welcome to visit the residence, and many feel comfortable doing so, such interactions highlighted competing priorities of

families and the institution. Family members gave an example of how home life and residence life differed, when their meal at the residence was rushed and disrupted to fit with routines:

> The routines are hard – we're not allowed to sit and talk at dinner [when visiting], just settle in, and then '3 minutes' (Participant 31, parent)

Family visits were also restricted by the rules that physically divided the residence into younger and older student areas, which meant that *'when family are there, we can't go over and see them'* (Participant 32, past student). Visits by family were also restricted when they were told *'the kids are very busy, or it's too late to see them'* (participant 12, community). For most families, the distance travelled to the city is 1,300 kilometres or more, therefore disappointment and frustration – for them, and for their homesick children is a predictable consequence. Furthermore, these restrictions place greater value on maintaining institutional programs over maintaining family relationships;

> 'Anangu way' is... spending time with family, when you see family, how can you be separate? (Participant 36, community).

Residential rules were also applied to families;

> There was this one rule that I really hated, I was talking to my brother [over the fence], and one of the houseparents came and told me 'you know you're not allowed to talk to boys' and I was like 'this is my brother, you know? You can't do that to me' (Participant 35, past student)

Underlying many of these examples is a sense that certain rules, or inflexibilities in routine may make it *'comfortable for people running the show'* but *'don't really suit what the context is'* (participant 36, community). The above findings suggest that staff apply rules that are not always congruent with what makes these students, families and community members comfortable. This indicates the need for critical investigation into how to integrate family visits and time to spend with family members at the residence in a meaningful and consistent way. Analysis of family and boarding residence communication identified that both families and staff were willing to engage further, however genuine face-to-face engagement was limited (Benveniste et al., 2016b). Distance, language barriers, and time all contribute to limitations on family engagement and involvement. However, these factors can be overcome if they were prioritised within the program. Of course, parents and families can spend time with their children outside of the residence for weekends or evenings, however this may only exacerbate the divide between what is 'family' and 'normal' and what is 'boarding school'.

Critical Race Theory and the boarding setting

CRT has been applied to educational spaces previously (e.g. Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2010a; Matias et al., 2014; Vaught, 2011). Consideration of the current findings suggests that beyond the school setting, other youth-focused institutions reproduce and promulgate dominant cultural values through their daily practice, policies and procedures. CRT is appearing increasingly across a wide range of fields and is developing, and adapting according to the context in which it is applied (Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2010a). Therefore, it is flexible in its adaptability to different socio-cultural contexts. CRT can be used as a tool to allow layers to be peeled away to reveal and interpret socio-cultural complexities.

Those who work in boarding programs would be most concerned with how they should be working in daily practice. However, bringing scholarship to practice allows interactions and practice to be seen in the broader societal and socio-cultural context, to break free from the binding constraints of everyday organisations and systems. Our intent mirrors that of Vass (2015), who states that the comments of the educators in their study are not being criticised specifically, but they are being "located within the broader cultural, political and historical milieu that they, as individuals and a group, sit within" (p. 391). In Table I, we have considered the above findings in relation to the five tenets of CRT (outlined in Solórzano & Yosso [2002]). By identifying each tenet and its absence or presence in the data, we then present suggestions of how CRT may be incorporated into strategies in the boarding setting.

Tenet of CRT	Absence/Presence in data	Strategy to incorporate in boarding
1. Acknowledging the central nature of race and racism	No direct discussion or acknowledgement of race/ racism/ power in staff comments, however family had impression that compliance was the goal, e.g. *'they just wanted kids that agreed with them'*	Respect the history and past implications of institutionalisation and assimilation policies, actively work to avoid repeating by critically evaluating goals and intended outcomes of the program. A practical action might be the development of a Reconciliation Action Plan.
2. Challenging dominant ideologies	Assumptions were made by non-Aboriginal staff, e.g. *'because they've not used to stringent rules, they've never had them in their lives'*	Staff engage and train in critically reflexive practice, acknowledging the implications of their position and assumptions.
3. Making commitments to social justice	Boarding schools provide rural and remote students to access social and educational opportunities therefore reflect a commitment to social justice. However, these aims are not reflected in the participants' responses.	Continue to provide genuine opportunities for students to access education in a variety of settings. Institutions acknowledge that social justice and equity requires this to be a culturally safe space, and engage with community stakeholders to create safe spaces for voices to be heard.
4. Valuing experiential knowledge	Families expressing their desire for longer meal times, and time to spend with students at the residence – *'more time to sit and talk is needed'*	Ongoing discussion and creation of forums for families and students to express their experiences of boarding and have them valued and heard. Employ Anangu cultural advisors.
5. Employing interdisciplinary approaches	With the limited literature available, boarding research and practice has had a scarce evidence base to draw upon, let alone those involving interdisciplinary approaches.	In a complex environment such as this, involving youth, culture, education, race, and power, interdisciplinary approaches will allow deeper and broader understanding of the interactions and practices in boarding

Table I: Data as viewed through tenets of Critical Race Theory

Summary and implications for practice

The findings above highlight the day-to-day implications of policies and procedures developed largely with mainstream objectives, which are mostly never challenged. We can see tensions arising as a result of such policies and procedures, evident in staff-student relationships, in supporting student autonomy and voice, and in family visits and connections. While there are clear reasons for providing routine and structure within the residence, staff and student relationships were affected when rules and routines interfered with building trust and rapport. The emphasis on structured, formal learning activities in the residence also impinges on spaces for informal learning through discussion, or sharing stories. Further themes identified around conformity also suggest that as an institution, the program inherently values compliance to western norms of education and socialisation. This inhibits students' ability to influence their environment. It also creates conflicts between rules of the residence and the interactions between family who were either separated by gender or had limited visiting hours at the residence. On the surface, these issues appear to be the result of imposed rules, procedures and routines, in many ways similar to issues that might arise for any teenager placed into an institutional environment. However, drawing the evidence above together with the tenets of Critical Race Theory can allow a more in-depth and broader perspective on these everyday practices.

By valuing the norms of hegemonic institutions in the form of rules, routine, and structure, the residence maintains a level of dominance and power over students, and even families, by diminishing their own cultural norms or needs, which in turn legitimises these practices (Robertson, 2015). An uncritical perspective would suggest that accessing the benefits of a mainstream education requires a number of skills and adoption of particular cultural practices and language, and that the boarding program is doing its best in an attempt to provide opportunities and experiences that remote students previously did not have access to. Yet, these 'instrumentalist approaches' (Hardy, 2016) can deny or ignore privilege. History has shown that despite good intentions, institutions face several obstacles in providing an environment that balances education and opportunity with enough concern over how race, rules and relationships interact.

CRT has its criticisms, including that it focuses too much on criticising and problematising rather than working towards solutions, and that race inequality cannot fully be separated from other axes such as class and gender (Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2010a). The use of CRT in this paper is not intended to criticise or seek flaws in a program that is at its core providing educational opportunities for remote Aboriginal students and families who are actively choosing to access them. However, through critical independent reflection of the experiences and everyday interactions, this research may allow problems that were previously unidentified be drawn to the surface and clarified. Specific solutions will inevitably be drawn from the program itself, and adapted to context, however cannot be generated if problems are not first identified. However, the following are potential foci in moving towards enacting change in policy and practice.

1. Staff development and training

While staff may have general training or skills in youth work or teaching, our findings suggest that enhancing engagement with the individual students and families they work with would be highly beneficial. From a CRT perspective, training needs to go beyond skills and knowledge for the required job tasks. Doing the job better (e.g. enforcing rules) may inadvertently create more opportunity for systemic racism to manifest itself. Training must incorporate competencies related to position, critical reflection and reflexive practice. It must also help reveal the otherwise hidden dominance of white western hegemonies while at the same time reveal the otherwise hidden epistemologies and ontologies of Anangu culture and society (e.g. uncovering and respecting the complex rules that young Anangu must adhere to).

2. Re-addressing and critically analysing goals of the organisation

It may be important to revisit program goals with a deeper understanding of the implications of the past and acknowledging the impacts of dominant ideologies and hegemonic structures. To this end a Reconciliation Action Plan may facilitate this reflection. The process of revisiting goals would necessarily involve Anangu participation. While in an institution conformity is ideal and allows for 'smooth' running, if students do not have the ability to express themselves (either through language barriers, or from culturally inappropriate spaces to voice their concerns) long term implications and ramifications will inevitably occur. Furthermore, schools that have Indigenous staff, other Indigenous students, and a curriculum that is interesting and relevant, while explicitly valuing Indigenous cultures have been found to greatly improve Indigenous students' attendance and enjoyment of school (Guenther et al., 2016). What is important from a CRT perspective is that Aboriginal people have voice in the design and development of programs and activities as they apply to boarding and educational programs more generally.

Conclusion and future directions

With so many students already in or preparing to enter boarding programs, critical reflection upon the intention of policies aimed at Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students is vital. Active awareness of the implications of institutions on culturally diverse students must be encouraged, as well as understanding whose values are being met, and in what order priorities are maintained in day-to-day interactions that dominate the experience of boarding. An honest and open investigation of power and racial imbalance in boarding institutions must also be conducted. The outcome must be countered by the prioritisation of Aboriginal epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies. Without intentionally responding to these issues, the status quo will remain and the problems and concerns raised in this study will be perpetuated.

We acknowledge the limitations of this study as a single case of a boarding program. However, similar scenarios are likely to be evident for other minority groups and programs where institutional rules and policies are

instrumentalised and uncritically enacted. Thus further exploration of this area is essential in order to critically examine structures and practices that inevitably marginalise, disempower and disadvantage those subject to institutional care. CRT provides a useful lens through which issues of power, privilege and minority voice can be projected back to hegemonic structures that drive instrumentalist approaches to boarding.

We are conscious of limitations imposed on boarding facilities, particularly in the distance between themselves and the homes and cultures of their students, the pressure and responsibility to manage risk and safety, and the operational demands of having many students under the one roof. However, boarding providers must support students when staff are under pressure, and find resources within boarding residences and communities to help students develop strong senses of identity and relationships that they feel are not power-laden. Future research should seek to highlight experiences from a broader range of boarding settings, and from a variety of different communities.

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Representations of Indigenous cultural property in collaborative publishing projects: the Warlpiri women's *yawulyu* songbooks

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Abstract

This paper explores issues around the representation of Indigenous cultural property, voices and images in two books of Warlpiri women's yawulyu song traditions that form part of a series published by Batchelor Press (Gallagher et al., 2014 & Warlpiri Women from Yuendumu, 2017). These publications stem from collaborations between Indigenous knowledge holders and non-Indigenous researchers and involve long-term relationships between the team members. We draw out discussion of the motivations for making these books and agency within these intercultural teams, considering the colonising impact of academic research, the intercultural dimensions to Indigenous identities and the role of publications such as these in repatriation and reparation efforts. We demonstrate how Warlpiri women have directed the production processes and surrounding events so that these books not only represent forms of Warlpiri cultural knowledge but also contribute to the dynamic forms of cultural reproduction that ensure continued engagement with these song traditions into the future.

Note: The names of deceased Warlpiri women are used in this paper. With consideration to cultural sensitivities, family members wish for their names to be used so that they can be honoured for their knowledge and contributions to the continuation of the tradition of yawulyu through generations of Warlpiri women.

Batchelor Institute Press – the publishing arm of Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education – publishes books and other resources about Indigenous Knowledge. Utilising various sources of public funding the Press provides an avenue for knowledge custodians working with academic and educational collaborators to produce books and other resources that present, and represent, Indigenous cultural property – stories, songs, designs, images and histories. Recent publications include a series of books that present the traditional songs of Alyawarr women from Antarrengeny (Morton, Morton, Turpin & Ross, 2013), ancestral stories and histories from the Gun nartpa people of north-central Arnhem Land (England, Muchana, Walanggay & Carew, 2015), Anmatyerr stories and songs from Angenty (Campbell, Long, Green & Carew, 2015) and Warlpiri women's *yawulyu* songs from Yuendumu (Gallagher, Brown, Curran & Martin, 2014; and Warlpiri women from Yuendumu, 2017). The development of each of these works involves working with oral material and rendering it as text, alongside the processes of translation and interpretation. The repatriation of old recordings is central to each as well, with the books providing the venue for publishing photographs and recordings of deceased forebears. To a certain degree, Indigenous cultural business is shaped interculturally – now even more so in collaborations around publishing where non-Indigenous researchers and publishers play a key role in instigating, recording, advocating for and supporting Indigenous cultural practices (Hinkson & Smith, 2005). In her review of the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* book, Mackinlay notes that this book,

> ...demonstrates the ways in which ethnographic and ethnomusicological work might take on an applied and advocacy role in explicitly addressing the needs of Indigenous Australian performers and their communities (2016: 235-6).

With this in mind, we investigate questions around both motivation and agency in relation to the intercultural collaborations involved in creating these publications. We focus our attention on two of the above-mentioned books about Warlpiri women's *yawulyu*: Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* (Gallagher et al, 2014) and *Yurntumu-wardingki juju-ngaliya-kurlangu yawulyu* (Warlpiri women from Yuendumu, 2017), both products of collaborations primarily amongst the authors of this paper and Warlpiri women from Yuendumu. Both these books present and extend on sung knowledge represented in recordings made in 2006 by Warlpiri women. Many other people and organisations have since been involved in producing these into their audio-book form and have impacted on the ways in which this knowledge has been shaped and presented through the layout of images, song words and stories as well as the inclusion of sound through different forms of technology. We argue throughout this paper that the collaborations that underpin such publishing activities enable repatriation and related documentation to be framed as a dynamic social process, not a static 'giving back' of recorded materials. In this paper, we ask why the knowledge custodians want to make books such as these? Alongside overtly stated motivations such as 'to pass knowledge on' and 'to honour the knowledge of senior women', we investigate the nature of agency within collaborative teams developing and publishing representations of cultural property. How do the cultural leadership and the choices made by the owners of cultural property shape the form of publications such as these? We ask these questions within a wider frame of social processes around cultural reproduction in contemporary Indigenous societies.

To begin our exploration of these issues, we would like to unpack an understanding of the idea of cultural property in the Indigenous Australian context, particularly emphasising the Warlpiri-specific understandings of ownership of Dreamings, stories and songs which are the core content for the collaborative projects at the heart of our discussion. We then move on to outline the production of these two Warlpiri women's songbooks and the nature of the collaborative research contexts that were formed as these projects took place. From these examples we discuss some of the key motivations that Warlpiri women have put forth for making these books, which emphasise their value in documenting and transmitting highly detailed and often quite esoteric forms of cultural knowledge. We argue that the continual engagement with different ways of representing cultural property has been in the past, and continues to be, core to the transmission of oral genres of song and story. For books such as these to successfully have this kind of role, it is essential for the Warlpiri owners and managers of this cultural property to actively control their production process such that they have agency to shape the kinds of representations that are formed by the intercultural teams that are required to bring these kinds of projects to fruition. We demonstrate in this paper that the transmission of cultural knowledge is always a complex, dynamic and evolving process – one that is as susceptible to and reliant on adaption and change as the traditions themselves.

Concepts of cultural property, ownership and rights

Cultural property constitutes those namable aspects of 'culture' that people hold as significant to who they are, and which belong to them and not others (Lyons, 2002). Examples of cultural property include tangible artifacts

such as a coolamon or a boomerang and designs associated with such physical objects. Intangible expressions of culture, such as a group's belief system, the ancestral connection to place, and the expressions of these connections through performance and visual arts, are all forms of cultural property as well. For Warlpiri women, *yawulyu* – a genre of women's songs and dances – are a highly valued form of cultural property, through which senior women affirm prestige, ceremonial skills and 'nurture the cosmology that generates it' (Dussart, 2004: 262). Through named and delineated items of cultural property people locate cultural and historical selves, and the various forms of cultural property hold the power to create a strong sense of belonging. Yet these items anchor social identities that are fluid and thus the symbolic weight of 'items' of cultural property is not fixed. Rather, 'how self and group histories are symbolised is a process that is highly contingent. Different kinds of symbols are precious to different cultures, and symbols – being fluid – can wax or wane in significance depending on any number of circumstances' (Lyons, 2002:116).

The use of the word 'property' in this cluster of ideas around symbols and identity immediately flags the importance of ownership and rights to cultural property. Warlpiri people derive the strongest of their connections to country from inherited rights through both their mother's and father's families. Martin explains that for *kirda* rights, 'we get ownership from our father and his father before'. *Kirda* are often described as the 'traditional owners' for their country and the associated Dreamings, songs and ceremonies. Whilst Warlpiri women inherit their *kirda* rights from their father, they are taught specifically feminine knowledge by their father's sisters (paternal aunts). In the particular context of learning *yawulyu*, it is this aunt – niece (father's sister – brother's daughter) relationship around which women teach and learn about *jukurrpa*, country, songs and ceremony (Glowczewski, 1983). The complementary role of *kurdungurlu*, translated in various ways as 'manager', 'policeman' or 'guardian' is equally important to ensuring that these aspects of Warlpiri cultural property are looked after, protected and performed properly. A Warlpiri woman inherits her *kurdungurlu* rights and responsibilities through her mother[1]. *Kurdungurlu* often appear as if in a directorial or stage managerial role during the performance of *yawulyu*, standing on the side guiding dancing and singing and ensuring that the *yawulyu* is held in the right way. *Kurdungurlu* have the responsibility to make sure that the kirda are doing everything right, and provide practical support for performances and other displays of knowledge associated with their mothers' *yawulyu*.

Eric Michaels further defines these kinds of interrelated and interdependent forms of authority and responsibility, saying that:

> "Country," a critical qualification for access to knowledge, is reckoned in terms of place of conception/birth, death (of ascendants), and residence. One speaks for, and from, one's particular place. This means that each individual Aborigine will be entitled to distinctive portions of, and perspectives on, the Law. No one will have total access, or privileged authority (1987: 106).

Yawulyu have long been passed on through many generations through collaborative efforts from many different groups of people and these traditionally defined roles and responsibilities are central to the production of the *yawulyu* song books. As Michaels continues, "A long story, a full myth, a major decision, requires many people, enmeshes many communities, in its enactment" (1987: 106). Martin further reiterates the kinds of multi-generational and multi-group collaborations required to properly pass on knowledge of these sung traditions in saying that these books are dedicated to those from the past who have made sure that they have taught it the right way so that it can be passed on to the future. It is all their artwork, their songs, dances, going to country and writing down the stories about that country. It's not just country – it's a place with stories and a spirit. The old people have taken us there and they show us the right direction – where the *jukurrpa* is and all the stories and songs in that land. They carry this knowledge and these stories from their ancestors and about all the Dreamings. They tell us where it started and where it ends. It connects us to other people in other places – we are all connected.

The dedications which appear in the beginning pages of both the Warlpiri song books are a tribute in many ways to the combined efforts of past and present generations of Warlpiri women who have kept learning and singing these songs and keeping this core part of Warlpiri identity both known and practiced. The Warlpiri women who are involved in the creation of these books acknowledge this foremost whilst also strongly asserting their own agency in contributing to the continued representations of intangible cultural property in the contemporary world. Given the social importance of the Warlpiri categories of ownership people in these key roles are also main leaders, instigators

[1] Whilst men also inherit kurdungurlu rights from their mother, in the gender segregated realm of Warlpiri ceremony, it is their mother's brother who guides them in their responsibilities in this role.

and authors of these books. The collaborative effort is extended in this context, particularly as outsider non-Warlpiri people become involved in the research and representations of such forms of cultural property.

It is through the context provided by the contemporary production of a book that *yawulyu* became the focus for a period of time, during which knowledge is discussed, learned and sung and generations of women engage in this when they most likely would have been otherwise focused elsewhere. Later in this paper, we return to discuss how this involvement in the book production process and the surrounding opportunities to hold *yawulyu* were in themselves key motivations for Warlpiri engagement in these publishing projects. To begin, we outline the content and production process of the two Warlpiri women's *yawulyu* book publications.

Recording Warlpiri women's songs and making audio-books in Yuendumu

Between 2005 – 2008, as part of the 'Warlpiri Songlines' project[2], then PhD student, Curran, and Warlpiri researcher and educator Jeannie Nungarrayi Egan collaborated with many senior Warlpiri women to record and document song words and associated stories for many of the series of *yawulyu* known in Yuendumu. These songs are intimately associated with the cultural identities of these women, encoding knowledge of their connections to particular Dreamings, country and the interrelationships of different Warlpiri family groups. During this project many other genres of Warlpiri song were also recorded, archived at Pintupi Anmatyerr Warlpiri (PAW) Media in Yuendumu and at the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra. Sadly, Egan passed away in 2009 leaving this legacy of recordings. Several years passed before these recordings were revisited again, mostly due to cultural sensitivities but also the personal contingencies of the lives of the involved parties. In 2012, Curran, alongside Carew, the linguist for the Centre for Australian Languages and Linguistics (CALL) at Batchelor Institute, approached Warlpiri women about revisiting these recordings and making them into accessible resources that could be used by Warlpiri people in their community contexts. Carew had recent experience publishing the *Antarrengany awely* book with Alyawarr women and linguist/musicologist Myfany Turpin, and proposed undertaking a similar kind of project with women from Yuendumu. The motivations of the various contributors were complex, but for the most part were centred on acknowledging, documenting and sharing the intricately detailed musical and cultural knowledge held by a group of elderly Warlpiri women.

Two books on Warlpiri women's songs have now been produced as a result of collaborative efforts of Warlpiri owners and managers for the focal *yawulyu,* other Warlpiri women, and non-Warlpiri academics, designers and publishers. These two projects have moved through many stages including repatriation of legacy recordings, additional documentation work involving transcriptions and translations, and visits to country to take photos and tell the stories following the songlines in 'the proper way' as they move across country. In the final stages these projects have pinnacled in revitalization workshops involving large and multi-generational groups of Warlpiri women who have gathered together in an effort to contribute to the transmission of these highly valued songs and their associated cultural knowledge. The Warlpiri women reveled in this opportunity to hold *yawulyu* in a world where contexts for holding and sharing this knowledge are few and ever dwindling.

Jardiwanpa yawulyu: Warlpiri women's songs from Yuendumu

The first of the Warlpiri songbooks, published in 2014, focused on the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* song series, following the journey of an ancestral Inland Taipan snake, *Yarripiri,* in his journey northwards through Warlpiri country. Unlike many other Warlpiri *yawulyu* this *jukurrpa* crosses the paths of several different ancestral characters associated with different family groups. *Yarripiri* is joined at more northern points by *yankirri* 'emu' and *ngurlu* 'seed' *jukurrpa* and passes alongside the *warlukurlangu* 'fire' and *ngapa* 'rain' *jukurrpa* at particular points of the journey. The larger Jardiwanpa ceremony in which men sing songs associated with the same ancestral journey whilst women dance, are often glossed as being 'conflict resolution' ceremonies as they bring together many different family groups with affiliations to the different country and *jukurrpa* stories. In the context of making books, the notion of social inclusion intrinsically associated with the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* songs played into the choice of this set as a good focus for this first book as it would draw together different groups rather than prioritising a particular family.

[2] The Australian Research Council, Linkage project 'Warlpiri Songlines: Anthropological, linguistic and Indigenous perspectives' was conducted between 2005-2007 as a collaboration between the Australian National University, the University of Queensland, the Central Land Council and the Warlpiri Janganpa Association. A central aim of thisproject was to record Warlpiri songs with community elders who still had good knowledge of these endangered song traditions.

In January 2013, fieldwork began to collate the materials that would be presented in this book. Prior to this Curran had gathered all the sound recordings and associated notes that had been recorded in previous years such that a core group of women could work through which songs they would like to present in this book. This coincided sadly with the death of a senior owner for the *Jardiwanpa jukurrpa* and *yawulyu*, Lucy Nakamarra White, and her sister Long Maggie Nakamarra White was also admitted to the Alice Springs hospital during this time[3]. Despite these circumstances, Warlpiri women decided to go ahead with the documentary aspects of this project and Curran visited Long Maggie at the hospital shortly after to show her the work that had been done. A small group of women was established to bring this book together. Peggy Nampijinpa Brown, a senior owner for the *yankirri* (emu) section of this *jukurrpa* and Coral Napangardi Gallagher, a senior manager, and very knowledgeable 'business woman' oversaw this process. They provided the stories that have been transcribed in the book and assisted in their explanations – many of which had multiple meanings. Martin had a key role as the translator and transcriber of these stories and worked closely with the two senior women to document the song words and stories. This group actively made decisions about which stories could be presented in this book, keeping in mind its publishing aim and availability to the wider public. During this period of fieldwork, Gallagher, Brown, Martin and Curran also undertook a journey associated with the northern part of Yarripiri's journey, through the country to the north and west of Yuendumu, taking photographs and recordings short stories as they visited each key site. Many of these photos appear in the *Jardiwanpa yawulyu* book, alongside older photos of Warlpiri women's *yawulyu* taken in the 1970s and 80s by linguist Mary Laughren and anthropologist Francoise Dussart. The role of images in these books is central and is of as much importance as the incorporation of the songs. For example, the cover image is a painting by Connie Nakamarra White, Lucy and Long Maggie's younger sister, and therefore *kirda* for the Jardiwanpa *jukurrpa*. This was a pointed choice that flags the importance of acknowledging and respecting ownership.

After gathering all this material for the book and identifying the songs, stories and images which would appear as core content, the book production process engaged a further collaborator, book designer Christine Bruderlin, of Bruderlin Maclean Publishing services. Whilst Gallagher, Brown, Martin and Curran, as authors of the book, had clearly set out the book contents, and collected the images to be included – Bruderlin at this stage of the book production was required to take on some agency in how the book would be laid out which ultimately impacted on the representation of this knowledge. Likewise, there were contributions from musicologist and linguist, Myfany Turpin, who produced rhythmic transcriptions of the songs, and linguist Mary Laughren, who proofread the Warlpiri and English stories. The 2006 sound recordings of Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* were at this stage edited and mastered for inclusion in the book. Through the technology of sound printing, the mp3 files of each of the songs are linked to the relevant pages in the book though an icon which can be scanned and the songs listened to through a 'sound pen' whilst reading the book. As Macklinay has noted in her review of the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* book, 'the embodied experience of reading and listening to this songbook shares the ways in which knowledge of country, people, and belonging is held and performed by Warlpiri women' (2016: 234).

In April 2014, further workshops were held in Yuendumu in which both Carew and Curran worked alongside senior Warlpiri women to check the book proofs that had been prepared by Bruderlin. During this period, new still photographs and video recordings were also made during discussions of the book content, inspiring further singing and dancing. In 2015, the content of the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* book was used to produce an ibook version that incorporates embedded videos from the 2014 workshops. Batchelor Institute engaged a multimedia professional with strong social connections to Warlpiri people, Liam Campbell, to undertake this stage of the project. This created another kind of representation of this *yawulyu* series and further expanded the networks of collaborators and engagement with multi-platform technologies which represent Indigenous cultural knowledge in a particular way, this time with the interactive components embedded within the book.

By the time the final book was published by Batchelor Press in 2014, and launched at PAW Media just prior to their end of year concert, the collaborative networks that had engaged with this project were broad reaching. At the launch the most senior female owners for each of the *jukurrpa* included in the book, told the stories for their respective sections: Connie Nakamarra Fisher for *yarripiri's* journey from Wirnparrku in the south, Peggy Nampijinpa Brown for the yankirri stories from the country just south of Yuendumu and Maisy Napurrurla Wayne for the *ngurlu*

[3] Sadly, Long Maggie also passed away several months following this visit. Both sisters are acknowledged as key custodians of this yawulyu in a dedication at the beginning of the book. They are also both singers on the recordings which are provided both through audio links accessible with a 'singing pen' and on a CD which inserts in to the back of the book.

'seed' *jukurrpa* which travels along Mission Creek to the west of Yuendumu. The central theme of passing on Warlpiri cultural heritage was carried on by linguist, Mary Laughren, who launched the book by describing it as 'a gift' to future generations of Warlpiri people.

Yurntumu-wardingki juju-ngaliya-kurlangu yawulyu: Warlpiri women's songs from Yuendumu

Following on from the success of the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* book in Yuendumu, Warlpiri women approached Curran to apply for further funding to create books on some of the other *yawulyu* series. Through her affiliation with the University of Sydney, Curran sourced funding for the production another book on *yawulyu*, this time incorporating four chapters, each relating to a particular *yawulyu* series and the associated *jukurrpa*: Minamina *yawulyu*, Watiyawarnu *yawulyu*, Warlukurlangu *yawulyu* and Ngapa *yawulyu*. As with the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* book, song recordings made 10 years earlier for the 'Warlpiri Songlines' project form the basis for the chapters. The initial stages of this project involved listening to these recordings with groups of Warlpiri women. Many of the singers on these recordings had since passed away and the workshops were at times tinged with sadness as knowledge closely linked to their spiritual identities was collectively shared. These workshops were focused on each of the book chapters that had been carefully selected by a group of senior Warlpiri women. Initially these senior Warlpiri women sat and worked closely with Warlpiri transcribers and translators, Martin and Tess Napaljarri Ross. In the workshops which followed, in June and July that year, many old photographs which had been taken by Laughren in the 1980s were reviewed and some chosen for incorporation in the book. It must be acknowledged that the images, whilst chosen by the Warlpiri women as suitable representations of their cultural property, had been produced by non-Warlpiri photographers in the majority of instances. Most of these photographers (Curran, Laughren and Dussart) have had intimate relationships with these Warlpiri women and specific contextual and temporal structures influenced the subject matter and moments represented in the images – the majority of which were taken prior to the conceptualisation of the book project. Several pieces of relevant artwork were also chosen. Some of these artworks were sourced from the local arts centre, Warlukurlangu Artists, some are works that hang in Yuendumu-based organisations and some are privately owned. All of these painting images were chosen because they illustrate the stories of the *jukurrpa* central to the book chapters.

In July 2016, a filmed dance workshop was held out at Mission Creek to the west of Yuendumu. Filmmaker Anna Cadden was commissioned to film and edit four short films each relating to a chapter in the book. Whilst many Warlpiri women attended this workshop, the laughter and jovial atmosphere that normally surrounds the performance of *yawulyu* was muted by the presence of the camera and the desire for a clear recording of the songs. Regardless the group finished this session with the same good feelings that come about from holding *yawulyu*. A couple of days after the filming of the painting up and dancing, the group reconvened at Mt Theo, joining the senior women who were camping there, and recording related stories that contextualise and interpret the meanings of the songs and dances. These appear in the DVD at the back of the final book. Key owners (*kirda*) were required to be there not just for the singing and dancing, but also for the editing of these films. It was crucial that the *kurdungurlu* for each of the short films made sure that the story had been told in the right way. In one of the films, the main *kurdungurlu* picked up a factual error in the telling of sequence of places and was insistent that this section of the film be re-shot.

Martin herself has inherited ownership rights to the Minamina *yawulyu* which is the focus of chapter 1 of this book. She has *kirda* rights for Minamina *jukurrpa* from her father, and therefore had a key role in the *yawulyu* dancing and stories related to this *jukurrpa*. For Martin the process of working on this book was a learning process in itself. She had not had the privilege when she was younger to learn directly from her father's sister and therefore this book production process gave her an opportunity to both learn from more senior women and assert her rights to ownership through singing and dancing. Her exemplary skills in Warlpiri transcription and translation to English have also been a core contribution to all chapters of this book.

Each of the four chapters begins with a transcribed story which was recorded many years earlier – some in the 1980s with women who had long passed away but who were remembered as strong 'business women' who knew the details of the stories. The voices of these women are also heard in the song recordings that can be heard through scannable QR codes, or in the accompanying CD set. In acknowledging the senior women from the past in this way, a path was created for younger people to feel comfortable learning in the process of the book production. During the process of this book production, particular women became dominant leaders of *yawulyu* – particularly senior Warlpiri woman Lorraine Nungarrayi Granites who oversaw the review process of the book proofs and had a key directorial contribution to the films. These duties she emphasises are her managerial responsibilities as senior *kurdungurlu*.

This assertion of ownership and the agency by Warlpiri women in the book production process has also continued following the completion of the book and film. In May 2017, a group of women from Yuendumu travelled to Alice Springs to present the book at the Northern Territory Writers Festival – an opportunity suggested to Curran by festival organisers but one that Warlpiri women took up enthusiastically. Despite the constraints of Western time frames and pressure to fit within the festival program, the group of women insisted on holding *yawulyu* in the right way, with the right *kirda* and *kurdungurlu* present and the correct sequence for preparation of *yawulyu*: painting up and then dancing. This opportunity to showcase their *yawulyu* to a world outside Yuendumu and other Warlpiri communities was important from a Warlpiri perspective. It also combined well with the festival theme 'Crossings'. This meeting with other Aboriginal groups and non-Indigenous Australians was a chance for the Walpiri women to present their identity and demonstrate the unique value that their cultural knowledge has within a broader globalised world. This interest was also carried on when Warlpiri women visited Sydney in August 2017 and held a masterclass at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. Martin articulates the importance of events such as these from a Warlpiri perspective which emphasises 'value'. The *yawulyu* performers, both owners and managers, felt valued for their specialised knowledge and for the recognition of this important part of their identity by a much broader musical and cultural world outside of Yuendumu and Central Australia.

As is evident from the descriptions of the book production processes for both Yuendumu *yawulyu* songbooks, large-scale collaborations amongst many parties are essential for their fruition. Despite agency asserted by non-Warlpiri photographers, designers, linguists, musicologists and, most of all, Curran in her role as book editor and compiler, these book are very much claimed as Warlpiri cultural property, with a premising acknowledgement of Warlpiri women from past, present and future generations as the authors who have controlled the way in which this knowledge is represented.

Warlpiri motivations: 'Passing on knowledge', 'honouring elders' and promoting 'value'

As a spokesperson for the Warlpiri women involved in the production of these books Martin explains that they are:
dedicated to those from the past who have made sure that they have taught it the right way so that it can be passed on to the future. It's all their artwork, their songs, dances, going to country and writing down the stories about that country. It's not just country – it's a place with stories and a spirit. The old people have taken us there and they show us the right direction – where the *jukurrpa* is and all the stories and songs in that land. They carry this knowledge and these stories from their ancestors and about all the Dreamings. They tell us where it started and where it ends. It connects us to other people in other places – we are all connected. Our old people could read the *jukurrpa* that is painted on their body and in sand stories or *jukurrpa* painted on canvas. Today our young children can read and write. The reason why we want to put some of this knowledge in books, and to record and take video of our songs, stories and body paintings is to keep it safe, so children can know it and their children can know it in the future. All the old people are passing away – they are the ones who are trying to keep this going for kids in the future. We are losing all our Elders with their knowledge. We don't want to lose this deep knowledge of country and *jukurrpa*, our songs and stories. All our songs are really deep, hard language. *Yawulyu* songs are different from how we talk. The songs that are recorded are different – they are deep, strong Warlpiri. It is sung in a different way from the language that we speak. Our songs are in a rich, hard language – we don't understand everything straight away. We need the old people to tell us what these songs mean. The rich special way that they sing it – a feeling goes in to our heart and makes us feel special.

As a key owner and custodian herself, Martin emphasises the importance of books like these in placing 'value' on this cultural knowledge and the people who have put in the effort to ensure that this knowledge has been and will continue to be passed down over many generations. By value she emphasises aesthetic, intellectual, historical and cultural heritage value. Martin describes these books as being 'tools' which can be used in the contemporary modes in which Warlpiri people learn and pass on knowledge across generations.

Behind this Warlpiri emphasis on the positive value of these books for present day communities and their future generations, it is evident that there are also many ethical risks that are also faced in their production process and that arise through the power imbalances and differing agendas of the parties involved in the intercultural collaborations necessary for their production.

Intercultural research collaborations

From a Warlpiri perspective Martin explains that: Projects like these value our deep culture and all the stories and knowledge. We work with researchers in collaboration – they want to learn about our culture and they bring interest and feeling to us. We want to give [share] our knowledge and for researchers and to help to write it down – they are like a machine to help us write it down. This is really important, as we want to record all our *jukurrpa* and songs from our old people. They won't be here forever to sing, to dance and to tell us how to do it. We want to be able to teach the next generations. These projects bring everyone together. The old people make sure the stories and songs are straight. Younger people listen and get painted up and dance.

Mackinlay, specifically in discussing the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* book emphasises that:

> The representation of Indigenous Australian song traditions in texts such as this, by non-Indigenous researchers working in collaboration with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities, is indeed a challenging and complex task that necessarily brings into play various kinds of discourses around coloniality, the continuities of tradition and Indigenous agency, and research as reparation and reconciliation work (2016: 235).

Thus, while Martin's words above indicate that Warlpiri knowledge holders focus on the perceived benefits from collaborations with non-Indigenous researchers, such projects must negotiate many ethical risks, some of which are framed by social disadvantage and disempowerment. The colonised lifeworlds of remote Indigenous people are economically and politically imbalanced in relation to mainstream Australian society, and researchers must be cognisant of these imbalances. Carew extends on ideas put forth by Cowlishaw (1999) and Land (2015) in writing:

> ...[w]hile many relationships pursued by outsiders with Indigenous knowledge holders, such motivations do not however automatically implement effective or appropriate conduct; neither do they always take into account the systemic disadvantages of minority groups in Australian society (2016:15)

Indeed, as Smith (1999) argues, much academic research is authoritarian, and in historical terms is implicated in the disempowerment of Indigenous people. Researchers risk an ethical conflict in dealing with multiple systems of authority, such as the authoritative expectations of academic research and Indigenous cultural authorities. There is potential for repatriation efforts to reinforce colonialist assumptions about the value of research. For these reasons, it is vital to take into account the critical perspectives of the owners and stakeholders of cultural property on previous transactions in research and repatriation (Treloyn, Martin & Charles, 2016). This includes positioning both research legacies and previous agreements within various cultural precedents for repatriation from archival repositories. For example, there are culturally established ideas of transmission from older to younger generations, notions of inherence of ancestral spirits within songs, and practices of exchange of cultural property as gifts (Treloyn, Martin & Charles, 2016:95). For the production of the Warlpiri women's *yawulyu* books, which themselves contain and become owned Indigenous cultural property, these forms of transmission and exchange must be acknowledged and respected first and foremost, setting them apart from the more traditional research outputs often produced within academia.

Alongside the notions of tangible and intangible cultural property, we note the contemporary and dynamic significance of *representations* of cultural property – such as audio-visual recordings, photographs and books. Many of the ways in which cultural property has been represented in the Warlpiri women's song books is in a fixed form which sits at odds to the oral forms through which knowledge is transferred through songs such as *yawulyu* and their accompanying stories. The involvement of public institutions and their representatives in the form of researchers has great potential to disrupt local forms of ownership and the authorities that underpin these. For example, individual recordings are under the law of copyright, owned by the person who creates the recording, notwithstanding the status of the intellectual cultural property embodied within it. It is not difficult to see the potential for breach or conflict with traditional law and concepts about ownership of cultural property if, say, recordings were used for commercial purposes.

Thus intercultural research collaborations present many ethical risks that can play out in the way that research and local expectations are framed. There are also many risks that inhere within the documentary practices undertaken through a research activity of this type. For example, an academic researcher might fail to capture the accurate meaning of a song and translate using a dictionary. Here the researcher has exercised their agency in making a decision about how to represent the meaning of the song - perhaps in order to finalise material in preparation for

publication. There is a risk here that the researcher is wrong, and that the song may be represented without an accurate translation or with a meaning that differs from that provided by a knowledgeable Elder. Another example is of making recordings of performances and recording conversations that take place alongside the performance. From a research perspective, these conversations may contain interesting information about songs and are of interest as recordings in their own right. Conversations, however, may also be private or touch on sensitive topics. Performers may not see these recordings as legitimate representations of the performance event or useful within the wider research context, despite an academic researcher's interest in them.

These examples flag the importance of the negotiation of agency in intercultural teams and highlight the very real risk of positioning knowledge holders as passive non-agents. For the Warlpiri *yawulyu* projects, these negotiations continued throughout the project work and book production processes, both amongst non-Warlpiri and Warlpiri researchers and the Warlpiri owners and managers of the *yawulyu*. Within this open dialogue amongst the project team, the agency of senior knowledge holders was at all times prioritised. For the *Yurntumu-wardingki juju-ngaliya-kurlangu yawulyu* project that involved four different *yawulyu*, these negotiations were complex as there were different owners and managers for each chapter of the book. Through the book production, particular key people emerged, through group consensus as being overseers who were responsible for the ways in which this knowledge was being presented. Typically these were the most senior female owners for Dreamings represented in the book but in two instances were also middle-aged women who had taken particularly active roles in the book production. Author, Martin, took on this role for the Minamina *yawulyu* presented in chapter 1 and Enid Nangala Gallagher, for the Ngapa *yawulyu* presented in chapter 4. Both of these women were, in many ways, being mentored by more senior women into these roles throughout the production of the book and have become key spokeswomen at the public events in which the book content has been presented alongside performances of *yawulyu*. Overseen by senior female *kurdungurlu* who have taken on an editorial role to ensure that the songs and stories are presented accurately in accordance with Warlpiri ways of sharing and holding this knowledge.

For these reasons, the authorship of these books has not always been clear-cut. For the Jardiwanpa *yawulyu* book a much smaller team of people were involved in the book production such that four named people could take on the responsibilities entailed in an authorship claim. For the 2017 publication, however, the complex and dynamic negotiations, as well as the large groups of women involved in the book production, made this more complex. Authorship has thus been labelled as a collective – 'Warlpiri women from Yuendumu' – with present day Warlpiri women emphasising that this refers not only to the contemporary generations who have contributed to the book production, but also past generations who have passed on the songs and stories and the future Warlpiri women who will continue to do so utilising this book as a resource. The notion of authorship in this multi-generational and intercultural context has taken on a meaning specific to the purposes for creation and desires for the book's intended future use. Batchelor Press pays close attention to the protection of Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual property (ICIP) (Grant, 2016) and publications assert communal rights to copyright where this applies, and invoke traditional law relating to ownership of ICIP into assertions of moral rights to published material. The protection of audio and video content linked to books is built into the books. For example, some online content is protected by a password, which is provided in the book.

Repatriation and cultural reproduction

Given that knowledge about *yawulyu* is rapidly diminishing with the passing away of senior women, Warlpiri people face a 'cultural future' (Michaels, 1989; Peterson, 2017: 237) in which people may be unable to perform these songs in the purposeful, embodied and socially situated mode of ceremony familiar to their forebears (Dussart, 2000). This impacts on the knowledge held by individuals who are owners and managers. Many Warlpiri people who live in Yuendumu today, have lived their whole lives in a settlement context with limited opportunities to practice *yawulyu*. Therefore they do not know with fluency how to sing their songs and do not hold the deep knowledge about them. Describing the ontological shifts accompanying the changes of lifestyle since the early years of settlement and today, anthropologist Nicolas Peterson, who has worked with Warlpiri people from Yuendumu since the late 1960s states that 'younger Warlpiri assume that I am a repository of these older people's knowledge about the country' (Peterson, 2017: 235). These assumptions rest upon Peterson's association with Warlpiri people over several generations and his mode of engagement, working with senior people to document knowledge of country through mapping, photographs, notes, audio and film recordings. Peterson emphasises that these senior Warlpiri embodied their knowledge, developed through living on and travelling through country. Their knowledge formed part of a religious and political economy, associated with law and restricted in many contexts. This knowledge is owned and

valued by Warlpiri people today, notwithstanding the changes in ontological systems that mean that younger people do not themselves embody it as their forebears did. Knowledge of country is simply represented in a map as a set of objectified facts, and therefore access to the primary materials associated with it are only representations of some aspects of that knowledge. Such partial and disembodied representations cannot constitute a 'cultural future' in and of themselves external to the social and political context from which they emerged. Peterson argues that such representations of knowledge are crucial 'not to maintaining culture in dramatically changing times … [but] will have a central role sustaining an ever-transforming cultural identity' (Peterson, 2017:248).

Technological changes to the ways in which cultural knowledge, which was once orally passed on, is transmitted have an important role in these shifts. Many of the Batchelor Press publications utilise technologies that enable digital content, alongside the traditional print book format. For example, many books have an audio component – many older publications are produced with accompanying audio CDs. In more recent years several books were produced with 'sound printing', a process that embeds codes in the printed page that play an audio file stored on a sound reader. As of 2015 books have also incorporated QR codes, which enable people to use their phones to play audio or video content that is hosted online. Whilst the use of this technology does allow the 'reader' to be immersed in the performance context of this knowledge, they do not allow for the reinforcing experience of learning and holding *yawulyu* through multiple contexts throughout one's lifetime. The embodied way in which much of this knowledge is traditionally learned is significantly transformed when it is represented in the fixed form of books and recordings, such that the collaborators on these projects, and readers of the books are engaged in more of a cognitive learning process, albeit one which is still structured by senior Warlpiri women in their efforts to maintain their responsibilities to pass knowledge on to younger generations.

Another common motivation put forth by Warlpiri people when talking about the value of publications about *yawulyu* – is that they acknowledge and show respect for senior women who have passed on and the senior women still alive who continue to hold and share their knowledge. It is these women who are attributed with passing the knowledge on to younger Warlpiri people, including children. While for Warlpiri people 'passing knowledge on' is often provided as a motivation for participation in publications about *yawulyu*, the memorialisation of these senior custodians is also primary. Within contemporary social settings, such as that in Yuendumu, senior people, especially those highly proficient in ceremonial practice have come to be regarded as 'authentic' holders of valuable cultural knowledge and are in themselves iconic signifiers of a past way of life and the cultural values associated with it (Carew, 2016; Etherington, 2006). As Peterson comments, for contemporary Warlpiri people ties to country are still central to people's identity, but 'they are less important today than being embedded in a dense network of sociality' (Peterson, 2017:239). The passing of the senior people within this network impacts upon the meaning of what it is to be Warlpiri, given that identities increasingly draw from the histories of settlement and residence and the changed social configurations that have emerged from these histories. Such a reified view of senior people is also evident in another Batchelor Press publication, Gun-ngaypa Rrawa 'My Country', which presented stories from senior Gun nartpa people recorded in the 1990s. This project also commenced as a repatriation of the set of recordings, and, as Carew writes,

> From the earliest stages of bringing the recordings back to the community, the memorialisation of the storytellers became central to the project. This shaped the scope of the project, the way that the project team worked together and the form that the final publication took. The book builds upon the important social value placed on the role of old people projected through certain genres of storytelling, as stages for the performance of local identities focused on clan and country, framing these as resilient and continuing in the face of the rapidly changing intercultural landscape (Carew, 2016: 268).

Conclusion: Books as representations of dynamic knowledge

In this paper, we have presented examples of two recently published Warlpiri women's songbooks in which Indigenous cultural property has been represented in image, text, sound and video based resources. As is outlined in this paper, the commitment and enthusiasm of Warlpiri women towards these projects is driven by their motivation to 'pass on' this knowledge to future generations and 'honour' the Elders from the past and present who have ensured that that contemporary generations have access to this important part of their Warlpiri identity, linking them to country, the associated Dreamings and kin. While often concerned with different spheres of cultural knowledge, the representation of the knowledge of 'old people' forms part of dynamic cultural practices in contemporary Indigenous lifeworlds in remote Australia. We see parallel motivations in other book publication projects, such as the Gun nartpa people who worked with author Carew to compile their book Gun ngaypa Rrawa

(England et. al, 2014). In some ways, these book projects indicate a transferal in the ways that cultural property is being passed on from one generation to the next. This new method for transmission is informed by the agendas framed by the intercultural contexts in which Indigenous identities are formed today. Whilst we have highlighted the ethical risks associated with the power imbalances and dynamics intrinsic to the intercultural teams that are involved in the production of the books, the examples presented in this paper also demonstrate that Warlpiri women assert dominant forms of agency in these contexts and strategically shape the ways in which they pass on their knowledge. The book production processes that evolve from such projects are determined through a process of continual negotiation of various influencing factors: the traditional structures which determine ownership and other rights to cultural property; the culturally determined, and embodied ways in which oral traditions have been transmitted across the generations; and, the agendas of the modernised worlds in which Warlpiri people today live in which books and other resources document knowledge and honour the ownership and social importance of such intangible forms of cultural property.

Warlpiri song traditions including *yawulyu*, like many others across Australia, have for many generations been successfully passed on through periods of rapid and large-scale social change. In many parts of Australia, a settlement history and associated assimilation has seen a decline in ceremonial and religious knowledge. The settlement of Warlpiri people in Yuendumu beginning in the 1940s, in many respects brought about an enhanced version of prior ceremonial life as there were more people living together in one centralised place (Dussart 2000). Ceremonies associated with specific sites did decline, however, as a lack of opportunity to visit these places resulted in a decrease in knowledge (Peterson 2008). Throughout these changing social circumstances, for Warlpiri people, the songs which connect them to their country have continued to be held high as necessary and important for the continuation of forms of Warlpiri specific knowledge. Warlpiri people up to this point in history have ensured their present day survival by continually asserting their responsibilities for this knowledge which has required, perhaps more so than ever in recent decades, adaptation of different modes for transmitting and remembering songs and their associated knowledge.

Ken Hale has suggested that '...the *learning* of a Warlpiri song is a creative act' in itself (1984: 260) and provides examples of ways in which singers manipulate and control the presentation of this knowledge and hence the ways in which people learn. Dussart (2000: 147) also gives examples of the ways in which Warlpiri women dream new songs and incorporate these into already existing repertoires. These examples show that flexibility and openness to adaptation to new circumstances are intrinsic to the successful passing on of these forms of knowledge to younger generations. In a world where contexts for holding *yawulyu* are not frequent enough to ensure that these songs are learned in their performance context, Warlpiri women are ensuring their survival by negotiating new ways of transmitting knowledge of songs, stories, dances and designs. Through the kinds of intercultural collaborative publishing projects that we have described in this paper, Warlpiri knowledge is documented in a new fixed form, which significantly differs from past contexts for the display of sung knowledge and associated modes of oral transmission. At the same time the book production processes in themselves become forums through which different generations of Warlpiri people can engage in learning and thinking about *yawulyu* – a strategic move on the behalf of senior Warlpiri women to ensure the continuation of engagement with this genre of song in to the future.

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Margaret Carew is based at Batchelor Institute for Indigenous Tertiary Education and co-ordinates a range of Indigenous language research and publishing projects. During the 1990s she was based in Maningrida and has maintained a connection with that community since then through collaborations on language projects with family groups, Maningrida College and Maningrida Arts and Culture. Since 1997 Margaret has been based in Alice Springs and has worked with a number of community language teams to develop resources and publications that support repatriation of recordings and other community-led uses of documented language and cultural material.

Barbara Napanangka Martin is a Warlpiri woman from Yuendumu and has worked all her adult life as a teacher at the Yuendumu School. In her retirement, she continues to assist at the school's Bilingual Resource Development Unit (BRDU) as well as working on other community-based cultural projects. She is a skilled Warlpiri to English transcriber and translator and has interests in engaging senior women to figure out ways of representing traditional oral stories and songs in written form.

Remapping the landscape of resilience: learning from an Arrernte teacher's story

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Abstract

Resilience is central to helping teachers address the challenges of their profession. Most accounts, however, are limited by their uniform conceptualisation of resilience, failing to consider the impacts of context and culture. This paper explores what resilience means in the specific context of one Arrernte beginning teacher in central Australia. Using arts-based and narrative methods, we listen to his story, and follow the pathways he has taken across a landscape of resilience. Reflecting on his narrative offers us a new way of understanding the complexity of resilience and its function as it as a process rather than a phenomenon. Further, this reflection challenges the normative value judgements that arise from Western constructions of resilience. Following this teacher's pathways helps us to re-map the landscape of resilience, so that the Western 'highways' that comprise conceptions of resilience as individualistic, value-laden and absolute are recognised as part of a broader landscape of resilience, one that is ecological, transactional and relative to time and place.

Context and Genesis

This paper grew from a project in which the researchers were exploring, through storying and art-making, the local characteristics of beginning teacher resilience in central Australia. We had been coding the transcripts of the stories of nine preservice teachers in order to generate a picture of the challenges and resources that these teachers, from a range of backgrounds, encountered in central Australia. As researchers too, we each brought our own backgrounds and contexts to this project: Lisa, based in Adelaide, brought a number of years of research experience and recognition in the field of resilience and professional experience in teacher education; Al, a practising visual artist, has lived in Alice Springs since 2000, working first as a school teacher and, since 2010, delivering teacher education to preservice teachers in Alice Springs and a remote Indigenous community.

Each of the original nine sets of interviews (undertaken by Al with her education students and graduates between 2012 and 2017) offered rich and embodied stories of teacher resilience. The eight transcripts of her interviews with Will were, however, particularly striking. As [Author] remembered, "In my nine years of working with the literature of resilience, I hadn't seen such a strong voice emerge that challenged so clearly, in such a vivid and authentic way, the norms that constrain our understanding of resilience and teacher resilience."

This study considers factors that one Arrernte teacher in central Australia considers to be resources for his resilience, which he believes were either present, or should have been, within his individual context. Resilience resources are mechanisms, such as supportive networks or self-care strategies that can help individuals build their capacity to mitigate the effects of challenging circumstances. Research tends to neglect the factors which constitute resilience within participants' individual contexts. The current literature rarely acknowledges that the values which shape what we identify as 'resilience resources' and 'healthy outcomes' are based in cultural contexts and in individual experience (Mohaupt, 2009). In this study, healthy outcomes are identified in terms of those that Will considers to be desirable, and respond to his cultural context and experience.

Therefore, in listening to and working with Will's story and the individual experience it embodies, we focus on "forefronting the specific cultural context of…people… and…purposefully championing resilience-promoting cultural values and practices" (Theron et al. 2011). Further, Will's story helps us challenge the "intellectual heritage" of resilience by identifying the difficulties associated with the concept that have arisen from a range of disciplines. Johnson et al, for instance, critique resilience theory for its

> … pseudoscientific rhetoric, its focus on individual pathology and 'recovery'; its naïve, conservative and apolitical attribution of causality, its assumptions of values neutrality; its western orientation and bias; and its implicit endorsement of dominant views of normality and related 'othering' practices. (Johnson et al. 2016, p. 20)

This paper, then, applies a hybrid of thematic, narrative and arts-based approaches to examine the ways in which one individual's story of his experiences as a beginning teacher help us to better understand the complexity of teacher resilience, and its contingency on context and culture. It offers a 're-mapping' of the landscape of resilience that both contests and enriches the often entrenched positivist and conventional notions of resilience. The narrative focus values the holistic lived experience of the individual (Bruner, 1996), the complexity of their setting (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004) and their beliefs and embodied motives for entering the teaching profession (Author & Author, 2016). A narrative focus also reveals places where lived experience intersects with and diverges from conventional mainstream accounts of teacher resilience. The arts-based educational research (ABER) approaches we employed (Barone & Eisner, 1997) produced material such as stories and artworks from Will, and artwork from the researchers, that "serves both *as* data, and may also *represent* data" (Leavy, 2015, p. 232). Further, the researcher's map was a *process* by which we made sense of the data (Eisner, 1991). We analysed the interviews with Will and the artworks he produced, in a series of iterative cycles that involved grouping and regrouping the data against the background of our extensive reading of the existing literature until we came to a point of internal coherence (between the stories and the literature, and across the stories themselves), conceptual clarity (about how the stories and images 're-mapped' our understanding of resilience), and authentic representation (of the stories and images to articulate Will's lived experiences).

We were interested in two things: presenting an embodied or lived experience of teacher resilience from beyond the mainstream urban, middle-class and Western-oriented cultural context; and highlighting the challenges such an experience presents to traditional and enduring constructions of resilience. The image below, "Pathways across a remapped landscape", represents the result of our inquiry the process through which we were able to begin to think

differently about the intersections and divergences between conventional and critical, socio-ecological conceptions of resilience.

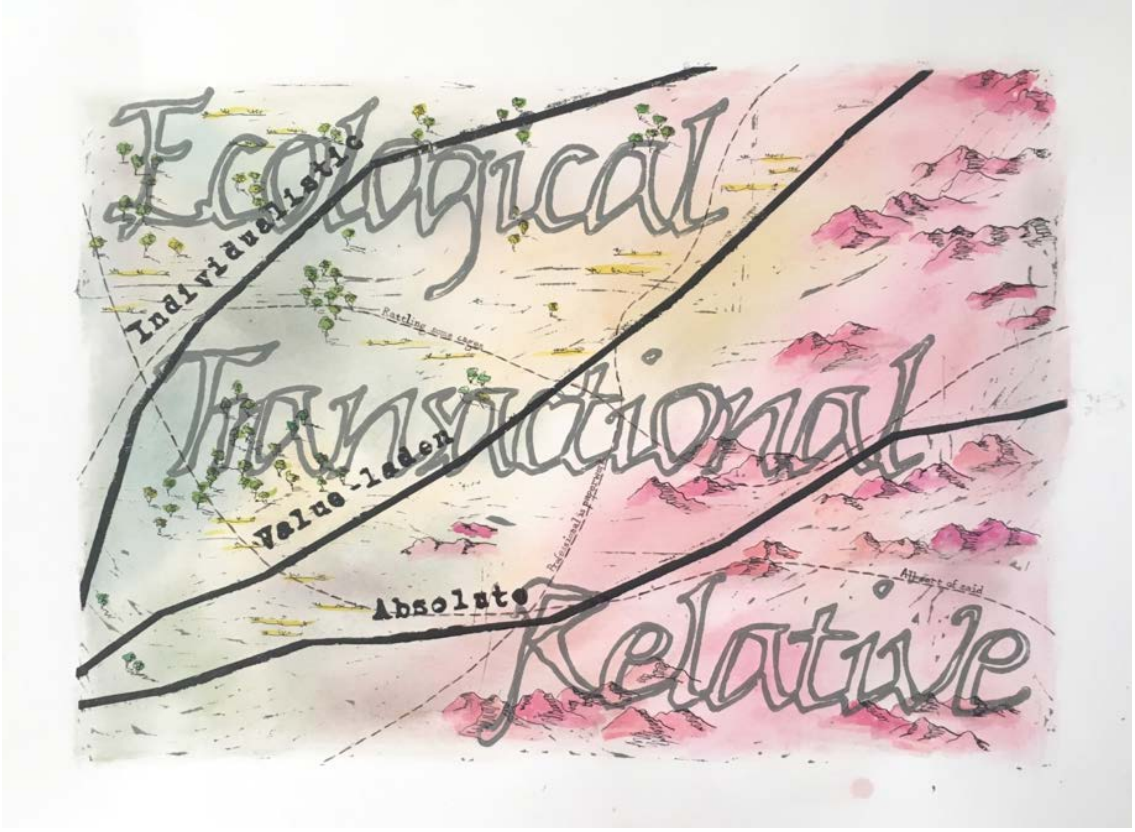

Figure 1. Al and Lisa's mixed media work, 'Pathways across a remapped landscape,' April, 2017.

We offer the following interpretation as an invitation to your own engagement with the image represented in Figure 1, and a visual context for the stories that follow. We hope you will also find other ways to make meaning of what you see and how the image interacts with Will's stories. The three Western highways are heavily printed in black ink and starkly signposted in mechanistic, but ageing font; they are teleological, predominantly straight and have a common starting point in the west of the map. The surrounding regions position each highway in a broader and more meaningful place, so individualistic notions are seen in an ecological context, value-laden judgements are recognised in transactional terms and absolute conceptions are understood to be relative to time and place. The green of the ecological region, full of trees and grasses, represents the interconnections on which growth depends; the yellow of the transactional area evokes the nourishing and desiccating processes of the sun, and a reminder of how the apparently bare yellow desert is often full of life; the red-purple of the relative landscape suggests the colour of the ranges that changes daily, seasonally and spatially. The varying shades of green, yellow and red-purple represent the different elements operating within each region; the soft transitions between the three colours reflects the fluidity of the boundaries between the ecological, transactional and relative aspects of a re-mapped landscape of resilience. The dotted pathways represent three vignettes from Will's story of his journeys across this landscape of resilience and his encounters with the nature of resilience as individualist but also ecological, value-laden but also transactional, and absolute but also relative.

From Individualistic to Ecological: "Rattling some cages outside the school"

While certain personal resources help Will to achieve positive outcomes and perspectives, his pathways across a landscape of resilience depart from the 'highway' of purely individualised personal traits and strategies. His pathway here represents the influence of his ecology on his resilience, which is shaped by his individual traits, but not solely reliant on them. Shifting our attention from hyper-individualistic perspectives of teacher resilience to a perspective that considers the social and cultural aspects of resilience is crucial to understanding the interplay between individual and contextual resources, and contests the neo-liberal agenda that seeks to shift the responsibility for maintaining well-being from workplaces to individuals. (Johnson et al., 2016). As Ungar contests,

(2012) "to understand resilience we must explore the context in which the individual experiences adversity, making resilience first a quality of the broader social and physical ecology and second a quality of the individual" (p. 27).

In early 2017, at the beginning of Will's third year after qualification and his second year of full-time teaching in the remote Indigenous community that is his home, Will spoke with AI about personal resources he has developed, such as his motivations and beliefs:

> You just keep doing it . . . keep going . . . and hopefully something will spark . . . one might go and use what they've learnt, but it's regardless of whether they use it or not, they have the right to know, to learn and have skills because you never know, we're dealing with human beings here, you don't know what someone's going to do. Like you might say, "Oh jail and alcohol for these kids," but you can't say that . . . you know they don't appreciate it, because I didn't appreciate shit I was learning . . . what do we want these kids to say in twenty years' time? . . . "What were the [adults] doing while I was growing up? Shit they let us down"?

He mentioned his sense of self-efficacy:

> A lot of people say . . . "You're tough on them, you don't take any prisoners," but the same kids are waving, saying, "Hello William!" Like I saw Francis, they were in Spirituality and I was on release and he yelled out "William!" and I thought, "Oh no, what's happened?" And he just waved. That says a lot. He just yelled my name and waved, but that says a lot right there for a kid like that to be at school and not wagging or doing something else. I think those little things mean more to me. And of course teaching, if they learn something, but these kids are different . . . wanting to be at school is a big achievement.

He also mentioned the positive influence of the school culture: "There are good people who are trying to do something, and they're doing things." His primary focus, however, was on a broader sphere, and its influence on his capacity to manage the challenges he encounters as a teacher:

> I don't know if I have the same drive, as much of the drive, as I did in my first year. I've stepped up involvement in community issues – like outside of the school – that are affecting the school . . . I've begun to rattle some cages outside the school . . . I've been here for 10 years and I can see an improvement academically . . . that's due to a lot of good people we've had come through . . . but the outside interference in the community, out of the classroom, out of the school [is] still having big impacts on teaching and learning. So a lot of my thoughts are how can we minimise that for the school and for teaching? . . . The youth in the community have nothing to do or nothing to work towards. There's no real employment options, there's no real willingness to go look for work or go outside the community . . . [it's] really affected me because . . . I see some of the students [I've taught before] now who have dropped off and that whole mentality I had was, "What was the point of that year they had with me?" If the outside influence is not changing . . . I can talk in the classroom till I'm black and blue . . . "This is helping you when you leave school so when you become an adult you can get a good job and have a good family and get some money and have your own place." But if we're still struggling to get housing, we're still struggling to get employment, to get people working and there's no employment and there's no real industry to move into or motivation, then . . . what's the point? It feels like you're . . . not lying . . . but bullshitting them.

He recognised the impact of the community on his motivations and self-efficacy and the incongruence between community and school culture as a challenge. As a result he chose to become involved in "negotiating" resources that would support him as a teacher (Ungar, 2012, p.28). Building community capacity and collaboration would, he believed, offer benefits such as students coming to school physically and emotionally ready to learn, and with a more meaningful sense of what they were learning 'for'. Of course, such an activity was a challenge in itself, in the time and attention it took away from his teaching. He recognised that

> I'm doing stuff in the classroom but not at 100% . . . but I know myself, and that momentum is coming back . . . it's that thing I knew was going to happen: once you put your hand up for something, everyone looks to you.

At this point in his life as a teacher, however, the benefits of such activities in building his resilience seemed to outweigh the risks.

It is evident that Will's focus on the community is a locus for his personal growth. His resilience as a teacher is deeply entwined with his sense of self-efficacy in building resilience and contributing to enhancing the lives and opportunities of his students. The capacity of Will's ecological system to provide resilience-enhancing resources is dependent on what Ungar (2012, p. 21) describes as "opportunity structures" located within individual contexts.

Such structures vary in quality, are reflective of a specific ecology and are not reflective of the individual or their individual traits. Individual action, however, comes in the shape of individuals' capacity to locate or generate these structures. As Ungar (2012) states, "opportunities depend for their influence on the capacity of individuals under stress to navigate to the resources they need and negotiate with others for what they define as meaningful and supportive" (p. 28).

From Value-Laden to Transactional: "The professional just to me is paperwork"

While it is clear that some experiences or situations offer benefits while others constrain growth, Will's story clearly shows the limitations of applying reductive definitions or normative values around what constitutes 'risk' or 'healthy adaptations'. As Ungar (2012), explains: "At the level of [the] individual, values and beliefs (reflecting socialization processes like acculturation) shape individual discrimination of experiences as either facilitative of growth or posing a barrier to personal development." (p. 22). Kaplan (1999) considers:

> A major limitation of the concept of resilience is that it is tied to the normative judgments relating to particular outcomes. If the outcomes were not desirable, then the ability to reach the outcomes in the face of putative risk factors would not be considered resilience. Yet it is possible that the socially defined desirable outcome may be subjectively defined as undesirable, while the socially defined undesirable outcome may be subjectively defined as desirable. From the subjective point of view, the individual may be manifesting resilience, while from the social point of view the individual may be manifesting vulnerability (p. 31-32).

Will's story gives us insight into the ways understandings of teacher resilience are "skewed toward the hegemonic influence of Western theories of positive adjustment" (Theron et al. 2013, p. 65). His story shows his divergence from these Western value-laden conceptions of the desirable outcome of being a good teacher.

For Will, "making connections and building good relations is at the core of good teaching," a belief that is at the heart of his identity as a teacher, and one which influences his pathways across the landscape of resilience. While this valuing of relationships aligns with conventional notions of effective teaching, the meaning of "connections" and "relations" for him shifts the relational into a position of primacy: for him being a good teacher primarily means being able to connect to the students and their families. Will's valuing of connections with his students and with the wider community both feeds into and grows from his cultural background in both the Anglo-Australian and Aboriginal worlds. He sees his position as offering particular resources for building relationships with students:

> Having a white father and an Aboriginal mother, it gives me a good perspective and shortcut to building a rapport, especially out here [his home community] and in town [Alice Springs] and anywhere there's Indigenous students.

He also recognises the challenge it presents:

> That's been my number one thing . . . not burden, just constant worry. I have to [have a crack at changing things] because people see me as black and white; I walk in both sides and all that. And I need to use that. I have to because my family can't do it: whitefellas can't communicate with blackfellas so the pressure's on me to.

Just as his "rattling some cages" has beneficial and detrimental effects on his sense of self-efficacy as a teacher, so his sense of himself as 'a teacher who makes connections,' involves elements that both build and constrain his resilience. He is aware of his position as he moves between Western cultural values and the relationships and values of his Arrernte community. He can "see beyond his own circumstances . . . to understand [his] place in the wider social world . . . [to address] a sense of helplessness" (Mills, 1970 cited in Johnson et al, 2016, p. 22). His "walking in both sides" is a "constant worry" because of the unique responsibility it brings to mediate between Western and Arrernte cultures. But his bi-cultural position also enables Will to reframe the challenges of mediation and understand his agency within his school and community in ways that are beyond simplistic white middle class perspectives of resilience. His feeling of being "burdened" with this responsibility in fact strengthens his resilience.

Viewing resilience as a transactional process, between the individual and the different elements of their context(s), helps us to understand the multi-directional nature of particular resilience factors as both enabling and constraining (Author, 2012). Further, a transactional lens enables culturally specific definitions and understandings of resilience (Kaplan, 1999). It allows us to envisage the resilience 'pathways' that diverge from a highway that defines resilience factors in terms which are rooted in dominant Western cultural beliefs. We can see that Will's clear

sense of who he is as a teacher operates transactionally in ways that sometimes challenge Western notions of desirable outcomes.

Across the five years of his interviews with AI, Will is consistent in articulating that the teacher-student relationships which are central to his professional identity need to be built on honesty and egalitarianism:

> I think being honest and real about who I am and where I'm from [is vital]. Making sure you tell students why you're teaching and what they're learning, being honest about what I know and I don't know so I'm not faking or trying to be pretentious about knowing something. And letting kids know it's alright not to know everything and not all teachers know everything.
>
> My personality is like I don't want to stand up in the front. I'd rather be in the trenches . . . behind the scenes. I don't want any accolades. It's crap to me. I'd rather be behind doing the real stuff . . .Teaching to me is more of a guided discussion . . . where you are not someone bigger or someone smaller but just talking to people . . . like you're teaching but it's not like a teacher-student thing.

This "satisfying" identity is clearly a resource here (Johnson et al., p. 114), and one that Will is able to have a "reflexive awareness" about: an understanding of how he is shaped by his "interactions with the wider society" (Johnson et al., p 116-7). He declared, "I'm not invested in the academic. I'm more invested in the student" and that:

> Teaching is 60% lessons and classroom stuff and 40% being like a parent figure. I've had parents coming up to me, uncles and that, going, "What do you think I should do?" It's crazy – I don't have any kids of my own . . . I'm not a very good curriculum person; I think I'm a good relationships person . . . The professional just to me is paperwork . . . but that's me and I always dreaded paperwork . . . does a professional teacher always equate to a good teacher? Hell no, no way.

Conventional notions of professionalism are not sustaining for him as they do not fit with his beliefs, values and dispositions. Further, he sees them as not offering resilience resources for the teachers who come to teach at the community school:

> You've gotta empathise. You say, "You may be a good teacher, but it's different, it's a different bloody game here."
>
> I've seen too many stiffs walk out bent in this place, cause they're real top notch at all that [paperwork] stuff, but not the other [relationships] stuff.

He recognises the resources that enable him to feel successful and to use his connections and his capacity to build relationships. Talking about his first year of teaching at his community school, he reflects:

> One reason I got good attendance was because, obviously, the family connection but it was also the relationship. The way we were with each other . . . . But also the purpose of what we were doing. Having real conversations, like, "What do you want to be? Do you want to get a job after you finish or do you want to be a drunk like the rest of them mob, the rest of the family in town. Are you going to be the one walking into Coles with the money or are you going to be the one standing out in front asking for money? Which one do you want to be?" And just talking real to them.

He recognises that his approach departs from the conventional expectations of teacher professional behaviour and practice, and that without the resource of his family connections it would be harder to establish such authentic and robust relationships, and operate as a teacher who 'stirs up' the students, rather than 'settles them down'.

> [If I wasn't family] I wouldn't be able, wouldn't feel confident talking to them like that . . . I would, but I'd probably get kicked out straight away. You know, like causing too much of a fuss. Causing too much trouble. "You shouldn't be talking to them like that. That's not the way."

This sense of community with the students and the families from which both he and they come offers him significant resources but also contributes towards his self-imposed isolation from the professional relationships that are conventionally seen as sustaining. As he commented in 2017, "A lot of the time I feel like I'm on my own wavelength and I can get frustrated with people [teachers] so I try and keep contact to a minimum." Such frustrations surfaced during the final years of his studies, when he commented on the discouragement he felt at not being able to engage meaningfully in professional networks. During his final year as a preservice teacher and teacher's aide in his community school, he commented on his unfulfilled desire to question the deeper purpose and

meaning of the learning activities he was co-planning with his teacher-mentor:

> I'm in that way of thinking, "Why are we doing stuff?" Not just, "We'll do it just to get through." And then [another teacher] said, "Well she [the mentor] is a qualified teacher and she's been teaching for a while so she's past that stage of asking questions."

In urban settings, too, he chose to avoid such networks. On a professional experience placement in an urban Northern Territory school, he commented: "I went to the staff room once and that was it. The way they were talking about the bad behaviour kids . . ."

The professional relationships with other teachers are available, but not accessible by Will because of the divergence between the culturally constructed meanings these resources have for his colleagues and for him. He doesn't access these people because they are either not focused on critical-reflective planning ('experienced teachers don't do this anymore') or the discussion serves to break down relationships with students rather than build them up ('the bad behaviour kids'). The influence resources can have on wellbeing is based on their availability (are they there?) and their accessibility (can I use them?), which is shaped, as Ungar (2012) explains, by the culturally constructed meaning such resources have for an individual. It is this culturally constructed "meaning" which "determines the decisions people make with regard to which resources (opportunities) they value and access and which resources their family, school, community and nation provides" (p. 22). So the staffroom and the professional networks it represents are not an accessible resource for Will because of what they mean to him.

In addition to this, the meaning of teacher identity for Will is often divergent from what he sees as the conventionally accepted meaning of teacher professionalism, so he chooses to step away from such discourses. He reflects that he rarely talks of his achievements or shares classroom stories with his colleagues:

> For me I don't like telling people only because I don't like hearing from others. Like you know, "I've just had this big win with so and so in my class" . . . I'm not going to tell people what I do, like big noting yourself.

But he recognises that talking about 'small successes' motivates him; that it's:

> . . . something that I don't remind myself of as much as I should when I'm feeling shit. But I do notice it when I meet new people and they ask who I am and why do you do that and then you tell them why. That's when those things come flooding back, those little memories. And you go, "That's why I wanted to be a teacher and that's why I'm still sticking at it, that's why I'm doing it." And you feel pretty good. And it's better with someone I don't know because it's like new again.

Will navigates away from his school networks, but finds meaning in the process of sharing his stories outside of his school context. Sharing stories renews his motivation, and perhaps offers him a different, new perspective. He recognises that as well as negotiating resources in places beyond the school, he can also navigate to access resources beyond his home region. Just as Will navigates to find resources in settings beyond his immediate context, so we need to step away from the highway of value-laden judgements along which much thinking about resilience processes and outcomes travels.

From Absolute to Relative: "We've all sort of said as a collective"

A different context, one where Will encountered 'new' people outside of school, allowed him to access the motivational resource of sharing his teaching experiences with others. The previous vignette helps us see how Will's resilience pathway diverges from the value-laden highway of assuming that using local professional networks results in 'healthy' adaptation to adversity. It also warns us away from assuming that individuals' resilience resources and processes are absolute and unchanging. As a setting changes, such as when the individual relocates, when they negotiate the provision of new resources or simply as a result of other factors such as time, then the availability and accessibility of the resilience resources change. Similarly, as an individual changes over time, so too the meaning such resources have for him changes, which influences their availability and accessibility. We need, therefore, to perceive resilience, not as a set of absolute resources or processes, but as dependent on time and place. For Will, while many of the challenges and resources he experiences in his work as a teacher in his remote community school remain the same, as the school changes, so resources become available. And while core aspects of Will's professional identity have remained central to his resilience over the eight years of our discussions, as he changes as a teacher, so too have resources become accessible by him.

Where once Will chose to step away from concepts of teacher professionalism and networks as resilience outcomes

and resources, later on he embraced teacher professionalism as a meaningful resource in terms of resource networks and developing his professional identity. At the start of 2017, he reflected on the changes he was seeing in the school:

> I think the school is heading in the right direction . . . where the questions I've asked about professionalism standards that have slipped in the past, that's kind of being addressed this year with some meetings we've had [on] Professional Learning where we've sort of all said as a collective, "We need to be doing this stuff; we need to be accountable and we need to be checking what we're planning and assessing." You know all that stuff when I first started was non-existent. The staff meetings were, "How is everyone going? Yep? Everyone is surviving? Yep? No worries we're good." Whereas now, even just this year, it's like, "No. Standards need to be more. A higher level." Even the Professional Learning thing last week when Kevin was talking about Learning Intentions, that we need to have those explicitly thought out, what do we want these kids to know in the lesson? . . . Now that can't happen straight away as stringent as he presented it, but the good thing is I can see that happening in four or five years' time – you can have that with these kids if we start now.
>
> And the good think with our past staff, the really good ones, what they've done is starting to show: I can see it in my Grade 7s, because they had some good teachers a few years ago and their work that they did when those kids were in Year 2 and 3 is showing. If Kevin would have had that meeting even 6 years ago it would have been "Pfft! That's not going to happen here!" But now you can say, "If we start doing that slowly, slowly and talking to the students about Learning Intentions (we don't read it out like he had it written, just ease them into it) and in three or four years' time you can talk like that with them." So I guess that's the pleasing thing I've seen with the teaching.

Bottrell (2009, in Ungar 2012) explains: "Processes associated with resilience . . . are always dependent upon the factors that trigger and sustain them" (p. 21). As the school changed over time, both in terms of the long term gains built by teachers in previous years and in new initiatives by leadership, particular resilience pathways became available for Will. His move towards using his local teacher networks as a resource was triggered by a new shared commitment to common Professional Learning goals and processes that were meaningful to him, because they were focused on student learning in the classroom. Will's recognition that the work of individual teachers could make a difference in future years also contributed to his sense of optimism and capacity to feel committed and engaged over the longer term. While recognising that in many ways he is "not on the same wavelength" as many of his colleagues, he has been able to feel inspired by a sense of community with the teachers past and present that is sustaining:

> . . . you know it's a slow road . . . you can see that if we keep on going from this it's gonna get better and better.

For Will, a supportive professional network does not mean interpersonal relationships as much as a common commitment to a belief or goal and a collaborative approach to getting there. This resource has become both available and accessible as the meaning and purpose of the 'network' becomes shared amongst the school staff, through the introduction of classroom learning-focused Professional Learning meetings and through the collaborative attitudes of colleagues in these meetings.

Will's capacity to navigate to and access the resources offered by the school's professional network is not only relative to the changing nature of his environment, but also due to how he has changed as a teacher: the beliefs, motivations, dispositions, knowledge and skills that constitute his professional identity. While his primary positioning of student-teacher relations remains central to his sense of self-efficacy, he has changed in his capacity to find resources in places he would not previously have valued. As he comments on his growth as a teacher:

> I've always done the same but I'm doing it better . . . My ability to talk to the kids has always been there . . . but it's gotten better as in the questioning about what we're learning, what we've just talked about . . . I'm getting better at the end of the lesson saying, "What did we do today? Can you tell me back so I know you were listening?" . . . It's something that I got from a teacher who was good at doing that. Couldn't really relate to the kids, but had a structured lesson and then that questioning at the end . . . I saw that and made a conscious effort – I need to do more of that, rather than telling, telling, telling, because these kids need to hear themselves saying it and talking back, that kind of thing . . . and at the start of the lesson I'm going to ask what did we do last lesson, that kind of discussion before we get into the lesson.

Will was able to remake the meanings of good teacher practice demonstrated by a teacher who was very different from him, and see them as a resource that supported his own practice and student-centred goals: in this case, for the students to hear themselves talking about what they've learned.

Some elements of his resilience remain consistent: he will always have one 'foot' as it were on the highway of 'absolute' or unchanging personal elements contributing to his resilience, such as his belief in and capacity to build student relationships and his commitment to being 'real' and contributing to his community as a whole through his teaching. Other elements however will change as his professional identity changes. His capacity to access resources that were previously available but inaccessible resulted from his shift in meaning-making and led beyond the capacity of resilience to enable 'bouncing back' to what Ungar (2012) describes as "morphogenesis" (p. 13) the experience of change and growth, bouncing forward rather than simply recovering to a previous state.

Conclusion: "It's bigger than this when you see the big picture"

Will's story clearly shows how his journeys across a landscape of resilience diverge from the highways built on Western cultural beliefs, and that his encounters with the challenges and resources operating in his context need to be understood through a culturally relevant lens. Recognising that resilience is not merely an individual trait, or an absolute outcome, and that individuals can both cope and not cope depending on the context and situation, emphasises how processes of resilience depend upon ecological systems (Glantz & Sloboda, 1999). The recognition that resilience is an ongoing ecological and transactional process, undertaken in particular contexts and understood in culturally dependent terms, brings with it particular challenges. Beltman, Mansfield and Price (2011) note in their concluding remarks about the current teacher resilience research that:

> Conceptualising resilience as a multifaceted and complex construct, as is evidenced in the current literature, presents challenges for concise yet comprehensive definitions. Further clarity of definition is needed, with continuing contributions from multiple theoretical perspectives to add breadth and depth (p. 195).

The growth, or morphogenesis, shown in Will's story adds an additional element of complexity to the landscape of resilience that emerges. Rutter coins the term "steeling effects" to describe this growth, when "individuals are actually strengthened by the experience of challenge, stress, or adversity" (Rutter, 2012, p. 36). This process, which operates in the chronosystem of Will's ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 2005), results in changes over time to his individual and environmental systems, in turn changing the opportunity structures in his resilience landscape. Will's story shows the necessity of representing the complexity of resilience, so we can better recognise previously undervalued elements, such as morphogenesis, and their impact on our understanding of resilience processes, resources and outcomes. While much research on teacher resilience implicitly promotes the elimination of constraining factors, and focuses on enhancing the support available to new teachers, such a perspective fails to recognise morphogenesis and so take account of the benefits of successfully navigating challenges. As Rutter (2012) maintains, "Good physical health is not fostered by avoiding all contact with infectious agents. Rather it is fostered by encountering such agents and dealing with them successfully" (p. 36). Therefore, in order to enhance teacher resilience, the focus on reducing constraints may be detrimental. The work of Rutter (1999) confirms the importance of past experience in developing resilience, and this complexity and growth is what we see coming out of Will's pathways across the landscape of resilience.

In order to support individuals to successfully navigate the landscape of resilience, the maps, guides and tools that are provided need to emerge from an understanding of the complexity of the process, without simplifying it. There is a need, therefore, for representations of resilience that, as Beltman, Mansfield and Price assert, offer "concise yet comprehensive definitions" (2011, p. 195). Ungar uses a mathematical formulation to do just that. Through this paper we have referred to key elements of Ungar's Social Ecological Expression of Resilience, as it concisely encompasses the complexities of the landscape of resilience:

$$RB_{(1,\,2,\,3,\ldots)} = \frac{f\,(P_{SC}\,,\,E)}{(O_{AV}\,,\,O_{AC}\,)(M)} \qquad (2012,\ p.\ 19)$$

In the context of Will's stories, RB refers to his observable behaviours, decisions and motivations associated with his pathways across his landscape of resilience. Will's observable behaviours are all in response to his functions and behaviours (f) as a person (P), which includes his personal strengths and challenges (SC), which all operate within a complex ecological system of his lived experience (E). His pathways to culturally relevant outcomes are heavily influenced by the way in which his social and physical ecology provides resilience enhancing resources. These

resources are reliant on two key elements related to his Opportunity Structures (O) – resources that are available (AV) and resources that are accessible (AC). The availability and accessibility of Will's resources or opportunity structures are dependent on the meaning (M) placed on such resources by him and by those providing the resources (such as the school leadership or the community). Such meanings are socially and culturally constructed, and so change during the resilience process. As Ungar (2012) explains,

> Meaning . . .is the relative power of each individual in the social discourse to influence the definition of what resilience looks like. Our sense of who we are, our identity as resilient or vulnerable, depends on processes of co-construction and negotiation . . . we learn from the statements of others, as well as self-generated meaning-making within culturally diverse social spaces that provide varying opportunities for accessing the resources we need to experience resilience (p. 23).

Ungar's mathematical expression offers a conceptualisation of resilience that challenges narrow Western formulations and provides a lens through which we can encounter the shifting meaning of resilience for different people in different cultures and contexts, without losing our way.

Narrative and arts-based approaches to resilience inquiry offer a visual-spatial perspective that complements Ungar's mathematical expression with a different approach to making meaning of, and finding our way through the landscape. Attention to the embodied and conditional complexities of Will's story affords new ways of understanding resilience that both challenge narrow Western constructions and provide material from which a broader landscape of resilience can be constructed. His story offers a rich way of understanding the complexities of social-ecological resilience as expressed by Ungar's mathematical expression. Further, the narrative mode of Will's story allows us to examine resilience from a different perspective by encouraging us to engage in the more perceptual, 'narrative thinking', as distinct from traditional conceptual, analytical thinking, and so value the uncertainty, ambiguity and contingency of resilience (Author & Author, 2016). The visual arts-based approaches we employed also resulted in the capacity to approach our inquiry with new eyes, seeing things we might not otherwise have noticed, asking questions that might otherwise have gone unasked. Creating the map, 'Pathways across a landscape of resilience', offered us a way to represent the holistic nature of Will's lived experience as well as provoking us to re-conceptualise or re-map resilience as a social-ecological landscape. As a mode of representation, map-making offered us many things: mapping helps us to understand landscapes in terms of spatial phenomena and relationships; maps are explicit about not intending to provide a comprehensive account of a landscape but to offer a particular perspective; we use maps to chart journeys – those that have been made and those that we envisage; maps therefore, shape the way we understand a landscape and the potential journeys that can be made. Our aim, therefore, was to remap the landscape of resilience in a way that recognised the power of Western conceptions of resilience but reduced the tendency of these highways to bulldoze through the 'lived' landscape of resilience when it fails to reflect them. Ungar (2012) states: "It can be difficult to predict the influence of an opportunity without understanding both the context in which it becomes available, as well as the strengths and challenges of those who access it" (p. 21). Understanding the ecological interplay between context and individual helps us better grasp the opportunity structures that enable resilience. Mapping offers us both a process to help understand Will's social-ecological landscape of resilience and also a representation of this landscape of resilience and the opportunity structures through which he navigates.

We opened this paper with the map we created and will finish with two of Will's, and his interpretations of them. As part of Al's work with him over the years of their professional relationship, he created a number of visual representations of his development as a teacher and the resilience challenges and resources he encountered during this time. What was striking about such representations was how many of them took the form of some kind of map, which suggests that mapping is a central way in which he envisages being in the world and representing his place in his ecology. Perhaps, as we worked with his stories and images, such depictions were a catalyst to our own choice of mapping to facilitate and represent our thinking. The pieces below were created in later 2016. Will's clay globe (Figure 2) is a form of a map, and represents the importance of educator resiilence for him in the school and the wider community: he and his colleagues need to build their resilience, the fence, together, in order to support each other in supporting the students. He describes the three points of the fence as representing 'consistent, productive, dialogue', or alternatively

> . . . stronger, safer and more productive community. And we need more of that if we want the worlds of these kids, if we want to hold them up . . . their world is here, so if that [the fence] is not strong . . . the three points that we're holding, then it can just fall.

Figure 2. Will's sculpture, 'Holding up their world,' September, 2016

Figure 3. Will's mixed-media work, 'The relationship between people,' September, 2016

> This is the relationship between people and how sometimes ideas can get muddled up and over-talked about and can cause, like, a traffic jam [on the L side]. But if we start communicating better, the panic that's in there can slowly start loosening. Because most of the time people are working for the same thing, but egos and other things can get in the way. But we're all heading in the same direction. You seem to go round and round in circles, go back over things you thought you've worked out [on the L side]. Over here [on the R] you still go over things but it's less hectic and more like a loopy kind of thing, not so jagged. [To get to here you need] communication, understanding and realizing we're in it together. There's the country in the background because that's where we are. And we forget about that and get caught up. It's bigger than this [the tangles] when you see the big picture. The country that we're lucky enough to be on.

In Figure 3 Will uses a different type of mapping but returns to the themes of managing communication and recognising commonalities. His map of the tangled pathways or "traffic jam" of panicked people not communicating, gradually untangling into a "loopy" series of connections is a hopeful map of individual and social change, an optimism that is underpinned by recognition of the "bigger picture", of "the country we're lucky enough to be on." As well as depicting morphogenesis, Will's map and globe also offer us an optimistic picture of the potential of arts-based inquiry into resilience to offer effective research processes, data, conceptual representations and resilience resources. Researchers and participants are enabled, through arts-based methods, to envisage adversity and opportunity in ways that embrace the significance of culture and context to the landscape of resilience and the pathways that individuals navigate as they traverse it.

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Writing from somewhere: Reflections on positioning in research

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Abstract

Acknowledging the position from which one researches and writes is critical to the integrity of their research. This paper outlines the author's reflections on her position in her research, including a series of cumulative, biographically meaningful epiphanic experiences, the impact of colonial education, and her social sciences training. The author concludes by discussing how these reflections have been integrated into the research process.

Introduction

Traditionally in academic publications, authors acknowledge their affiliations in a quiet footnote and tend to write from a "more all-knowing, omniscient 'nowhere'" (Coburn, Moreton-Robinson, Sefa Dei and Stewart-Harawira 2013: 334). This intended neutrality is a reflection of the claims of scientific rigour necessary to meet the standards of western research. The assumption that there is a certain truth to be discovered through rigorous research is an indication of the history and currency of positivism in academia. In the social sciences however, rigour demands reflexivity (Coburn, Moreton-Robinson, Sefa Dei and Stewart-Harawira 2013: 335). Understanding one's own motive (Wilson 2008: 52), values, assumptions and responsibilities (Smith 2012: 2) is critical for high quality research. As such, recognising my own positioning, including my Indigeneity and social sciences background, and actively reflecting on the complexities of its role in my research is also essential:

> Indigenous researchers…speak from somewhere [emphasis added], notably from relations with the natural world, our ancestors and other Indigenous peoples. We speak out of histories of colonization and genocide, survival and struggle. Yet we would insist that researchers in mainstream social science likewise speak from specific 'somewheres' even if many forget, either intentionally or innocently, the historically contingent, social origins of their own dominant social scientific traditions. (Coburn, Moreton-Robinson, Sefa Dei and Stewart-Harawira 2013: 335)

This paper will outline my reflections on my position in my doctoral research, how it has developed over time, how positioning can be dynamic and changing, and how this can shape one's research design and practice. My research centres on the need to enhance learning about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia throughout the primary education system nationally, and my reflections relate back to how this became important to me.

Four epiphanic moments

Drawing from Denzin's (2001) ideas of cumulative biographically meaningful, epiphanic experiences, it is useful, as a researcher, to look at one's own life and the moments, or series of events, which have contributed to the decision to undertake the selected research. Denzin (2001: 37) defines an epiphany as "those problematic interactional situations where the individual confronts and experiences a crisis". He (2001: 145) also states: "Meaningful biographical experience occurs during turning-point interactional episodes. In these existentially problematic moments, human character is revealed and human lives are shaped, sometimes irrevocably." With these concepts in mind, I have identified and will discuss four cumulative biographically meaningful, epiphanic moments from my life.

The first was from childhood. As a primary school student in the 1990s in Brisbane's Southwest, I learned the origin of the name of a neighbouring suburb, Indooroopilly. I was told it is a local Aboriginal name for the area, which means a "gully of leeches". This was a contributing factor to my increasing curiosity and triggered a question about the meaning of another neighbouring suburb, with a similar name, Yeerongpilly. I remember feeling disappointed that nobody could answer this. I have since been told that it is believed to mean "sandy gully". This was the only aspect of learning about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia that I remember from my entire schooling. Despite having attended 12 years of schooling on Yugara country, I did not learn the name of the People on whose land we were studying and living. Throughout my education, years of learning and study was devoted to the perspectives and experiences of the Europeans who "explored" and "settled" this area, and Australia more widely; yet I learned only a single word that was meant to represent the Yugara People's historical connection to the area, and there was no mention of a contemporary connection.

The second moment was my experience of the difference in learning and pride around Maori language and culture throughout New Zealand, and specifically in contrast to Australia and its education around and treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia. I understand this simple comparison does not reflect the diversity of contexts or experiences in either country but the initial observation was a turning-point interactional episode in my life. This was the first time I had explicitly acknowledged the Euro-centricity of the Australian education system and the fact that change needs to happen.

The third moment was approximately five years ago. I had recently undertaken cultural awareness training and was already contemplating how little I knew of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia. Then I had a reunion with an estranged uncle, who informed me that we are of Aboriginal heritage from my father's side. There had always been discussion of the possibility of Indigeneity on my mother's side, but this revelation of our

paternal heritage simply emphasised to me that I should have learned more. I became ever more conscious of the significant knowledge gap relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia in the Australian education system, and I decided that I could do more to rectify that situation.

The fourth moment was while living in Central Australia. I had recently commenced the Doctorate program with Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education. At the time I was attempting to comprehend what my newly discovered Aboriginality meant to my identity and to the way that I was framing and thinking about my research. My supervisor was very understanding of this process and how challenging I was finding it. I had been working to trace my Aboriginality with the intention of finding which area we had come from, hoping this would enable me to identify and acknowledge that heritage. However I discovered that my family was mistaken and my paternal ancestors were all settlers in Australia, and not Aboriginal. When I called my mother to discuss this, she said her brother believed he had just found the link to my maternal Aboriginal ancestor, who was an Ah Sam. This changing status of my Aboriginality directly impacts the way I see myself as a researcher and as a doctoral candidate undertaking a PhD in Indigenous Perspectives. I still hope to trace, identify and acknowledge this heritage.

These four moments contribute significantly to my identity, as an individual and a researcher. I also recognise and acknowledge the impact this series of events have had on my research topic and structure.

As a social scientist

"The social sciences do not stand outside of history" (Coburn, Moreton-Robinson, Sefa Dei and Stewart-Harawira 2013: 335). In fact the social sciences, like education (Herbert 2012: 92) and social work (Rowe, Baldry and Earles 2015), have been and continue to be implicit in the colonial process. As a student of the western education system, I have spent over twenty-years learning the various colonial stories, concepts and perspectives, and, for too long, I learned them as if they were the undeniable truth. Recognising the impact this education has on my knowledge and perspectives is critical to effectively reflecting on where I am writing from.

> Education systems and social sciences research have long constituted sites of erasure for many subaltern classes and groups. For Indigenous people specifically, education historically has been pursued with the explicit aim of achieving the disappearance of Indigenous peoples through assimilation, simultaneously understood as necessary and for our own good, while research has often been carried out in order to justify genocidal policies by demonstrating the inferiority of Indigenous peoples... (Coburn, Moreton-Robinson, Sefa Dei and Stewart-Harawira 2013: 335).

There is a need therefore to reflect on my position as a social scientist, my position within the education system and my position as a researcher. Similarly, decolonising one's own mind is part of the process of reflexivity as a researcher. Following on from this is the work to decolonise one's research methodology (Smith 2012). As a part of this process, I will deconstruct my research, outlining the concepts it is built on and discussing how decolonisation contributes to the research. I acknowledge that this is a practice and standard in the social sciences that originally stems from the western academic demand for rigour and its definitions of quality research.

From a social science perspective, it is essential for quality research to have a rational link from ontological perspective, through epistemology, methodology and to the specific methods and research questions chosen (Mason 2002). More specifically it is important for the researcher to *acknowledge* these theoretical underpinnings early in the planning process and account for them throughout the research. As such, my research will reflect a subjective and interconnected ontology. This is important because it recognises that knowledge is relational, subjective and does not exist independently of the natural world.

From an interpretivist epistemology, research generally starts with "individuals and [sets] out to understand their interpretations of the world around them" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007: 22). My research will value the perspectives of individuals and their own interpretations of their experiences, explicitly privileging Indigenous standpoints. This was argued for by Nakata (2007: 213-7), "to help unravel and untangle [Indigenous peoples] from the conditions that delimit who, what or how we can or can't be... and to help understand our varied responses to the colonial world."

When discussing Indigenous Knowledges, it is crucial that researchers do not extract the data they want from Indigenous sources and then publish "their" research with little benefit to the people who "contributed" to it (Kovach 2005: 32).

> From an Indigenous epistemology, I draw several key assertions that can guide research: (a) experience as a legitimate way of knowing; (b) Indigenous methods, such as storytelling, as a legitimate way of sharing knowledge; (c) receptivity and relationship between research and participants as a natural part of the research "methodology"; and (d) collectivity as a way of knowing that assumes reciprocity to the community... An Indigenous epistemology within Indigenous research projects is important because Indigenous peoples will likely understand and share their experience from this perspective (Kovach 2005: 29).

From the outset, this type of knowing must be explicitly understood, valued and privileged, to ensure it is not overlooked in favour of a general interpretivist epistemology, which fits more neatly within western traditions of the academy, and to acknowledge the role that I, as the researcher, have in fulfilling this responsibility.

With this broad base in mind, the methods chosen fit within a formative methodology, which recognises the changeability of the learning context. The research also uses a qualitative research framework, which focuses on the "socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape enquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 8). These are extensions from an interconnected subjective ontology and an interpretivist epistemology.

As the research will be examining the teaching and learning about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia, it is essential to acknowledge some major Indigenous research questions and the related issues, which continue to be debated quite vigorously:

> Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interest does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated? (Smith 2012: 10)

Using this series of questions as a guide for reflection around research design and practice enables me to critically examine my role in the process of research and knowledge production.

In research that relates to cross-cultural issues, much has been written on insiders and outsiders, in relation to researcher positioning (e.g. Trimmer, Black, and Riddle 2015). As a result of my changing sense of identity, I see my position as more dynamic and fluid than the options these categorisations allow. I recognise my experience of the "periphery", as Herbert (2012) describes the Indigenous experience of marginalisation from the "centre", is limited. I also recognise that I am a product of an education system that continues to contribute to the colonisation of minds (Toombs 2012). Importantly however I do not see myself as an outsider, an insider or even a border-crosser[1]. Perhaps idealistically, I prefer to think that I am helping to break down the walls of division and to contribute to a more diverse, mutually supportive space. Recognising that positioning is not always static, I see myself as a dynamic-inbetweener: intentionally moving, working and researching in the space between the "margins" and the "mainstream".

How these reflections are integrated into the research

"There is no single reason why people do social research...but, at its core it is done because there is an aspect of our understanding of what goes on in society that is to some extent unresolved" (Bryman 2012: 5). For me, the identification of this unresolved issue is the result of cumulative epiphanic experiences: specifically, the epiphanic insight into a significant knowledge gap that is overlooked by the Australian education system. Thus I am doing this research because I believe the Australian education system must actively counter the colonial "cult of forgetfulness", as Stanner (1969) referred to it; a forgetfulness whose historical legacy remains active in the system today. I am specifically working to enhance learning about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia relating to history, languages and Indigenous Knowledges, in the primary education system.

Having viewed educational silence on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues as being a systemic flaw, I started my research with a comprehensive analysis of relevant contemporary education policies. This process highlighted important milestones that have been achieved in recent years, including the establishment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures as a cross-curriculum priority in the Australian Curriculum (ACARA 2016) and the introduction of the Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (ACARA 2015a). It also identified a broad spectrum of supportive and relevant policies that are extremely challenging to incorporate into

[1] See Michie (2014) for a more in-depth discussion of these categories and how they are used in relation to cross-cultural environments.

classroom practice (Williamson-Kefu, forthcoming). An example of this is the expectation that individual teachers can independently develop the content and lesson plans for the Australian Curriculum unit "Organising Ideas" (ACARA 2015b), and integrate these into their teaching, as well as seek endorsement from Community Elders. Even with the more descriptive suggestions now provided in the Curriculum (ACARA 2016), this remains a significant barrier to enhanced learning and teaching about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia. Teachers usually have limited cross-cultural awareness or cultural competence training and have limited knowledge of who is the appropriate person to ask for endorsement, or even why they should seek endorsement.

The research focuses on the primary education system (F-6) to address this issue. This is done explicitly because achieving success from the start of formal education could potentially create a flow-on effect throughout the life of the child, and through the rest of the education system. As part of my research, I will conduct an open online survey of primary education experiences in Australia relating to learning about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia. This will include questions designed to elicit teachers' insights and responses.

As mentioned above, this research is designed to privilege Indigenous perspectives. This will be achieved through a consultation process with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics, to seek their opinions and recommendations of high quality resources to support the teaching and learning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content and perspectives, at a primary school level. Resources recommended through this process will be collated into a co-authored annotated bibliography. The end product will be a document that can assist teachers to efficiently select high quality resources to support their lesson plans. The co-authorship will be used to acknowledge the contributors.

Continuing with the privileging of Indigenous perspectives, three in-depth interviews with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics will each centre on one of the three key areas: Indigenous Knowledges, Indigenous Languages and history.

Throughout the data analysis and writing-up stage of this research, I will engage in an assisted critical analysis under the guidance of an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander academic. This process will be targeted at countering the ingrained colonial perspectives that are a result of my education and positioning. The assisted critical analysis will also work to ensure the results of this research are as practical and accessible as possible, while advantaging Indigenous perspectives appropriately and maintaining Indigenous ethical standards.

While I can and will work to decolonise my mind, by reflecting on my position in this research and all that entails, neutrality is not attainable or even desirable. Ultimately I am writing from somewhere, and understanding, reflecting on and acknowledging that somewhere is critical to the integrity of the research.

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Walking, frontier and nation: re/tracing the songlines in Central Australian literature

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Abstract

Central Australia is widely characterised as a frontier, a familiar trope in literary constructions of Australian identity that divides black from white, ancient from modern. However, anthropological and literary evidence from the Northern Territory and Alice Springs suggests more nuanced 'lifeworlds' than a frontier binary can afford may better represent a contemporary lived experience of the region (Merlan 1998; Hinkson 2002; Ottosson 2010; Riphagen 2008; Finnane 2014b; Morrison 2017a). Using walking as a point of intersection between Aboriginal and settler Australian practices of placemaking, the paper summarises (and to an extent updates) doctoral research by the author (2011-15), which read six retold walking journeys of the region for representations of frontier and home (Morrison 2015, 2017a, 2017b). The methodology used for the comparative and cross-cultural analysis of the texts is described, and results briefly appraised for changes in the popular representation of Central Australia from the precolonial era to the early twenty-first century. The research speaks broadly to the reading of postcolonial literary geographies, and suggests that intercultural exchange and a surge in contemporary recognition of Aboriginal songlines through storytelling (alongside the more familiar colonial narratives of nation) may already be reshaping an Australian identity.

Introduction

Popular as a tourist destination within Australia and abroad, Central Australia is known by many names, including the Red Centre, Dead Heart, the Outback, a Timeless Land, and a little way north, the Never Never. Nonetheless, the region also finds itself at the epicentre of Australia's efforts toward reconciliation between settler and Aboriginal cultures, an endeavour which has proven largely unsatisfying in settler colonial societies around the world (Clark et al 2017). While there has been a degree of progress in the reconciliation space regionally (see Finnane 2014a, Rubuntja and Green 2002), prompting some to see Alice Springs as a 'reconciliation contact zone' in the sense described by Brannan (2012: 183), the Centre's popular portrayal in media remains as a place of widespread social dysfunction. In 2002 Australia crowned Alice Springs its 'Outback Capital' (Morrison 2002), yet soon after *The Australian* newspaper dubbed it the world's 'stabbing capital' (Robinson 2008), based on an 'epidemic' of stab injuries recorded at the Alice Springs Hospital (Jacobs et al 2007) . Recent media portrayals of the region continue to focus on violence, alcohol abuse and racist attitudes, depicting a place where, as *Age* journalist Russel Skelton writes, 'remote and mainstream Australia...collide, with savage and unpredictable consequences' (Skelton 2011).

Such portrayals characterise Central Australia as a frontier, the nation's troubled divide between black and white, primitive and civilised, a line often thought of as the 'schism the nation is built on' (Hogan 2013). Considered both a place and an idea, the frontier is one of the 'most pervasive, evocative tropes underlying the production of national identity in Australia' (Davis 2005: 7). First theorised as a moving boundary between culture and nature by US historian Frederick Jackson Turner, the north American frontier was characterised as 'the meeting point between savagery and civilisation' (Turner 1893:2). Similarly, an Australian frontier is often thought of as an impermeable divide between two cultures and ways of being. Nevertheless, the frontier has also been highlighted as an opportunity to undertake 'a reflexive critique of contemporary society' (Rose 2005:49). For human communities—even those at the frontier—can exist as imagined communities in the way Benedict Anderson describes for nations (Anderson 1991:5-6). And it is this imagined dimension of the Centre that plays such a crucial and increasingly significant role in its representation (Bishop 2011:27).

This paper questions whether a frontier metaphor still adequately describes Central Australia when recent evidence suggests significant intercultural exchange there, especially in the arts (Merlan 1998, 2005; Hinkson 2002; Riphagen 2008; Ottosson, 2010, 2014; Finnane and Finnane 2011; Finnane 2014a, 2014b; Morrison 2017a). Firstly, background is given on Indigenous and non-Indigenous literary histories of the Centre, along with pertinent theories of walking, place and identity in storytelling. The method is then described for reading for representations of frontier and home in six recounted journeys on foot across the region, with the aim of revealing instances and degrees of intercultural exchange across a broad sweep of the Centre's history. In light of the hybridity revealed, and by acknowledging the rapid emergence of Aboriginal voices in Australian literature since the 1980s (Grossman 2003), the paper argues that the Aboriginal songlines—long trivialised by settler Australians' use of the pejorative *Walkabout*—might now find a role in constructions of Australian identity.

A literary history of the Centre

Walking underpins the earliest Aboriginal stories of central and broader Australia, and has been significant in settler stories of the landscape since colonisation. Aboriginal art and songs arose out of the descriptions of journeys, both real and imagined, among them creation myths telling how the lands were shaped by the movement of spirit beings such as the Rainbow Serpent (White 2007: 1-2). Following oral Aboriginal representations of place came the first European depictions, in particular the journals and maps of the explorers, often treated as forms of travel writing (ibid: 2, Carter 2010). Such journeys shaped many of Australia's most significant colonial narratives of nation (Rowley 1996: 134).

Walking has played a significant role in the production of literature globally since Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and earlier (Krauth 2010: 6). Chaucer's work is an example of a pilgrimage narrative, a form recorded widely across Europe from about the twelfth century and arising out of the cultural practice of undertaking pilgrimages to holy places at certain times of the year. In precolonial Central Australia Aboriginal people followed a similar practice, travelling along pathways of particular ancestors, where they 'undertook ceremonies that reaffirmed and committed them to the faith of that Dreaming story' (Donovan and Wall 2004: 4), a practice that has been compared with an act of pilgrimage (McBryde 2000, Morrison 2017a). Indeed, Aboriginal people would undertake journeys along the Dreaming Tracks for a variety of reasons, including ceremony, survival and kin (Peterson 2004). Importantly, the routes were highways of trade, some stretching thousands of kilometres, along which goods were exchanged and distributed (Kerwin 2012).

Precolonial Aboriginal storytelling is an oral tradition that compares with 'other great world literatures, such as the Bible, the Torah, the Ramayana, and the Greek tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles' (Nicholls 2014). However, stand-alone publication of Aboriginal stories is relatively recent, in fact, during the assimilation era (1930s to 1960s) when Aboriginal people were in theory being assimilated into Australian society, 'not a single Aboriginal writer's work' was published (Shoemaker 1989: 85). Only recently has there emerged evidence of a significant volume of Aboriginal writings from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the form of petitions, poems, plays and letters, starting with Bennelong's famous dictated letter of 1796 (Van Toorn 2006:3). Since the 1980s, Australian and international publication of Indigenous Australian literature has grown substantially, including popular books such as Sally Morgan's *Our Place*, and Doris Pilkington Garimara's *Follow the Rabbit Proof Fence* (Grossman 2003; Haag 2015); a first volume of critical literature in *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians* (Grossman 2003); and recently a digital humanities resources project supporting Aboriginal literature in all forms—creative and critical—called *BlackWords* (Regan and Troy 2014). Previously, Aboriginal voices had appeared most prominently through ethnography or as autobiography (Cooper et al 2000), much of it historical (Healy 1989: 82-3), the emphasis being on the desire of Aboriginal memoirists and historians to 'rewrite, and put right' Australian history (Haag 2008: 69). Now there is a growing body of poetry and fiction, as well as Aboriginal critical writings (Grossman 2003, Renes 2016). Recent growth in the publication of Dreaming stories is being fuelled by the rapid disappearance of Australian Aboriginal languages, estimated to be taking place at the rate of two languages per year (Regan and Troy 2014: 120), as well as the desire among some Aboriginal people to 'get the traditional stories down before their old people die' (Morrison 2014: 33).

In the past 30 years, Aboriginal Dreaming Tracks have become popularly known as the 'songlines', a term coined by British travel writer Bruce Chatwin in his 1987 'novel' set in Central Australia called *The Songlines* (Chatwin 1988). The songlines emerge as a kind of musical or poetic map, which, if recalled correctly enabled a singer/storyteller to traverse the country safely without losing their way. While Chatwin took a degree of poetic license in writing his hybridised 'novel', anthropologists confirm his appraisal of the songlines was not 'wrong' to any troubling extent (Morphy 1988: 20), although the book and its representation of the Dreaming remains controversial (Cooke 2017, Jones 2017). Europeans were aware of the songlines before they were so called, but incorrectly believed the often-ceremonial journeys along them to be aimless wanderings, and dismissed them using the pejorative 'Walkabout' (Donovan and Wall 2004: 4). While Aboriginal people still undertake journeys along the songlines today, they are more often driven than traversed on foot (Peterson 2000, 2004). Most interestingly perhaps, is the recent surge in interest from publishers, media and the Australian public in the songlines, evidenced in literature (Nicholson 2007, James and Tregenza 2014, Kelly 2016, Morrison 2017b, Neale 2017), and other mediums (*Songlines on Screen* 2015, *First Footprints* 2015, *Songlines: the Indigenous Memory Code 2016, Songlines: Tracking the Seven Sisters* 2017).

A settler literature of Central Australia is part of a broader Australian literature of the North[1], which concerns itself with representations of space, cultural interchange, nation and sense of place. A literature of the North helped forge an Australian spatial consciousness, accommodated the survival of Aboriginal culture, and was important to a post-national culture (Mead 2009: 559, 561). Nevertheless, a literature of the Centre has its own character, separate from that of the North, wherein there is 'tacit acknowledgement that the Centre is Australia's spiritual home' (Dewar 2008: 210). The MacDonnell Ranges remains 'highly significant as literary metaphor, and through this construction, [occupies] a position that is particular and not duplicated elsewhere' (ibid: 213). It is surprising, then, that critical reviews of a uniquely Central Australian literature are so few, with studies identified by Tom Griffiths (1996), Rosslyn Haynes (1998), Tom Lynch (2007) and Mickey Dewar (2008), to which are added the more recent efforts of this author (Morrison 2015, 2017a). Representations of Aboriginal people are evident in a settler literature of the Centre from the earliest encounters by explorers, where settler writers mostly imagined Aboriginal people as savages (Hersey 2001: 113, see also Langton 2003).

Still best known to outsiders as 'the frontier', perceptions of Alice Springs and Central Australia vary historically from being part of the Australian inland's 'hideous blank' (see Morrison 2016) to a *terra nullius* upon which 'great development might take place' (Brady 1918: 588), to a redemptive wilderness or place of spiritual enlightenment (Haynes 1998: 3). Such images of opportunity sit alongside those of psychological condemnation, such as Marcus Clarke's (1887: vi) 'weird melancholy' or JW Gregory's 'Dead Heart' (1906: 156).

[1] The North is defined by the Brisbane Line so called because soon after the bombing of Darwin by Japanese forces in 1942, those living north of Brisbane became convinced a latitudinal line had been drawn through the city and across the nation, leaving them in an area not to be defended (Shultz 2005: 8).

While the journey is significant in a literature of the Centre, a role for walking had not been investigated prior to this research. The main trope of a journey to the inland was configured around the ill-fated expedition of Burke and Wills in 1860-1 (Griffiths 1996). Though not examining a role for walking per se, Griffiths concluded a journey to the centre represented many things, including to 'become liminal, to escape or return to source' and was, commonly, the first time a visitor would meet an Aboriginal person (ibid: 179). Texts since the Land Rights era (1970-80s) adopted an increasingly political flavour, and ultimately there emerged a polyvocal literature, or one comprising several voices or narrators (Lynch 2007). Despite recent trends, the frontier metaphor remains hegemonic throughout the Centre's literary history (Dewar 2008), and a narrow 'single-story' portrayal of Central Australia as a place of trouble and turmoil persists in media. There are, however, many 'good' (or more nuanced) stories of Alice Springs that seriously question its representation as a town divided.

Why walking narratives?

Walking is our oldest means of coming to know the world and is characterised by a close relationship with ideas of place (Solnit 2000, Amato 2004, Morrison 2017). It is also something shared by Aboriginal and settler Australians, in that walking defines us as human. Furthermore, travelling on foot is a way of tracing in the mind and the body the spaces and places around us, the objects we find, and the various others we encounter. Unsurprisingly, narratives of the walking journey have a prominent place in oral cultures, where stories of human movement are used to store, organise, and communicate knowledge. Similarly, in written cultures, narratives of walking may be considered a form of mapping, remembering that to learn 'means—at root—to follow a track' (Macfarlane 2013: 31). But spaces comprise imagined as well as perceived dimensions. Through our bodies, we register the environment through the five senses. We also dream as we walk, turning over the many imaginings of place and space gathered through story, myth or discourse. Walking, then, is a means by which humans may register the world as it becomes known through the senses, and at the same time traverse the imagined worlds conjured in the mind. Any recounting of a walk logically becomes a narrative of places walked and imagined, any reverie or hardship thereby shaping the writing or storytelling produced. A walking narrative may be defined, then, as the literary retelling of a journey on foot. It is a 'region you walk back into', evoking the possibility of a mental retracing of steps taken (Macfarlane 2013: 28).

It is significant that the recounted walk is considered a form of mapping in both settler (Vaughan 2009) and Aboriginal traditions (Ingold 2002). In a traditional Aboriginal worldview, places exist in space as 'nodes in a matrix of movement' (Ingold, 2002: 219). The matrix with which any group is familiar is a region (or 'country'), with knowledge of the region allowing travellers to know their current position by the historical context of previous journeys made. The type of navigation used by Aboriginal people to traverse the inland has been called 'wayfinding' to distinguish it from methods of navigation that establish position by reference to an independent or global set of coordinates (ibid). However, for different modalities of literary walking—which might include the pilgrim, explorer, philosopher and flâneur to name a few—the result of a walk is always similar: Space becomes known to protagonist and reader, and a relationship to place is forged. In Central Australia, walking has long guided Aboriginal groups to both bounded and relational senses of place. Examining the stories of where we have walked can, therefore, help gain insight into where different ontologies of place may intersect, allowing for the discovery of similarities as well as *differences* between cultures.

Furthermore, a recounted walk produces representations of place and identity, the relationship varying according to the experiences, knowledge and intent of the walking writer or storyteller. Any discussion of place may rightfully begin with the humanist idea of a 'sense of place', arising from a phenomenological relationship with one's surroundings (Hubbard 2005). But sense of place fails to account for the many political and cultural factors affecting a human relationship with the surrounding environment, factors that may vary significantly over space and time. Marxist geographers such as Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja postulated that humans 'produce' space by such means, through their perceptions and in the imagination (ibid). Such means may include spatial practices such as walking, the representations of space by the likes of architects and planners, and in any creative rendering of representational spaces in arts and writing (Lefebvre 1991, Soja 1989).

In addition to producing space, a walk is also a way of deconstructing spaces and their pasts. Walking and space are explored recently in the field of postcolonial geography where theoretical work since 2000 has posited walking as a critical tool (Sideaway 2000, Bassett 2004, Wylie 2005, Spencer 2010, Murphy 2011). Walking can help 'peel back layers of history and cultural difference that obscure apprehension and understanding of landscape'

(Murphy 2011: 239), permitting a deeper reading of any multi-cultured palimpsest (for a definitive treatment of the palimpsest, see Dillon 2005). In the process, walking emerges with the potential to define a new geography, where creating the one does not completely overwrite another.

Walking the Red Centre

Walking underscored most aspects of precolonial Australian life and culture after Aboriginal people began populating the continent from the north about 65,000 years ago (Clarkson et al, 2017), reaching the arid inland by an estimated 49,000 years ago (Hamm et al. 2016). Various actions by the precolonial hunter-gatherers transformed the landscape into what geographer Carl Sauer (1925: 19-53) calls a cultural landscape, a terrain shaped by social as well as physical forces. Such characteristics stem from diverse land use patterns of hunting and gathering (Gammage 2011), firestick farming (Latz 1996), and horticulture (Gerritsen 2008). Despite the lengthy period of Aboriginal inhabitation, many settler Australians continue to imagine the Centre as an empty wilderness. However, as geographer Lesley Head (1993: 490) notes: 'Far from being wilderness across which hunter gatherers wandered aimlessly leaving little more than footprints, this is home: country named, known, curated and ordered'. Anthropologists describe two key elements of a sense of place for Aboriginal people. One is Country, the bounded landscape of a particular language group. The other is a relational sense of place comprising links to particular other places and language groups along the songlines (for a fuller treatment of this argument, see Morrison 2017a: 59-90).

Walking the landscapes of the Red Centre evokes a sense of national identity through storytelling, linking recounted walks of the present with epic walks of the past. But stories of nation forged on the frontier ignore documented instances of violent conflict between settler and Aboriginal Australians. For example, construction of the Overland Telegraph Line (1870-72) sparked a frontier period across the Centre in which as many as 1000 Aboriginal people were shot and numerous whites speared (Kimber 1993: 16). Moreover, the role Aboriginal people and Aboriginal knowledge systems played in guiding explorers directly and indirectly across the inland are also largely ignored. A noteworthy exception is Kerwin (2012), who has documented for Queensland how colonialists tapped into various forms of Indigenous knowledges, including culinary, medicinal, water and path-finding.

The first convicts and settlers to Australia from Britain brought with them a well-developed walking culture, albeit one adapted to the green hills of their home. In Australia, however, and particularly inland, they encountered a much harsher landscape (Harper 2007: 2). Even so, many explorers who traversed the vast dry distances of the Centre originally mounted on horseback, frequently ended up on foot (Morrison 2017, also Harper 2007). Swagmen walked the deserts seeking gold (Blackwell and Lockwood 1976: 68), most carrying their belongings on their backs, others pulling handcarts or pushing barrows (Carter 1971: 14). Meanwhile, Aboriginal people who had followed the Dreaming tracks for millennia on foot, were sometimes forced to walk in chains on their way to colonial prisons for offences often related to cattle stealing (Plowman 1933: 69, Blackwell and Lockwood 1976: 26). Until the rail was extended to Alice Springs in 1928, imported camels ferried passengers and supplies from the railhead at Oodnadatta north to Stuart, including at times those seeking gold to the east near Arltunga (Gregory 1906: 40). Also on foot, the Afghan cameleers would lead teams of as many as 70 beasts at a time, each one secured with heavy loads of supplies and equipment (South Australia Museum 2011). Despite walking's seemingly prominent role in constructions of Central Australian history, its role in constructions of Australian identity remain largely unexplored (Morrison 2017a).

The writer or storyteller on foot in Central Australia encounters many social and political textures and layers while traversing the region's physically rugged landscapes. Added complexity arises out of changes to the social and political texture of the landscape wrought by changes to Australian Indigenous policy every 20 or 30 years, which periodically shift the political texture of space (Sanders 2013). Indeed, space in Alice Springs was contested from early in its colonial history and marked by the periodic exclusion of Aboriginal people (Short 2012: 133). As Coughlan (1991: vii) has noted, Aboriginal fringe camps were a feature of the town before it was gazetted, and persist today, continuing to delimit zones of exclusion and of significant disadvantage. Conversely, the Northern Territory Land Rights Act of 1976 and subsequent Native Title legislation during the 1990s significantly altered property relationships in the town, whereby beyond the camps there has emerged an Aboriginal middle class (see Finnane & Finnane 2011: 262).

In the twenty-first century, space in Alice Springs is characterised by an 'identity politics' or 'politics of belonging' (Ottoson 2014: 131), in a landscape that is 'not a neutral terrain politically or ontologically' (Myers 2012:3).

Indeed, perceptions of space set down in the Dreaming still govern the lives of many of the region's Aboriginal people. Spaces of exclusion persist nonetheless, as Lea et al (2013) have noted, and from 2007 the Australian Commonwealth enacted the Northern Territory Emergency Response—ostensibly to combat child sexual abuse on remote Aboriginal communities—which again restricted the activities of Aboriginal people through welfare quarantining, drinking and pornography bans (Altman and Russel 2012).

In summary, two extremes of space and being are invoked in the Centre, and may serve to define the ends of a spectrum of possible epistemologies and ontologies between. At one end of the spectrum is a persisting (from the pre-colonial era) 'situated' ontology, adherence to Aboriginal traditional law and a storied understanding of space. At the other end is an Australian political geography of space governed by several tiers of legislation at local, Territory and federal levels. To the extent that it is possible for anyone to live completely outside of a Western legislative frame, most people exist somewhere between these two extremes. The point is, that in the postcolonial geographies of Australia an understanding of one space cannot be realised without understanding these extremes, as well as the many subtle shades of existence between.

Methodology

The research was necessarily interdisciplinary and used walking, storytelling, place and identity as related elements in a common methodological hub. This multi-faceted base drew on theories and methods from a number of fields, including literary and cultural criticism, geography, anthropology, philosophy, history and journalism. Though comprising only textual research, every effort has been made to ensure the work adhered to guidelines on ethical research in Indigenous Studies (see AIATSIS 2012). To avoid issues of culturally sensitive material, only ethically published Aboriginal stories were selected, and a close examination made of the consequences of converting oral storytelling to text by the researcher (Morrison 2014). Choosing already published stories had the added advantage of accessing the building blocks of a national identity through a popular discourse.

A six-stage history

To trace changes in the representation of Central Australia over time, six distinctive eras were identified to provide a 'discontinuous' literary history in which six chosen moments helped to pinpoint changes in the cultural representation of the region. The six-stage model extends an earlier four-phase model of a Territory literary history (Dewar 1997). The six phases comprise a precolonial era up until the first European crossing of the Centre in 1860; an exploration era from 1860 until control of the Northern Territory was handed to the Commonwealth in 1911; an interwar period finishing roughly at the end of the Second World War; the so-called Menzies era of the 1950s and 1960s; the Land Rights period of the 1970s and 1980s; and finally a post-Land Rights phase called the Intervention era, when a ramping-up of efforts toward reconciliation were later hampered by the federal government's imposition of the 2007 NT Emergency Response. Six walking narratives were chosen, one for each era, from extensive reading based on personal interest, popularity, and select representations of the Centre[2].

Frontier and home

From a review of literature both creative and critical, there arose twin themes of home and frontier, the latter hegemonic (Morrison 2015). A hypothesis for the research was formulated that 'persistently imagining the Centre as a frontier is preventing Australians from reimagining it as home' (ibid: 11). Each text of a recounted walk was analysed for representations of place and identity, and, in turn, representations of frontier and home. Last of all, the texts were appraised as a palimpsest for how literary representations have waxed and waned over time. A metaphor used widely since its inauguration by Thomas de Quincey in 1845 (see Dillon 2005), a palimpsest might be imagined as a sort of historical layer cake, a 'socio-cultural geology' in which there is considerable overlap and cultural 'bleed' between the layers Within each layer the analysis posits twin poles of belonging. At one end of the spectrum is an idealised 'home', a place predominantly thought of as safe and secure—though many more nuanced understandings of the word are acknowledged (see Moore 2000, Brickell 2012)— and at the other end is the frontier, a place of trouble and turmoil that divides culture from nature (Turner 1893, Dewar 1996, Carter 2010).

Reading for walking

Each text of a recounted walk was read for the objects, imaginings and encounters that build a narrative

[2] Representations were identified from the literature review and/or the author's 20 years of lived experience.

environment, and so construct the place of the walking narrative. The method adapts the work of Michel de Certeau (1984), who argues a city is an arrangement in space of objects which convey meaning. To walk the city is to acquire by perception some but not all of the objects in a certain order, as dictated by the configuration of the walk. The walk and its collection of objects becomes a narrative of meaning described by the arc of the objects so collected. Logically, then, each path through the city produces a different story, and thus the city becomes a text which can be read in an infinite variety of ways. Restated, de Certeau's thesis becomes that 'words inscribe a text in the same way that a walk inscribes space' (Nicholson 2008: 27), a proviso being that spaces are read differently by different individuals and cultures. And although the thesis pertains to the city, the idea works equally well in the country.

Different modalities of walking were also utilised, with theorists appropriate to each type of walking used for the analysis. For example, the ritual walking (and indeed nowadays, the driving) of the songlines by Aboriginal people is an act of pilgrimage (McBryde 2000, Peterson 2000, 2004), invoking a literature of the pilgrim (Belloc 1904, Bianchi 2004, Turner and Turner 2011). TGH Strehlow's (1969) recounting of a boyhood journey of his home on the Finke River suggests a literature of inhabitation (Thoreau 1862; Blakemore 2000). Meanwhile Eleanor Hogan's (2012) walks of the urban townscape of Alice Springs were compared with the flâneur (Baudelaire 1970, Benjamin 1973). Sections of each narrative were unpacked for ideas of home or frontier, allowing that elements of any story may exhibit both.

Borders and their permeability

In postcolonial theory the frontier is a familiar matter, powerful through its use of storytelling, which can convey unintended meanings (Furniss 2005). As a Eurocentric strategy the frontier metaphor helps reinforce a binary logic at the heart of the Enlightenment project, asserting a claimed superiority of the coloniser over the colonised. But boundaries also occurred in precolonial Australia between different Indigenous language groups, where borders delineating country divide one Aboriginal lifeworld from another (Davis and Prescott 1992; Sutton 1995). For the research, two types of boundary were distinguished: one ontologically porous (permeable) and the other ontologically non-porous (impermeable). Intertribal borders between Aboriginal territories were considered ontologically porous, in that a 'way of being' remains homogenous (or flows) across the divide. Trade and ceremony were conducted across such boundaries and along defined lines of pilgrimage (songlines), with comparable (if not necessarily equal) political power from one side to the other. Conversely, the act of colonisation introduced a non-porous boundary, or colonial frontier, separating two cultures and ways of being.

Results

Each of the six texts is summarised according to the era for which representations of walking, place and identity were documented, followed by brief discussion of the results.

Reading the texts

1. The pre-colonial era: before 1860

Retold by Kaytetye elder Tommy Kngwarre Thompson, 'A Man from the Dreamtime' recounts the journey of Aboriginal ancestors Marlpwenge and Nalenale, an old Kaytetye man and a young girl who are ancestors from the Dreamtime (Turpin 2003: 20-37). Their journey to help kill a devil beast takes them along a Dreaming track from Kayteye Country near Barrow Creek north of Alice Springs, to Arabana Country north of present day Port Augusta. The story is allegorical, teaching young Kayteye a 'geography of survival', the location of water and food sources. It also teaches aspects of Kayetye Law and history, including the proper way to find a marriage partner. The story is a pilgrimage across a storied geography of home in which Marlpwenge is hailed as a hero for killing the beast and learns the importance of the 'skin' system, part of an Aboriginal kinship system delineating how people may relate to each other, their roles, responsibilities and obligations, and who they can marry. As they travel, the Ancestors 'create' a landscape intimately known, where certain sites are of greater value than others, and from which emerge two components of a sense of place. First is place as bounded space (or Country), and second a relational sense of place performed through walking and linked to other language groups along the songlines. For Aboriginal people who had walked the totemic geographies of Country and the songlines, ***the Centre was home***. Not unexpectedly however, a postcolonial influence is evident in the twentieth century retelling of the story, in colonial place names and events post-settlement.

2. The exploration era: 1860-1911

In the journal of his fourth exploration north from Adelaide in 1860 (Hardman 1865), Scottish explorer John McDouall Stuart brings a colonial gaze to the Aboriginal home of the Centre for the first time. He is driven back by Aboriginal

people after stumbling onto a ceremony north of Kayetye Country, a place he calls Attack Creek. Even so, by virtue of Stuart's 'successful' struggle against Nature and 'wilderness', he is celebrated as a hero of a national story, while the journal erects a divide between Aboriginal people and Europeans, the colonial frontier. To Europeans, Marlpwenge's geography of home, criss-crossed by the songlines and intimately known, remained unknown, Either way, it is effectively erased by Stuart's journey and the explorer mythology that arises thereafter. In its place comes a fresh geography built on Enlightenment ideals, where rather than home Europeans reimagine the Central deserts as potential pasture or brute wilderness where Nature must bow to progress. For Stuart, home is *far away in Britain*. But there are contradictions and ambivalence in Stuart's frontier, flaws not previously discussed in the literature. For example, Stuart relies heavily on evidence of Aboriginal habitation to guide him northward. When set upon by warriors at Attack Creek he treats them with respect, rendering the frontier momentarily translucent. While Stuart's text unquestionably invokes the frontier, both instances (and others) give lie to any interpretation of the text as invoking terra nullius, or of portraying Aboriginal people solely as primitives.

3. The inter-war era: WWI to WWII

TGH Strehlow recalls his childhood journey from the Lutheran mission at Hermannsburg to his father's death at Horseshoe Bend in 1922, retold in Journey to Horseshoe Bend (1969). For young Theo (Strehlow's 14-year-old self-protaganist), growing up at Hermannsburg has blended Arrernte with settler ways and the rule of Lutheran parents. Entwined with the journey (much of which he walks), Strehlow recounts Aboriginal Dreaming stories alongside stories of an emerging Outback, interwoven with his own coming of age. In ways reminiscent of the nineteenth-century writings of home by Henry David Thoreau (Blakemore 2000), Strehlow—who for political reasons casts himself as a self-styled Arrernte insider—renders Stuart's frontier translucent, blurring the lines dividing European from Arrernte. Intersecting in the mind, memory and body of the walking boy Theo, is a 'percolating' of histories, pointing tentatively to a hybridised Centre and ***a place to call home.***

4. The Menzies era: 1950s and '60s

A man some call the 'father of Australian conservation', journalist Arthur Groom arrived in Alice Springs in 1946 concerned to discover how one might 'ease the passing of Australia's primitive man' and what might befall the 'wilderness areas they roamed in' (Groom 1959: 11). First published in 1950, Groom's I Saw a Strange Land (1959) recounts 23 separate journeys on foot across Central Australia during 1946 and 1947, mostly on his own and informed by a belief that Aboriginal people would soon perish under white domination, a so-called 'Doomed Race Theory' (see McGregor 1997: ix). Groom's Centre is undisturbed nature, a tourist playground where a coastal middle-class might escape the city to a more 'authentic' Australia. The Outback's pristine Nature is a redemptive wilderness after a Thoreauvian 'wildness' (Thoreau 1862), different to Stuart's wilderness where Nature was foe. The songlines are concealed underneath Groom's fresh-laid representation of the Centre as Nature park, which relegates Aboriginal people to being primitive museum exhibits inseparable from Nature. For Groom, the frontier of the Red Centre is defined by its very 'strangeness' compared with southern settlements, and characterised by a Nature/Culture divide. Here Nature is revered (not feared) and provides an attractive (and perhaps lucrative) *escape from home*. Even so, and despite the implied frontier between Nature and Culture, Groom's portrayal is at times more nuanced, periodically providing a sophisticated portrait of Aboriginal culture in transition.

5. The Land Rights era: 1970s and '80s

Convinced nomadism is the cure for an ailing West, the former art critic and some-time British journalist Bruce Chatwin arrived at Alice Springs in 1983. In The Songlines (1988), Chatwin becomes a loosely 'fictionalised' self-protagonist (Bruce), who meets Arkady (real-life anthropologist Toly Sawenko), a 'Russian who was mapping the sacred sites of the Aboriginals [sic]' (Chatwin 1988: 1). Arkady becomes Bruce's insider and together they set out to discover the 'real' Aborigines and the meaning of the songlines. A compelling if deeply controversial and genre-bending 'novel', The Songlines challenges Groom's Centre as wilderness and captures Australia's shifting attitudes toward Aboriginal people during the Land Rights era. Much of this 'novel' must be considered non-fiction, where the songlines re-emerge as a significant part of any story of Central Australia. But their reappearance is accompanied by a controversy concerning a bitter identity politics in which place is increasingly contested and politicised, a cultural battleground. Nonetheless, Chatwin offers a co-mingling of place-based identities, a crossing and recrossing of the frontier by groups of the Centre both black and white, to reveal a very human yearning for ***home as the way to a right death.***

6. The Intervention era: 1990s to present

Policy analyst Eleanor Hogan lived in Alice Springs between 2003 and 2010, and in her memoir of place Alice Springs (2012) sometimes uses the recounted walk to depict the town. In Chapter 2: The Gap (2012: 42-64), Hogan walks from her apartment to Piggly Wiggly's, a supermarket frequented by Aboriginal people, and notes objects seen along the way and the people she meets. Her self-protagonist invites comparison with Baudelaire's flâneur, one who wanders about observing the city. Hogan's narrative is heavily informed by the widely reported federal government's Northern Territory Emergency Response of 2007, and sketches a strongly-wrought political geography of alcohol. The songlines and Aboriginal culture, however, become part of an ethical and political no-go zone, making few appearances despite a gathering wave of public interest in the songlines during the era. A non-Indigenous writer herself, Hogan decides not to explore matters of Aboriginal culture (Wheeler Centre 2013), according well with contemporary critical thought (McDonald 1997, Heiss 2002, Miley 2004). Still, her decision renders the text reliant on popular images of Alice Springs as a town with an 'Aboriginal problem'. The songlines and other matters of culture are thereby hidden behind a frontier curtain of 'grog' in a town that is seemingly ***no place to call home***. And yet, there is nuance here also, where, as one interviewee tells Hogan, 'Despite its justified reputation as a frontier town with a palpable black and white divide, Alice taught me grey' (Hogan 2012: 276).

Discussion

Australian literary editor Julianne Schultz once suggested the challenge for Australian writers and journalists is to find ways for the various histories of their country to percolate together and inform each other, the purpose being to 'foster a rich, informed hybrid culture that is not subsumed by myth' (Schultz 2014). In Australian literature, however, the hegemonic metaphor of the frontier effectively counters Schultz's aim, preventing any widespread acknowledgement of intercultural exchange. The six texts examined here comprise a layering of representations, wherein a 'percolation of histories' is indeed possible and evident. The result is a more nuanced representation of Alice Springs and the Centre, one that resonates with the idea of interpenetrating social worlds, putting paid to perceptions that there is a 'difference in thought and practice between Aborigines [sic] and white Australians over a range of matters' (Kapferer 1999:185).

This should surprise no-one, for while in the twenty-first century many of the world's colonised cultures might be considered postcolonial or even decolonising, they are also being reshaped once again by globalisation. Even cultures that in the past were isolated from external influence are now becoming culturally 'mixed' through processes of war and forced migration (Marlowe 2012), ongoing colonisation (Ashcroft et al. 1989) or cross-border mobility, both in the physical and imagined senses thanks to a globalising media (Taipale 2012). Sociological perspectives increasingly adopt mobility as a framework for determining how cultures respond to change, either through movement from place to place or when a 'minority' culture finds itself within a 'host' culture (ibid: 175), a matter resonant for Australian Aboriginal people, who in addition to ongoing dispossession find themselves subject to forms of neo-colonialism and globalisation.

The problems of the intercultural are most clearly manifest at the boundary between cultures, sometimes called the contact zone (Pratt 1991: 34). Commonly observed in this zone is cultural hybridity and ambivalence of identity (Bhabha 2003), an element of the colonial struggle which ideas of frontier may serve to suppress (Suleri 2003). Such hybridity is evident throughout the 'discontinuous' history of place that is represented by the recounted walks of this research. The results therefore demonstrate not only the validity of the hypothesis—that frontier is preventing Australians reimagining the Centre as home by virtue of suppressing a belonging emerging from an evident hybridity—but also suggests fresh avenues of intercultural investigation of postcolonial geographies via co-located stories of walking.

Aboriginal songlines emerge as a recurring motif in the literature examined here, identified both with ideas of home and in the more widely recognised metaphor of difference. Analysing the walking stories allows the critic to unpack ideas of place and identity and helps characterise the complex and hybridised lifeworlds of a postcolonial geography. A more nuanced interpretation of the texts (one seeing beyond the frontier metaphor) suggests a more inclusive reckoning of nation to accommodate an increasingly hybrid lived experience of outback Australian places. Noteworthy in this regard is the late Wenten Rubuntja, a strong advocate of Aboriginal law and traditional owner of Alice Springs, who understood the town 'as both an Arrernte place and a white place' (Rubuntja and Green 2002: 50). For Rubuntja, '*all* children born in the town, *both* Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, are spiritually connected to the Ayeparenye Caterpillar Dreaming' (ibid: 175). This is not to imagine that settlers might have any form of legal 'right'

of claim, but such flexibility certainly points to a shared articulation of the idea of 'home'. To be clear, Rubuntja also says :

> When English people found our country, and [found] Aboriginal people, they put their cities and culture all over our country. But underneath this, all the time, Aboriginal culture and laws stay alive (ibid: 175-6).

The songlines, which wax and wane from view across a history of Aboriginal and settler literature, emerge as an indicator of intercultural exchange, their influence remaining tangible and traceable throughout. Nonetheless, while colonial constructions of nation celebrate explorers such as John McDouall Stuart, or even the swagman in search of gold, they do not include the pilgrims of the songlines who, both directly and indirectly, led colonialists across the interior. Stories contributing to a national identity are based on men like Stuart blazing a route across an unforgiving Australian wilderness. Up until recently however, Australia has not told the stories of the Aboriginal people who had already plotted and walked those same routes for tens of thousands of years prior, a network which arguably later formed a 'template' for routes of colonial exploration and transportation. Clearly, such compelling stories warrant their own place in constructions of any truly inclusive and complete telling of an Australian identity.

Conclusion

Each of the six stories examined portrays a degree of intercultural exchange between Aboriginal and settler Australians, certainly enough to at least query the term frontier as adequate to describe life in Central Australia. Yet the frontier metaphor remains powerful and resilient in the literature, so too in the Australian psyche. Reading a regional literature for walking allows an appreciation not only of walking and writing as acts of place-making, but also their ability to act counter-discursively with respect to frontier and its role in constructions of Australian belonging and home. Walking emerges as a way to map the inadequacies of frontier, to better understand its limitations, and to trace the power and reach of its rhetoric. Aboriginal songlines emerge as an indicator of home and intercultural exchange, yet remain conspicuously absent from Australian discourses of hybridity, belonging and national identity. A recent surge in popularity of the songlines suggests, however, that such stories may be poised to reshape constructions of Australian identity.

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Intersections: artistry and narrative in intercultural and educational research

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This article is written thanks to Kathleen Wallace, Kemarre. A contemporary Eastern Arrernte custodian, elder and colleague, Wallace gave her permission to publish this reflection about the author's experience of their work. The author wishes to acknowledge the old people of Eastern and Central Arrernte, because through their combined custodial relationship to this apmere today's elders are still strong, and many of us continue together, to live and learn.

Abstract

The experience of artistry and narrative in research is a key methodological concern of the artist and the researcher, whose work occurs in and beyond an intersection of educational and cultural narratives, in intercultural contexts. Through the management of multi-modal data this intersection has informed the design of a book that stands as one record of the artist's work communicated through story, biography and painting about the Eastern Arrernte homelands, and her life lived there. In a separate process, the same data set is used in the design of a methodological framework for multi-modal data-driven research, presented in a PhD research format. Two of the trajectories that lead into and beyond this intersection include the Eastern Arrernte premise that maintaining public customary knowledge of the homelands is essential to sustain future generations, and the research premise that the role of artistry and narrative as pedagogy and as data is a compelling adjunct to educational inquiry.

Background

Wallace's book *Listen deeply, let these stories in* (Wallace & Lovell, 2009) seeks to enlighten a wide readership about the complex interaction of Eastern Arrernte, their homelands, and the impacts of change over time. Lovell's PhD research *When the studio left the room* (2014) sought to understand Wallace's work as a public body of knowledge, whose separate paintings and stories each contributes to an Eastern Arrernte homelands knowledge. The PhD and the book used the same multi-modal data that Wallace and Lovell put together between 2003 and 2010. This paper examines the relationship of narrative and artistry in developing a data driven methodological framework, for application in multi-modal research and research of educational pedagogy.

Introduction

In the project between Wallace, an Eastern Arrernte narrator and artist, and Lovell, a non-Indigenous researcher, artistry and narrative converge with studio and homelands to produce potential data units that include 157 paintings and 51 stories, and from the homelands 6 rock art sites, 120 photographs from field trips, 20 hours of audio recordings, 50,000 words of transcription, and various field notes. Stepping aside from this volume, the challenge of retaining the qualities of Wallace's voice and perception as expressed in the data is prime. For example, Wallace's voice in Arrernte and English languages, her pauses and silences are carried into written text, while the recordings retain the aural and oral qualities of her storytelling, so both are necessary to the research and the researchers learning.

Wallace is, among other things, a painter of cultural experiences that imbed her in her homelands. Her paintings mediate temporality, layers of cultural design and iconographic references to sites, people, spirits, natural and cosmological phenomena. Her key role, as she describes it is continuing to convert her knowledge of the homelands using the opportunities, methods and materials that are available to her, and combining them into a record which will exist in the future, for other generations to come. In telling her story and the stories of the homelands Wallace addresses a wide range of audience interests, using rich details, iconography, design and stories as fragments from among the layers of her experience and knowledge. Both her paintings and her story telling addresses the maintenance of the knowledge-base of the homelands, and the multi-modal nature of her communication contributes to the body of knowledge that elders and custodians manage, in keeping with their cultural roles.

The researcher as an audience | witness is attentive; listening deeply, conversing, reflecting – developing her own sense of the landscape, which is already intimately known to Wallace. The artist and the researcher are each autonomous –in culture and in relationships with landscape and knowledge. For both artist and researcher learning and transmission of knowledge is about becoming a more fulfilled human being, a more knowing person (Goodson & Gill, 2014). In the research space, stories and paintings intersect with narrative and the learning, like culture, is never static. Convergence becomes an intellectual and practical experience that we revisit as our understanding of research, narrative and artistry deepens; and the archaeology of homelands knowledge starts to become evident in the research design. Artistry and narrative are crystallisations of a lived experience of knowledge, and for research purposes, they are the data gleaned from single stories and paintings as a body of knowledge and the artist's body of work which the researcher seeks to interpret – in a hermeneutic sense. In pedagogic terms, it is the *experience* of learning that tends to come first and then, 'because we must' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.18), the narratives of associated learning.

All learning exists temporally, and temporality frames the relationships of knowledge with the present in the currents of the past and directives for the future. Temporality brings into focus the experience of change, which is apparent through the passing of time (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000p.20). As an essential tenet of narrative inquiry, temporality frames the autonomous trajectories of institutions, learners and teachers individually and collectively, narrated as a continuum that change over time.

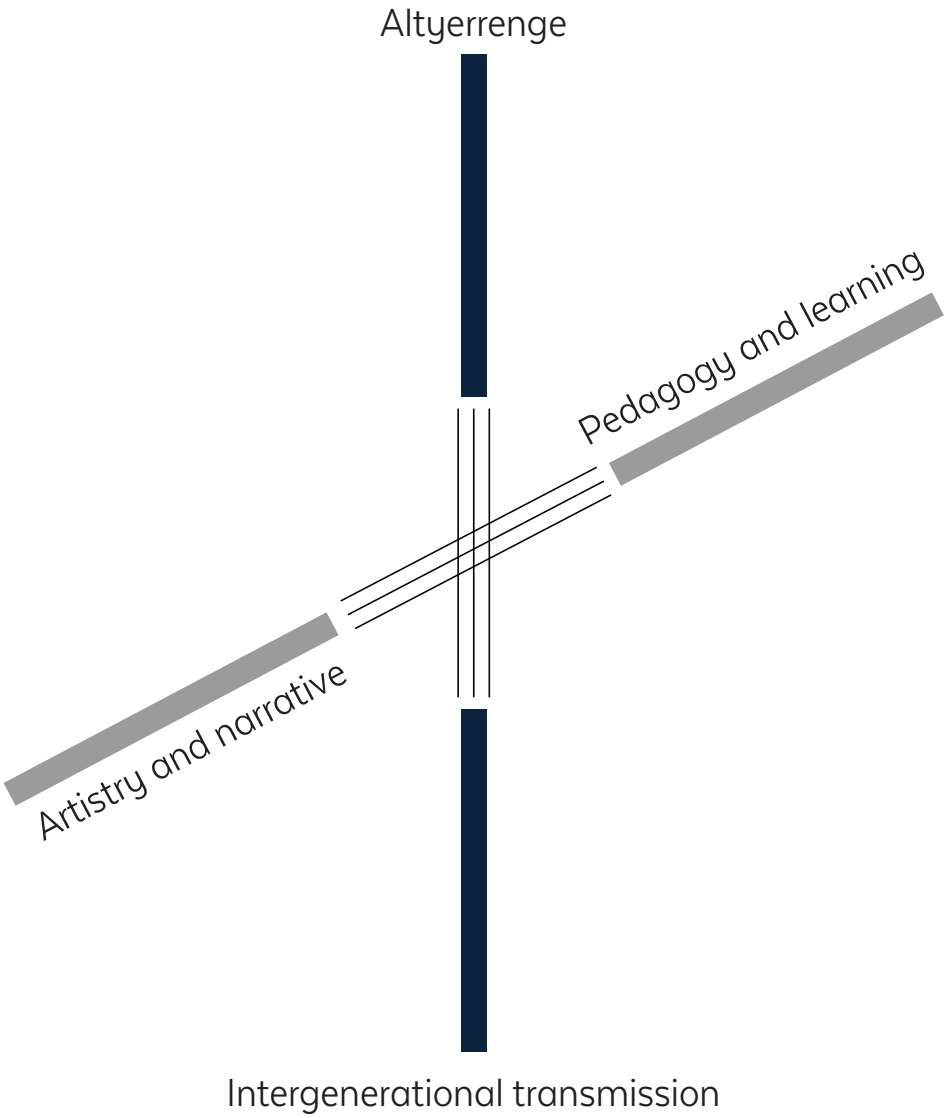

Figure 1: Adapted from Ray (2012), Trajectories that intersect, form a convergence at which there is a finer grained detail – a lesser scale of abstraction. At this convergence, the forms of painting, story, research and experience frame the scope that is required of the methodological framework.

Adapted from Ray (2012), Figure 1. is a graphic example of an intersection; specifically, an intersection where the trajectories of Wallace's Eastern Arrernte cosmology and knowledge converge with educational pedagogy of narrative and artistry. Her Eastern Arrernte trajectory represents a narrative about a knowledge system that Wallace is a practitioner within. It runs between the *altyerrenge*[1], and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge that ensures homeland-based knowledge is invested with ensuing generations. The other trajectory is that of the researcher as an educational inquirer in relation to a knowledge system, which runs between pedagogy (knowledge) and learning and is expressed through narrative and artistry. The intercultural intersection describes the context for bringing together artistry, narrative, learning and research.

Viewed as one body of knowledge Wallace's work contributes to the record of *apmeraltye*, her Arrernte homelands, its temporality, people, identity, culture and landscape. Her renditions and maintenance of this homelands knowledge takes on a contemporary form in beautiful and intense paintings that are often accompanied with

[1] *Altyerre* and *altyerrenge* frame the temporality of Eastern Arrernte life-world and systems of *anpernirrentye*, or kinship relationships. They are the story of the time in which *altyerre* beings shaped the environment as they journeyed, came together, fought great battles, and performed and taught ceremonies. (Wallace & Lovell, 2009; Henderson & Dobson 1994).

[2] Apmeraltye translates as people of one land (Henderson & Dobson 1994).

stories given in a range of voices, including place-based specifics, generally instructive missives, and public addresses[3]. Education is a broad field, and as a case study, this research pertains to the informal, ongoing and open nature of educational praxis and pedagogy. Depending on the level of abstraction applied, this research interprets what seems to be a theoretical intersection of two disciplinary and temporal trajectories – neither of which subsumes the other. While otherwise discrete, their convergence amplifies each and reveals a deeper and more insightful archaeology of knowledge and learning, through the lens of the homelands. The ensuing data-driven research findings contribute to better understanding the phenomena within Wallace's paintings and stories as a human-ecological intersection between the homelands and hermeneutic circles of interpretation available through her use of artistry and narrative (Bainbridge, Whiteside, & McCalman, 2013; Ray, 2012).

The temporal qualities of altyerrenge in Wallace's work reveal a 'here and now' in the presence of the deep past, and intended or possible futures. *Anpernirrentye*, the complex relational systems of skin and kinship that orient people within the cosmology of the homelands, connects and maps individuals and totemic ancestral beings in and across the land. These things feature in Wallace's paintings and in her narration of Eastern Arrernte stories. They are the most significant of the phenomena identified in the research. There are of course many intersections along the temporal trajectory; as Wallace notes:

> Things are different now, but the richness of our culture is still present, and the stories of these places are still important to learn – it's important to know what place you are part of (Wallace & Lovell, 2009, p.1).

Wallace's work is contemporary; produced at the intersection of many forces – underpinned by temporality and pedagogy of interest. With that in mind this paper now limits itself to the methodological innovation informing the design and application of a multi-modal data framework. The utility of narrative and artistry as pedagogy and data (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Goodson & Gill, 2014) contributes to the landscape of intercultural and educational research methodology which follows.

Intercultural research protocol

Recording cultural stories at their sites of origin in the homelands always met the Eastern Arrernte protocols Wallace observed in relating her stories of the land, her ancestors and her biography. Under her direction, we visited the sites significant to the public stories she wished to share. The propositional nature of the bush trips opened them to extended family, which sometimes led to activities led by the women present who relate to the sites, and which provided opportunities for intergenerational activity. Those activities were not included in the PhD data set, although they informed and inspired Wallace's painting and storytelling and deepened Lovell's experience of the field of the research. They remained activities shared by those present at the time and place they occurred which were exclusively directed by Eastern Arrernte women at the time.

As a group, the Arrernte women involved had clear protocols that guided the researcher's roles and actions, and informed the stated aims of the research. Those were agreed and adhered to, and reflected the University of Canberra's human research ethics protocol that governs the research scope, methods and aims. An important and lived protocol was the distinction between public Eastern Arrernte knowledge that was to be shared, and enacted knowledge maintenance that may be recorded at the time (or not) but which was restricted in any form to the immediate audience. The boundaries at which elders stopped and started stories and the geographic distance between homeland sites did not circumvent the veracity of the content provided by Wallace's paintings and stories; it affirmed her place as a contemporary artist and a custodian of continuing cultural maintenance.

Maintaining awareness of the responsibility, ownership, identity and authority of Arrernte over all the participatory interactions that occurred assisted in decolonising the researcher's understanding of ecological engagement. It evinced the local maxim that interdependent encounters among people and country, often expressed in song, dance, story and design, are critically important forms for sharing everyday cultural knowledge in the homelands. The business of such interactions are what anthropological and linguistic disciplines might consider essential in research data; however, recording for ethnographic analysis alone was not an option the women supported at that time. Through the engagement with Wallace's work, and given her status as elder, custodian and teacher, there was agreement for the research to be a more generative vehicle, and that was confirmed in the selection of a

[3] One of the themes that emerged from the holistic coding of Wallace's paintings and stories as data in Lovell's PhD was the characteristic of an educational voice that Wallace represents in painted and story forms, as well as in conversational dialogue. Of 131 paintings and 53 stories 12 percent are most dominantly expressing educative values, processes or missives.

hermeneutic approach, with conversational dialogue based on contemporary artistry and narrative, and Eastern Arrernte cultural teaching and learning practices as the focus of research activity.

Intersections in theory and practice

Ray (2012) observed that similarities and differences exist between knowledge systems she called 'traditional' and those called 'Western'. She noted that each 'as a whole carry with them their own unique set of assumptions about the world and are embedded in certain worldviews, histories and experiences' (Ray, 2012, p. 94). She also considers that the angles of convergence and divergence between systems of knowledge can be closer or further from alignment in their trajectories (see Figure 1.). Sheehan (2011) interprets knowledge as an Indigenous inquiry 'situated within an intelligent and intelligible world of natural systems, replete with relational patterns for being in the world' (p.68). His premise includes expression and communication of the social and relational as 'visual and interactive processes embedded in the being-with of human groups' (p.70). Wilson (2008) says that 'within an Indigenous [collective] view knowledge belongs to the cosmos and we are merely the interpreters of knowledge' (p.94). Wallace identifies the role of custodial responsibility for knowledge is to maintain and transmit it, ensuring intergenerational continuum (Lovell & Wallace, 2006). Ray (2012) emphasises knowledge as spiritually constructed as well as socially contracted and identifies this divergence between her Indigenous and others' Western systems of interpretation. Wallace, Dobson and Alice (KK. Wallace, V. Dobson 2010, pers. comm., 16 May; T. Alice 2011, pers. comm., 14 February) acknowledge that their roles as owners, custodians and elders is to maintain, transform and transmit knowledge of the life-world to Eastern Arrernte generations and, more recently, to share public aspects with cultural outsiders. These examples distinguish Indigenous Knowledge Systems from other non-indigenous knowledge trajectories and show agreement with Clandinin and Connelly (2000) who describe educational knowledge as a continuum that is narratively and temporally expressed. To identify divergence requires the appetite to engage with the finer grained distinctions between these two knowledge systems. As such, the data from central Australia needs to be shaped by deep principals and associations with locale, gender, temporality, identity and culture.

The process of decolonising involves how Indigenous people and institutions describe the world and how their knowing and being in the world is accepted and perhaps gleaned by non-Indigenous people and institutions (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Decolonising principles require a fine-grained receptivity and reciprocity, and they may offer a literal shift in phenomena when introduced in pedagogy and curriculum. For example, Tuck, McKenzie, and McCoy (2014, p.2) suggest a shift away from the term place-based in educational curriculum, to the term land-based which invites conceptualisation of natural ecosystems within which we all relate, rather than the contextualisation of 'places' in a settled land. Kulnieks, Longboat, and Young (2016, p.44) suggest storytelling is at the core of eco-hermeneutics, which they describe in terms of the relationship of stories and land in which 'stories are corporeal and neurological'.... while in the academy most of the contact between students and teachers involves 'interactions between text and mind'. Thus, there is the imperative for trainee teachers to experience Indigenous ecological mentorship in order to strengthen the teaching of environmental and ecological sciences in schools and academic institutions. That is, education is essential to decolonisation, and decolonisation to education.

Another significant example of artistry and narrative as a way to provide a decolonising experience to an audience is the body of work designed to educate non-Indigenous audiences through their exposure to a curated exhibition of bark paintings depicting Yolŋu standpoint and law. The exhibition was produced in north-east Arnhem Land, where a body of bark paintings, together titled *Saltwater: Yirrkala Bark Paintings of Sea Country Recognising Sea Rights* were produced and toured Australia (Buku-Larrngay-Mulka, 1999). That body of work represented the Yolŋu response to a trespass and desecration which occurred in 1996, that had breached the inalienable custodial responsibilities of customary land owners and managers.

The exhibited work represented all the clan groups associated with the care and maintenance of saltwater country near Yirrkala. Custodians became artists, transforming their stories and applying artistry they may never before or since have used. The exhibition represents the inalienable and eternal relationality of Yolŋu with their country and waterways in many myriad forms. Through enacting the relationships specific to locale, they depicted the significance of the human and more-than-human ecology that the perpetrator breached. Yolŋu chose contemporary art and artistry to articulate their standpoint in a way that challenged their audience to decolonise their views of systems of Australian law and governance, and in doing so uphold the law and relationality of their homeland.

Story and storytelling are ancient methods of knowledge transfer, yet public Aboriginal art and story as sources of ecological, health or educational knowledge in everyday contexts in Australia have not been widely recognised in the interface of cultural domains (Grieves, 2009; Kingsley, Townsend, Henderson-Wilson, & Bolam, 2013; Martin, Bauman, & Neale, 2011; Martin, Carty, Morton, & Mahood, 2013; Sheehan, 2011). Public literature addressing Eastern Arrernte or other Aboriginal cosmology or ecology largely omits contemporary art objects as data, evidence or source of customary knowledge or representations of contemporary Indigenous Standpoint (Dobson, 2007, 2009; Dobson, Walsh, & Douglas, 2009); and yet they do represent knowledge and standpoint. Indigenous systems of law and kinship are not evident in the literature of the dominant corpus of the Western laws and traditions of governance. Little in the academy or in wider publication beyond native title claims (Olney, 1999; Olney, 2000) reflects Eastern Arrernte knowledge and law as a mediator of homelands law and culture.

Neither is agency for Aboriginal artistry and narrative to be found in the European traditions of art criticism in Australia. Wallace's artistry diverges from elements of Western formalism that are commonly used in art criticism, in Australia. Wollheim (2001, pp.127-130) offers the distinction between 'normative formalism' in which a painting represents a system of organisation recognised as 'valuable', and 'analytic formalism', a theory of the way paintings actually are in terms of what we need to know and how that is organised. Wollheim further defined form, suggesting paintings are either manifest or latent in nature. Manifest forms are those critical to the painting and able to be taken from its surface; latent form remains abstract, not available on the surface of the painting, but inferred through decoding its layers. Wallace's paintings and stories combine orality, aurality and artistry as relational, experiential and perceptive interpretations. Paintings and stories reveal in layers the rhythm of and reference to the human ecology of the homelands. The motifs, symbols, in-fill, painted dot, line and form all contribute to revealing the underlying archaeology and overarching cosmology of events. The paintings introduce elements that are representative and abstract, referenced, visible and unseen; and they intersect with the accompanying stories. Wollheim's rationale would have been wholly unsatisfactory as a framework for the analysis of Wallace's paintings and stories.

Yet the role of Wallace's artistry and narrative, in common with other Indigenous artists from the wider central Australian region, is to imbue the agency of the land and its people (Watson, 1997, 2003). Depicting these as coded and layered (Bell, 2002b), they are driven by eternity, connection and relationship (Biddle, 2007) in narratives where the land reflects its own identity and the identity of its people (Wallace & Lovell, 2009). One reason for the lack of engagement with narrative and artistry as pedagogy and data in educational research may be the lack of methodological framing available, even in the wider social sciences. This omission of multi-modal data methodology became an urgent problem as data management begun.

Data management towards a methodological framework

The full record of Wallace's 178 paintings and 51 stories recorded from 2003 to 2010 was too large to work across qualitatively, and quantitative snapshots could not reveal the qualities of the knowledge and learning embedded within the body of work. In addition, the photographs, field notes, biographical and other recordings made during the course of conversational dialogues combined with the paintings and stories to provide a seemingly overwhelming set of potential data units.

Eventually, data and theory were used to inform the methodological framework, which was compiled from three sources:

1. Keringke Arts Database: A catalogue of Wallace's work compiled for the period 2003–2010 using the Arts Management Software record of media used, size, sale price, date, story and image of painting.
2. Data generated through field work and recorded into a matrix that mapped the relationships between data units including:
    - title, date
    - voice: story or song, biographic or anecdotal
    - site/relation to country: content site specific or generic content
    - emergent themes: site, education, ancestral, relationship, enactment, family, customary, fragment, actual, interface
    - form of Wallace's representation: painted, enacted, told

- source of intangible record: told, enacted, tyepetye, dialogue
- source of tangible form: tyepetye, landscape, rock ochre, petroglyph, site, dance, song, body design.

3. Methodical rubric: A set of five questions and a reflective summary drawn from theories of visual and narrative research, and from managing and coding the data itself. These were applied methodically to each painting and story in the subset of data with close analysis to generate a rambling, descriptive text of 'things that seem to have happened' (Geertz, 1995, p.2-3). The five questions relate to context, topic, audience, aesthetic, elicitation (artist's and researcher's) and a short descriptive summary.

Confronted with so many potential data units, nominating the criteria for a representative subset was the researcher's first challenge and was required before formulating findings. There is a rich literature that intersects with various modalities (Betensky, 1995; Dewey, 1934; Kolb, 2008; Kral, 2012; Lorenz & Kolb, 2009; Pink, 2006; Rose, 2012; van Manen, 1990), but little advice is available regarding data selection vis a vis analysis of multi-modal units. Learning how to understand and manage this intersection of Eastern Arrernte homelands field data and Wallace's paintings and stories was critically important to the development of the framework. The first challenge was *how* to sort and organise these units with their complex trajectories and intersecting characteristics. Glimpses of a body of knowledge underlying Wallace's work were evident predominantly in her customary and cultural impetus to maintain and pass on the knowledge of the homelands, the homelands themselves and her custodianship in relation to the ultimate source of the public knowledge for which she has responsibility. The methodological framework needed to enable the researcher to act on the data and recognise that Wallace's work is an embodiment of that two-way relationship of her people and land, imbued in Eastern Arrernte cosmology, the depths of which were not cognisant to the researcher. Experience of field collection and data management alone were not enough to induct the researcher into knowing what she was able to do with the data. The researcher's experience of learning homelands knowledge was essential to designing a research method that was attuned to the ancient temporality represented in the content and interpretation of the artist's work. As essential to the researcher is understanding that human geography interprets and makes meaning within dynamic contexts, and that contexts and meaning change over time (Goodson & Gill, 2014).

Culture, like learning, is not static. While a somewhat hermeneutic cycle of interpretation and experience, the importance of the data framework is as a methodical tool for gleaning what appears to be, and can be learnt of context, content and change as they are represented in narrative and artistry. Both the eventual research findings and the theories of narrative inquiry found in literature focus on the interaction of narrative and experience along the trajectory of learning and educational pedagogy (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Goodson & Gill, 2014).

As a consequence of developing this framework at the time and in the context of PhD research, the key learnings that emerged from the final analysis of Wallace's work as a body of knowledge include: (a) the role of artistry and narrative to record what was, and to mediate the impacts of change over time in the homelands context; (b) the active nature of human and more-than-human homeland ecology over time and in context; and (c), a proposition for a Theory of Cultural Literacy Praxis that engages artistry and narrative as ongoing pedagogy and experience in transmitting and maintaining the knowledge body of the Eastern Arrernte homelands (Lovell, 2014).

Data-driving a methodological framework

The first level at which data drives the design of the framework was in the two initial systems of organisation; one matrix to organise the paintings and stories into an exhaustive catalogue of works, and another matrix to organise the domains used to describe| tag | locate the field data.

The catalogue of works included a thumbprint image of each painting, its catalogue number according to the art centre management system, the size and materials, date of entry, sale price and story. The field matrix included: a tag (name); the geography (site specific or general area); one to three identifiers of voice from story, biography, anecdote; one to three identifiers of theme from country, education, relationships, family, ancestors, enactment and interface; and one to three forms of communication derived from painted, sand-drawing, rock-carving, dance, body-design, rock ochre, landscape. Each field record informed and linked one or more stories, sites and paintings and described the modalities and form used to depict the information in the homelands. These details were related to the biographical intersections occurring between Wallace's life and hers or others' cultural knowledge of the homelands. The manner of telling and illuminating these elements, as well as their resonance and interpretation, varied in tone, intention and impetus. In short, the qualities of the field work were represented as best as possible in

a geographically and modally representative matrix, and this was cross referenced to the matrix of paintings and stories, allowing the researcher to begin to identify what characteristics and limits might be necessary to define a representative sample. The cross referencing also carried geographic links between works and sites or events within the homelands.

With the two sets of data recorded, entered systematically and manageable, the next step was also twofold; to apply 'attribute coding' (Saldaña 2012, p. 69) across the catalogue of paintings and stories, and to cross reference these to the information in the field matrix, producing the most complete range of representations and sources available. Attribute coding 'provides essential participant information and contexts for analysis and interpretation' (Saldaña 2012, p. 70). The first obvious characteristics to emerge from the catalogue of paintings and stories were four categories best described as major paintings, minor paintings, major stories and fragments | untitled work. Works in the fourth category were not considered for further analysis as they did not meet the criteria for the intersecting components of artistry and narrative required in each data unit. The attribute coding characteristics of each category of type were:

- Major painting: layered and detailed painting that created a strong perceptual impression for the viewer
- Minor painting: painted more simply but indicated complexity; or provided detail-illuminating insight into Wallace's construction of mark making and meaning
- Major story: complex and evocative with descriptive attributes that prompted the listener to make meaning or glean insights
- Fragment or Untitled: generic, not detailed, not indicative of new material

The next stage of sorting simultaneously applied attribute and holistic coding across the catalogue of 121 remaining paintings and 51 stories, and the field work matrix. Holistic coding treats the data in an exploratory way to grasp 'basic themes or issues in the data by absorbing them as a whole (the coder as 'lumper') rather than line by line (the coder as splitter)' (Saldaña 2012, p. 142). For example, the repetition of the phenomenon of ancestors in field work emerged through a number of paintings and stories that addressed this theme. The catalogue works were sorted according to two main qualities determined by the content of the works and their conjunction in the field work matrix. Qualities of storytelling or painted content were of varying dominance in each work; and all were sorted accordingly, each carrying their status as major painting, minor painting, or major story. Holistic coding generated the best possible access to the full content, and themes of voice (storytelling) and content (painting) that emerged from the works. Rose (2012) also suggests that initial 'emergent themes create a broad, representative stratified sample for close analysis' (p.63); and this was an occasion when that occurred.

Patton (2002) warns that 'The gathering of field data involves very little glory and an abundance of nose-to-the-grindstone drudgery' (p. 322). However, the experience of this field work, uses of the data and the land-based context of its collection was an experience far different from Patton's description. In common with Rose's (2012) visual research framework, the oral data was recorded at appropriate sites; it was informed, consented to and collaborated on by custodians where relevant, while its forms of expression – tangible and intangible – were recorded in audio and photo in accordance to what Wallace deemed appropriate. This supported the researchers' capacity to interact with the data holistically and use attribute coding.

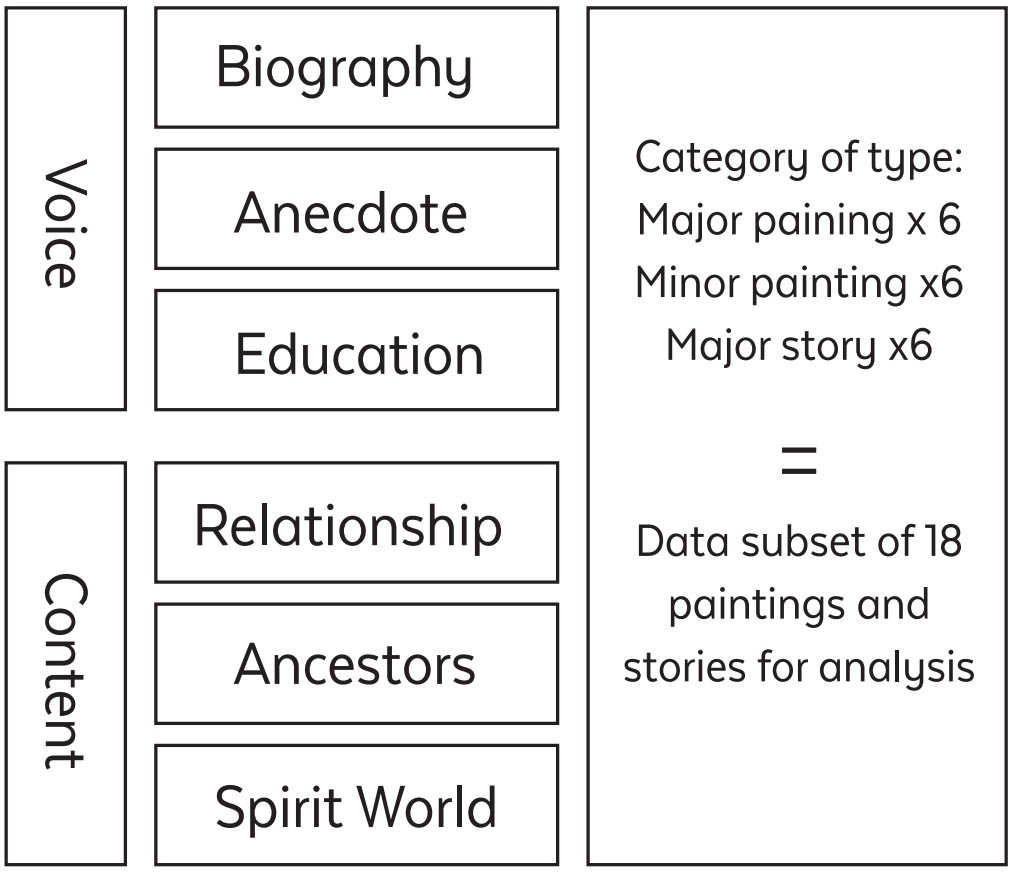

Figure 2. Holistic and attribute coding which eventuated in the selection of six themes of work, within the categories of voice and content. For each theme one example of each work characterised as major painting, minor painting, major story was selected resulting in a subset of 18 works for close analysis.

Across the categories of voice and content six themes emerged which were for voice: biographic, anecdotal, and educative; and for content: relationship, ancestral, and spirit world (see Figure 3.2.). These themes informed the final axis and the number of units (themes x types = 18), enabling the selection of specific units for closer analysis.

Applying the research questions in the framework

Wallace's narrative and artistry is located within the context of the human and more-than-human ecology of the homelands. The process of developing a methodological framework using data-driven coding is in keeping with the visual research domains that maintain the social, technical and perceptual natures of the data, as proposed by Rose (2012). The artist's interpretation of her homelands was embedded in direct quotes taken from conversation transcripts as well as eliciting information about the paintings, storytelling events and the experience of visiting sites in the field. These informed the next stage – crafting a set of five questions that were used to construct a narrative of each piece of data (Kolb 2008; Rose 2012). Actively participating as an audience of Wallace's paintings and using conversational dialogue in the field provided a critical insight that enabled data management. A combination of engagement and reflection, data collection and management as well as framing and interpreting maintained the onus of responsibility on the researcher to develop and share her learning with Wallace throughout the process of the analysis and subsequent findings.

Phenomenological art expression (Betensky, 1995), photo elicitation (Kolb, 2008; Lorenz & Kolb, 2009), theories of arts-based research (Barone & Eisner, 2011) and the theory of visual research adapted from cultural geographer Rose (2012) informed the researcher about ways that others had managed multi-modal data. Rose's (2012) framework for a critical visual methodology consists of the use of three sites of inquiry: the site of production, the image itself and the audience. She emphasises that at each site there must be consideration of the technological, compositional and social modalities. Photo and storytelling-elicitation tools are on the fringe of the Western corpus

yet there is evidence in Wallace's work that artistry and narrative embed Eastern Arrernte learning and cultural maintenance in the homelands. In common with qualitative research methodologies (Saldaña, 2012), there are historic, social and relational premises to adapt certain tools and methods to do the job in data driven research scenarios.

The methodology was inclusive of visual data, elicitation and oral storytelling and combined elements from the work of other social scientists, particularly that of Kolb (2008); Lorenz and Kolb (2009) and Rose (2012). The premise that visual data can be used to generate information about the author, the subject and the audience (Rose 2012) conforms with the authority ascribed to visual and oral storytelling of Eastern Arrernte women. Photo elicitation (Kolb 2008; Lorenz & Kolb 2009) is a method of close analysis of visual data that reveals the surface, marks, construction and content (Kolb 2009) of the image, and an image-interview method is useful in making 'local cultural and social settings visible' (Kolb 2008, p. 2). These tools were adapted after close consideration of the materials generated by and in Wallace's paintings and storytelling as well as the learning and knowledge generated from field work that led to the researcher's increasing knowledge associated with homelands.

Betensky (1995) used a method of phenomenological arts therapy in a therapist–artist process to distance the artist from an image they produced so the artist might glean more from the look of the image than during the experience of its creation. By observing it at a distance from the creative immersion, the visual perceptual impact may elicit content in different ways than the artist was cognisant of during the experience of making the artwork. As mentioned previously, this can lead to narration (Goodson & Gill, 2014). Betensky's (1995) method includes visual display; distancing from the artwork; looking intentionally at the image; phenomenological description; study of structure, interrelated components and whole-of-image quality; phenomenological connecting; and integrating.

The final design of the questions used with the framework brings together an intersection of the essential attributes of the data revealed through the matrices and preliminary coding, with methods from relevant literature that are most attuned to the modalities of the data in this research.

Modal engagement	Theorist, Philosopher
The accompanying act of witnessing the artist, production and audience experience	Barone and Eisner (2011); Betensky (1995); Kolb (2008); Lorenz and Kolb (2009)
The use of dialogue in discussing artistry and visual data	Betensky (1995); Dewey (1934); Lorenz and Kolb (2009); Rose (2012)
The reflective activity of analytically looking at visual representations	Dewey (1934); Lorenz and Kolb (2009); Rose (2012)
Considering sites of production and socio-political aspects informing the works	Barone and Eisner (2011); Betensky (1995); Dewey (1934); Kolb (2008); Rose (2012),
Considering the intended and actual audiences	Barone and Eisner (2011); Kolb (2008); Rose (2012)
Considering the technologies of production, representation and display	Barone and Eisner (2011); Betensky (1995); Kolb (2008); Lorenz and Kolb (2009); Rose (2012)

Table 1: Describes the theories used to inform what questions would be asked in order to generate the narratives used in the final analysis. Consideration is given to how and to whom and at what point or sequence in the inquiry these questions were asked.

The artist and the researcher applied the final methodological bricolage together, in conversational dialogue and monologue, describing and reflecting on what was seen in the paintings, then discussing them once again, stripping the layers and opening out conversation to features of Wallace's painting style, underlying iconography and Eastern Arrernte human ecological and cosmological principals that emerged across individual works.

Method	Framing question	Respondent method	Coding phases
Audiencing	Where did it happen?	The researcher documented	Thematic
Audiencing	What's the story?	Wallace orated	Thematic, Theoretical
Audiencing	Who was it told to?	The researcher documented	Thematic
Elicitation	What do you see?	The researcher visual analysis	Thematic
Elicitation	What does the artist see?	Wallace's dialogue	Thematic, Theoretical

Table 2: The methodological framework for narrative elicitation and coded analysis.

In Table 2. the dialogues and monologues are noted as Method; Framing the question prompts specific topics of conversation; and the participation is noted under Respondent method. The coding phase is either theoretical or thematic, and relates to the grouping of narratives for analysis. Having generated an exhaustive narrative for each data unit and coding it for analysis, the researcher wrote a summary of each work. This focused on the properties of the questions (context, topic, participation, form, and visual elicitation:

1. Where did it happen? This is about context, the situation or place where relevant events occurred;
2. What's the story? This is about subject or topic, the information offered through the painting and story
3. Who was it told to? Who are the participants, the actual and the intended audiences?
4. What do you see? A close description of how the researcher sees the form, the structure, composition and appearance of the painting and story; and re-sees it with the insight of learning, field work and conversational dialogue with Wallace
5. Photo elicitation with Wallace: reflective conversation in which Wallace elicits what she sees when re-viewing the selected work, in conversation.

Limitations

In early data collection and cataloguing phases, the holistically managed body of work revealed characteristics and attributes. Those characteristics and attributes framed selection of 18 paintings with 18 accompanying stories. This was the final data sample to which the framework was applied. In designing the sample every effort was made to gauge the breadth of significant data while remaining true to the intention of the study in order to glean insight of the relationship between the homelands knowledge underlying Wallace's work, and what her work communicates – as a body of knowledge and from each data point – to her diverse audiences. There was no readymade framework to apply to the narrative and artistry data that was pertinent to teaching and learning; nor for an intercultural inquiry using narrative and artistry as pedagogy and data; or a framework that could glean insight into a body of homelands knowledge. A written summary of each work, drawing on the detail of written descriptions that evolved when applying the framework, created a hermeneutic text. It was necessary to select a representative sample of works because the whole body of Wallace's work was too large for the scope of a PhD thesis.

Through applying this methodology, findings revealed distinctive themes and theory in data units within the body of Wallace's work as well as their intersection in relation to artistry, narration, pedagogy and the learning and transmission of knowledge in Eastern Arrernte homelands. This is the first iteration of the methodology, and while it contributes to a significant gap in the ability of social science to interact with multimodal data, it could be improved with further application and adaptation in other research undertakings. It would be interesting to revisit each of the six themes from the holistic and attribute coding phase and recode all the paintings and stories in the data base that relate to each theme. However, the application of the framework in the PhD generated both a broader and more complex map of the interactive characteristics and qualities found in the separate themes and across them. Most importantly, it also examined the dispositions of artistry and narrative which inform educational pedagogy in relation to the Eastern Arrernte homelands knowledge base and acknowledges its potential to intersect in a range of teaching curriculums and learning experiences.

Arriving at the methodological intersection

In the PhD, the interpretation of thematic and theoretic content generated dispositions that generated insight into the Eastern Arrernte homelands knowledge and its structures. It included the interactions among altyerre beings, the ancestral or spirit beings from the time consciousness began; ayengerle akaltyirreke, the influences of one's biography; alakenhe angkeme, a way of telling stories about others, anecdotally; akaltyirreke, educational learning and experience; alhengkweltye, knowledge; mpwelekake, resources; arrekwerle-arenye, ancestors; apmere, homeland, country; arrurle, time; anpernirrentye, kin and skin relationships and human ecology; and arrekantherre, Eastern Arrernte identity.

Literature suggests similar influences exist among Aboriginal artists of various language and kinship groups in remote Australia, (Biddle, 2007; Watson, 1997). However, educational pedagogy (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Goodson & Gill, 2014) and using narration and artistry as pedagogy and data remain unexamined. The data management processes (Saldaña, 2012) which all occurred at the sites of production and at the sources of the paintings (Rose, 2012) resulted in the biographic and relational story of the artist's life (Wallace & Lovell, 2009) as well as the maintenance of the Eastern Arrernte cultural and social premise (Rose, 2012) of Wallace' narrative and artistry being retained in the data collection. Since the field work occurred at sites of cultural significance in the homelands as well as at places that were convenient, the research limited the risk of 'the cultural context of production ...[being] unwittingly erased' (Nelson, 2010, p.54). Contemporary adaptations and locally informed Aboriginal artistry interact in communal and unique ways (Bell, 2002a; Biddle, 2007; Watson, 1997) and this work contributes a case study from the Eastern Arrernte homelands that illustrates this, as well as formative methodological strategies for inquiry using multi-modal data.

Much contemporary central Australian Aboriginal art has been in some part informed, motivated or inspired by the opportunity to communicate with an the audience at the intercultural interface, through the structure of cosmopolitan arts markets. Much is also drawn from the cosmology and human and more than human ecology of Aboriginal artists' homelands. These locations along the trajectory of Aboriginal art are not cognisant of one another, and there are many intersecting agencies at play, as art decontextualizes the experience of audience participation and perception, and context shapes the experience and expression of the artist. Wallace's practice has emerged in part through the opportunities of the cosmopolitan market. However, the cultural protocols adhered to in her artistry ensure this artistry remains a valuable mechanism for the maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge and human ecology, and not merely in service of cultural outsiders and art consumers in the cosmopolitan art market.

Hermeneutics offers the researcher and the artist a research tradition with which to hone the interpretation of multimodal data from experiential and theoretical perspectives that are grounded in intercultural engagement with artistry and narrative. Van Manen's (1990) concept of hermeneutically crafted texts opened opportunities in the research to interpret actions, expressions and lived experiences. These illuminated what was at the margins of the researcher's cognisance; bringing attention to 'that [which] tends to be obscure, to evade the intelligibility of our everyday life' (p. 32). Van Manen (1990, p. 180), in his interpretation of the lived experience of his research respondents from conversational dialogues that deepen communication and understanding about the phenomena being researched, suggests hermeneutics is 'the theory of interpretation'. Gadamer (1986) differentiates between the nature of interpretation, such as in the work of an artist which is 'pointing to something', and interpretation in the work of the researcher whose work is 'pointing something out' (Gadamer 1986, p. 62).

These two interpretive iterations complete a hermeneutic circle of knowledge interpreted by the artist in the practice of her artistry and learning interpreted by the researcher from her immersion with Wallace's artistry, narrative and homelands. An underpinning philosophy of the hermeneutic is that numerous representations of reality can and do occur at one time. This intersection serves to highlight a hermeneutic that encapsulates pedagogy, experience and culture as they converge and diverge, and change over time. It is this recruitment of artistry and narrative as data and as pedagogy remains a vital and formative hermeneutic force in intercultural and educational research.

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Possibilities for collaborative, intercultural visual arts practice

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Abstract

This paper reflects on my experience of intercultural collaboration in visual arts practice, during the last five years. This period includes doctoral research and three subsequent years of working on art projects around Alice Springs. Below I explore how each art project is itself a body of research. This exploration is woven around some key terms that have helped me reflect on collaboration as a cornerstone of visual arts research. These key terms are spectrum, emergence, fibres, relational aesthetics, known and secret practices, not knowing, bearing witness and taking action.

Key words: spectrum, emergence, fibres, relational aesthetics, standpoint, secret practices, not knowing, bearing witness, taking action.

Background

My doctoral project was completed in 2014, with an exegesis and exhibition called *Portraits of country: a plein air painter in Arrernte country* (Taylor, 2014)[i]. In summary, the project used plein air painting to explore encounters with Eastern Arrernte country and test the notion that art practice can support caring for country. It concluded that painting on country, in collaboration with traditional owners, offers a model for relating to country that is respectful, accountable, and may help to restore suppressed narratives of place. For the painter, and potentially for viewers of the work, painting can support the development of ethical relationships with country and people.

Each subsequent art project I have developed has been informed by cultural consultation – a form of collaboration - with senior Arrernte women, mainly Agnes Abbott, Doris Stuart, and Margaret Kemarre ('MK')Turner, none of whom identify primarily as artists. All three are actively engaged in custodial roles and responsibilities, caring for and protecting country and people. As cultural brokers and spokeswomen they play a vital role in connecting Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Alice Springs.

Each art project is a body of research

As with all forms of research, the integrity of an art project depends upon the artist thinking carefully about the project's context, seeking permission as appropriate, and making herself accountable to people whose interests might be impacted by the research. I have sought out Agnes Abbott, Margaret Kemarre Turner, and Doris Stuart as essential guides, interlocutors, and social connectors. They are like a local ethics committee - advising on protocols, offering opinions around what areas are useful for me to explore, and at times introducing me to others with whom I should consult. I don't recall any of them saying no to an idea, but they do at times point me in directions that support their own custodial work. I benefit hugely from their warmth and encouragement. After spending time with them I generally feel that I can proceed to the next stage of a project, and that the work I produce next will find its meaning, context and usefulness in part through its relationship to them.

My landscape painting relates strongly to the European landscape tradition – it draws on this tradition and challenges it, attempting to address colonial violence and damage. But it also sits within an emerging field of practice in Australia, of intercultural collaboration. There has been a long trajectory – at least 80 years – of collaboration between Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists, from the famous relationship between Albert Namatjira and Rex Battarbee, through to varied forms of collaboration found in contemporary art centres and studios around the country. Processes of collaboration in art practice often go unrecognised – perhaps because artists are wary of talking about them. They can be seen as problematic, for reasons to do with identity politics, market-place expectations and prejudices, professional pride, cultural conservatism, and concerns about appropriation. Yet I suggest that intercultural collaboration is inescapably part of contemporary practice in Australia. Like it or not, we are getting under each other's' skin.

Artists work in a communal environment. As noted in feminist approaches, it is not possible to make work that stands outside of local and national conversations about race. One can try to ignore intercultural issues – a position in itself – or one can engage with them. Engagement is not just a theoretical matter. It entails acknowledging our mutual entanglement in colonial histories, and the damage done, and struggling towards a more just future of respect and positive co-existence. I aim to describe the experience of collaboration from a personal standpoint. Rather than establishing a theoretical framework, I will weave this paper around key concepts and phrases that have helped me reflect on collaboration. This paper does not present an overview: instead it briefly indicates some areas of interest.

Spectrum

The word 'collaboration' has its root in the Latin collaborare, 'work together' – a very broad definition. Part of the reason collaboration may go unrecognised is that it is so varied – it covers a lot of ground. The act of working together may be more or less structured, or improvised; a brief encounter or a long partnership; between peers, or between people whose lives and practices have little in common. It may be genuinely 'two-way' or it may be unequal. It may be publicly acknowledged, or not. It may be by mutual consent, or by coercion. Power differentials between collaborators can make the difference between a mutually enlivening exploration, and exploitation. It can be hard to see coercion: those who hold unequal power and resources are accountable for not taking advantage.

At the other end of the spectrum are working relationships that are friendships, where the collaboration advances through a shared interest and enjoyment. These can flow along and feel easy and natural. Here it's necessary to be aware of not taking advantage of the generosity of a friend, who might feel unable to refuse you.

Emergence

Early in my PhD research, it was suggested that I could avoid meeting with actual people, and rely on published material, thus avoiding the complications of an ethics clearance application. Fortunately that approach didn't stick - relationships had to be at the heart of my practice. My painting practice is dependent on working with people who are closely connected with the country in which I work.

Why did it take time to see this? Collaboration requires self-knowledge and questioning of one's practice. Often it emerges out of situations, rather than being thoroughly planned beforehand. With time and reflection you see the need to open to other ways of knowing. You don't see this until it emerges, and then it is unmistakable.

It's not only that other knowledge systems are unfamiliar – one's own views and habitual ways of putting things together are usually taken for granted and unseen. [ii] Collaborative relationships provide contrast and friction, and shine reflected light on one's preconceptions, making them visible.

The process is potentially surprising for all concerned. When someone agrees to work with you, they, as well as you, are entering unknown territory, and will be affected by the exchange. The willingness of both parties to be vulnerable needs acknowledgement.

Fibres

I offer the visual metaphor of a decorated ceremonial mask from Papua New Guinea to evoke the way wispy, incomplete and insubstantial thoughts can constellate around experience. The original experience may seem well-defined, but coming and going around it are elusive thoughts and images, not yet fully formed, that elaborate and extend the experience, opening new areas of understanding. Around the solid central shape of the mask, wild plant fibres stick out and hang down, activating the form, breaking down its enclosure and projecting it out into the space around it, bringing it to life, as great sculptors know how to do.

Figure 1: Eharo Masks, Papua New Guinea early 20th century. Elema people, Kovava

Figure 2 shows another version of this effect, from Central Australia:

Figure 2: Watu Mankurpa (three wombats) by Angkuna Kulyuru, Tjanpi weavers, 2008

I use the image of stray 'fibres' to suggest creative thought in collaborative processes. There is a departure from established ideas and methods that are 'solid' and known. Fibres that stick out at odd angles are unruly, rough, and bristling with possibilities. These stray wispy fibres may not yet connect with anything, but they can be the start of something new. Another fibre laid over top, twisted around, and off you go. Maybe not so orderly as this (Figure 3):

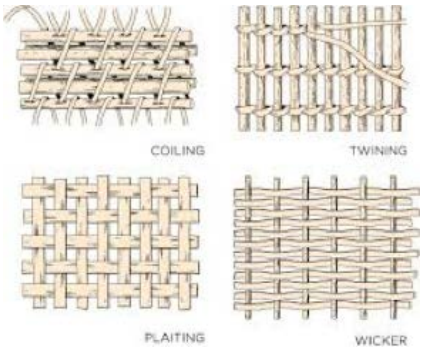

Figure 3: Basket weaving diagram[iii]

But more like this diagram of nerve impulses travelling along fibrous pathways (Figure 4):

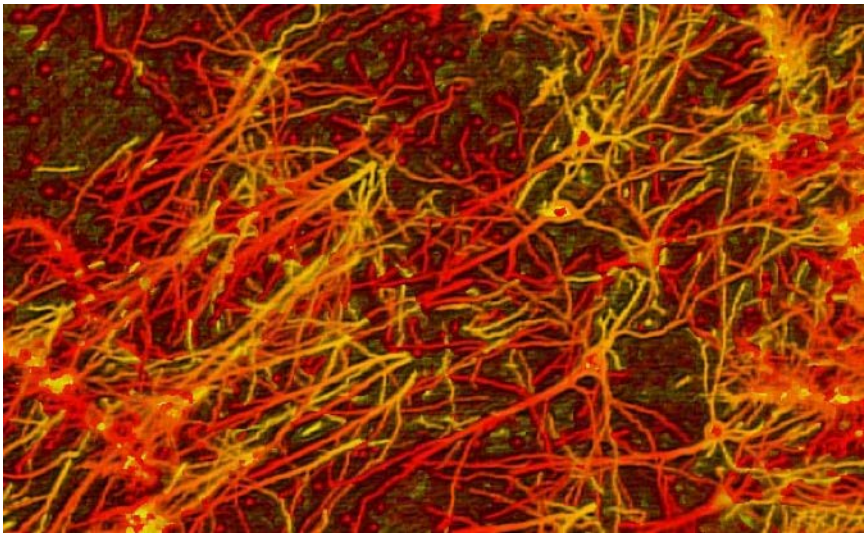

Figure 4 Neural pathways[iv]

Collaboration can be a bit hairy and fibrous. It involves improvisation, confusion, taking chances and not knowing how things will pan out. It goes off in unexpected directions. Sometimes strands thicken and become strong and integral to new thinking, and sometimes they stay wispy or tail off into nothing.

How, in the social space between collaborators, do stray fibres get twined together and influence art practice? By going through ordinary shared experiences, like a visit to country, a long conversation, picking up on some-one's manner or mood, a throw-away line or expression – all these are cues that tell how someone is, and how they are relating to each other and to place. They are like 'fibres' – perhaps barely noticeable at first, but around them is spun a new thought, an impression, or an idea for a painting. Where has it come from? Not purely from them or from me, but from the fibrous, loose connection between us. Once it begins to form, it can be talked about, but before that it can be fragile, easily lost.

Collaboration is a risky business for all involved, and can affect people in unexpected ways. It can also be high energy, exhilarating, enabling people to go into places they could not have gone alone. Along with opening up to the ideas, needs and perceptions of others comes a breaking down of enclosure and loss of control of where and how the project will go. It's unsettling *and* stimulating. This is what art is supposed to be about. But intercultural exchanges can be delicate, calling for skill and sensitivity that sometimes has to be learnt on the spot. I acknowledge the gutsiness and generosity of all parties involved in collaborative work.

For 10 years I led visual arts workshops in Central Australian community settings, for Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education. My abiding memory of these workshops is of how willing the artists (mostly) were to take on any new project on offer. Artists of all ages, from teens to 80-year-olds, explored a range of media and techniques, including screen-printing, etching, clay-motion video making, and strange sculpture techniques involving inner tubes, wire, grass and plastic bread-bags. They often saw the funny side and got maximum enjoyment from making exploratory work, in company.

Relational aesthetics

This term was coined by French theorist Nicholas Bourriaud, for artistic practices grounded in human relations and their social context[4]. Within such grounded practices, the artist acts as a catalyst rather than being at the centre. The artwork creates a social environment in which people come together. Rather than being all about an independent process or product – a painting or an exhibition – the artwork is a model of social action, a way of living.

The group of people who work together, including those who see the work, have been called a 'witnessing public', who act as observers of injustices and narratives that otherwise might go unaddressed or unrecorded. As a community, they collectively make meaning from the work.

Anyone who has hung out in a flourishing art centre or shared studio will have witnessed collective practice in full flight: people retelling the story of their work, checking it with others, arguing, singing, affirming, growling...

Whatever authority and meaning my work might have comes from this kind of social involvement: from direct collaboration, discussions with friends, exposure to criticism and suggestions, artist's talks – everything that exposes the work and the artist, and engages others.

Known practice and secret practice

The term 'secret practice' comes from New York Zen teacher, Barry Magid. [vi] He writes that most people have an avowed reason for doing what they do, and usually they can explain it comfortably: it sounds well-reasoned, thoughtful, and realistic. Then there's their secret practice, which they may be less aware of, but which powerfully motivates them to do the things they do.

A primary motivation that shapes my art practice is the aim to support Indigenous community practices of 'naming, claiming and remembering' – to quote Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Maori researcher and educator.[vii] That is, by consulting with owners of the places where I paint, visiting places together, and taking their cues about subjects for painting, I might be able to add weight to traditional owners' public naming and claiming of their country, and their affirmation of Indigenous histories. By listening to accounts of their connections to country, I might assist with remembering, and sometimes recording, life events and relationships. So that's the known practice.

My secret practice is to do with personal history and standpoint. To describe it I might have to go back to where I

came from (Aotearoa/New Zealand), and who I grew up with: parents who were *pakeha* (non-Indigenous), and very involved with Maori community and friends. My father was determined to speak Maori well enough to take part in traditional protocols and oratory. To do this, he exchanged skills with his friend Cliff. Dad looked after Cliff's fruit trees, and Cliff taught him *te reo* Maori (Maori language). It was a long, fruitful friendship. I wish I had asked Dad why he wanted to speak Maori at this level – I'd like to know his secret practice. As it was, I took this collaborative engagement for granted.

When I arrived on the east coast of Australia in the 70s I felt dismay at no longer hearing Indigenous languages spoken in public, or seeing Indigenous culture and values valorised by the whole community. So – my secret practice includes finding ways to connect personally with Indigenous people, to be accepted and welcome, to make some worthwhile contribution to this whole complex, painful situation. Awkward to see and name this longing to belong, but worse to not be aware of what drives me, and how close to home it is.

Genuine intercultural collaboration depends on my willingness to reflect on who I am, where I stand, and what motivates me.

Not knowing, bearing witness, taking action

Finally, I want to mention three tenets of the Zen Peace-makers order, as a possible guide for working together.[viii] Looking back over each situation in which I've collaborated with Agnes Abbott, Doris Stuart, and MK Turner, I see these three tenets in play, expressed differently in each case, since each of these elders has particular concerns and priorities.

'Not knowing' is about receptivity. It means accepting that I really don't know how another person thinks and feels and experiences the world, but if I am attentive and trustworthy, they may give me a glimpse. It's about actively questioning my assumptions and tolerating not being in charge, not knowing what will happen.

Bearing witness means listening empathically, putting aside self-involvement to see what the situation demands.

Taking action means finding useful ways to respond to what has been shared. In this setting, it means bringing skills and resources to bear to support the situation.

Examples of what 'taking action' might mean:

- Agnes Abbott shared personal and family histories of station days. In response, with permission or by request, I made portraits of the people with whom she lived as a child; camped on the site of her grandfathers' camp, where she grew up, and made paintings of the site; made a panoramic painting of the wild country through which she travelled as a child running away from the Arltunga Mission; and painted her portrait as a way of affirming her presence and authority in her country.
- Doris Stuart is a passionate defender of her country, in and around Mparntwe. In response to Doris' concerns I made a panoramic painting that attempts to show the enduring sacredness of an important, threatened site called Ankerre-a-Ankerre. I also painted members of the landcare group working at the site, in support of Doris' efforts, and documented young trees that have been planted as part of the rehabilitation of the site.
- M.K.Turner is a generous and seemingly tireless cultural connector and sharer of cultural knowledge. She has assisted me to make contact with families of people who feature in archival photographs, so that I can talk with them. After asking permission to paint portraits of their family members, I made a group of portraits and gave them to the families. Over years I have studied M.K.'s published accounts of Arrernte life and philosophy, so as to try to see and paint the country in ways that acknowledge its Arrernte ownership and history.[ix]

Conclusion

In any collaborative relationship or project, I acknowledge the value of the knowledge my collaborators share, specify their contribution to a project, and aim to recompense them by seeking funding for cultural consultation. In addition, I maintain a reflective practice that explores my own cultural and personal standpoint, my relationship to my original home country, and the attitudes and desires that inform my collaborative work as an artist and researcher.

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Artist Jennifer Taylor has lived in central Australia for more than twenty years, working as an arts facilitator and landscape painter. She paints haunting Central Australian landscapes in which she explores relationships between country, people and each other. Through three years of art practice, two exhibitions and a dissertation for her doctorate in visual arts, she explored the question “Can painting contribute to developing ethical relationships to country?” Jennifer’s work has involved strong collaborations with local Elders and knowledge holders who are active in caring for country.

Making space for knowledge intersections in remote teacher education – ways of being and tools for doing

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Abstract

The doctoral research that this paper is based on focused on the low number of young Aboriginal teachers currently undertaking and completing teacher education in remote communities in central Australia. What became clear from the research was that the biggest barrier to Aboriginal people becoming qualified teachers is the legacy of settler colonialism and the ongoing neo-colonial structures of education and knowledge systems. What also emerged is that there are powerful possibilities for co-creation of knowledge if we are willing to engage in a process of decolonising the knowledge work we do. The thesis is also a documentation of how the teacher participants in the research and I intentionally inhabited this decolonising way of working as we did the research together. Through this process we were able to discover ways of working together in what Verran (2013) calls 'good faith' that left us all with what the teacher participants referred to as that 'right feeling'. The thesis pays attention to the knowledge intersections that are possible if we intentionally work in decolonising ways. It offers a number of ways of 'being' as we work together and a number of 'tools' that help us to work together in ways that allows knowledge systems to co-exist and co-create new knowledge without one blocking or erasing the other.

Introduction

My doctoral research originated from the desire to explore the problem of the low number of young Aboriginal teachers currently undertaking and completing teacher education in remote communities in central Australia. This was a common concern shared by myself and a group of fully qualified Aboriginal teachers from these very communities. The premise of this research was that by listening to the stories of a group of fully qualified and experienced Aboriginal teachers from these communities we might better understand the complex array of barriers, as well as supports, that Aboriginal people from remote communities encounter when they undertake to become qualified. What became clear from the research was that there are many barriers that prevent Aboriginal people from becoming qualified teachers, particularly in relation to the educational and knowledge spaces we inhabit. What also emerged is that there are powerful possibilities for finding meeting places between knowledge systems and for the co-creation of knowledge if we are willing to engage in 'good faith' approaches to the knowledge work we do. This paper reflects briefly on some of the barriers experienced by the Aboriginal teachers. It then explores the generative possibilities we discovered when working in a decolonising way. Finally it offers some ways of being and tools for doing decolonising knowledge work.

Background literature

Indigenous teachers from within remote communities are uniquely placed to understand children's early experiences and provide continuity in their education because they share ontological and epistemological knowledge and understandings with the children from their communities and can therefore undertake the work of a teacher 'without engaging in imposition' (Dewey 1938). The imposition Dewey is referring to is the imposition of one way of knowing at the expense of another. The deep ontological differences that these teachers have experienced in their own navigation of the educational system also exist for the children in their home communities. The shared ontological identity between these teachers and their students and the shared language, culture and practices that embody that identity provides these teachers with unique insights about how best to teach students from their home communities (Batten et al 1998; Bourke et al 2000; Buckley 1996; Christie 1985; Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist 2003; Rosas 2001; Santoro & Reid 2006; Santoro et al. 2008; Woods 1994). Why is it that there remain so few qualified Aboriginal teachers working in remote schools, or for that matter in any schools? In a major five-year project recently conducted in Australia entitled the 'More Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Teachers Initiative' (MATSITI) it was reported that:

> Although the need to increase the numbers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers has been highlighted for many years, little has changed nationally since the 1980s when Hughes and Wilmot (1982) called for 1000 Indigenous teachers by 1990 (Patton et al. 2012, p. 9).

This is a point that has been repeatedly highlighted in research done in the Australian teacher education space since the early to mid-2000s (Herbert 2002; Reid et al. 2004). The purpose of this research was to explore exactly this issue in the context of the central Australian region of the Northern Territory, Australia.

Methodology

The teacher participants and I wanted to begin with the idea of success. Aboriginal teachers from remote communities in central Australia have been successful in completing their teacher education in the past. The research design and methodology were built around the intention and desire to decolonise the knowledge processes involved in research. The participants for this research were chosen using purposive sampling (Oliver 2006) based on the following criteria: 1) Aboriginal, 2) fully qualified classroom teacher having completed a four-year Bachelor of Education/Teaching, and 3) from a remote community located in central Australia. There were seven participants who had their narratives recorded. This falls within the commonly recommended number in studies of this kind (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez 2011). In reality the number and nature of participants was determined by the limited number of fully qualified Aboriginal teachers located in remote communities in central Australia.

A narrative methodology was chosen because of its compatibility with Indigenous knowledge systems (Hughes et al. 2004; Kovach 2009; Martin 2008; Wilson 2009). The teacher narratives were gathered using un-structured/semi-structured narrative interviews (Hefferon and Gil-Rodriguez 2011; Sarantakos 1998). In reality the process was a dialogue between friends and colleagues, which more closely resembled a 'yarning' approach (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010). The recording of the narratives was preceded by a long conversational phase giving each teacher

participant the time to fully consider their participation in the research and to be in control of when and where the 'telling' would commence. The story telling focused on the whole-of-career experience of each teacher. Each narrative was recorded over a number of sessions and produced a detailed, in depth, rich account of the experience of becoming and being a teacher. The language of telling was left up to the participant and translation was used where required and often undertaken by the multilingual participants themselves.

The participants were also involved in the analysis work. All teacher participants and the researcher came together to analyse the full set of narratives. This helped to overcome issues of language and cross-cultural understanding as participants had this additional opportunity to clarify their meaning and unpack any metaphors and symbolism used (Pringle et al. 2011). This was a crucial way of ensuring that important themes in the narratives were not identified solely by one non-Indigenous person. Ultimately, this methodology came to be referred to as our 'participatory narrative' method (Hall 2016). The experiences of these teachers were grouped into seven themes: 'feeling for family', 'learning with marlpa', 'mentoring, support and encouragement', 'team teaching', 'leadership', 'exclusion and power', 'looking at us level'. Through these thematic groupings the teachers' voices clearly articulate both the elements that supported them in their success and the elements that presented barriers.

Analysis of findings

In order to better understand the supports and barriers that underpinned the career and learning journeys of the teacher participants in this research it was necessary to explore the seven themes, mentioned above, through some theoretical and philosophical lenses. The barriers and challenges that emerged from the narratives of the teachers were examined against the backdrop of colonisation in Australia.

The specific theories of Whiteness Theory (Moreton-Robinson 2004, Lipsitz 2006), Critical Race Theory (Gillborn 2006, Tate 1997, Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006, Dixson and Rousseau 2006a) and the theory of Colonial Mimicry (Bhabha 1984) were used to peel back the layers of barriers experienced, as articulated in the narratives, to show the underlying ideologies at play in the context of remote Indigenous teacher education. This analysis showed that inequality played out at three levels within the system. Firstly, due to the colonial default position within the Australian education system, Indigenous teachers were consistently treated as less equal than their non-Indigenous counterparts. Despite meeting all of the requirements for becoming 'qualified' teachers, the teacher participants consistently felt themselves held at arm's length, and were treated as 'white but not quite' as explained by Bhabha's (1984) theory of colonial mimicry. Secondly, educational systems have developed ways of attributing higher status to White/Western knowledge than it does to Indigenous knowledge systems. The Indigenous teachers, as holders of Indigenous knowledge, were subsequently also relegated to a lower status within their schools. Finally, the teacher narratives revealed many examples of mechanisms of systemic Whiteness at work in the experience of the teachers. These 'tools of whiteness' were experienced in various forms through leadership styles, culturally biased discourses around conceptions of 'quality' and through interpersonal dysconscious racism (King 1991, Wellman 1977). This can be read about in greater detail in Hall (2016).

The teacher narratives also revealed significant insights into those professional behaviours and programs that supported success in becoming a qualified teacher. What became clear was the central importance of Indigenous teacher education being engaged and embedded in the local context of the teachers' respective communities. The era of community based teacher education provided important mechanisms for the local community and families to engage in what the teacher education programs were doing. The cohort model of this approach provided crucial support among students and a feeling of cultural safety. These delivery models also provided flexibility and invited opportunities for two-way learning. These models were generative in nature and co-created knowledge grew out of them, rather than the current model of teacher education which offers a one-size fits all standardized and imposed approach. More detail about these past models of remote teachers education is described in Hall (2016).

As the teacher education system currently stands, this research suggests that it would be an act of irresponsibility to encourage young people from remote communities to pursue a teacher education pathway. To do so would be to expose them to a form of 'doubled violence' (Rose 2004), such is the neo-colonial imperative of the current standardized system. It allows no room for difference. However, what the research also suggests is that intersectional, generative knowledge spaces are possible. If we could relocate teacher education (and other levels of education) into such a space this may well provide the foundation for a new generation of young Indigenous teachers from remote communities to successfully, effectively and meaningfully engage in teacher education pathways.

An example of what is possible when an intersectional and generative knowledge space is intentionally inhabited is explored in the section below.

Embodying a decolonising approach to knowledge work

The approach to research inhabited by myself and the teachers participants sought to be intentionally decolonising. We wanted to remain conscious of the damaging power relationships that have existed in intercultural research in the past, and intentionally remain accountable to each other for doing 'good faith' work (Verran 2013) together. In the process what evolved was what we eventually called a 'participatory narrative' method. While the framework for such an approach evolved over time as a product of the work we did, we were able to focus on important generative knowledge that emerged from our processes of working together. The three key insights that we learned from working together in 'good faith' were as follows;

- We learned that 'anma' was important for how we worked together. This relates to our notions of time and allowing enough time and flexibility to ensure that things are done at the 'right time' and in the 'right way' for everyone involved. This had significance when it came to aspects of research such as ethically informed consent.
- We learned that 'marlpa' was important for how we worked together. This relates to ideas about connectedness and relationality. Allowing 'marlpa' to inform the way that we worked meant that no one was left by themselves and everyone felt included, involved and valued. This experience of providing 'company' for one another and basing decisions about the research around relational values provided a strong compass for the direction the research took.
- We learned that 'ngapartji ngapartji', 'reciprocity' or 'mutual generosity', informed how we worked together. This meant seeking ways for multiple needs being met by the research process from within the resources of the group. This required negotiation, patience and flexibility. It provided a way for everyone's knowledge to be valued and included in the research.

These three insights, explored in greater detail in Hall (2016), are an example of the generative possibilities of doing knowledge work in an intersectional and decolonising way. They are the new and emergent understandings that I and the teacher participants take with us from the process of doing this work together in 'good faith'. The insights are not offered as a prescriptive guide for how to 'do research'. That would go against one of the central ideas of decolonising knowledge work, which is that it needs to be contextualised and co-created. However, by explicitly noticing and naming what supported us to work together in this research collaboration, others may discover the possibilities afforded by working in decolonising ways. Some of the key elements that supported this kind of work to happen are outlined below.

A framework for work that supports generative knowledge intersections

The teacher narratives contained many examples of past knowledge work that had been positive and generative. Such work had allowed knowledge systems, western and Indigenous, to come together without blocking or erasing the other. In reflecting on this, as well as the way that we had all worked together in this research process, we were able to identify a number of ways of coming together in 'good faith' and tools for decolonising knowledge work. This framework is developed with the view that it needs to be inhabited and used at many levels of the educational systems – interpersonal, classroom, leadership, community, departmental and faculty. It is also not meant as a prescription, but rather as a guide for people to more consciously and intentionally focus on how they are working together rather than focusing on the end goal. Our experience was that if we pay attention to how we work together and act in 'good faith' then whatever comes from that work is something we can feel happy with and proud of. It is something everyone can trust and have faith in.

Four *Ways of coming together in 'good faith':*

1. 'Good faith' knowledge work is relational

This research began from a place of relationship. I was known to the teacher participants and they were known to me. We had established relational trust through our previous work together and through the friendships that grew from that work. It was this relational trust that resulted in the teachers telling me their stories in the first place and that left me with a feeling of responsibility to 'do' something with them. It was also this relational trust that

enabled us to navigate our way through this new research-based relationship together and to have this new work be something that strengthened rather than diminished our relationship with each other. One of the insights that we learned as part of our process was the importance of 'marlpa', as discussed previously and in more detail in Hall (2016). This same presence of 'marlpa' came through in the teacher narratives as a key element that supported them to be successful in their teacher education studies and in their work in schools.

Martin (2008, p. 128) talks about the levels of relationship that people can enter into – being unknown, being known about and being known. She states that 'To remain 'unknown' is a personal decision and regarded as a temporary state of relatedness'. It is possible to see many examples where people working in intercultural spaces have chosen to remain 'unknown' to each other. However good faith, generative knowledge work requires us to engage in a process of 'coming alongside' which Martin (2008, p. 128) suggests 'occurs as relatedness is expanded, strengthened and deepened from that of being known about to being known'. Many others have talked about the centrality of relationships and relatedness (Arbon 2008; Bishop 1998; Buker 2014; Carnes 2011; Fredericks 2008; Ford 2010; Meyer 2001; Smith 1999; Wilson 2009). Knowledge work that is generative and intersectional needs to be guided by our relationship with and commitment to each other.

2. 'Good faith' knowledge work allows time

One of the important aspects in the design of this research was to pay attention to our understandings of time. This meant finding creative ways of working around the systemic constraints of the PhD frame, and allowing enough time for everyone to feel 'ready' to participate in the work. We learned that this concept of allowing time involved waiting, giving space, waiting for the right time, not filling up all the space, being patient and waiting until the other person feels ready. It was something we came to talk about as 'Anma', which was referred to earlier and is further explained in Hall (2016). Rather than being a passive space where nothing was happening, it was an active space of reflection, preparation and foreshadowing. This waiting was a space that allowed time for many things to occur. It allowed time for good communication to happen and allowed for everyone to feel ready and prepared. It alloeds for a respectful way of entering into work with people and provided enough time for everyone who needed to be involved in the process to be included. It also allowed us to be flexible when plans changed. It was a way of thinking about time not as sequential and linear, but as patterned, seasonal and emergent. It was not something that you plan for, but rather something that you pay attention to and allow to unfold. It is something that you meet with readiness only when the time is right. To an extent the flexible delivery models that were developed for remote teacher education, discussed in Hall (2016), also paid attention to differing notions of time and allowed enough time at the local level for both the teacher participants in these programs, as well as their families, Elders and wider community to come on board and develop deep understandings about what kind of education was best in that place.

Palmer (2009) suggests that allowing time as 'the work before the work'. He connects this idea strongly to the idea of working relationally. In Palmer's understanding the work before the work is about taking time to come to terms with and understand our inner landscape, honestly, so that we enter into the process of doing the work in front of us relatively unencumbered. We are then able to enter into a 'live encounter' with each other that permits the work that emerges to be trustworthy and 'true' from the perspective of the participants. By paying attention to this 'work before the work' we ensure that when we actually sit down to do the 'work' the experience is good for all who are involved, and the feeling we are all left with at the conclusion is 'right', embodying a deep mutual respect for our differences. In good faith knowledge work this is especially important because of radically different ontological and epistemological understandings of time within Western and Indigenous knowledge systems. Carnes (2011) explains that non-Indigenous Australians are tuned to a linear notion of time that belongs to the positivist ideology of the dominant Western paradigm.

Informed largely by Christianity, Western knowledge systems place a positive value on change, and believe that history, or society, is always moving towards something better. This creates an obsession with future orientation: everything in our lives is directed towards the creation of a more perfect future and on this basis disrespect for human or other suffering is justified or ignored (Rose 2004). Rose (2004) also points out that this leads to a failure to pay attention to what happened in the present.

This contrasts strongly with notions of time reflected in Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies which Carnes (2011) suggests are more circular ways of being in the world and require time for thinking, musing,and reflecting as a way of doing business. Miriam Rose Ungenmerr highlights the importance of 'Dadirri' which she explains is

'inner deep listening and quiet still awareness - something like what you call contemplation' (Atkinson 2002, p.16). Ungenmerr also explains in relation to time that, 'Our Aboriginal culture has taught us to be still and to wait. We do not try to hurry things up. We let them follow their natural course - like the seasons...We wait for the right time for our ceremonies and meetings. The right people must be present. Careful preparations must be made. We don't mind waiting because we want things to be done with care' (Ungenmerr n.d. p. 2). Allowing time for people to catch up, learning about what is happening and putting people into context before 'the work' gives this work a better chance of running smoothly, effectively and meaningfully for all involved (Carnes 2011). Buker (2014) talks of the importance of allowing time for the repetitive and often seasonal sharing of knowledge through stories. Allowing time, combined with building relationships, helps to both mitigate the chances of conflict arising but also provide a solid foundation upon which to resolve conflict.

This may be a challenging way of working especially to those from a Western paradigm with its focus on outcomes, destination, action and quantification (Carnes 2011). The idea of allowing room for contemplation, thinking and conferring with others, taking longer and giving up taken for granted Western privilege and authority (Dudgeon 2008) will be uncomfortable, but it is an important and necessary part of doing good faith knowledge work. Rose (2004, p. 213) invites us to consider the 'possibilities of our present moment', allowing time in the present moment which will teach us all new and generative ways of working together.

3. 'Good faith' knowledge work is engaged in the local context and embedded in experience

The original premise for this research was based on the belief that the experiences of the teacher participants throughout their study and work would provide valuable insights into why there were not more young Indigenous people from remote communities pursuing this pathway. Each narrative is a local, personal, experience-based account of what it is like for people from remote communities in central Australia to become fully qualified teachers and teach in their own community schools. The teacher participants in this research, numbering seven in total, represent a majority of the qualified Indigenous teachers in the central Australian region. The scarcity of their presence in the system makes their experiences even more important. According to their stories, these teachers were largely successful in completing their initial years of teacher education because the delivery model was contextually embedded and responsive. There was space for local knowledge and the participation and engagement of the wider community. Meyer (2001, p 140) reminds us that this is important because 'context is culturally situated'. These community-based programs refuted the idea that teacher education was a 'grand narrative' that could be applied to all contexts. These culturally embedded and contextualised programs instead operated in a generative way allowing for the possibility that new knowledge will emerge that will be beneficial to all.

Many theorists who come from a Critical Race perspective argue that an insistence on context and lived experience provides a defence against the 'colourblind and sanitized analyses generated via universalistic discourses' (Gillborn 2006, p. 23). This view is shared by post-colonial and collectivist theorists. Law and Lin (2010, p. 137) suggest that the benefit of contextualizing and grounding things in experiences is that 'large issues can be detected in specific practices...the whole can be found within...if we examine these in the right way then large post-colonial knowledge predicaments can be found at work within specific interactions'. If we see Indigenous teacher education as an example of a large post-colonial predicament, then the stories of the teachers can be seen as specific, experience-based interactions within that predicament. Their contextual embeddedness make them crucial to intersectional and generative knowledge work.

Locating the learning in a context that had meaning for participants, such as was done in past teacher education programs, allowed these programs to draw on the significant knowledge resources of their families, culture and land. This approach offered an invitation for the learning to happen collectively and meant that a deep level of family and community support could be built up as well as embedded in understandings of what teacher education meant for people in each context. This also enabled an inversion of the power relationship habitually at play in tertiary education programs because epistemological and pedagogical decisions about the substantive 'content' of these teacher education programs were being made locally based on local experiential knowledge. These programs were both pre-planned and emergent in character, contrary to the tertiary education norm of tightly designed courses to be imposed unaltered through standardised delivery irrespective of the context for learning. Allowing space for emergent knowledge and understandings offers the possibility of producing a counter narrative to assimilation, which must be central to 'good faith' knowledge work.

4. ‘Good faith’ knowledge work welcomes difference

In many ways the original impetus for this research was difference. When I originally heard the stories of the teacher participants I recognised them as different to my own story of becoming a teacher. I saw inherent possibility in the stories capacity to help us better understand this difference. But as the research went on I also came to realize the destructive impact the requirement for ‘sameness’ was having within the educational systems. The teacher participants were clear in the analysis process that one of the understandings that needed to be highlighted from their narratives was that we have different cultures, different ontological and epistemological understandings and that this difference needs to be central and embraced in the work we do together.

Western ways of thinking and knowing, which are ‘dominated by a matrix of hierarchical oppositions’ (Rose 2004, p. 19), have not traditionally coped well with the multiplicity of possibilities that difference allows. They are deeply disconcerted with the notion of ‘pluralism and diversity in language, culture and location’ (Fogarty, Lovell and Dodson 2015, p. 16) and much more comfortable with the formation of dualities ‘man/woman, culture/nature, mind/body, active/passive, civilisation/savagery’ (Rose 2004, p. 19) which inevitably leads to the duality of dominant and other. Verran (2013, p. 147) talks of how in ‘explaining the other in terms of itself, each actually explains the other away’. As a result of these kinds of Western knowledge practices we now have a state where ‘not all positioned perspectives are equally valued, equally heard, or equally included…some positions have historically been oppressed, distorted, ignored, silenced, destroyed, appropriated, commodified, and marginalised’ (Bell 2009, p. 42). This approach allows us to ‘forget the difference and…to stay focused on our own situation without grappling with the other person’s reality’ (Grillo and Wildman 2000, p. 649).

‘Good faith’ knowledge work requires us not only to acknowledge difference but to welcome it and the generative possibilities it offers (Verran 2013). To grasp these generative possibilities Verran (2013, pp. 146-147) counsels us that we need to be willing to go ‘deeper inside’ the experience of difference before the point of coming to general concepts. If we move too quickly to impose our own epistemic categories on each other then we are continuing the neo-colonial project by blocking or erasing the ‘other’. We must learn ways to resist and counteract this instinct. Verran (2013, p. 147) suggests that people need to find ways to ‘…simultaneously maintain and dissolve difference, in ways that are authentic and generative in terms of their own disparate knowledge practices…(and) enable the negotiation of useful links that can go along with maintaining significant divisions’. A space that welcomes difference is not a space of binaries or hierarchies, but instead is a space of hybridities (Watson & Huntington 2008) and of heteroglossic narratives where there is discursive space for conflicting arguments (Rose 2004). Blair (2015) reminds us that engaging with the ‘in-between space’ is both challenging and exciting. We need to find ways for different knowledge systems to co-exist and, in so doing, create powerful and dynamic dialogue and discourse leading to generative learnings and new knowledge. This kind of transformational work must be the agenda of ‘good faith’ knowledge work.

Together these four insights, generated by the research done here, offer ways of people coming together in ‘good faith’ to embark on the process of decolonising or intersectional knowledge work. They are ways of being that should inform the work we do. In addition to these ways of being we require some ‘ways of doing’ the work. The suggested tools for these ‘ways of doing’, which have become clear through this research process, are discussed below.

Three *Tools for Post-Colonial Knowledge work:*

i. Story

Stories were at the very heart of this research. The original idea was born out of a story sharing process. The collection of stories was the method chosen. The analysis happened through the shared reading of stories. Story provided us with a way to blur the received ontological and epistemological categories, such as time and space, as well as inverting the power structure of the research relationship, placing the control in the hands of the teller. This meant that powerful generative work could be achieved untrammelled by any sense of allegiance to the positivist structures that still hold sway over much of Western sociological research.

Stories must therefore be the main tool of doing good faith knowledge work. This is because they bring together the four ways of working together in ‘good faith’. Firstly, stories are a way of us ‘becoming known’ to each other (Martin 2008). When we listen to the story of another we are drawn into a world of ethical encounter; we are witnesses, we become entangled (Rose 2004). To bear witness to someone’s story we discover a mode of responding to

that person that 'exceeds an epistemological determination and becomes ethical involvement' (Rose 2004, p. 31). It upsets our previous notions of who that person was and helps us to come into a deeper knowledge and understanding of that person. Stories are relational.

Secondly, stories allow time for deep listening to each other. The time allowed for the telling is determined by the teller and they can choose the structure. In a context involving Indigenous tellers this means that there is time to tell the story from a place of cultural safety and respect (Martin 2008), and in a circular way using thematic repetition, as opposed to the step-by-step, linear progression of a Western structure (Youngblood Henderson 2000). Using story means the teller remains in control of allowing as much time as is necessary for the full telling and the role of others is to 'listen with attentiveness' (Rose 2004, p. 30). Stories allow time for coming together in 'good faith'.

Thirdly, stories are personal, based in the local context of the teller and based on experience. Stories or first person accounts are a way of naming one's own reality in your own 'voice' (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006). This takes the epistemological stance that 'truth only exists for this person in this predicament at this time in history' (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006, p. 21), thus grounding it in the local and the present. The story might be about past experience but it unfolds in the present moment in the act of telling. It is important in good faith knowledge work because it is a way of integrating lived experience with racial realism (Dixson and Rousseau 2006a). Lasdon-Billings and Tate (2006) suggest that naming one's own reality through stories can have a major impact on the listener. In this way story acts as a tool of 'disconcertment' (Verran 2013). Story and experience allows identity and epistemological understandings to be centrally present in learning because our stories are shaped by how we know and who we are. Rose (2004, p. 24) talks about the importance of the 'web of stories we are able to weave out of our historically grounded experiences', which help us to explore the 'local possibilities that illuminate alternatives'. In this way stories are ways of coming together in 'good faith' that generate new knowledge between us.

Finally, stories make space for difference. It is in the very nature of stories to allow for difference. There is not only one meaning to any story. The teller's intention is filtered through their own experiential knowledge, but so too is the listener's understanding. A multiplicity of meanings is possible in any story. Hokari (2000) suggests that it is not about finding a 'right' story but widening the possibilities of stories. Variation can provide us with a bundle of possibilities without judgment and different stories will often contradict each other but can still coexist. Stories offer us a way of coming together in 'good faith' that invite difference and invite us as listeners and tellers to become comfortable with that difference.

ii. Cultivating disconcertment

The second tool that has emerged as important to good faith knowledge work is the cultivation of disconcertment. What this tool offers is a way of interrupting whiteness and dysconscious racism. So many of the barriers experienced by the teacher participants in this research were directly related to the ongoing and neo-colonial experience of modern Australia. We need to find mechanisms for interrupting these deeply embedded ideological and culturally exclusive ways that dominate the educational experience. Teaching people to pay attention to and dwell in their own disconcertment is one such mechanism.

In order to ensure that we come together in 'good faith' to do generative knowledge work it is not enough to simply listen to each other's stories. We must learn to cultivate our own disconcertment in the process of listening. Verran (2013, p. 146) explains this disconcertment as 'a type of experience that alerts us to the tensions of the relations that exist within what we 'feel' as epistemic rightness, something which we are generally unaware of, until that is, it is rent asunder'. Cultivating one's 'presence of mind' (Lipsitz 2006, p. 2) and learning to pay attention to moments of 'disconcertment' as they arise are ways of staying grounded in the present and learning to live with the discomfort of difference.

Law and Lin (2010, p. 138) explain that 'bodily disconcertment may be understood as an expression of metaphysical disjuncture' and that 'discomfited and 'personal' bodily states are crucial potential detectors of difference'. Verran (2013, p. 146) suggests that the bodily tension we feel when we experience epistemic difference points to the 'vast inertia of the mesh of institutions, categories, arranged materials, and communicative protocols and processes, which is knowledge'. When our taken-for-granted ways of knowing are disrupted or challenged by an alternate way of knowing our instinct is self-protection through the invocation of and insistence upon our own single admissible meaning (Verran 2013). Rose (2004, p. 21) calls this a 'narcissistic singularity' and maintains that we need to find ways of unmaking this if we want to work towards decolonization. Presence of mind and paying attention to disconcertment can help us to individually become conscious and aware of what Addelson (1994, p. 11)

calls 'the society that we act and enact every day, that we generate and regenerate through our acceptance and reinforcement of the authoritative 'norms' and 'standards'. Verran (2013) sees epistemic disconcertment as crucial for good faith knowledge work. Perhaps this is because the experience of disconcertment is so deeply embedded and experienced daily as a part of the neo-colonial reality of the settler society. Rose (2004, p. 2) explains that 'the conquest was always meant to be complete…the conquest of Indigenous peoples…was undertaken in a mode of replacement…it was imagined as a project that would be finished when the replacement was fully accomplished'. In contemporary Australia the continuing existence of Aboriginal people rends asunder the ideological premise of colonization and causes a collective disconcertment that has been historically 'collectively denied' (Verran 2013, p. 146) and has led to the doubling of violence that Rose (2004) discusses. The default position of many is to ignore or brush off differences as cultural quirks that are unimportant.

In order to move into a Post-Colonial space Verran (2013) suggests that individuals need to become sensitized to these moments of disconcertment and that it needs to be collectively cultivated as an analytical and methodological tool. To 'sensitize' and 'cultivate' our disconcertment Verran (2013) suggests the need for 'interrupting tools'. The interrupting tools being proposed here are those of story and of 'dialogue with other people and with the world itself' (Rose 2004, p. 21). The dialogue required invokes plurality and helps us to notice the disjunctive moments and engage in questioning and conversation about the epistemological and ontological understandings that lie beneath them.

iii. Dialogue

The process followed in completing this research was a dialogic one. It embraced the need for myself and the teacher participants to continue in dialogue with one another throughout the entire process. We moved back and forth between story and dialogue as we discovered the paths that felt 'right' for the research to take. This open and honest dialogue was an important aspect of working ethically together. Similarly, in the community based model of teacher education talked about by the teachers in their narratives, both the flexible delivery and the cohort design were ways of facilitating dialogue between the students, the schools, the university staff and the local communities. Dialogue invites a multiplicity of ideas, makes space for differences in understanding and enables a particular sort of metaphysical engagement where the gaps between categories open up the possibilities of the emergence of new ways of going on together that may have been previously unimagined. Sadly, the experience of the teacher participants shows that many of the opportunities for dialogue within remote education have been shut down by the systemic insistence upon 'sameness'.

The point of good faith knowledge work is to find generative ways of doing difference. With this in mind, based around our moments of epistemic panic and disconcertment we need to commit to a process of 'mutual interrogation, which can reveal 'our' traditions to ourselves, as much as to the other' (Verran 2013, p. 154). We need to use mechanisms for 'finding a way to go on by staying in the feeling of disconcertment…staying with that moment of existential panic rather than trying to categorize and label things according to our own epistemological understandings and knowledge' (Verran 2013, p. 157).

Rose (2004), Martin (2008) and Buker (2014) all propose dialogue as a crucial mechanism for intercultural and intersectional knowledge work. Dialogue gives us opportunities to deepen our 'knowing about' and 'being known' by others (Martin 2008). It provides people with a chance to talk back on their own terms (Rose 2004) and requires a non-judgemental space (Martin 2008). Rose (2004) proposes that dialogue is an ethical alternative to the monologue that too often dominates our ways of being and doing. She proposes a particular kind of dialogue

> It is specifically a form of dialogue that requires difference. It seeks relationships across otherness without seeking to erase difference…dialogue begins where one is, is always situated…dialogue is open… (the) outcome is not known in advance (Rose 2004, p. 21)

Rose and Ford (1995) also remind us that ethical dialogue requires that we acknowledge and understand our particular and harshly situated presence. This is particularly important given the violence that monologue has wrought on Indigenous people in the past, and continues to do so. It is for this reason that we must find new ways of coming together in 'good faith' and tools such as dialogue that can work across chasms of radical harm. This is the purpose of committing to a space of good faith knowledge work.

Conclusion

If we wish to create effective and meaningful pathways for people from remote communities into teacher education, then we must find ways that do not continue the doubled violence of colonialism and neo-colonialism. We have to find ways of identifying and calling out the assimilationist practices still embedded in our policies, curricula and institutional behaviours, through listening to the stories of those who experience the impact of this assimilatory intent first hand. We need to be honest about the fact that our educational systems, including schools and the courses that prepare people to work in schools, operate within structures of cultural and social reproduction that have embedded in them deep levels of hegemonic ideology. We also need to understand that many of the people who work in schools do not critique this. As Santoro and Reid (2006) point out, it is not enough to focus on just the teacher education of Indigenous teachers. There is also a need for non-Indigenous teachers to be better prepared to work alongside Indigenous teachers and within Indigenous communities. We need to collectively learn how to allow and support our knowledges to intersect without one erasing the other.

The research upon which this paper is based asserts that (re)locating remote education efforts, including teacher education, into an intersectional knowledge space that is guided by the 'good faith' framework outlined above is the most responsible way to ensure that collaborative and generative partnerships can (re)emerge. It is in this kind of knowledge space that young Indigenous people from remote communities can effectively, safely and meaningfully engage in a teacher education pathway.

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Author bio

Although she grew up north of Melbourne, Lisa was lured to the blue skies and red dirt of central Australia over 18 years ago and has lived and worked in remote communities throughout the desert ever since. She has worked as a teacher, a curriculum advisor and a teacher-lecturer across a number of remote Indigenous schools and is currently working for Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education as a Lecturer in the Preparation for Tertiary Success (PTS) course. She also recently completed her PhD 'Moving Deeper into Difference – Developing meaningful and effective pathways into teacher education for Indigenous adults from remote communities' through Charles Darwin University.

Strengthening Australian Aboriginal participation in university STEM programs: A Northern Territory perspective

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Abstract

The broad discipline of Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM) has become a global focus for education and employment. Currently, Indigenous students are less likely to engage in STEM programs and careers than in other disciplines such as education, health, social sciences and arts. In Australia, schools and tertiary institutions are investigating opportunities to increase Indigenous participation in STEM. In 2016, the XE Maths project documented a series of six case studies of diverse Australian tertiary programs focussed on increasing Indigenous participation in STEM (Paige, Hattam, Rigney, Osborne & Morrison, 2016). This paper documents Charles Darwin University's initiatives, including the Whole of Community Engagement program, which provides pathways and enabling supports to potential university students across six very remote communities in the Northern Territory. Capacity within communities, a long-term commitment and vision, and culturally responsive approaches such as Both-ways STEM education are identified as central to increasing remote Indigenous community engagement with tertiary-level STEM.

Introduction

Globally, the disciplines of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) are considered of high socio-economic importance. Education for a skilled STEM workforce is arguably vital for economic growth, productivity, technological adaptation and innovation (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills [DBIS] 2014; Australian Industry Group 2015; United States Department of Education 2016). Yet participation in STEM disciplines at senior secondary or university level varies internationally (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2015; European Union Skills Panorama 2014; Smith 2017) and is seemingly declining in Australia (Kennedy, Lyons & Quinn 2014; but see Panizzon, Corrigan, Forgasz & Hopkins 2015).

For Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, school completion rates and transition-to-university statistics, particularly in STEM-related programs, remain significantly lower than for their non-Aboriginal peers (Dreise & Thomson 2014: 3). Throughout this paper, 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander' refers to Indigenous Australians. However, there is some variation in usage across national contexts, where the all-encompassing term 'Indigenous' is used. In the Northern Territory (NT) and remote Central Australia, the term Aboriginal is often used unless there is a specific intention to incorporate Torres Strait Islanders. Recent Higher Education data confirms that Aboriginal student enrolments in fields requiring strong mathematics and science literacy, such as Natural and Physical Sciences, Engineering, Architecture and Agriculture, are low in relation to other disciplines, with the exception of Health (see Figure 1). More visible and longer-established disciplines within Aboriginal communities such as Arts, Education and Society and Culture enjoy much higher rates of student participation.

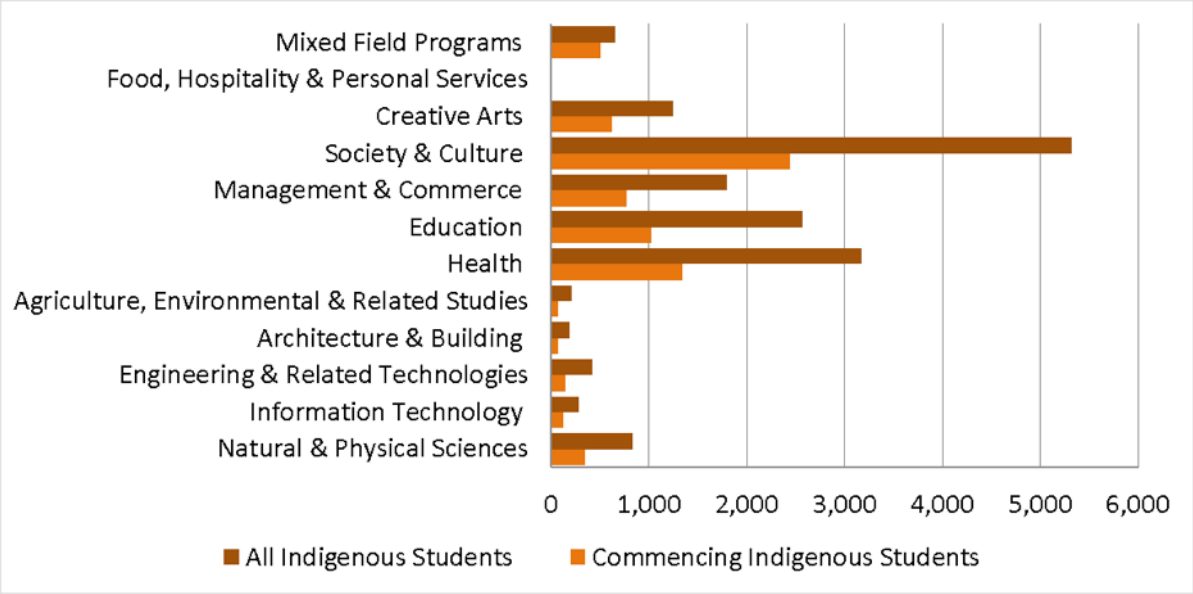

Figure 1: Commencing and all Indigenous students in Higher Education courses by broad field of education, 2015.

Source: Department of Education and Training, Australian Government Statistics Collection 2016.

Improving literacy and numeracy is considered fundamental to increasing Aboriginal participation in STEM. According to Australian National Assessment Program: Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) data, the mean scores for literacy and numeracy at Year 3 are already lower for Aboriginal students when compared to non-Aboriginal students (ACARA 2015: 63). By age 15, the mean score for Aboriginal students is significantly lower than the OECD average as determined by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Thomson, De Bortoli & Buckley 2013: 35-36). Nevertheless, in relation to STEM subjects, PISA data indicates that Aboriginal students value mathematics (Thomson, De Bortoli & Buckley 2013: 248), and show more interest in contextualised science than their non-Aboriginal peers (McConney, Oliver, Woods-McConney & Schibeci 2011). This suggests that those university programs which are traditionally unpopular among Aboriginal students need to become more visible and that greater effort should be invested in attracting students to these relatively unfamiliar programs (Kinnane, Wilks, Wilson, Hughes & Thomas 2016).

This paper originates from a broader project within the *Excellence and Equity in Mathematics* [XE] initiative (http://xe.edu.au/) which considered how tertiary institutions across various Australian locations engage Aboriginal communities and school students in STEM (see Paige, Hattam, Rigney, Osborne & Morrison 2016). The aim of the broader study was to identify successful initiatives for increasing Aboriginal student interest in STEM careers and university courses.

In the education sector, key issues relating to Aboriginal participation and achievement in STEM include:

- engagement in literacy and numeracy programs that underpin Western scientific and mathematic conceptual development and understanding (De Bortoli & Thomson 2010)
- potential epistemological, ontological and cosmological mismatches between Indigenous Knowledges and Western STEM 'cultures' and worldviews (Minutjukur & Osborne 2014; Nakata 2007a; Rigney & Hemming 2014; Verran 2005; Yunupingu 1999), including the philosophical foundations of notions of aspiration and success (Appadurai 2004; Burton & Osborne 2014; Osborne & Guenther 2013).
- unfamiliar, unsupportive and challenging university cultures, particularly in STEM disciplines (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012; Hall & Wilkes 2015; Nakata 2007b).

Using data derived from the broader project, this paper focuses on initiatives to engage geographically remote Indigenous students in STEM. For remote or very remote students interested in STEM, options for tertiary education in the NT include Charles Darwin University (CDU) and the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education (BIITE), both of which have campuses located in metropolitan and regional areas of the NT. CDU caters for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, while BIITE caters for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. These two institutions have a long history of enrolling students from remote communities and are well placed to describe and reflect on their experiences of engaging remote Aboriginal students in STEM.

This paper describes the endeavours of one university with a strong commitment to engaging remote Indigenous Australians in tertiary programs, including STEM. It concludes with some reflection on the issues and challenges that arise in relation to power, epistemology, situated identities and aspirations, and the imagining, resourcing and collaborations that will be required to grow remote Indigenous student engagement with STEM.

Methodology

Case study research focuses on the complexities of the phenomenon of interest (Stake 2005; Simons 2009); cases may be purposively selected for the learning opportunities they offer (Stake 2005: 451). The broader project aimed to identify and learn from the strategies used by the Australian Higher Education sector to engage Aboriginal students in STEM. First, a desk-top survey of all Australian university websites identified sites and programs that offer STEM initiatives for Aboriginal students. In identifying sites for closer study, several factors were considered, including national distribution, geo-location, diversity of programmes offered, and the institution's willingness or availability to participate in the research. Through this process, CDU was identified as a suitable site to bring a remote engagement perspective to the wider national landscape (for details of the other sites studied, see Paige et al. 2016). Ethics approval was obtained from the University of South Australia Human Research Ethics Committee.

An initial face-to-face interview was held with a STEM educator who works between schools, STEM-related organisations, and NT tertiary institutions. This educator has extensive experience in supporting remote schools and regional school groups to develop a contextually and culturally responsive STEM focus. Desktop research and review of literature was also undertaken to gather publically available data on various CDU remote engagement initiatives. Subsequently, further phone interviews were conducted with a senior officer working in the university's remote engagement program. Finally, the information gleaned by these processes was checked with key CDU staff.

The Northern Territory Context

The Northern Territory is the third largest federal division of land in Australia (Geoscience Australia 2017) but, with a population of around 245,000, it is the most sparsely populated of all states and territories (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS] 2016).

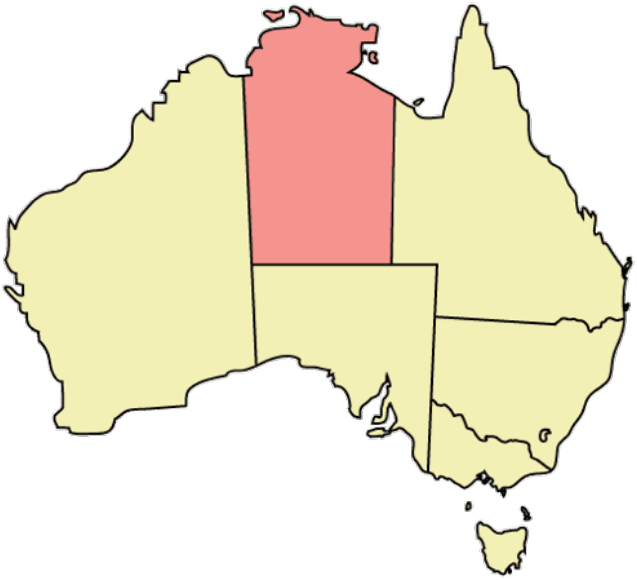

Figure 2: Location of Northern Territory (in red)
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Northern_Territory_locator-MJC.png

Demographically, around 30 per cent of the NT population identifies as Indigenous. The region features a network of very remote Aboriginal communities with distinct, yet intricately connected languages, histories, cultures and geographies, ranging from the southern arid regions of the Simpson Desert, Uluru, Kings Canyon and Kata Tjuta, to the tropical north including Darwin, Torres Strait Islands, Arnhem Land and Kakadu. In comparison to other states and territories, the NT has a very high concentration of relatively small Aboriginal communities (Figure 3).

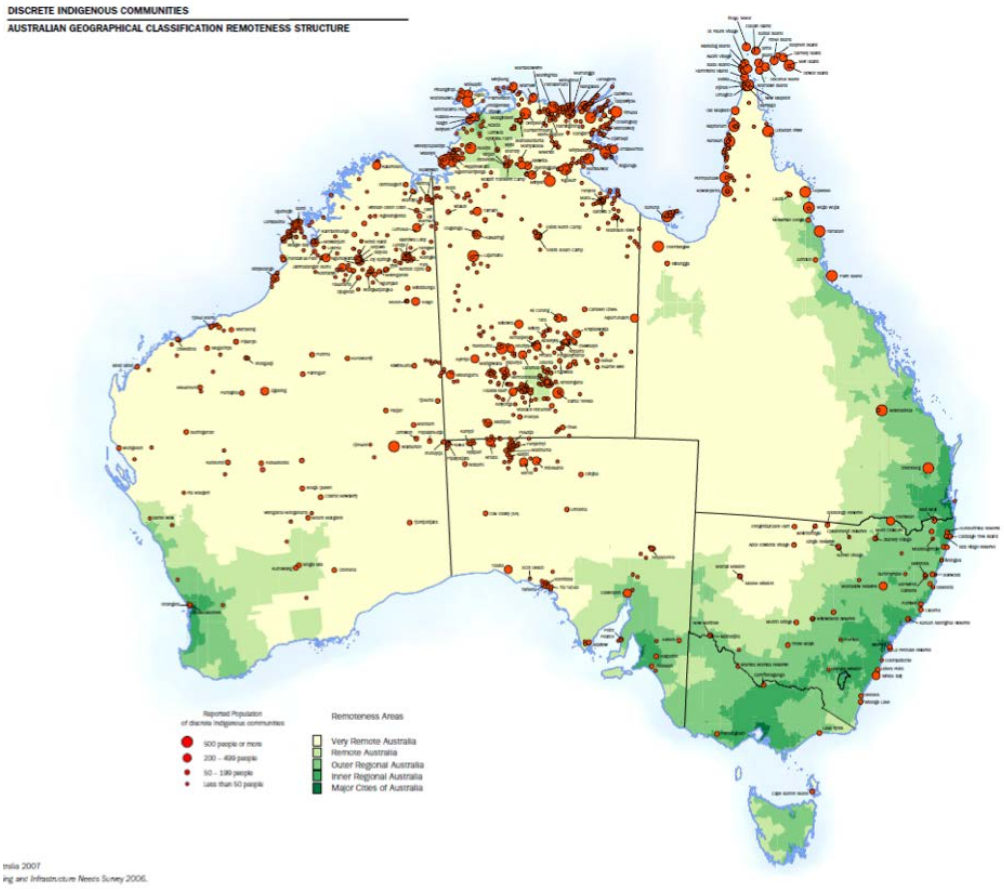

Figure 3: Size and distribution of remote Indigenous communities in Australia.
Source: Commonwealth of Australia 2007

When viewed through a service provision lens, factors such as sparse populations, unpredictable climate, cultural difference and remoteness are often viewed as problematic in coming to terms with NT (Stafford-Smith & Huigen 2009). However, CDU's approach to Indigenous engagement works *from* these locations (Ford 2005; Haraway 2004) of language, culture, community and geography, rather than *despite* them.

The remote context

The Northern Territory has the highest concentration of remote and very remote Indigenous communities in Australia (Figure 3). According to the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2004), several measures can be used to define 'remote', but the general principle is based on measuring the distance between communities and services located in large towns, such as hospitals, universities, and so on. According to the Cooperative Research Centre for Remote Economic Participation (CRC-REP 2017):

- 86 per cent of Australia's geographical area is considered remote.
- Remote Australia is home to 3 per cent of the national population.
- In remote areas, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people make up 15 per cent of the total population, and approximately 48 per cent of the population in very remote areas.
- 25 per cent of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia live in remote or very remote areas compared to 2 per cent for non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

Remote and very remote communities in the NT may have access to basic services such as a general store, a clinic and a school, although senior secondary schooling is often unavailable in smaller communities of less than 500 people. Most of these communities are located on ancestral lands and managed under some form of Aboriginal land holding such as Native Title or Aboriginal freehold. Communities include members of the local language group and outside professionals who live in the community to provide services.

The CDU context

Established in 2003, CDU is the only public university in NT and caters for approximately 22,000 students. The main campus is located in Darwin, with regional campuses in Palmerston, Alice Springs, Katherine and Nhulunbuy and smaller training centres located at Jabiru, Tennant Creek and Yulara.

CDU offers a range of undergraduate and postgraduate degrees and certificate-level Vocational Education and Training (VET) courses. Flexible study options include part-time, external and online programs. Many of the programs offered through CDU are the result of partnerships with industry bodies, State and Federal governments, and other national and international universities.

Each year, over 4,000 Indigenous students in over 150 locations across the NT study through CDU (http://www.cdu.edu.au/). CDU's partnership with BIITE, through the Australian Centre for Indigenous Knowledges and Education (ACIKE), is particularly significant in terms of the support and engagement of Indigenous students. BIITE's approach to education is underpinned by 'Both-ways' philosophy (Huijser et al. 2015; Ober & Bat 2007; Yunupingu 1999) of working between and across Indigenous Knowledges and Western science spaces. The partnership between CDU and BIITE enables a differentiated approach to engaging Indigenous students in university programs, including STEM programs.

CDU staff reported further challenges in attracting and retaining Indigenous enrolments:

> ... what we see in the NT, particularly with our private schools and our higher-achieving Indigenous students, is that interstate universities have very strategic marketing approaches in the way that they offer incentives to attract those students to their universities.

Given the enticement of high-performing Indigenous students to interstate universities, and the significant cohort of remote and very remote communities for which university participation is traditionally problematic, enabling strategies are necessary to increase opportunities for Indigenous Northern Territorians to participate in Higher Education. CDU faces two overarching yet interconnected challenges: (1) attracting Indigenous students to university and (2) attracting Indigenous students to STEM.

Increasing Indigenous participation in Higher Education and STEM

Australian university initiatives to increase participation in Higher Education may include (but are not limited to):

- School visits
- On-campus 'taster days'
- Preparatory/access courses
- Academic enrichment activities
- Open days and regional visits
- Partnerships with other organisations
- Mentoring
- Financial support (Ferrier, Heagney & Long 2008: 4)

Referring specifically to STEM outreach initiatives, Eliam, Bigger, Sadler, Barry and Bielik (2016) note that universities are highly diverse in their approaches. In order to widen participation for remote Indigenous students, CDU and BIITE have implemented a suite of engagement strategies.

Initially, CDU focused on community engagement as a foundation for strengthening relationships between Indigenous communities and the university. According to the enrolment data, there has been minimal uptake of Western STEM university programs by Aboriginal people living in the remote regions. This reality has led the university to develop alternative pathways and enabling strategies.

CDU has a range of programs that encourage participation in Higher Education. Many of these programs have a whole of community focus, such as the Aspire program (see http://www.cdu.edu.au/aspire), where senior secondary students are provided with mentoring, workshops, student supports and orientation to CDU's Darwin campus to encourage successful transition into Higher Education. Such programs include, but are not specifically targeted towards, Indigenous students. CDU facilitates opportunities for on-site student visits to expose Indigenous students to a range of programs, including within the field of STEM, such as Nursing, Midwifery, Aquaculture and a range of VET programs. CDU partners, including the Menzies School of Health Research, also offer orientation visits to the laboratory science program. A STEM educator interviewed for this study reported that these initiatives were highly valued by teachers and students as opportunities to bring together remote students, spark student interest in STEM and encourage students to see themselves as part of a larger group. A CDU manager described a successful 'site orientation' approach, but noted the resource-intensive nature of such initiatives:

> A group of six students from [a local Indigenous private school participated in] a more tailored program with our Nursing and Midwifery area. That resulted in five or six students enrolling in Nursing at CDU, many of which [sic] got scholarships. Many of those students were high-achieving Indigenous students at [the school and] were rewarded as such, but it was through a simple tailored program for six students that we were able to get that result, and that can be quite highly intensive and resource intensive.

In 2011, CDU commenced a partnership with Flinders University in South Australia to offer medical studies to 14 Indigenous students within a combined intake of 24 students, including enrolments from the NT. Four years on, student retention in this program has been problematic. Likewise, within CDU STEM programs, Indigenous enrolments are well below wider participation rates. Retention of Indigenous students faces numerous challenges, including the high cost of living in Darwin and lack of scholarship programs and other subsidies. For some students, this situation forces them to live with relations where conditions are not always conducive to ongoing study. CDU staff described current efforts to provide more appropriate supports for Indigenous students.

These concerns have prompted the university to address some of these issues through a ten-year plan to build on existing relationships and strengthen the university's current Indigenous engagement strategies. Included in this plan is a specific focus on Indigenous leadership programs and plans for an NT Centre for STEM Engagement. This Centre would operate on a partnership model and CDU anticipates opportunities to increase Indigenous engagement throughout the programs it would offer.

A feature of CDU's approach to providing access to quality programs in remote areas is their commitment to partnerships with other institutions. For example, programs offered in partnership with BIITE include literacy and

numeracy foundation programs, health, education and community-based studies. Such partnerships strengthen the university's ability to engage expert educators and to enrol a critical mass of students. This in turn strengthens the economic sustainability of the programs on offer.

CDU works in close partnership with the NT Government (currently within a formal 2014-2021 partnership agreement), Flinders University, Menzies School of Health Research, BIITE (through ACIKE), NAILSMA (North Australian Indigenous Land and Sea Management Alliance) and CSIRO (The Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation), although recent Federal disinvestment in CSIRO has presented challenges in the provision of STEM programs.

Challenges

The STEM educator described some of the challenges for Indigenous school students living in remote locations such as Alice Springs and beyond. The scarcity of large-scale STEM programs, whether in school or out-of-school, coupled with the low number of peers intending to further their studies at university, makes it difficult for students to pursue STEM through their senior secondary years and into Higher Education.

Currently, student interest in STEM is encouraged through a series of partnership-based short-term programs. These include visits to CSIRO in locations such as Alice Springs, field trips to Menzies School of Health and CDU in Darwin with small groups of interested students, engagement activities with the Arid Lands Environment Centre (ALEC) (http://alec.org.au/) and an annual STEM open day in Alice Springs, held in partnership with the University of Newcastle. This event attracts a large number of Indigenous students. Such programs rely heavily on the energy, interest and goodwill of teachers. The STEM educator interviewed expressed frustration that high profile STEM programs that provide active supports, mentoring and role models for Indigenous students were often overlooked by teachers, with students encouraged instead towards programs that focus primarily on participation in sport, school attendance and wellbeing. Such initiatives often divert students from regular STEM lessons and consequently limit their capacity to participate in STEM programs offered through CDU and their Darwin-based partners. A similar frustration was shared by a CDU-based interviewee, who described a community school which had been approached by up to 12 different Indigenous student programs, largely targeting the Indigenous leadership space. Such programs can divert potential high-end achievers in STEM.

CDU recognises the importance of a flexible community engagement approach within the cultural and geographic context of the NT, but also the need to step outside of the limitations of traditional, institutionally-based Western scientific programs in engaging remote Aboriginal communities, their knowledges and values in Higher Education programs (Smith, Larkin, Yibarbuk & Guenther 2017). Federal funding received in 2013 has provided an opportunity for CDU to undertake a broad-based approach to community engagement with selected remote Indigenous communities. This program is described below.

Whole of Community Engagement

CDU's enabling strategies include the *Whole of Community Engagement (WCE) Initiative* which received around $7.5M of Australian Government funding through the Higher Education Participation and Partnerships Programme (HEPPP) over a three year period, with funding due to finish in 2016. At the time of writing, it is possible that aspects of the initiative will receive further funding from 2017 but this is not confirmed. The WCE Initiative worked across six very remote community sites to explore strategies to increase the participation of young people in Higher Education. These communities were Yirrkala, Galiwin'ku, Maningrida and Gunbalanya in the Arnhem Land region, Tennant Creek in the Central Desert region and Yuendemu in the Tanami, some 300km north-west of Alice Springs. As described below, each of these communities and regions has unique linguistic and historical contexts, including diverse interactions with colonialism that shape the nature of engagement with education and the potential for participation in Higher Education.

Yirrkala has a long history of championing a bilingual approach to education. Here, the late Dr M. Yunupingu (1999) worked as school principal and developed the Both-ways vision and model. This tradition continued through the work of his wife, Yalmay, who was also employed through the WCE Initiative, along with numerous other Yolngu and Balanda (non-Indigenous) educators (see CDU 2007; Dhimurru Aboriginal Corporation 2013; Matthews et al. 2005).

Tennant Creek, a town of approximately 3,000 people, is located between Alice Springs and Katherine, some 900kms south of Darwin. In this region, the Warumungu people were buffeted between the expanding pastoral

industry and gold mining activities in the region, causing Warumungu populations and language severe hardships. Local Indigenous people live dispersed throughout the town, in fringe camps and in small communities and pastoral stations in the area.

Yuendumu is one of four major Warlpiri communities (including Lajamanu, Willowra and Nyirripi) in the Tanami region, a primarily desert environment stretching east-west across mid-Northern Territory. The Yuendumu community also has a long history of engagement with bilingual education (Nicholls 2005) with qualified Yapa (Warlpiri) educators still actively involved, a number of whom are also employed through WCE. Yapa invest heavily in education initiatives through gold mining royalties which are administered through the Warlpiri Education and Training Trust (Minutjukur et al. 2014).

The Arnhem Land communities of Gunbalanya, Maningrida and Galiwin'ku represent dozens of languages and dialects and incorporate a large network of homelands. Some of these homelands have small Homeland Learning Centres where limited schooling is provided as available resources and seasonal conditions allow. Gunbalanya School is the first remote school in the NT to achieve Independent Government School status (January 2016) and has achieved a steady increase in year 12 graduates over the past few years. Other independent schools are also surfacing in the region, such as the Narwaddeken Academy (http://www.nawarddekenacademy.com).

The unique and dispersed nature of these very remote partner communities (for example, Yuendumu is more than 1,000 kilometres from CDU's Casuarina campus) has required CDU to develop an approach that moves away from an outreach or remote service delivery paradigm, and instead locates investment and activities within the community. In this way, the community is both local and central within the initiative (Guenther, Halsey & Osborne 2015; Guenther et al. in press).

Aims and objectives of WCE

CDU has taken an action research approach to informing community engagement across these six sites with the view to increasing university participation, including in STEM programs. In the remote context, this approach has included the employment of local people with tertiary experience or community level leadership to lead the process of investigating the aspirations of local community members and proposing models for how possibilities for tertiary participation might be strengthened. Many of these community members are alumni of CDU or BIITE and were keen to be involved to encourage younger community members to explore tertiary engagement opportunities. A CDU manager of WCE described the process as trying to identify and better understand the broader issues:

> … the system blocks, so it's not merely about what do we do when the students get there, it's about understanding these various system barriers for them to be able to enter higher education, full stop. So it's addressing issues around accommodation, addressing issues around travel and family support; it's addressing those issues around academic literacy and [numeracy].

CDU has taken a 'bottom-up' approach by addressing the logistical and system barriers to remote Aboriginal student participation in their programs.

Capacity building and intergenerational approaches

The WCE Initiative manager identified two key issues arising from this work in relation to participation in STEM:

> … looking across the six sites … it's been very much bottom-up in the approach, and to be honest STEM hasn't emerged as [an immediately obvious] priority, and I would probably say that's because the issue of LLN [language, literacy and numeracy] has been identified as a priority in … all of the six communities that we're working in.

The manager explained that students in the partner communities (and by implication, the broader remote community context) are not completing school and VET courses with the mathematics and literacy skills required to gain direct entry into Higher Education. This restricts opportunities for remote Indigenous learners to enter and succeed in Higher Education STEM programs through traditional pathways:

> …there's a need to systemically invest in that space, and … there's been a failure both of the school system and of VET and the Higher Education system in supporting Indigenous students to excel in that regard.

Traditional pathways into university STEM, such as completing high school with a sufficient university entrance (ATAR) score and a strong grounding in mathematics and science, are generally not visible for remote students, but STEM engagement is not *in*visible by any means:

> There has been a great deal of work in the STEM space happening through a partnership with NAILSMA and the Research Institute for the Environment and Livelihoods – these activities have primarily centred around land and sea management. This has included the development of Indigenous land management curriculum resource [for VET programs]. Ultimately this work will create pathways into Higher Education in the environmental sciences space.
>
> I think a problem … is that the term STEM does not mean anything to the communities in which we are working. If it is broken down, and examples provided, then it may emerge as a higher priority.

CDU's WCE approach has involved employing a local Community Engagement Leader, a Mentor and an Engagement Officer to work alongside each partner communities. Additionally, local people who have an interest in education have been employed to support the work. Many of these local employees are senior community members who have degrees or double degrees through institutions such as BIITE, CDU, or interstate universities (Deakin University and Curtin University). A manager describes the process this way:

> We're having conversations with communities to say, 'What are the issues? What are the problems?' We're documenting those, and then we're starting to have conversations at more of a systems level around how can they be changed or how can they be improved. So part of it is taking … some of the community perspectives back to institutions like Batchelor, CDU, and the Department of Education who are … partners in this project, and saying, 'Hey guys, what's happening is not working. Schools aren't fulfilling their obligation in terms of language and literacy for these remote students, and we've all got improvements to make.

To put some perspective around this concern, according to a CDU senior manager, there was only one very remote Indigenous student in the NT who attained an ATAR score enabling direct entry into university in 2015. To counter this issue, CDU and BIITE have in place long-standing 'Indigenous specific' enabling programs to support students (including adult entry students) who have the capacity and desire to attend university but whose ATAR score precludes enrolment. These enabling programs include bridging courses (such as *Preparation for Tertiary Success* and the *Tertiary Enabling Program*, see Hall & Wilkes 2015), academic literacy programs, language supports and scholarship programs to assist with accommodation and other ongoing costs. According to a program manager who was interviewed for the research, these initiatives also place the university well to cater for the needs of international students.

Working Both-ways

Beyond questions of how the university might break down barriers to bring Indigenous people in to the university, there are important questions in terms of engaging the existing languages, knowledges, strengths and values in the myriad of remote communities situated throughout the NT. Interactions between Aboriginal communities and Western institutions are shaped by the continuing presence of Indigenous lore and law, language, reciprocal cultural obligations, and the retelling of stories as the conduit for activating Indigenous Knowledges and histories. Scientific engagement occurs at what Nakata (2007a) calls 'the cultural interface', a complex and contested space where knowledge is negotiated between and amongst significant points of epistemological, ontological and cosmological difference (see also Foley 2003; Ford 2005; Rigney & Hemming 2014; Rigney 1999).

Building on BIITE's Both-ways approach, Indigenous ways of knowing are central to a range of CDU partnerships and programs where scientific engagement works between and across the spaces of Indigenous Knowledge and Western science. This knowledge negotiation process takes place across all of CDU's university courses including education and health, but is particularly important in VET programs such as Learning on Country and environmental sciences. The dual-sector structure enables CDU to offer a wide range of accredited VET programs, which can be constructed and delivered within a Both-ways pedagogical frame, including research methodologies, but these units can also be recognised for credit towards university degrees. This opportunity is firmly in the minds of CDU management but has not fully become embedded in what the university offers. A manager explains:

We've got that opportunity to get those pathways and transitions between VET and higher education mapped out. We can look at articulating pathways between Cert IV and diploma-level courses, so we've started that certainly in the Education space, and in the Nursing space.

There are opportunities there but we've still got a long way to go. It needs to be systematised and coordinated much better than what we do at the moment, but certainly we're starting to do research in that space as well, which will be really important to inform the way that the university moves forward.

Partnerships offer potential for Both-ways engagement through bringing expertise and resources to remote regions that are otherwise limited if working in isolation.

Working in collaboration

Formal partnerships, such as the medical research and studies partnership with Flinders University and Menzies School of Health, and partnerships with ALEC and CSIRO, bring expertise to the entire student cohort. Within the current university structure, partnerships specifically aimed at on-campus Indigenous students have tended to focus on the area of Indigenous leadership and aspirations in collaboration with non-profit or sporting organisations such as the Foundation for Young Australians and the Michael Long Learning and Leadership Centre. As mentioned above, there are also discussions underway to establish the NT Centre for STEM Education, which CDU expects to take the lead on.

Both-ways programs located on Country, rather than on-campus, are also strengthened through a partnership approach. For example, NAILSMA piloted an Indigenous Land and Conservation Management program tailored to northern Australian contexts, while CDU's Research Institute for Environment and Livelihoods is developing an Indigenous fire curriculum. This work builds on traditional Indigenous environmental management practices where strategic burning of the land has been central to survival and cultural relationships with Country for millennia. These programs feature Both-ways knowledge engagement, create local Indigenous employment opportunities, and underpin VET courses that can provide pathways into various university-level environment and land management programs.

CDU prioritises methodologies that are both culturally and contextually responsive (Burgess & Evans 2017; Daniels-Mayes & Sinclair 2014; Guenther 2015) and that engage learners and the wider community through a differentiated and collaborative approach to curriculum development, teaching and research. A number of initiatives described are aimed at offering familiarisation/site experiences, although some comments suggested the university is aware of the need to be more systematic and better coordinated in how this occurs across the partnerships and disciplines.

Evaluation of CDU and BIITE's initiatives

Gale et al. (2010) outline important ingredients for successful tertiary-based equity programs, which they have framed as a Design and Evaluation Matrix for Outreach (DEMO) (for applications of DEMO see Austin & Heath 2010; O'Brien 2011; Skene, Pollard & House 2016). This model is adapted here as a basis to consider CDU's remote engagement strategy:

Strategy	Characteristics	Evidence
Assembling Resources	- People rich - Financial support and/or incentives - Early, long-term, sustained	CDU has invested in employing community members as central to the WCE initiative. CDU recognises the need for long-term and consistent investment, although resources are not certain.
Engaging learners	- Recognition of difference - Enhanced academic curriculum - Research driven	CDU prioritise local community language, knowledges and cultures rather than simply 'recognising difference'. STEM programs are co-designed and delivered with partners such as NAILSMA.
Working together	- Collaboration - Cohort-based	Collaboration to deliver differentiated programs is central to the CDU model.
Building confidence	- Communication and information - Familiarisation/site experiences - Creating inclusive learning environments	There is some work in this area although could be better coordinated across the university.
Inclusivity and equity	- Inclusive, engaged, respectful partnerships - Culturally responsive curricula and pedagogy - Professional learning for cultural and linguistic diversity - Recognition, validation of diverse epistemologies	This is being attempted through the partner communities and the development of localised hubs. Each hub can locally generate program curricula and pedagogical models. There are challenges about building consistency and reliability into this work .

The university recognises that significant financial and human resources have been invested into the early phase of capacity building and establishing partnerships. It is understood that current investments need to be seen within the context of a long-term strategy before enrolments, completions and other data will become visible.

Broader implications and issues for reflection

As seen previously (Figure 1), national statistics indicate a tendency for Indigenous students to be attracted towards courses and disciplines outside of STEM. CDU/BIITE endeavour to work closely with Indigenous students and communities to build capacity for tertiary engagement. This is undertaken through a range of enabling strategies and programs. The Whole of Community Engagement Initiative has engaged senior community members to guide community dialogue regarding options to increase tertiary engagement, inform and shape culturally appropriate research methodology and practices, and encourage young people in the communities to get involved. The CDU/BIITE model resists notions of deficit and disadvantage in preference for an approach that builds on the strengths of Indigenous communities, languages and knowledges in a dual epistemological teaching and research context.

One of the concerns for CDU is the sustainability of programs through securing long-term funding. For example, the Whole of Community Engagement Initiative can only continue if additional funds are received. Overall, the Northern Territory, particularly in the Indigenous policy space, is exposed to 'boom and bust' cycles of policy and

industry fortunes (Stafford-Smith & Huigen 2009). Recent examples include the Northern Territory Emergency Response (commonly referred to as 'the intervention'), fluctuations in mining activity in the region, and the newly emerging policy focus on 'Developing Northern Australia' (see https://northernaustralia.nt.gov.au). Each of these cycles potentially present opportunities to CDU for partnerships, funding and research engagement, but none are a given in the medium to long-term. The fickle nature of funding in the NT is well understood by the university and the long-term planning process is intended to allow the various cycles to enhance, rather than determine, the university's priorities.

CDU is considering how it might factor in long-term resources to bridge the divide between remote students and the university's programs, such as Indigenous leadership programs, continuing courses, and the emerging national STEM focus. It remains to be seen whether the scientific, economic and socio-cultural value of Indigenous Knowledges is recognised in the national STEM policy context. For senior management of tertiary institutions, plans for long-term commitments to Indigenous Knowledges, community aspirations and the development of dual epistemological models of STEM are likely to require internal financial outlay rather than attracting external funding.

Arguing from a political and practical perspective, Australian Indigenous scholars advocate for more than mere recognition (Fraser & Honneth 2003) of Indigenous Knowledges; rather, Indigenous Knowledges should be included in framing the terms of reference for knowledge production and scientific engagement (Arbon 2008; Ford 2010; Nakata 2007b; Yunkaporta & McGinty 2009). Such framing should work from a starting point of the community assets (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez 1992) of family, community, culture and language. Any initiative towards increasing remote Indigenous student engagement in tertiary STEM programs needs to come to terms with these broader debates and to be responsive to Indigenous concerns regarding the role of power and epistemology in knowledge production and redistribution. One strategy, as identified in the CDU model, is to involve Indigenous people as participants and employees, but more importantly, as co-constructors of knowledge that is valued and is considered central to strengthening the futures of communities, families and young people.

Simply increasing enrolment via scholarships and alternative pathways (for example, lowering Indigenous entry requirements), is not only inadequate, but potentially places students at risk once they arrive in the institution (Bunda, Zipin & Brennan 2012). To increase participation and completion rates, student and community engagement, and to fulfil institutional equity commitments, it is also necessary to transform the institution. Anderson, Bunda and Walter (2008) suggest that important prerequisites for increasing Indigenous participation include committed university staff, long-term vision, an institutional culture which provides a safe, comfortable learning environment (see also Bin-Sallik 2003), and increased Indigenous employment within the university.

Another important consideration is challenging the 'remote service delivery' paradigm. Where city-based institutions are identified as the centre of scientific knowledge, 'remote' communities will always be considered distant and difficult to 'service'. Shifting the language from 'remote' to 'local' (Bleby 2017; Guenther, Halsey, & Osborne 2015), that is, to see the community as the centre of knowledge production and expertise (Ford 2005; Rigney & Hemming 2014; Yunkaporta & McGinty 2009) is one step towards re-orienting assumptions about the 'locations' of valuable knowledges (Haraway 2004; Moll et al. 1992; Zipin 2013) and who controls the resourcing and redistribution of these knowledges (Fraser 2009). The CDU case study identifies the importance of local engagement, local knowledges and local participation in dual epistemological STEM programs as central to their pedagogical and knowledge production models. Reorienting conventional notions of the locus of institutional knowledge and power within tertiary institutions is a challenge that is both political and practical (Nakata 2007a). Tertiary institutions must recognise locally generated knowledges and curricula within the broader national accreditation structures and standards, and reposition Indigenous Knowledges as both valued and valuable within Indigenous STEM initiatives.

Conclusion

This case study outlines Charles Darwin University's approach to engaging remote Aboriginal communities and potential students in tertiary education, including a focus on STEM. In addition to a range of pathways and enabling initiatives to increase access and familiarity within the institution, CDU recognises the need for long-term commitment and broad-based investment into relationships with communities. Issues raised within the case study include questions of funding, equity, power and epistemology, and in particular the role of Indigenous and locally-generated knowledges in higher education STEM programs.

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