

## The Australian Journal of INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

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been providing out of normal budget allocations. The programmes established with Aboriginal money left Aboriginal families "mired in sickness and poverty" (p. 94) but the government continued to ignore the problems caused by its parsimonious funding of Aboriginal settlements and missions. At the same time, the government was underpaying Aboriginal workers and charging them for their own incarceration in settlements knowing that the cost of goods on those communities was much higher than elsewhere. All that could result from this, for the Aboriginal people, was poor living standards and poor health.

Government benefited from its misuse of Aboriginal money in other ways. For instance, money was taken to support public hospitals in which Aboriginal people were not welcome. In effect, the health of the wider community came at the expense of the well-being of Aboriginal people. But when staff of settlements asked for enough money to stop the malnutrition and disease rife in communities by simple measures such as providing fruit juice, the government claimed it was too costly to do so. It was profiting from the interest of Aboriginal money invested, saving money from consolidated revenue by charging the costs of Aboriginal settlements to Aboriginal accounts, grossly underpaying Aboriginal workers, in general mismanaging Aboriginal money, while at the same time providing insufficient money to keep the communities and their residents at a reasonable standard.

The Queensland government's mismanagement didn't stop there. It went so far as to misuse Commonwealth money intended for housing for Aboriginal people at an appropriate standard. Instead of following guidelines, the Queensland government used the Commonwealth funding to build houses with no laundries or toilets and no internal water and refused to build houses for those most in need as they were considered a bad risk. It understaffed the area responsible for managing the collection of rents and failed to pursue rents owing, causing considerable losses which were transferred to the Aboriginal Welfare Fund. The Welfare Fund was drained of resources by other cases of bad investment and mismanagement enumerated by Kidd, leaving the Fund with grossly less money than it should have retained. And at least from the 1970s the government was aware of these problems, but did nothing to redress them. Kidd concludes that her "analysis of the Welfare Fund suggests there is now a wealth of evidence of abuse of trust, including improper charges against the Fund, failure to implement standard checks and balances to prevent losses and failure to amend identified systemic defects" (p. 163).

The losers, of course, were the Aboriginal people whose money was put into that fund in trust. Not only did previous governments break that trust, but the current government compounds the problem by refusing to adequately compensate Aboriginal people

for their losses, individually and as a community. What Kidd does not articulate, but what is clear from the evidence, is that the poverty, poor health, lack of skills, low educational levels and all the other disadvantages experienced by Aboriginal Queenslanders today are the results of deliberate actions and inaction by the Queensland government over many decades. What she does make clear is that the misuse of Aboriginal money in a whole range of ways was in breach of its fiduciary duty to the Aboriginal people of Queensland.

This is a crime that someone should be called to account for, and this is the great value of Kidd's book. The evidence she has meticulously accumulated and presented in a readable, well-argued book, will be invaluable to those Aboriginal people who continue to pursue their rights through the legal system.

## ABORIGINAL DARWIN: A GUIDE TO EXPLORING IMPORTANT SITES OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

Toni Bauman

Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 2006, xxx+150pp, ISBN 0 85575 446 X

Reviewed by Ailsa Purdon

Department of Education, Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education, Batchelor Institute, Post Office, Batchelor, Northern Territory, 0845, Australia

For some, Darwin is the end of the earth, for others it is the beginning of a new life, while for the Larrakia, it has been the centre of a society for thousands of years in which economic, social and political systems were generated and sustained locally and not at the periphery.

White Australia came late to the Northern Territory and to Darwin. As the ongoing campaign for statehood reminds us, the Northern Territory is still an outpost of a modern state, rather than a modern state in its own right, leaving Darwin an administrative centre, a branch office town, a military town to which people came and from which they leave with monotonous regularity. The foundations of the town to which White Australia came, however, was a diverse and multiracial community built around the Indigenous population, the Larrakia.

If Darwin does become a capital city of a modern state, it will be a state which reflects continental diversity more than any other. The current Indigenous population of the Northern Territory is usually estimated as close to 30% of the total population and growing. The Indigenous population provides

almost the only natural population growth rates in the country. Some 40% of the Northern Territory school population is identified as Indigenous. With at least 25% of the population with one parent born overseas, some 75% of the school population is deemed to be speakers of English as a second language. The last of the Australian states will be one of the most racially and culturally diverse – the last two hundred years of white, Anglo Australia a hiccup of history.

Toni Bauman's book is a timely reminder that Darwin has never really been a white town. As she points out in the introduction to the book, within only a few decades of a permanent outpost of the colony of South Australia being established in 1869 and by the time the Commonwealth *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was passed, Darwin was already a mix of Indigenous Australian peoples, Chinese, Japanese and Indonesians as well as white administrators and transient workers.

This did not mean that the Indigenous and non-white peoples were welcomed as Australian citizens. The history of racial control and segregation, the exploitation of labour on a racial basis on which the white Australian state was built elsewhere was introduced into the Territory in the early twentieth century and continued well into the 1960s, within the living memories of some of our community. These experiences built new communities rooted in the need for resilience and mutual support, communities which intersected with existing identities based on connections to land, family and language across the Northern Territory.

While the remains of the Retta Dixon half-caste home in Karu Park bring back memories for many of Darwin's citizens, they are no longer the same fearful, confused responses of my daughter, who sees herself as black and white together rather than as a half-caste.

Darwin has been destroyed twice, once as the frontline during World War II and the second time from the forces of nature. Once again these experiences have provided not only opportunities for regrowth, redevelopment and rebuilding but also for a sense of ownership and place for those who participated in these events. Bauman describes the war time years as the end of an era: the participation of the local Aboriginal people in the military occupation was an opportunity for them to participate, to use their skills and to fight for their country in an alliance with their fellow Australians for the first time.

This book contributes to the foundations of the new, urbane Darwin which sees itself as a modern capital. Each of the 27 sites featured in the book, and located within the Darwin city limits, is developed and given additional layers as it is connected to its history: its long-time ago past as well as its immediate past. Written for visitors to the Top End, it also provides possibilities which many residents may not have been aware of: the stories provide an introduction

to community, a welcoming to become part of our community, a community in which we all can share, a community with its foundations in the traditions of the Larrakia.

The closeness of this history to the everyday life of contemporary Darwin makes the teaching of the Studies of Society and the Environment in Darwin schools a really rich experience. This richness of community is also valued by the Northern Territory's two tertiary institutions, Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education and Charles Darwin University, providing primary experiences for studies in community and social development, environment, law and languages among others.

Aboriginal Darwin provides an excellent introduction to the possibilities of scholarship through social history of this area. The accessibility of the sites makes them readily available to our school children and their teachers providing the possibilities for rich educational experiences in a variety of learning areas. The Mangrove Boardwalk and Monsoon Forest Vine Walk, the Rapid Creek and Casuarina Coastal Reserve all provide opportunities for rich environmental study, for example.

The list of Aboriginal events and organisations at the back of the book provide an invitation to participate in the ongoing life of Aboriginal Australia in Darwin and the Northern Territory. The activities which visitors and residents might experience at these Aboriginal events, and through these organisations, have a cultural richness and integrity not found in many other places. Activities such as last year's performance by the Symphony Orchestra at the Walking with the Spirits Festival at Beswick Falls, or the Telstra Art Award bring together ongoing Indigenous cultural ideas with contemporary media and non-Indigenous traditions. The Garma Festival held in Arnhem Land, an invitation to participate in discussion and debates from Yolngu perspectives which have been developed with intellectual traditions which are far more established than those of white Australia.

The further reading list, also at the back of the book, provides opportunities for general reading but also alludes to the rich literature available on Aboriginal Darwin as a centre of contemporary Indigenous Australia. The Northern Territory Library is also given the acknowledgement it deserves as a rich starting point for social research on Aboriginal Darwin.

The book is said to serve two purposes – a guidebook and an alternative social history. The organisation of the beginning of the book seems to attempt to speak to tourists rather than residents. The introduction to the protocols for coming onto Indigenous land could be made stronger. The Larrakia Nation's own pronouncement of Cultural Protocols and Welcome to Country could have taken precedence over the explanation, bringing the visual representation forward to be followed by the written

explanation of the welcome to Larrakia Country. Then the introduction of the book "About this book" provides further explanation for why a reader might read this book, orienting the reader to the place, the people and the cultural issues required to understand the cultural protocols referred to in the "Responsible travel" and "Travelling respectfully beyond Darwin" sections.

"Responsible travel" brings together the issues of cultural responsibility as well as personal safety. Separating them into two sections would have more successfully reinforced the importance of each – "Culturally responsible travel" including the sections on "Travelling respectfully beyond Darwin" and then "Travelling safely".

"Travelling respectfully beyond Darwin" needs more information about the accessibility of Aboriginal communities or land for tourists. A map showing the location of Aboriginal land and clearly detailing those places which are accessible, those which require permits and those which are not normally open to tourists at all would give a truer reflection of the accessibility of Aboriginal land than the current section "Respecting people's privacy" does.

Some clearer guidelines on how to "be especially sensitive during funerals and cultural ceremonies" (page x) is essential. My own experience is that unless the ceremonies are being performed for a public audience or you have an invitation, in which case you usually receive a "guide", it is very rare for visitors to be present at such ceremonies. The recognition of local ownership and the need for visitors/strangers to make known their purpose and intent underpins the warning about waiting for an invitation. This information should be provided more directly, given the history of Aboriginal people.

As I write this review the Larrakia have just lost their case for Native Title to certain sites of Darwin. Land claims over areas around Darwin have been the longest running in NT history and subject to appeal and counterappeal. Darwin and its environs are still closely contested between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Aboriginal Darwin, then, is a timely reminder. It provides a recognition of ongoing ownership and rights, an introduction to the foundation and history of Darwin beyond more than a century or two suggesting possibilities for more detailed and specialist Australian histories. It also documents the willingness of the Larrakia to be part of the development of Darwin into a capital city, the capital of a twenty-first century state, not a nineteenth or twentieth century state.

I would recommend this book not just to tourists but as an introduction to Darwin for all residents. In particular, I would suggest that those who might be coming to Darwin to teach our children be provided with a copy. It provides all of us with the opportunity to walk across the bridge of reconciliation each time we travel our city.

## DISTURBANCES AND DISLOCATIONS: UNDERSTANDING TEACHING AND LEARNING EXPERIENCES IN INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S MUSIC AND DANCE

Elizabeth Mackinlay

European University Studies Series XI Education, Vol. 932, Peter Lang, Bern, 2007, 296pp, ISBN 978-3-03910-825-1

Reviewed by Robin Ryan

22B John Street, North Fremantle, Western Australia, 6159, Australia

Prodigious scholar and educator Elizabeth Mackinlay recently garnered an international publication based on her second doctoral dissertation. Centred in the discipline of education, this stimulating ethnographic case study documents her half-decade of work as a Senior Lecturer in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit at the University of Queensland in Brisbane. In this educational setting Mackinlay facilitated the participation, beginning in 1997, of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in her course ANTH2120 Women's Music and Dance in Indigenous Australia. Mackinlay is a critical thinker and theorist with a keen sense of calling and a magnanimous, humane spirit shines through all her presentations and publications.

Most notably, Yanyuwa women Dinah a-Marrangawi Norman, Jemima a-Wuwarlu Miller, Rosie a-Makurndurnamara Noble and Linda a-Wambadurnamara McDinny from the Aboriginal community at Borroloola, Northern Territory, participated in the course as guest lecturers/performers of their music/dance culture. Drawing primarily on workshops they conducted in 2000 and 2001 (preceded by a 1999 pilot study), the book explores the polyphonic nature of power relations, performance roles and pedagogical texts in the context of teaching and learning Indigenous Australian women's music and dance.

In many ways the model on which this teaching and learning is based resembles that pioneered by Mackinlay's mentor, the late ethnomusicologist Catherine Ellis, in her establishment of the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM) at the University of Adelaide in 1975 (see pp. 54-55). CASM remains the prototype for the official recognition and