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Views and voices: indigenous people in Australian teaching and learning materials 2000-2011

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Abstract

The article compares the telling of Indigenous Australians' history as they are presented in teaching and learning materials for History education written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians and by White Australians. Three positions of ethno-race are presented: firstly the Indigenous people as a people of nature, secondly Indigenous people becoming European Australians and thirdly Indigenous people as nomadic. Inspired by the concept of intersectionality, the three positions are connected with the socio-cultural categories of gender, sexuality, nationality and class. Different views of history are shown in light of the questions 'where' and 'who' used by Indigenous Australians, whereas the questions of 'why' and 'when' are more used by White Australians. The storytelling in the materials written by Indigenous Australians is about the European invasion of their country and the nature of Indigenous people. White Australians present this history as an invasion but also as a period of European exploration and adventure.

Key words: Indigenous Australians, White Australians, ethno-race, intersectionality, storytelling.

Introduction

Most of the teaching and learning materials used in Australian classrooms have been written and illustrated by White Australians, and the result has been that the history of Indigenous Australians is seen through the lenses of paternalism and the

Enlightenment (Crawford 2011).[1] However, since the 1980s more materials have been produced by Indigenous Australian authors to tell their histories, lives and cultures in different Australian localities. In materials written by White Australians they seek to apologise for the behaviours of the generations since European settlement. Australian researchers have pressed teachers in schools and in teacher education courses to include an awareness of diversity in their classroom practice that includes Indigenous children and students (Nicholls et al. 1996; Tsey 1997; Cooper & Iles 2010; Andersen & Walter 2010).

Australian teachers attempt to develop classroom teaching and learning resources for their classes that meet the learning needs of their students and are customised for the class and school context. As a result, Australian primary teachers depend on photocopying to produce classroom teaching and learning resources to support their lessons and very few traditional textbooks are produced by the Australian educational publishing industry (Horsley 2011). 60% of the sales of Australian educational primary publishers are Literacy and Numeracy Kits and Library Series. Library Series are topic books written for students to support research and deeper learning on topics that are considered interesting, topical and the basis for student research projects. Furthermore, there is a curriculum for each state, and each curriculum treats Indigenous Australians differently.[2]

In this article I will focus upon teaching and learning materials produced for History education in primary school that have been entered in the Australian Educational Publishing Awards between 2000 and 2011.[3] The sample of titles selected for this study were teaching and learning materials which were entered into the Australian Awards for Excellence in Educational Publishing, and they were as meritorious by the Awards judges and included in the annual catalogue as a short listed or winning category entry. Each year between 130 and 300 new publications are entered into the awards. Approximately 30% of entries are short listed and/or selected as winners of their categories. Short listed and winning titles are included in a catalogue that is circulated to every school and public library in Australia to identify high quality teaching and learning materials. The Awards were initiated by the Australian Publishers Association and TREAT (the Teaching Resources and Textbook Research Unit) and have been conducted since 1994.[4] Since then the Awards have featured many short listed and winning titles aimed at supporting teachers in

[1] In the article I will use the concepts of Indigenous people, Indigenous Australian and Aboriginal. I have preferred the concept of White Australian instead of the more used phrase 'non-indigenous Australians' to avoid an indigenous centrism.

[2] In the 2010's it seems as if a National Curriculum will be provided, and it will also have a cross-curriculum priority covering the Aboriginals' and Torres Strait Islanders' histories and cultures. This work has been carried out since the 1990's, but has until recently been too complicated to find a common platform for. The states are New South Wales (NSW), Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania and Australian Capital Territory (ICT).

[3] Primary school is covering different grades in the Australian states. In South Australia primary covers 1st to 8th grade, in Queensland 1st to 7th grade and in New South Wales Kindergarten to 6th grade. Unfortunately, the grades are not explained in the teaching and learning materials. Therefore, I will mostly present the materials without marking any grade, but the language indicates that the materials are for middle years pupils and late years pupils in primary school.

[4] TREAT was established by Mike Horsley, and he has been the chief judge of the Awards since the beginning in 1994. Thank you to Mike Horsley for helping me to find materials for this article, and for housing me at Central Queensland University during my research on Indigenous people in Australian teaching and learning materials.

incorporating Indigenous content knowledge, perspectives and understandings about Indigenous people into all the subjects in primary and secondary education. In 2011 more than 140 entries were received. One of the two overall winners in 2011 was *Yarning Strong*, a history presented "behind the stories" by Indigenous Australians (Behrendt et al. 2011).

In this article I compare the telling of the Indigenous Australians' history as it is presented by Indigenous Australians and by White Australians.[5] Telling the history of Indigenous Australians is firstly connected to positions of ethno-race in the teaching and learning materials; secondly, the positions of ethno-race is developed with the intersections of the socio-cultural categories gender, sexuality, nationality and class and thirdly, different views of history in the teaching and learning materials are presented. Finally, storytelling in three phases is analysed.

Positions of ethno-race

In research the concept of race is mainly connected to biological heritage whereas the concept of ethnicity has been used as a matter of socio-cultural heritage (Goldberg 1993; Anderson 2002; Knudsen 2011a). In Afro-American studies, the concept of race has been in common use whereas Anglo-Scandinavian studies prefer the concept of ethnicity (Crenshaw 1989; Staunæs 2003; Knudsen 2011a). In studies of the Sámi in Norwegian textbooks, written and illustrated by Norwegians, I have used the concept of ethnicity to underscore how Indigenous people have been treated in a socio-cultural construction of nationality (Knudsen 2006). However, when it comes to Indigenous Australians in the teaching and learning materials for History education they seem to identify themselves both as a race with mostly dark skin and as ethnic groups belonging to regions.[6] Furthermore, Indigenous Australians present themselves as groups, connected to extended families. These presentations point towards an intersection of race and ethnicity. Teaching and learning materials written and illustrated by White Australians have an intersection of race and ethnicity in the presentations of themselves as both with white skin in the concept of White Australians and as European Australians and Anglo-Australians.

Positions of ethno-race are constructed in the chosen Australian teaching and learning materials for History education from 2000 to 2011. In the presentations of the Sámi in Norwegian textbooks I found three positions, that I will use in the following: 1) a people of nature and as Indigenous people where they are homogeneous and "one people"[7], 2) 'the Norwegians in the Sámi' with a normalisation of the Sámi, alias the Norwegian normalisation of the Sámi and 3) the nomad alias the intermingling of the Sámi-Norwegian (Knudsen, 2006 p.72 with reference to Hall 1990[8]).

[5] In the 2000s about 2% of the total Australian population does identify themselves as Indigenous Australians. Most of the Indigenous Australians live in mainland Australia, and the Torres Strait Islanders count only a few of these 2 %. The Torres Strait Island is headed between the north of Queensland and the south of New Guinea.

[6] Some Australian researchers seem to prefer 'race' as a socio-cultural category (Cowlishaw & Morris 1992, Libesman et al. 1999).

[7] The quotation is from the Norwegian textbook *Fra Saga til CD* (From Saga to CD)(Jensen & Lien 1998).

[8] Stuart Hall has researched on the Africaine in the Carribian (Hall 1990).

The first position in the Australian teaching and learning materials for History education is the view of Indigenous Australians as an indigenous people. The concept of indigenous can point towards being a people of nature having the longest line of ancestors in Australia and being the first population in Australia. In the materials written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians these explanations are mixed, however, being a people of nature is especially stressed. This means that ethno-race is giving voice and view through the people's connection to the landscape, the plants, the animals and the birds. Included in this position are the spiritual experiences of the Dreaming and the totems:

> "Many Indigenous Australians have their own special Dreaming or Tagai[9] stories and places that belong to them. Each person is responsible for keeping these stories and special places alive. One way to do this is by telling how the ancestors taught them weaving and by weaving items to use in **sacred ceremonies**." (Bruce & Hilvert-Bruce 2004a, p.5, emphasised by the authors).

The connection between nature and ancestors is highlighted in many books written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians. In *Life in Indigenous Australian Communities* the ancestors are among others Tiwi people combined with a skin group that reflects giving a name to a child "by our mother", whereas the country is "linked to our father's surname" and the totem "is passed to us from our father" (Wilson 2006. pp. 10, 11, 12). The skin is connected both to the dark colour of the people, to the extended family with mothers, fathers, aunts and uncles and to the group in a geographical region or a part of a region. Furthermore, the concept of skin is extended with the country and the totem as a matter of ethno-race rather than race. The materials written by Indigenous Australians can also highlight ancestors as being the first population in Australia. However, this is more often the case in the materials written by White Australians and it can be told with some distance:

> "Most Aboriginal Australians believe that they originated in Australia and have a continuing relationship with this country that has existed from the beginning of time." (Cummins 2000, p.1)
> "Aboriginal people believe they have always been here and have come from the land" (Gard 2000a, p.15).

In the materials written by White Australians the history of this position is often explained in terms of sameness where all Indigenous people are homogenised: "Indigenous Australian cultural groups, however, share some things in common, such as a **spiritual** connection to the land and a very long history of **sustainable** living in Australia's natural environments." (Barrett 2009, p.5, emphasised by the author). Although, the "however" in the quotation points back to a mention of the diversity among Indigenous people the text does not present these diversities.

The second position deals with Indigenous Australians being European Australians and even being White European Australians. It is about 'Australian in Indigenous people', about the 'normalisation' of Indigenous Australians' written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians themselves and by White Australians. This position is closely

[9] Dreaming is connected to the Indigenous Australians in mainland Australia, whereas the Torres Strait Islanders have Tagai.

connected to nationalism. As a text claims: "*A History of Australia* tells the story of a country that is one of the oldest lands and one of the youngest nations on Earth." (Gard 2000a, p.4). Making a nation of Australia is mainly connected to the arrival of the Europeans. The stories about the 'stolen generation' with Indigenous children being forcibly removed from their communities, groups and parents to reserves are prominent in this story of building a nation. In the materials written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians the building of a nation can be interpreted in the light of invasion, destruction and conflicts. In *Maralinga*, the history is connected to, among other things, building railways:

> "In 1912, an even more massive and sustained invasion began. Work commenced on the construction of the Transcontinental Railway from Port Augusta, in what whitefellas called South Australia, to Kalgoorlie, in what they called Western Australia … With the train arriving regularly, their isolation was finally destroyed. Then their independence was further eroded as they learned to beg for tobacco and money." (Maralinga 2009, p.14).[10]

The establishing of the railway is also told as a story of racism with the declaration that "*No native, however clean or well-dressed, may travel on the east-west line, unless special permission is given*." (Maralinga 2009, p.14, italicised by the authors).

In materials written and illustrated by White Australians the history of this second position can be seen in explanations of the first Europeans in Australia who looked upon the Indigenous Australians as a dying people. This point of view was grounded in Social Darwinism as one of the history textbook explains:

> "Many White Australians held a belief in bogus Social Darwinist theories and consequently thought that Indigenous Australians were a dying people. Indigenous Australians therefore had numerous paternalistic restrictions placed upon them to supposedly 'protect' them." (Cupper et al. 2007, p.110).

Such stories are often connected to the 1920s and the 1930s and White Australians' authors have described this period in Australian history as one of assimilation:

> "Aboriginal people were expected to give up their culture to be assimilated, and to live like white Australians. It was expected to take generations for most Aboriginal people to 'rise' to the standards of white Australians.
>
> More and more Aboriginal children were taken from their families, especially if they were lighter skinned or were girls. In the institution homes where these Aboriginal children were sent, the staff taught them to think, look and act as white people." (Gard 2000b, p.39).

Stephen Gard explains assimilation as "... the process where one group of people adopts the way of life of another group of people" (Gard 2000b, p.38). He argues that 1937 was the year where "The policy of assimilating Aboriginal people into the white community is introduced" (Gard 2000b, p.38). The history of assimilation is told as a one-way assimilation within a process where Indigenous Australians had to adopt

[10] *Maralinga* is the title of the book. It is written and illustrated by Yalata and Oak Valley Communities, with Christoble Mattingley.

European ways of living. As stated by Gard, the ideal candidates for assimilation were the "lighter skinned", because they were thought to be able to adapt more easily to the culture, customs and values of white Australia. The term 'half-caste' is also used in material written about the assimilation of Indigenous peoples into White European Australians. 'Half-caste' children had a white "mother, father or grandparent", as one of the texts explains (Barwick & Barwick 2007, p.26). In my research on the very few presentations of the Sámi in Readers written between 1860-1960 by Norwegian authors assimilation is also connected to this second position, i.e. a construction of the Norwegian in the Sámi (Knudsen 2011b). History written by White Australians describes how Indigenous Australians were brought up to be servants for White Australians in households and on farms and how they were kept in subordinate positions:

> "The practice of taking Aboriginal children from their families by white authorities began in the 1800s. In the early years, Aboriginal children were sometimes taken to be used as cheap labour on farms or as domestic servants" (Barwick & Barwick 2007, p.26).

In the teaching and learning materials written by Indigenous Australians, the concept of assimilation is absent and seems not to be of interest. However, the stories about the stolen generation are told by people who were forcibly removed and brought up in White Australians' missions:

> "In the 1950's, 1960s and 1970's Indigenous people in many parts of Australia were sent to live in allocated areas called missions, or reserves. Life on the missions was strictly controlled and people were often not allowed to speak their traditional languages.
>
> 'Mission Voices' uses oral and other histories to share stories from Aboriginal missions in Victoria. The resource allows students to hear individual voices recounting the often-traumatic stories of life on a mission." (Chaney AO & Marika 2009a, p.15).

The stories about life on reserves as experienced by Indigenous Australians are mostly stories about life on a 'mission'. For example in *Peoples of the North*, the story of Elsie Roughsey's life from the age of eight is told as, "Life at the mission was very strict and rigid. No one was allowed to practise their traditional culture. She didn't even know that her own brother and sister were living there, too, and sharing the same **dormitory**." (Hill 2008a, p. 14, emphasised by the author).[11] About the Baryulgil people in *Peoples of the East* it is said, that they "... were forced to live on a **mission**. Their suffering was made worse with **asbestos** mining in the 1940s" (Hill 2008b, p.23, emphasised by the author).

The third position about Indigenous people being nomadic appears only in the materials I have studied written by White Australians. White Australian authors present the nomads as "... wholly or partly nomadic, each group following a seasonal path within its own territory" (Nicholson 2007, p. 21). The nomads are described as people who searched for food and who gathered for trade and ceremonies. In a textbook for the upper secondary school, the introduction writing about nomads

[11] I have tried to figure out if Marji Hill identifies herself as Indigenous Australian, but I have got no answers from the persons I have asked.

seems to have a critical point of view: “The first European settlers viewed Aborigines as nomadic, with no tie to any territory and no culture. They did not recognise that there were established language groups and territories.” (Taylor et al. 2009, p.6). However, a few pages later the same textbook shifts to a simplified version of view: “Before the arrival of Europeans, Aborigines were, on the whole, nomadic or semi-nomadic.” (Taylor et al., 2009, p.10), and pages later the texts simply says, that “Traditionally they are a nomadic people.” (Taylor et al. 2009, p.66).

A similarity in the presentations by Indigenous Australians and White Australians is found in the position of ancestors as being the first population in Australia. However, the materials written by Indigenous Australians have more focus upon Indigenous peoples’ connection to nature and their ancestors than the materials written by White Australians. When it comes to the second position, difference in presentation is more evident than similarity. The Indigenous Australian authors are preoccupied by European invasion and the oppression of their people, whereas the White Australian authors are keen to shed light on the concept of assimilation. When it comes to the third position, this seems to be only of interest for White Australian authors.

Intersection of ethno-race, gender, sexuality, nationality and class

Studies of intersectionality are revolved around relations between socio-culutral categories such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, nationality and class. The concept of intersectionality is inspired by Black feminism, post-colonial theories and feminist theory (Crenshaw 1989; McCall 2005; Lykke 2005). Researchers use this concept to highlight how the socio-cultural categories “... intertwine, pervade and transform each other” (Knudsen 2006, p. 64 with reference to Lykke 2005). In an Australian context the concept of intersectionality has been introduced in teacher training as “... the way various forms of discrimination can occur simultaneously because of the different categories a person can belong to at the same time” (Carpenter & Thompson 2010, p.139 with reference to Cassidy & Jackson 2005).

The first position of ethno-race with focus upon people of nature and Indigenous people is intertwined with the presentation of a traditional two-gender model in the Australian teaching and learning materials as is the case in the presentation of the Sámi which I have analysed in a Norwegian textbook (Knudsen 2006). In this model the male and the female are seen as binaries or as opposites. The males are hunters and warriors and the females take care of the plants and the children. The materials written by Indigenous Australians from Nguiu tell that “Hunting is men’s business. Women gather mangrove worms, crabs and food plants such as sand palm.” (Wilson 2006, p.28). In Warmun there is “Women’s Law and men’s law”, and the women’s law is presented as “talk about women’s issues such as childbirth” and “how they should live”, whereas men are introduced as having “places, called **sacred** sites” (Pelusey & Pelusey 2006, p.15, emphasised by the authors). The women are also told to have their own places, where the men have no right of entry. This strong division into two gender roles is told as well as a history of the past as in the present. The past had this gender opposites and so has the present in a construction of what Stuart Hall in his research upon Africaine in the Carribian has mentioned as “... some timeless zone of the primitive unchanging past” (Hall 1990, p. 231).

The two-gender model also turns up in telling about health care and teaching the law of life among Indigenous people. In a text the health care's gender binaries are simply stated as "The clinic is divided into male and female sections because this is the Tiwi way" (Wilson 2006, p.26). When it comes to teaching the law a male claims that:

> "When I go to the school, I teach girls and boys. I'm not allowed to talk to girls when they become older. I only teach the boys about when they become men, man way. Elder women talk about women's business." (Wilson 2006, p.17).

Such stories underline the intermingling of gender and heterosexuality as the 'nature' of Indigenous Australians. The heterosexual life is underscored by the differentiations of women's and men's 'business'. In the texts there are no such sexualities as homo- or bisexuality. Although the materials written by Indigenous Australians illustrate the extended families, the basis of the family seems to be the nuclear family. The same appears in the materials written by White Australians:

> "Boys used toy spears to develop their hunting skills, while girls worked with their mothers, sisters, aunts and grandmothers to learn how to cultivate, find and prepare numerous sources of food." (Cupper et al. 2007, p. 4).
> "Usually men hunted large animals, such as kangaroos and bush turkeys, in more arid parts of Australia. Women and children gathered plants and smaller animals." (Barrett 2009, p.16).

In the materials written by White Australians there are figures and explanations about the skin name, and in a presentation of the Kija cultural group, the skin name is a cycle connected to mothers: "The skin name given to a child depends on his or her mother's skin name" (Barrett, 2009, p.19). Most of the materials are presented indirectly as a story of a heterosexual nuclear family. However, in a textbook for upper secondary schools the families are said to have polygamy among males: "While men often had more than one wife, women had only one husband and widows were expected to remarry" (Taylor et al., 2009, p.9). Also, this text tells of baby girls who were promised to 20-30 year old men who married before they went into puberty. However, this polygamy and treating of girls, women and widows are hidden stories in the teaching and learning materials that I have analysed as written and illustrated by both Indigenous Australians and White Australians for primary school.

The second position with 'the White Australians in the Indigenous people' is mostly integrated in the telling of the nation and nationalism. More or less explicitly the assimilation is connected to building a nation providing Australian people a national identity, independent of the United Kingdom and independent of the Commonwealth's regime. It is told as a process of becoming a nation with own laws, rules and regulations. It is a view on history that explains 'why' assimilation was carried out, but even more a part of the 'shameful chapters that seek to excuse the ways in which Indigenous Australians have been historically treated in ways similar to the ways in which the Sámi were presented as treated in a Norwegian textbook (Knudsen 2006). This is a matter of more importance in the materials written by White Australians than written by Indigenous Australians. If there is a voice given to

nationalism in the materials written by Indigenous Australians it is mostly connected to geographical regions in terms of what I will call 'my homeland', and they are told in relation to ancestors.

When it comes to the third position, telling about Indigenous people as more or less nomads it can be intertwined with the two-gender model and the socio-cultural category of class. In such presentations Indigenous Australians belong to 'the working class-position'[12] in the past with divided genders as male hunters and warriors on the one hand of the gender model, and on the other hand with female life closely connected to the living place and to the children. This can be compared to the status of the Sámi in a Norwegian textbook which describes them as making "... their living by raising reindeer, hunting and fishing. So they did in the past and still do at the present." (Knudsen 2006, p.73). In *Peoples of the West*, the working class[13] is about Indigenous children being brought up in missions to become "farm labourers and domestic servants" (Hill 2008c, p. 24). The treatment of children and later adults are compared to the convicts who were sent to Australia from Ireland and England instead of going into prison in their countries: "Up until the 1940s, life for the Watjarri was similar to that of convicts. There were floggings, and being put in chains was common." (Hill 2008c, p. 24). In *Maralinga* the different ways of treating girls and boys can be interpreted as a way of keeping Indigenous Australians within the working class:

> "Anangu girls were given duties as tea girls, dish-up girls, bread girls, wash-up girls, vegetable girls, copper girls, room girls, and towel girls. Boys became room boys, wood boys and goat boys … Girls received a pink hair ribbon. Boys were each given braces and a blue tie." (Maralinga 2009, p.18).

However, in the materials written by Indigenous Australians the stories of themselves becoming teachers, police and health workers are stories about leaving the working class and the working class-position. Such materials tell about the first Indigenous Australian in university and the authors can highlight people who have done very well in sport: "Our men and women have excelled in many sports. Australian Rules football is a favourite" (Wilson 2006, p.6). However, it is obvious that the stories may be highlights, because they are few and "Against the odds":

> "Sport has been one way for **Indigenous** Australians to gain respect in society. Against the odds, they have achieved a lot, becoming champions at all levels in many sports including boxing, wrestling, football, cricket, tennis and athletics." (Albert 2008a, p.2, emphasised by the author).

Different views of history

In *A History of Australia. From the Dreaming* Stephen Gard introduces two different views of explaining history (Gard 2000a). The view of Indigenous Australians is mostly concentrated on the questions "Where did it happen?" and "Who made it

[12] The working class-position is used as a socio-cultural category that points towards physical work, not to a traditional Marxist sense of people who sell their labour to those who own the means of production.
[13] The working class is here used in the Marxist sense.

happen?" These questions are connected to what he calls a "local" history (Gard 2000a, p. 4).[14] The history is oral and has been told in the 'Dreaming'.[15] The illustrations in this book show that paintings in rock shelters and basket weavings are also part of the history. The telling of the Dreaming is explained as mostly "secret and sacred" (Gard 2000a, p. 5). Instead of where and who, White Australians ask the questions "Why did it happen?" and "When did it happen?" (Gard 2000a, p.5). This history is written, published in books and exhibited in museums.

Gard's focus in *A History of Australia. From the Dreaming* is upon Indigenous Australians and he also includes the Torres Strait Islanders, but like other White Australian authors' presentations of history within teaching and learning materials there is very much a construction of sameness in the way he presents the homogenous past of all Indigenous Australians. Although he takes note of the different groups and different regions, he does not present names or regions. In this way the telling of Indigenous Australians' history can be seen as connected to the first ethno-race position. As in other White Australians' history for primary school, Gard makes a timeline from the past to modern times and by doing so underscores history as a matter of 'when it happen'. This timeline runs as a strip at the bottom of the pages. In *From the Dreaming*, the timeline covers the past from 140 million years ago until the 1700s. The presentation of a timeline signals that the author wants to focus attention upon the first population in Australia. The history covers the creation of the landscapes, the plants, the animals and the birds. The texts and the illustrations highlight the unique Australian vegetation, animals, birds – and its first population, or "Australia's first peoples," as he labels it (Gard 2000a, p.14).

In *A History of Australia. Discovering a National Identity* Gard's focus is upon history during and after the Second World War (Gard 2000b). This is mainly a history of White Australians but in between Indigenous Australians are presented, for example, in a photograph of male soldiers with the text, "A platoon of Aboriginal soldiers in Wangarattta, Victoria, 1940" (Gard 2000b, p.13). Timeline at the bottom of each page covers the years from 1935 until 1975. These years start and end with headings about 'Aboriginal', starting with "The policy of assimilating Aboriginal people into the white community," and ending with "The Aboriginal Tent Embassy is set up on the lawn outside Parliament House in January and the Aboriginal flag is adopted" (Gard 2000b, p.6 ff). Between 1935 and 1975, the years cover White Australians' history, except from 1967 where "In May Australians vote 'yes' to include Aboriginal people in the census and to allow the Federal Government to make laws for Aboriginal people." (Gard 2000b, p.6). However, the last section of this book is connected to Indigenous Australians. This section connects to the history of what I have called the second ethno-race position by telling of assimilation and by telling of a specific mission (the Yirrkala Mission in the Northern Territory). Furthermore, the section includes self-determination with an example from the Gurindji people, students' solidarity with Indigenous Australians in the 1960s, the referendum in 1967 and the Aboriginal

[14] In a dissertation with a comparative study of textbooks for teacher education in Canada and USA, the views are expressed in a similar way about the American textbook *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*: "This learning from family also makes context more important than content for Native American children. What is said is not as important as how and by whom it is said." (Ridenour-Wildman 2004 with reference to Delpit 1995).

[15] Dreaming is in this book explained as "Aboriginal creation stories giving the origins of the land and people; also the Law and rules for living" (Gard 2000a, p.5).

Embassy. This last section, as is the rest of the book, is dedicated to provide answers to the history of 'when' and 'why'. In these two books Gard signals solidarity with Indigenous Australians, and he credits them for being the first people in Australia. However, the concentrations upon the 'when' and 'why' places the viewpoint firmly with White Australians.

The teaching and learning material in *Who did what when? Aboriginal Australia* by John & Jennifer Barwick signals a shared focus on the view of history, i.e. sharing between the views of Indigenous and White Australians (Barwick & Barwick 2007). The question of who is answered in an intersection of ethno-race and class by the presentations of Indigenous Australians who made a difference in history. This is a presentation of strong males who fought against the European's arrival to Australia: Pemulwuy (about 1757-1802) from the Bidjigal clan, attacking farmers and townships with "a group of warriors" in protest against the European settlers (Barwick & Barwick 2007, p.11); William Barak (about 1824-1903) from the Wurundjeri clan and educated in a mission school, who protested against Europeans in petitions and art; William Cooper (about 1861-1941) from the Yorta Yorta and living in Cummeragunja Reserve in New South Wales, who protested against European Australians and was "a major force behind the National Day of Mourning in 1938" (Barwick & Barwick 2007, p.17) and Charles Perkins (1936-2000) with an Arrernte mother and a Kalkadoon father who became an internationally famous soccer player. One female is presented in this book: Lowitja O'Donoghue (1932-) from Yankunytjatjara clan who was taken from her parents as a two years old by the United Aborigines' Mission and placed in a children's home at Quorn in South Australia. She represents the stolen generation and gives voice to a person who fought her way to have an education as a nurse and became a spokesperson in the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and ATSIC (the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission). In 1984 she was "Australian of the Year" (Barwick & Barwick 2007, p. 29).[16]

The answer to the question 'who' gives voices to Indigenous people who have been famous in Australia. Their celebrity status can also be explained by the repetition of their stories in history teaching and learning materials during many years. In the book *Who did what when?* Written by White Australians, the Indigenous people are placed in a history of when and why things happened, and also a history of when and why events occur. The book has "A timeline of Aboriginal Australia" over two pages covering 120,000 years ago until 2000 (Barwick & Barwick 2007, p.6-7). However, the history from 120,000 years ago until 1770 has only one line out of four, i.e. the history of the arrivals of Europeans and the contacts between Indigenous Australians and White Australians are extremely well documented from 1788 until 2000 compared to the many years covered with less than one line. The European history of 'when' and 'why' starts at the first line in 1606 "when Dutch explorer Willem Janszoon reaches Cape York Peninsula, Qld." and continues with 1770 when "Captain James Cook claims eastern Australia for Britain." (Barwick & Barwick 2007, p.7). Some history books written by White Australians simply start with James Cook, and if the past is mentioned, it is labelled as "pre-European Australia" and as "pre-European settlement" (Nicholson 2007, p.10; Taylor et al. 2009, p.8[17]).

[16] In the series, the concept of clan is used, whereas other materials written by Indigenous Australians use the concept of group.

[17] The *Oxford Big Ideas. History Level 6* by Tony Taylor et al. is a textbook for upper secondary school, 10th and 11th grade.

In teaching and learning materials written by Indigenous Australians some authors introduce famous Indigenous Australians and tell stories of people, who made a difference. In the series *Australia's Indigenous Peoples* there is a short presentation of Pemulway, with the same illustration of him in a boat catching fish as in *Who did what when* (Hill 2008b, p.9). The text in this book is a repetition of former history books: "Pemulwuy was a powerful warrior who developed a great reputation for his resistance campaigns against the British in the 1790s" (Hill 2008b, p.9). Other highlighted males are Windradyne (about 1790-about 1829) from the Wiradjuri group who "fought to defend Wiradjuri lands against British occupation" (Hill 2008b, p.13) and 'Guboo' Ted Thomas (1902-2002) from the Yuin group who was an "**Activist** and spokesperson for the Yuin" (Hill 2008b, p.17, emphasised by the author).[18] More females are presented as famous people in this book: Oodgeroo Noonuccal/Kath Walker (1920-1993) from the Noonuccal group, who was a "Poet, teacher, writer, political activist and artist" (Hill, 2008b, p.21) and Fiona Foley (1964-) from the Badtjala group who is an "Artist, photographer, sculptor, writer and community **activist**" (Hill, 2008b, p.27, emphasised by the author). The series of *First Australians. Plenty Stories* present 'heroes', who have fought for Indigenous Australians' rights (Albert 2008a,b,c). Characteristic of the presentations in both series are that the person is linked to their group or clan, and so, 'who' is seen in the light of 'where,' and vice versa. Furthermore, the last series give several portraits of well-known artists, i.e. painters, singers and dancers in intersections of ethno-race, class and gender. These intersections break Indigenous peoples' one-sided connection to the working class and working class-position and highlight both famous men and women.

'Elder' is a generic term used by Indigenous Australians to refer to people across the two gender roles with the right to talk about the lives and experiences of indigenous communities such as Lottie Williams from the Paakantji group, Roy Kennedy from the Ngyiampaa group and Mary Pappin from the Mutthi Mutthi group (Albert 2008b). An elder is not necessarily old, but she or he knows about the relations between country, skin groups and totems and have a wisdom about the Dreaming and totems. For example, Lindsay Bird Mpetyane (around 1945-) is presented as "the senior Anmatyerr elder at Mulga Bore" and as a painter of "the Bush Plum **Dreaming** story" (Albert 2008b, p. 6 and 2, emphasised by the author). The process of his painting on canvas is presented through the books, and is followed by short introductions:

> To the painting of the snake: "He's (Utnea) a really quiet one. He lies out there in the sun – straight one. Then, he travels slow on hot day, winter time – same!" (Albert, 2008b, p.8)
> To the painting of the Bush Plum Dreaming: "I'm Anmatyerr man from right here to Ti-Tree and we call that Anmatyerr ground now. Well we call that Bush Plum, Ahakeye." (Albert 2008b, p.9).

In *Yarning Strong*, Indigenous Australians are described as sharing their belongings to communities (Behrendt et al. 2011). The cd-rom gives voice to four Indigenous Australians, two men and two women who belong to the middle-class. The intersections of ethno-race, class and gender are also covered by the choice of themes; identity, family, law and land. The theme of identity is presented by Des, a

[18] In the series the concept of group is used.

male telling about his being an Aboriginal having "no dark skin". He tells about what it is to have bush knowledge and about the meaning of the totem. He also gives insights into the difficulties and possibilities of living with both a traditional identity and a modern identity. Kyn Smith, a female tells about dead relatives as, for example, a hill. She highlights the use of aunt and uncle as relations of respect, and not necessarily connected to biological relations, but to the extended families in Indigenous Australian groups. Furthermore, she tells of the concept of elder and about the totem. Critically, she looks into the past with the stolen generation and with being colonised. Larissa Behrendt, a female, introduces Aboriginal law punishments with an example from the Kooeri court, where the victim and the person who commits the crime will have to meet each other in a conversation. Willie Brim, a male, expresses a wish that all pupils should learn about Aborigines as a matter of local community knowledge. Together, these four voices cover the history of people connected to locations and communities in the past and in the present. By being one of the two overall winners in The Australian Educational Publishing Awards in 2011, *Yarning Strong* makes its contribution to the history of 'who' and 'where' by covering intersections of ethno-race, class and gender. This complexity of views, ethno-race positions and intersections of socio-cultural categories can be said praised in the ground for the Awards expressing that the material "covers indigenous issues and topics not usually discussed through indigenous perspectives and without being patronising."[19]

The storytelling of Indigenous Australians

Analysis of storytelling is inspired by post-structuralism. Storytelling aims towards a deconstructing of the narrative structure and the narrative progression/plot in texts and illustrations. In my presentations of whiteness studies, I have paid attention to storytelling as a possible way to analyse the intersection of ethno-race and nationality (Knudsen 2011a). The analysis of a Norwegian Reader is an example of storytelling built upon a narrative structure and progression in three phases; the first phase is the harmony in the childhood, the second phase is the moving into a new, strange and discordant world; the third phase is the melting of experiences from the childhood and from the discordant world into a more wise world (Knudsen 2011b).

In the teaching and learning materials for the Awards, the narrative about Indigenous Australians typically begins with the ownership of Australia. This first phase of the history tells of the thousands of years of "Australia's first peoples" (Barrett 2009, p.5). In the materials written by Indigenous Australians, its history can be presented as a time of peace and harmony among people:

> "Long time ago, before whitefellas came, Anangu lived on their lands for thousands and thousands of years. The land was their life. They loved the land. They cared for the country. They knew all its secrets and they taught those secrets to their children and their children's children, *tjamu* to *tjamu* (grandfather to grandson), *kapali* to *kapali* (grandmother to granddaughter)." (Maralinga 2009, p.1).[20]

[19] The quotation is from the catalogue, following the Awards in 2011 and published by Australian Publishers Association.

[20] Anangu is what the people living in the Western Desert calls themselves.

The materials written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians about the first phase stress the differences between groups and geographical regions of the past and point towards the first ethno-race position. The series of *Australia's Indigenous Peoples* mark the differences in the title by using the plural "peoples" (Hill, 2008a,b,c,d). The material in this series is divided into books presenting the *Peoples of the North*, *Peoples of the Centre*, *Peoples of the South*, *Peoples of the West* and *Peoples of the East*. In the books, a map shows different locations for different Indigenous groups, and it tells about the "250 Indigenous languages and about 700 dialects" spoken (Hill 2008a,b,c,d, p.6). The material is illustrated with people who have lived in the regions presented, and it gives voices to differences in showing paintings by some of the regions' artists and in presenting photographs from the country.

In much of the material written and illustrated by White Australians the first phase of the history has a tendency to be presented as a story of sameness and signals the differences between White Australians' and Indigenous Australians' presentations of the first ethno-race position. In the presentations by White Australians, all Indigenous Australians lived in the country with nature around them and they all made ceremonies, dances and art: "Aboriginal people had been living in Australia for at least 50,000 years before the arrival of Europeans. Their entire way of life was perfectly suited to the land in which they lived, and they enjoyed a rich culture." (Hillman 2001, p.4). The illustrations in the materials show males with spears and women around the fire which underscores the first ethno-race position's intermingling with a traditional two-gender model.

The presentations of the first Australians by both Indigenous Australians and by White Australians give a rather romantic voice of 'the good time', before the Europeans came to Australia. They tell about a harmonious time that was destroyed by the Europeans. Different concepts of the Europeans' arrivals in Australia are used and they indicate a more or less critical point of view in the second phase of the historic narrative in combining nationalism and the second ethno-race position. In *Maralinga* this period of history is called "Invasion", and the chapter about this period gives a very critical presentation of the "whitefellas" who "claimed land to which they had no connection", "cut down trees and built houses, roads and fences" and "took over the water supplies" (Maralinga 2009, p.11). Like other materials written by Indigenous Australians the invasion and building of the Australian nation is said to have spoiled the Indigenous culture and lifestyle. Materials written by White Australians tend to present this period as "The British invasion", but also as a period of "exploration" and of "adventure" (Calvert et al. 2006, p.8-9). The materials written by White Australians also present the coming of missionaries and the stolen generation. Such presentations blame the Europeans of the past, and they tell a story of shame and anger for White Europeans which is similar to what I found in a textbook about the Sámi (Knudsen 2006). The story of the stolen generation is a repeated story in the materials written by White Australians to create awareness and as a reminder of how Indigenous children were taken from their families and moved away to 'civilise' and to 'Christianise' them:

> "This 'Civilise and Christianise' approach led to the movement of Indigenous Australians onto large reserves where they were to be taught the skills seen as essential for survival in the white person's world. In the opinion of church leaders, like the Bishop of Adelaide, it was better for

> the Indigenous people to 'die as Christians than to drag out a miserable existence as **heathens**'." (Calvert et al. 2006, p.81, emphasised by the authors).

Materials written by White Australians also give voice to 'conflicts' between the settlers building a nation of Europeans and Indigenous Australians. The conflicts are presented as a fight for land, water and animals. However, common in most of the presentations is the anger of having killed Indigenous people in "massacres": "The most shameful chapters in the treatment of Indigenous Australians in the 1920s occurred in the far north of Australia." (Cupper et al. 2007, p.113). In the following the texts tell of a White Australian male killed by Walpiri Indigenous Australians. A police constable and other males took revenge by killing 17 Indigenous males, females and children. The massacres of Indigenous Australians are told by White Australians and most of the materials end by telling about the massacres. However, the *Heinemann History* concludes that the present should not judge the past "too harshly": "Yet historians should beware of judging the past too harshly based on today's values. Whilst there were shameful chapters in the treatment of Indigenous Australians in the 1920s, the Bleakley report and some other improvements indicate it was not uniformly bad." (Cupper et al. 2007, p.113).

In Indigenous Australians' written version of the stolen generation and the massacres, the White Australians in the North region can be accused of "... murder, rape and **kidnapping**" (Hill 2008a, p8, emphasised by the author). The presentation from the south also gives an impression of the violence that White Europeans in building a nation met Indigenous Australians with: "There were killings, shootings, rape, torture and forced labour." (Hill 2008d, p. 18). The meetings with missionaries are also given a critical presentation with the imposition of "rules and regulations" implied (Hill 2008d, p.20). In *Maralinga*, individuals tell about their experiences with the White missionaries:

> "Bobbie Stewart said: 'I ran away from the Home a few times because Mr Green used to belt us if we swore.' But Hughie Windlass never tried to run away. 'Punished with no rations if we tried to run away. I grew up on the flour and sugar and got hungry for that. Because I grew up on that I stayed around'." (Maralinga 2009, p. 20).

On the other hand, the history of Indigenous Australians defending their lands and people are described in terms of "guerrilla war", where Indigenous Australians set fire to farms and tracts of bush (Hill 2008d, p. 20). However, there are also examples of peaceful contact between Indigenous Australians and White Australians. This contact is presented as Indigenous Australians peacefully meeting and welcoming the missionaries and also presents some missionaries as less controlling and less insistent on the strict disciplines imposed by some Anglican and Lutheran missionaries (Hill 2008d, p. 28).

The history of invasion and the destruction of the early friendly contact are followed by the third phase which presents the official Australian apology. The most repeated apology in materials by both Indigenous Australians and White Australians is Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's speech on behalf of the Australian Government in 2008:

> "… We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss of these our fellow Australians. We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country … And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry ..." (Chaney AO & Marika 2009b, p.23).

In the series titled *Reconciliation in Australia*, the prime minister's apology is quoted in *The Reconciliation Journey* (Chaney AO & Marika 2009b). The book *Reconciliation in Schools* shows photos of both Indigenous and White children and adults. In the texts the contacts are presented as "Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians" (Chaney AO & Marika 2009a, p.5). Indigenous Australians are made the centre of the presentation. This point of view is also highlighted in photographs where Indigenous Australians give voice to their nature and their stories. In a book written by a White Australian 'the happy ending' is illustrated by a photograph from the newspaper *The Sydney Morning Herald* in the late 1960s. The photograph shows a dark skinned boy and a white skinned boy holding hands (Hillman 2001, p. 19). In the same book a photo shows a white skinned woman with her arms around a dark skinned woman (Hillman, 2001, p. 29). Both illustrations are meant to point towards reconciliation, but the boys show that the contacts are made in rather poor surroundings and the white skinned woman seems rather a symbol of a paternalism still alive than of an equal contact. The will to see the future as a happy meeting between two groups of Australian people is also highlighted in the series *Life in Indigenous Australian Communities*, written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians (Wilson 2006; Bruce & Huddleston 2006; Sertori 2006; Pelusey & Pelusey 2006). All the books end with a section on "The best of both worlds" as for example:

> "Kija like living in Warmun because we can live a traditional life while enjoying the opportunities of the modern world.
>
> On our doorstep there are the mountain ranges, rivers and nature of our Dreaming. Our family and friends go camping in these beautiful places where we eat bush tucker and learn about our culture.
>
> On the other hand we have computers and access to the Internet and e-mail. During the warmer months we watch movies at our community centre." (Pelusey & Pelusey 2006, p.30).

Telling the history in three phases shows a narrative structure and progression which move from the first phase in harmony over the second phase in disharmony to the third phase with reconciliation. This is a narrative inspired by novels in Romanticism with a hero who moves from being an innocent child in the family into a different, confusing and now and then frightening world outside the family. However, the novel ends with the hero in a harmonisation of the homely and the unfamiliar. The three phases are told within the same narrative structure and progression by Indigenous Australians and by White Australians but with different emphasis which can be seen in the light of different views and voices connected to ethno-race positions and their intersections with socio-cultural categories.

Conclusion

The telling of Indigenous Australians' history in newer teaching and learning materials for primary school indicates differences in presentations of ethno-race, in the intersections of socio-cultural categories, in views and in storytelling. Although, the materials are limited to the Australian Educational Awards from 2000-2011, the results presented in this article may be of interest for further research. In the telling of Indigenous Australians' history there are different positions of ethno-race. The first position is connected to Indigenous people as a people of nature, having the longest line of ancestors and being the first population in Australia. In the materials written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians this position of ethno-race is different from White Australians' presentations of the position. Indigenous Australians tell about skin groups, extended families and geographical regions, whereas White Australians are more a presentation of sameness with a homogenisation of Indigenous Australians. The second position tells about Indigenous Australians being European Australians and it is mainly connected to European intentions of building a nation and of Indigenous Australians' assimilation to live like and look like White Australians. The third position is White Australians' presentations of Indigenous Australians as a nomadic, partly nomadic and semi-nomadic people. The three positions are presented with similarities and with differences in the materials written and illustrated by Indigenous Australians and by White Australians.

The three positions of ethno-race point towards the intersections of ethno-race with the socio-cultural categories gender, sexuality, nationality and class. The first ethno-race position telling about the nature of people in the past and in the present is intermingled with a presentation of a two-gender model, where females and males are presented in traditional gender roles. The gender roles state that Indigenous Australians' females and males are opposites, and it underscores a heterosexual way of living. Nationalism is intertwined in the second ethno-race position, not least in the presentation of assimilation. In the third ethno-race position, the nomads, the traditional two-gender model and a belonging to working class and working class position are connected. Although, the materials written by Indigenous Australians underscore possibilities of abandoning the working class and working class-position, the very few examples show that moving away from the working class is "Against the odds" in the history of the past as it is in the history of the present.

Different views of history can be seen in the light of the questions of 'where' and 'who' in the materials written by Indigenous Australians and of the questions of 'why' and 'when' in the materials written by White Australians. These different views of history are connected to Indigenous Australians, who have made a difference for the Indigenous people in fights for their rights and in becoming artists and teachers. Furthermore, it is a matter of presenting different views within Indigenous groups or clans from different geographical regions. White Australians are more focused upon the presentations of 'when' in timetable, and the question of 'why' can be seen in a history of sameness, i.e. Indigenous Australians as a homogenous people.

Storytelling about Indigenous Australians written by both Indigenous Australians and White Australians are formed in a narrative structure and progression running from the beginning with a rather romantic voice to 'the good times' and into a more or less miserable period with European arrival in Australia. In the materials written by

Indigenous Australians the miserable narrative can be labelled as 'invasion' of the country, the nature and the Indigenous people. Materials written by White Australians can present this history as an invasion, but also as a period of European exploration and adventure. Also, the storytelling dramatically tells of conflicts between Indigenous Australians and Europeans in terms of White Australians' "massacres" and Indigenous Australians' "guerrilla war". Especially, the stolen generation is presented in this part of the history. Finally, the storytelling ends with a kind of reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and White Australians. However, the different presentations of the three positions of ethno-race and the different intersections of these positions within socio-cultural categories illustrate 'a long way to walk' before reconciliation will take place for the Indigenous' minority cultures in teaching and learning materials written and illustrated by White Australians' majority culture.

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